COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM
AND LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION
IN HAIDA GWAI, CANADA

By

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Thesis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Otago

September 5, 2014

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DEDICATION

To my lovely daughters,

Carissa Lynn
Celise Christine
Chelsey Dawn

It would be impossible to adequately express my appreciation for the kindnesses shown to me in the development of this work. So many people have contributed their energy and effort to ensure that this issue is explored and it is my hope that some of the ideas contained herein might engender greater support for indigenous languages within community-based tourism contexts. My family, friends, and colleagues in Haida Gwaii, Hawai‘i, and Aotearoa have all given so much of themselves and I can only offer my most profound gratitude. The encouragement I received throughout this process provided me with the energy to see this work through to completion. I would like to extend special thanks to my supervisors Dr. Anna Thompson-Carr and Dr. Hazel Tucker whose experience and insights guided and reined me in as required. I also want to extend my thanks and appreciation to the staff at the Department of Tourism. Your support was outstanding and I could not have asked for a more wonderful group of people with whom to share this experience. So many special people have come into my life because of this work and I consider myself blessed for their presence. In Haida Gwaii, the concept of thank you is expressed as haaw’a, in Hawai‘i it is mahalo, and in Aotearoa it is tēnā koutou.

Thank You Haaw’a Mahalo Tēnā Koutou
Abstract

The consequences related to the loss of the worlds indigenous languages are not fully understood—the warnings as to the urgency of this issue largely unheeded, due in part to the enormity and challenges of regaining lost ground. The extreme nature of the problem as stated by the Endangered Language Fund is that, “never have we faced the massive extinction that is threatening the world right now…the cultural heritage of many people is crumbling while we look on” (cited in Crystal, 2002, p. vii). The progressive loss of spoken language is complex and exacerbated by a number of historic and present day factors, most of which relate to the number and age of speakers, the presence of a dominant language, and globalizing economic factors. Today, fewer than 40 fluent speakers remain in Haida Gwaii; all are over age seventy-five.

Efforts to maintain and revitalize languages focus predominantly on the use of immersion and other programs within the education system as a means of exposing children and youth to their language and encouraging the use of language within the home as a means of fostering the inter-generational transfer of language. Within this broad context, the use of tourism to support language development and language revitalization is an emerging field of inquiry. The link between tourism and language development, made by linguists such as Victor Golla, who posits that tourism might well provide the political, economic, and cultural rationale to support language communities.

Drawing on linguistics and tourism studies, this thesis posits that community-based tourism initiatives provide a culturally relevant setting to support the development and revitalisation of indigenous languages. Foundational to achieving this is an understanding that the effective use of tourism for this purpose is dependent upon supporting multi-dimensional language relationships within and outside the speaking community. This study draws on the perspectives of the Haida (people in British
Columbia, Canada) to develop a deeper understanding of historic and present day language use within community-based tourism contexts. Further, the shared experiences and insights of those with knowledge of language and tourism issues in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa New Zealand were sought in order to expand the scope and depth of this discussion. Their experiences and insights provided culturally relevant feedback to the Haida through the development of a cross-cultural method that linked these diverse communities to the foundational study site of Haida Gwaii. The study incorporated an indigenist methodology, drawing on participatory and narrative approaches, as a means of researching language and tourism issues with the Haida community. Informal and narrative interviews and participant observation were used to draw on the individual and collective knowledge of participants on indigenous language use within tourism. Forty-four interviews were completed: 23 in Haida Gwaii, 10 in Hawai‘i, and 12 in Aotearoa. Broadly, 23 participants were involved in the tourism industry, 11 were traditional knowledge keepers or cultural experts, and 11 were linguists or language advocates.

The Haida’s creative and innovative efforts to expand the use of their language within tourism led to this exploration of how the community is currently supporting language within these contexts. While the link between tourism, language, and community is tenuous, there is a small but growing body of literature to suggest increased visitor interest and awareness within the industry that language is critical to sustaining indigenous cultures. What is absent from the literature is a clear understanding of how to reposition indigenous languages appropriately within community-based tourism and tourism related contexts. To this end, the research conceptualizes a language-based tourism framework to guide language development and revitalization based on why the language should be used, how the language should be used, and what must be done to share the language appropriately.
## List of Abbreviations

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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>British Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALCC</td>
<td>Aboriginal Languages and Cultures Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AANDC</td>
<td>Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development (See DIAND)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AtBC</td>
<td>Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBC</td>
<td>Canadian Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIAND</td>
<td>Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBCN</td>
<td>Eastern Band of Cherokee Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FNESC</td>
<td>First Nations Education Steering Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FPHLAC</td>
<td>First Peoples’ Heritage, Language, and Culture Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLS</td>
<td>Haida Language Society (Old Massett)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HTA</td>
<td>Hawai‘i Tourism Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HVCB</td>
<td>Hawai‘i Visitor &amp; Convention Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHHA</td>
<td>Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>O&amp;M</td>
<td>Operating and Maintenance</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAR</td>
<td>Participatory Action Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>R.C.A.P.</td>
<td>Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples</td>
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<tr>
<td>S.C.C.</td>
<td>Supreme Court of Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.R.</td>
<td>Supreme Court Reporter</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHIP</td>
<td>Skidegate Haida Immersion Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>TNZ</td>
<td>Tourism New Zealand</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNWTO</td>
<td>United Nations World Trade Organization</td>
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Conventions, Presentation, and Narrative Styles

Where possible, common words in the Haida, Hawaiian, and Māori languages are used: for example, ‘laana (village in Haida Gwaii), kupuna (elder in Hawai‘i), and whānau (family in Aotearoa). The first instance of uncommon place-names in the text are written in English, followed by the bracketed word in the appropriate language: for example, Skidegate (HlGaailda) or Old Massett (Gaw). Where the place name is the common name, the original will stand throughout the thesis: for example, Kaikōura in Aotearoa or Kalapana in Hawai‘i. Sayings or phrases particular to an area are italicised in the first instance only, for example, Hawaiians refer to their way of sharing with someone as talk stories. Appendix A provides a glossary of words in addition to a chart on pronunciations.

Those sections of this thesis written in a narrative reflexive style are italicised and indented to make them easily identifiable from the main text. The intention of these vignettes is to relate specific instances of my personal learning experiences or that of individuals whose knowledge and words offer deeper insight into the topic at hand. The narratives provide a means of maintaining a connection or relationship with those who have shared of themselves through this work. In undertaking research with indigenous communities, these relationships are critical and provide a space within this present study for their voices and experiences to be heard more distinctly (Carter, 2010; White, 1999; Wilson, 2008). All references to the names of individuals used in this dissertation reflect their express consent and permission. The intention is to have their voice heard, which precludes complete anonymity. A planning document that established the vision of the community in the construction of the Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnagaay, exemplifies the rationale for their choice.¹

¹ This document is not included in the references. Contact www.haidaheritagecentre.com.
Pride: There is a renewed pride in our culture. The Haida have much to teach the world about understanding how to live and relate with the Earth in a respectful way. Because we are proud of our culture, we will not be anonymous in how we share it with others. We will put our own faces to it, and we will invite people to learn about our culture with us. We will build on the pride that welled up in many of us as we put our voices to our language and recalled words we thought we had lost. We have a need to hear our own voices. (Communications Committee, Needs Identification, 1998)

The names of authors combining their Christian and Haida name will be included as they appear in source documents: one of which will appear in brackets. Haida names often begin with lower case letters for middle and surnames and may contain numerals (e.g. the numeral “7”) to indicate a particular pronunciation. As study participants are cited by name, month, and year only, Appendix B provides a listing of participants and interview dates for each study site. Instances where individuals are cited frequently in a section, only one reference to the month and date will be made. Individuals who chose to use a pseudonym, rather than their personal names (which some participants preferred by choice) were assigned a name or word to ensure confidentiality.
1. Introduction

This introduction provides an overview of the context of language and tourism issues as they pertain to the peoples of Haida Gwaii. Outside establishing an outline of the purpose, objectives, methodology, and my role as a non-indigenous, non-Haida researcher, this chapter also explains some of the core values and beliefs of the Haida. The worldview or cosmology of the Haida is an expression of their holistic relationships with the land, as is the language and is foundational to introducing the peoples of Haida Gwaii. Following this, key concepts are clarified as they inform cultural meanings and intentions used throughout this study. The chapter concludes with an overview of the thesis structure.

1.1 Language and Tourism in Haida Gwaii

Few of us give much thought to the words that we speak each day—a tendency to think of language only as a process of communication (Belsey, 2002; Mohan, 2008; Searle, 2002). Yet, our thoughts, our identity, and our sense of belonging is inextricably linked to our language (Berge, 2003; Gardner, 2004; Weber-Pillwax, 2001a). The loss of a language reflects the loss of a peoples’ unique way of being in this world and with it goes much of their traditional knowledge, their means of intrinsic self-expression, and their intangible relationships with the land and with each other (O’Regan, 2011; Watson-Gegeo, 2004; Wilson (Kii’iljuus), & Harris, 2005). The powerful relationship between oral tradition and cultural sustainability noted by Pfister (2000) who posits that in the absence of greater understanding, the values, beliefs, and spirituality transmitted through language is trivialized.

Many of the world’s indigenous languages have been lost or in a state of decline for generations resulting from the complex processes of colonization, the displacement of peoples from their homelands, and the progressive globalization of the world’s economies (Harrison, 2007; Hinton & Hale, 2001; McCarty, 2003; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). While estimates vary, the United Nations Educational and Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) suggests
that of the 6,000 languages spoken today 2,500 continue in state of endangerment (2011). The degree of endangerment takes into consideration the number of speakers, proportion of speakers to total population, community attitudes toward their own language, and government and institutional attitudes toward policies, official status, and usage (UNESCO, 2011).

Today, the Haida (Xaayda or Xaad) are facing the loss of their own language and it is a deeply personal and painful struggle. For 1000s of years, the Haida (Xaayda / Xaad) have lived on the “Islands of the People”, or Haida Gwaii, which lies off the northwest coast of British Columbia, Canada (Boelscher, 1989; Gill, 2009). Where once their language and dialects thrived, today fewer than 40 fluent speakers of the Xaayda kil or Xaad kil (Haida language) remain, all of whom are over the age of seventy-five (Bell & Weir, 2013; Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). The language of the Haida is critically endangered for the above noted reasons, but more so because it is one of only three language isolates in Canada— it is a single, unique language: not connected to or derived from any other (Bell & Weir, 2013; Boelscher, 1989; Lachler, 2010).

Like many indigenous communities in Canada and elsewhere around the world, the Haida came to a cultural and economic crossroads some time ago wherein tourism increasingly became one of the few viable options remaining for development (Bunton, 2010; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Colton, 2005; Hollinshead, 2009; Kutzner & Wright, 2010; Zeppel, 2006). The sustained extraction of natural resources from Haida Gwaii’s lands and waters over the past two centuries placed the Haida in a situation wherein opportunities for economic development and diversification became increasingly limited (Haida Gwaii Strategic Land Use Plan, 2003). However, Haida Gwaii has retained much of its natural wonder and the islands have become a destination for eco-cultural tourists and visitors alike (Carey, 1995;)

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2 Xaayda and Xaad are the words for Haida in the southern and northern dialects respectively. “Haida” will be used throughout this study, as this is how they refer to themselves individually and collectively.

3 Several sources note Haida Gwaii as “Islands of the People.” (See, Gill, 2009; Dalzel, 1973; Boelscher, 1989).

4 There are three dialects of the Haida language; the southern dialect in Skidegate (HlGaagilda), the northern dialect in Old Massett (Gaw) and the Alaskan dialect in Hydaburg/Ketchikan (K’iis Xaat’aaay Tlagaay) (Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011).
Gill, 2009; M. Smith, 2012). In developing tourism initiatives that are economically, culturally, and environmentally sustainable, the Haida have worked to support projects that reflect their own cultural values (M. Smith, 2012; Whitney-Squire, 2011). It is within this context that the Haida began to incorporate their language into the management and development of key tourism products and services in an effort to make the language more visible and accessible to the community.

As a global phenomenon, Colchester (2004) and Johnston (2012) warn that some indigenous communities around the world are under increasing pressure to develop or allow for tourism development, as their lands form a significant part of the world’s remaining untouched natural areas. Whether led by internal or external stakeholders, tourism development can have a long term and negative impact on the life ways of indigenous peoples (Johnston, 2012; Taum, 2010; Stone & Wall, 2003; Trask, 2000b; Watson, 1999). The claim is that tourism development threatens cultural survival through the erosion of language, customary practices, and cultural knowledge systems…” with insufficient protections in place to guard against unethical government, industry, and market practices (Johnston, 2012, p. 3).

Others write from the perspective that tourism supports and protects cultures from exploitation and commodification—hedged in terms of community control and community ownership (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Notzke, 2006; Spiller, Erakovic, Henare, & Pio, 2010; Zygadlo, McIntosh, Matunga, Fairweather, & Simmons, 2003). Grünwald (2002) argues that tourism provides an opportunity for cultural revival that is not necessarily acculturating in its production. The claim is that tourism development preserves local practices, traditions, and values of indigenous peoples inclusive of their languages. Framed in terms of benefits, these statements are broad and inclusive: for example, *it (tourism) is a way to maintain the lifestyle, language, and customs*. However, the inclusion of “language” in these statements is often done based on underlying assumptions about the purpose and meaning of language and a small number of studies that do not clearly or fully support the claims either way.
International Language Rights

The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is arguably one of the most important documents supporting the rights of indigenous peoples internationally (UNESCO, 2008). While there has been debate over the potential impact of the declaration on local and regional legislation, treaties, and settlements, all voting member states of the United Nations have now ratified the document (Gunn, 2013; UNESCO, 2008). The declaration sets out a minimum standard to which all member nations are to conduct themselves in their dealings with indigenous peoples and affirms the right to revitalize, maintain, and use their culture and traditions inclusive of their literature, language, and oral traditions (UNESCO, 2008).

UNESCO recognizes the critical nature of language revitalization and the significance of language loss on cultural diversity (2011). Languages represent a unique cultural perspective whose loss embodies “historical, spiritual, and ecological knowledge” considered essential to the survival of speakers, but also of other cultural groups (UNESCO, 2011). The rate of language loss is significant, as is the fact that 96% of the world’s languages are spoken by 4% of the population (Crystal, 2002; Golla, 2001; McIvor, 2009). Experts consider,

Language loss…[as] part of a much larger process of loss of cultural intellectual diversity in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous languages and cultures, placing them in a condition that can only be described as embattled…the loss of language is part of the more general loss being suffered by the world, the loss of diversity in all things. (Hale et al., 1992, pp. 1-3)

However, the process of language loss is not considered inevitable nor irreversible and organizations like UNESCO advocate support for community programs, the creation of favourable conditions for speakers to use their language with children, effective national and international policies, and educational systems that support mother-tongue inter-generational transmission.
1.2 Purpose and Objectives

This dissertation seeks to understand how, within the production of activities and experiences tourism can support language development and language revitalisation within indigenous community-based initiatives. Few studies explore the nexus between tourism, language, and indigenous community-based initiatives: none attempt to explore the issues from the perspective of the community. Many scholars have written on indigenous issues concerning language and education (Battiste, 2002; Laboucane, 2011), revitalization and preservation (Binion & Shook, 2007; McIvor, 2009), culture and identity (Berge, 2003; Gardner, 2004), and the impact of colonization and globalization (Sekhar, 2012; Coluzzi, 2011) amongst others. However, those studies that touch on each of tourism, language, and community have tended to focus on (a) broader tourism issues inclusive of language, (b) the needs and experiences of visitors, and (c) the effect of tourism on languages.

While these studies present findings from very diverse perspectives and contexts, what is not fully explored are the deeper relationships affected within the community and on this basis, how the community can be more effective in their use of tourism to support language. The literature review evaluates and analyses six relevant studies in addition to a number of indigenous tourism and language planning strategies. Broadly, the studies consider tourism and language in relation to resident and visitor migration (Phillips & Thomas, 2001), guided tours and visitor interest (Zeppel, 2001), cultural change and identity (Beard-Moose, 2004), language persistence and choice (Snow, 2004), cultural empowerment (Greathouse-Amador, 2005b), and language vitality as a measure of cultural resistance to development (Burusphat et al., 2010). Broadly, the use of language within these contexts covered cultural interpretation (written and spoken), signage and promotional materials, and community and visitor

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6 The languages and cultural groups represented include Gaelic (Scotland), Thai (Thailand), Romansch (Switzerland), Welsh (Wales), Hul’q’umi’num (Cowichan First Nation), Tsalagi (Cherokee First Nation), Creole English (Bastimentos, Caribbean), Nahuat (Cuetzland, Mexico).
education. Key aspects addressed in the tourism and language-planning strategies consider the issues in relation to the role of the community (Assembly First Nations, 2007), cultural centres and revitalization (Ignace & Jim, 2005), visitor interest and intangible heritage (Whyte, Hood & White, 2012), and employee training and building a sense of place through language (AtBC, 2005; Kanahele, 1994; Mā te Reo, 2012). While these development studies outline the potential use of tourism to expand visibility and accessibility to language, they offer few means of implementation. What is absent is an understanding of how to reposition language use appropriately within community-based tourism initiatives. The noted gaps in the literature and the level of interest evident within the tourism planning and language strategies serve to situate this work in relation to current understandings of indigenous tourism and language development issues.

The progressive use of language within community-based tourism initiatives is the affective use of the community’s voice in creating choices and a space within the tourism industry. Affective because it is a causal action as opposed to a responsive action. Hollinshead (1998), drawing on the work of Homi Bhabha, suggests that tourism is potentially a perfect forum for the “productive action in and of culture,” but predicates that forum to one wherein peoples and cultures affectively negotiate and create that place for themselves (p. 128). Interestingly, Hollinshead (1998) suggests that it is within the process of “articulating” place that action begins, that is, the reclamation of place through language. Bhabha (1994) notes Foucault’s belief that it is within the every day and mundane events of life that our ways of thinking about culture and identity become concretised. Hollinshead (1998) uses this point to argue that as researchers we often get caught up, “in the macro-level character of racism, ethnicity, and selfhood” whereas we should be “encouraged to examine some of the micro phenomena of being, identity, and alterity” (p. 130).

When language is largely understood as a means of communication, there can be a tendency to underestimate its relevance to indigenous peoples in a variety of contexts and
hence becomes subsumed within macro-level discussions (Nino, 2013; Mohan, 2008). At the micro-level, I would posit that as unique marker of identity, language is potentially one of the few places wherein selfhood and identity can be clearly articulated and transformed at the discretion and purpose of a community of speakers and non-speakers. Developing a deeper understanding of language use within tourism initiatives from the perspective of the Haida community is central to this thesis. However, expanding the discussion outside that of the foundational study site, to Hawai‘i and Aotearoa, created an opportunity to exchange culturally appropriate experiences and insights to inform a broader discussion on indigenous language use in tourism.

This broader discussion is central to understanding how tourism, as a tool of choice, can support language revitalization and language development across cultural contexts and settings—applied locally. To facilitate this, the research was conducted in 2012 and carried out in two phases: drawing on three separate, yet linked, sets of experiences in Haida Gwaii, Hawai‘i, and Aotearoa. In phase one, fieldwork was undertaken in Haida Gwaii (Skidegate and Old Massett) to gain an understanding of language and tourism issues at the community level. In phase two, key organisations and individuals with knowledge of tourism and language issues in Hawai‘i (Big Island, Kaua‘i, and O‘ahu) and Aotearoa (Te Ika a Maui, North Island and Te Wai Pounau, South Island) shared their experiences and perspectives to inform the discussion in Haida Gwaii.

The two phases were connected using the core themes to come out of Haida Gwaii as the basis for entering into a dialogue on language and tourism issues with the Hawaiian and Māori communities. These themes focused on the relevance of the language, the impact of historic events on language use, language and tourism resources, stewardship of language, and the vision and challenges of supporting language use within community-based initiatives. In this way, the foundational study site of Haida Gwaii remained central to the research questions, while drawing on the knowledge and experience of these diverse communities.
Haida Gwaii, Phase I:

Objective:

To identify the ways in which language is integrated into tourism products and services and clarify the role of the community in supporting language use within tourism settings.

The research considers the relevance and relational context of using the language of the Haida within tourism products and services. As the core expression of their relationship with the land, the language belies one-dimensional understandings that reside only on the façade of a poster or t-shirt. Within the worldview of the Haida, their language cannot be constrained in such a way. Within tourism products and services, the language retains intrinsic relationships within the community whether by tangible and intangible expressions of meaning and holds within itself the past and present experiences of the Haida. Examples of this include the use of place names, artistic heritages, and the community resources in place to support language learning in tourism contexts. The collective role of the community is multi-dimensional and contained within a complex set of language relationships and cultural contexts, supporting culturally relevant and culturally appropriate use of the language within tourism initiatives and related settings.

Hawai‘i and Aotearoa, Phase II:

Objective:

To identify shared experiences and insights into language use and tourism issues and those valued practices that support culturally appropriate language use.

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7 Toponomy: place-names or language or…the etymological study of them (www.merriam-webster.com). The use of “place names” in this thesis is not intended to situate itself within empiricism; rather the term connotes a relationship with place, history, events, and life ways. See also, critical toponomy (Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009).
The research expands the context in which tourism and language issues are experienced in Haida Gwaii, to consider those of the Hawai‘i kamaʻāina (native born) and the Māori of Aotearoa. The Hawaiian and Māori experiences of tourism and language issues differ greatly within historical and cultural contexts, yet their perspectives offer critical insights into the possibilities and pitfalls of using language within tourism initiatives. These perspectives reflect very diverse experiences within the broader tourism industry, resulting in the development of a number of unique valued practices that are supporting language use within the immediate and extended community of speakers and non-speakers. The selection of these case study sites (Hawai‘i and Aotearoa) as opposed to sites in North America, Australia, or the South Pacific was based on a number of factors. A key consideration was that these sites were of interest to the Haida, particularly as regards advances made in tourism development by the Māori in Aotearoa and that of language revitalization in Hawai‘i. While some other sites in North America may have offered advantages by virtue of their proximity (regionally or coastally) to Haida Gwaii, these sites did not offer the same degree of involvement or exposure within historical and evolving tourism contexts.

1.3 Methodology and Approach

One of my early influences in approaching this research was the work of Tuhiwai Smith (2012) who addresses the impact of western ideologies and research practices on indigenous peoples. In keeping with the writings of Edward Said (1979) who details the process of “othering” in historic and modern discourse, Tuhiwai Smith (1999) writes back to articulate how research practices perpetuate colonial and hegemonic practices through the influence and adherence to western ways of generating knowledge. Tuhiwai Smith argues that such research serves only to affirm and vivify the voice of the non-indigenous western community. However, Long and LaFrance (2004) argue that Tuhiwai Smith’s approach, while
valid and understandable, may limit non-indigenous researchers who are working to develop culturally appropriate methodologies to the benefit of indigenous peoples.

Bishop (1996, 2010) also addresses this concern, stating that non-Māori should be participating in collaborative research for two reasons. First, because there are highly trained professionals, “willing to work within Māori controlled contexts,” and second that, “to leave it all to Māori people is to abrogate their responsibilities as Treaty partners” (p. 18; see also Tolich, 2002). Bishop highlights two central concepts here, “control” and “responsibility” addressing underlying values of self-determination and ethics within the research context. Wilson (2007, 2008), a Cree scholar from Canada, states his belief that, “An Indigenist paradigm can be used by anyone who chooses to follow its tenets” (p. 193). These tenets reflect an understanding that I am not separate from the research process and that I must hold myself accountable to the community, the ancestors, and the environment (physically and spiritually) (Wilson, 2007). As a non-indigenous researcher, I use an Indigenist methodology while drawing on aspects of participatory action and narrative research. The approach is supported on the basis that this research (a) originated from within the Haida community, (b) was relevant to the needs of the community, (c) support an existing relationship with the community, and (d) key representatives wanted to work with me.8

While these components will be discussed further in the methods section, they are critical to developing a research agenda that enriches rather than denigrates indigenous peoples, Weber-Pillwax (2001b) and Wilson (2008) argue that they are still insufficient to meet the standards required of an indigenous paradigm. Wilson states that an indigenous paradigm “is a set of underlying beliefs that guide our actions” (2008, p. 13). This moves the conversation outside that of merely collaborating on a research topic of mutual interest–to one

8 The noted relationships and connections with the Haida community began while doing my Master’s research on community-based development in Haida Gwaii in 2010. This work identified “language” as an issue not fully addressed in the literature and within the context of cultural stewardship examined “(a) the relevance of language to the culture, (b) preserving the language as proof of occupation, and (c) the growing role of community-based planning in ecotourism development” (Whitney-Squire, 2011, p. 121).
wherein the research process is guided by the beliefs and values of the community. As a non-indigenous person, this is no small challenge as stepping outside of one’s own belief systems is not something easily done.

The approach used to carry out this research grew out of the Haida’s own questions (Appendix J–Phase I) around how they might make better use of tourism initiatives to support and encourage greater language use in their communities. These questions broadly informed the development of research questions that centred on how language was used in past and present day contexts, how the language is shared with visitors, where people tended to use the language the most, and what the community was doing to support language use. Beyond this, there was a desire to explore how language was being incorporated within tourism products and services elsewhere and to explore alternative ways of supporting language development using revenues generated through tourism initiatives.

The decision to seek out the wisdom and experiences of the Hawaiian and Māori peoples was based on the Haida’s own knowledge of historic and genealogical links with these communities. It was also felt that the long history of tourism development in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa might shed light on the issues faced by these communities and generate insights and valued practices that the Haida could then use to establish an effective language-based tourism program. This approach required the development of two distinct, yet linked, sets of research questions; namely, those stemming from the research objectives noted above. (See Appendix J–Phase I and Phase II).

**Researcher Background**

My interest in language and tourism issues came about while conducting fieldwork for my master’s research in Haida Gwaii, Canada in 2010, the purpose of which was to develop a deeper understanding of the relationship between aboriginal ecotourism and community-based development initiatives (Whitney-Squire, 2011). It was at that time I realized the Haida’s adaptive and innovative strategy to incorporate the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil (Haida
language) into the on-going management and production of tourism products and services at the Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnaagay, for the benefit of the broader community.

At that time, my understanding of community-based development was strongly influenced by Mike Bell (1999a, 1999b) who has worked extensively with aboriginal peoples in northern Canada. Bell advocates that successful development in communities can only occur when initiatives begin and end with the establishment or re-establishment of aboriginal peoples’ relationships with the land and with each other, i.e., the people. In contrast, I had spent several years working as a research and policy analyst for government: a ridged environment based on the equitable application of legislation, policy, and programs in the Yukon Territory, Canada. While I did not work directly with aboriginal peoples at that time, Bell’s approach exposed me to new ways of thinking about community development and has informed much of my own understanding as to the underlying relationships that are bound together through language.

I was also influenced by my upbringing in a remote, northern area of Canada. The Yukon Territory is far removed from the “outside” world and until I left to further my education later in life, my exposure to the issues discussed in this dissertation was limited, although I do have an uncle, by marriage, who is the last speaker of Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in or People of the River (Dawson City). My heritage is of European/American descent; I do not speak a second language and I can never fully understand or comprehend indigenous ways of viewing the world. Outside of Canada, I am a houle or pakeha (a stranger) in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa respectively and in this regard, I am an outsider to the indigenous communities with whom I have worked. Williams (2011) highlights the importance of understanding one’s etic perspective as a researcher as, “the etic view lacks that special ‘insider’ understanding gained from prolonged exposure to a culture and can, therefore, lead to misinterpretations” (p. 109).

However, developing a relationship with and a commitment to the Haida community has been central to gaining a deeper understanding of my own strengths and limitations in
carrying out this research. This relationship was facilitated by the months of volunteer work I did at the Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnagaay while conducting my masters and doctoral research. I am truly the student in every sense and it is the Haida who have allowed me to share in their world. Kii’iljuus, an elder in the Haida community, asked me once, “What will your legacy be?” (Field journal, June, 2012). This question has very much influenced my sense of accountability to the Haida community while at the same time acknowledging and affirming a relationship wherein I can research with the community and endeavour to privilege the voice of the Haida, rather than my own (Fleras, 2004; Koster, Baccar, & Lemelin, 2012).

1.4 Language of the Haida (Xaayda kil / Xaad kil)

Long and Dickason (2000) state that language reflects the worldview of the speakers: each is unique and linked to the life ways of a particular people and place. Language is critical to the transmission of culture and “is a symbol of group identity to the extent that language and identity are inseparable” (Long & Dickason, 2000, p. 217). There are eleven major indigenous language groups in Canada, within each of these groups are a number of related language families and dialects (Long & Dickason, 2000). Although few in number, the language of the Haida is an isolated language group in its own right as it has no linguistic basis within any of the other major language groups (Lachler, 2010; Levine, 1997).

Today, there are two dialects of the language still spoken in Haida Gwaii: Northern Haida from the Old Massett region and Southern Haida from the Skidegate region. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the number of speakers by dialect, by population, and community.\(^9\)

\(^9\) A full discussion of issues concerning the Alaskan dialect is outside the scope of this study.

\(^{10}\) Only those who self identified as aboriginal at the time of the Census are included (Statistics Canada, 2012).
Table 1

*Knowledge of Haida Language*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect / Village</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skidegate (Southern Haida)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Massett (Northern Haida)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skidegate</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Massett</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 2011 data for the two communities not available (May, 2013).
Source: 1) Statistics Canada (2012)
        2) Aboriginal Affairs & Northern Development Canada (2012).\(^{11}\)

The table indicates there were upwards of 160 speakers of the Haida language in 2006; however, this contradicts estimates provided by international organizations as follows,

- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2011): 55 speakers\(^{12}\)
- Alliance for Linguist Diversity, Endangered Language Projects (2010): 34 speakers\(^{13}\)

The discrepancies result from varying considerations; for example, the age of speakers, place of residence, mother tongue issues, proximity of dominant language groups, and other factors (Moseley, 2010). Further, distinctions between the types of speakers, for example, fluent

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\(^{13}\) See Endangered Languages interactive map at [http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/lang/hdn](http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/lang/hdn)

speakers and language learners can affect the noted estimates (McDonald, 2011). In 2010, Dr. Jordan Lachler, a linguist specializing in the Alaskan dialect estimates, “only about 50 speakers remain in all of the Haida communities” (p. 8). Lachler considers the language one of the most endangered in the world.

The Haida language (Xaayda kil or Xaad kil) is considered a language isolate and is not linked linguistically to any of the other seven language families spoken within the province of British Columbia (Krause, 1998; Levine, 1997; Long & Dickason, 1996; Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). As a language isolate, the Haida language expresses a unique way of being in and thinking about the world (Bell & Weir, 2013; Long & Dickason, 2000; Sdaahl Kaawaas in Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). The unique nature of the Haida language manifests in several ways. For example,

1) **Shape classifiers**: The manner of counting differs from other languages. Groupings are visualized and not itemized/counted separately. For example, “cat two” or “two animal-shaped killer whales.” Both the shape and function is important.

2) **Assembly of words**: Action words fall at the end of statements rather than at the beginning as is common in English, i.e., “Jeff berry ate.”

3) **Associations made with animals**: Animals and the environment are used and express relationships with core beliefs and values. For example, plants are often linked to animals, i.e., a pea pod is literally “Raven’s canoe.”

4) **Different concepts**: The use of “direct past form” and “the indirect past” allows speakers to identify personal knowledge of an event, something not used in English.

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15 Fluent speaker, semi-speaker, and language learner are broad designations indicating the stage of language learning. (The classifications are largely attributed to Nancy Dorian, (1978) and used frequently by local Haida for this purpose. (The original source was not obtained.)

16 The word for *Haida language* differs by dialect. In Alaska and Old Massett the words are “Xaad” (Haida) and “kil” (language). In Skidegate the words are Xaayda (Haida) and “kil” (language).
5) Different cultural thinking: Humour is often used to describe the difference in cultural thinking—humour does not translate well to English. (Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011, p. 21, 45, 49)

Today, interested members of the community with knowledge of the language, work with semi-speakers and new learners in Old Massett and Skidegate to help them advance in their language skills and the knowledge of their ancestors and cultural (Jackson, 2011; Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). Outside the educational system, these language workshops and programs are central to local and regional efforts to rebuild the Haida dialects (Borserio, cited in Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). Efforts are also underway to develop a Master Apprentice Program in each of the communities given the critical level of language endangerment (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012).

Established in the late 1990s the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program was the result of a summer initiative organized to revive interest in the language (Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). However, work to restore the dialects began in the 1970s when families began trying to teach the language to their children and by the 1980s, there were fledgling programs being used in the schools (Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). The goal of the program is to revitalize the Xaayda kil—that it once more be the language spoken in their homes. Funding for the program has been provided by the Skidegate Band Council and various other grant agencies over the years, but recent budget cuts have impacted negatively on the program to the point where staff have been affected (Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). The program relies heavily on the volunteer efforts of a small but dedicated group of elders who meet five days a week for 10 months of the year: producing instructional CDs,  

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17 1) Skidegate Haida Immersion Program: The goal of the program is to preserve and revitalize the Skidegate Haida Language. Elders and community members have been working since the late 1990s to document and record the language. They are active in producing learning materials and are invaluable resource for the community. (www.ravencallingproductions.ca/language.php)
2) Haida Language Society (Xaad Kihlgaa Hl Su.u Society) (Old Massett): The goal of the society is to facilitate language efforts in Old Massett. Elders and community members are working to record and preserve the Northern Dialect for future generations. (www.gwaittrust.com)
small phrase books, translating songs and stories, and documenting over eleven thousands words in Xaadya kil (Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). Those involved in the program have also worked with regional and local tourism initiatives: for example, the Haida Gwaii Museum, Gwaii Haanas National Park and Haida Heritage Site, the Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnagaay, and others to ensure accuracy of place-names, narratives, and texts (Whitney-Squire, 2011).

Efforts to revitalize the Old Massett Xaad kil began in 1995 when several people interested in learning the language began to meet (Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). While the group grew slowly, the Haida Language Society began fund raising efforts and worked in participation with Simon Fraser University in Vancouver to develop accredited courses (Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). Of particular interest to this study is the fact that this group travelled as a contingent to New Zealand in 1997 in order to study the Te Kohanga Reo Language Nests—starting their own program in 2004/2005. In recent years, Dr. Jordan Lachler (Yáahl K’ánggwdangaa), from Simon Fraser University has taught online courses via video conferencing and worked with the communities to develop picture books, and video projects to assist learners (Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). In addition, age appropriate language materials for students from pre-school to grade four have been developed and are available for home and other uses. Steedman and (Jisgang) Collison estimate that there are less than 10 fluent speakers of the Old Massett dialect remaining, few of whom are under 75 years of age (2011). This immersion program models the Te Kohanga Reo program and today the group meets three to four times per week for 10 months of each year (Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011).

The effort of the communities to revitalize the language represents a deep conviction on the part of speakers to ensure that the knowledge of their ancestors passes to future generations (Steedman, & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). Despite the many obstacles faced, the

18 “Xaad Kil GwaanyganGec” Language Nest, administered by Xaad Kihlgaa Hl Suu.u Language Society (p. 53).
19 Dr. Lachler is currently with the University of Alberta, Canada.
achievements made thus far are the direct result of these dedicated organizations and
volunteers. However, despite the successes, the community is aware that the strength of the
language continues to decline with the loss of each elder. Although funding is available
through various agencies, such as the First People’s Cultural Foundation, the communities
have insufficient resources to support their work.\textsuperscript{20} It is within this context the Haida Heritage
Centre began to look for alternative ways to bring language into the daily lives of the
community—using community-based tourism as a resource to encourage its use.

1.5 Never Ever Use a Word You Don’t Understand

One of the challenges I faced in undertaking my doctoral studies was the use of terms
of which I was not overly familiar. While I had heard and used the words below, I was not
fully aware of the deeper meanings and values that these words can hold and express.
Developing a deeper understanding and experience of certain words and concepts grew, in
part, out of a reflexive process of journaling and blogging on my part. S. Wilson (2008)
would describe this process as a way of connecting myself to the community—a way of
relating my experiences to the people with whom I have a relationship.

Within the research context, this means that there is an express understanding of
relational accountability wherein the researcher, and hence the research, forms part of a
community—a set of relationships (Wilson, 2001). Sharing these experiences in the form of
stories or narratives is one way in which I am able to maintain my connection with the
community. I share the following vignette as a means of highlighting my present
understanding of three concepts that can reflect unintended meanings and positions.

\textsuperscript{20} The foundation provides programs and funding for aboriginal peoples of British Columbia. See
What is "Indigenous?"

Field journal

While I was in Hawai‘i, I met a gentleman who kindly took it upon himself to talk story with me. Over the course of several days and many hours, I came to understand more clearly the reverence held for the ancestors and kupunas (elders) of the Hawaiian people. He explained and demonstrated the importance of asking for permission before entering into sacred places and how the actions of some visitors can desecrate these places. At the time we were standing near an ocean side bathing area of a resort and I had asked him what was wrong with the concept of, “indigenous” as a word. He didn't tell me the answer directly, but rather shared short stories with me. He pointed across the small bay to the rocks beyond and asked me what I saw. I told him that I saw "inukshuks" (land markers used by the Inuit to guide them home) that the guests at the resort had erected. He showed me a cement post that was attached to a chain link fence that ran the length of two properties—defining the boundaries. He asked me what the purpose was for a person in my culture to place the stones in these little piles or build a fence such as the one shown to me.

I didn't have a ready answer so he asked what it was that I thought they were doing. As there was still no great response on my part, he explained that they were setting markers or claiming their spot so to speak—claiming territory. He said that every night he goes over there and knocks them down. His point being that you cannot claim the land like this. To the Western way of thinking we want to take and claim things - identify things in some way as our own - that this was an act of selfishness. To the Western way of thinking we want to build fences, create categories, separate things into little piles so we know what is our own and what is another's. It is our way of defining the boundaries of our physical, intellectual and spiritual spaces. He explained that the Hawaiian way of thinking is that the land is not something one can own— that we are part of the land and that the land is part of us. That we spring from the land and return to the land—that the land nor anything else is something to be cut up and categorized so one can take ownership, i.e., claim it as our own. To do so is arrogant and offensive. Never having answered the question directly, I was able to take away that the "word" indigenous is a way for the western mind to define and claim who and what someone is so they can retain ownership of it - in disrespect to the people and the land from which they come. (Whitney-Squire, September 15, 2012)
One of the meanings conveyed with the term *indigenous* is that it portrays incredibly diverse cultures and peoples as a single homogenous group. In his book, “Orientalism,” Said (1997) shows that such terms can be put to political use in the sense that they serve to objectify and de-humanize people. Used this way, the term carries with it the thoughts and beliefs of those using the term “whether it be ‘subject’ or ‘object’ …a constitutive otherness, of an essential character” (p. 97). Said goes further, stating that the process of “othering” interjects its own historic meanings into a context of *choiceless* passivity (1997). The gentleman in the story above makes a further point—the term seeks to separate him from his own core relationship with the land, which is why every evening he knocks the inukshuks down.

Often the term conveys a strategic political alliance (Bowen, 2000). However, Bowen cautions that the term can have a universalizing effect that should not be applied consistently across all situations and localities. He argues that concepts of indigenous should be understood at a regional level and more broadly as a political alliance. This position is reflected in the definition adopted by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The concept *indigenous* is understood as having “no universal and unambiguous definition of the concept of ‘indigenous peoples,’ but there are a number of criteria by which indigenous peoples globally can be identified and from which each group can be characterised” (www.iwgia.org). These are linked to criteria used by the International Labour Organization, which states, “people are considered indigenous either: because they are descendants of those who lived in the area before colonization; or because they have maintained their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions since colonization and the establishment of new states” (www.iwgia.org). I use the term within this context.

**What is “Culture”?**

My understanding of *culture* as a concept is that it reflects freely chosen expressions of identity by individuals or groups. These expressions of identity are often referred to as “cultural markers” by scholars and may or may not include language, traditions, practices,
religion, behaviours, affinity to land/place, shared history, shared goals, and other relevant factors. Said (1994) suggests that culture must function in relative autonomy to external factors and embrace an intrinsic union between individuals and members of the group. Grammond (2009) posits that the most important consideration is that concepts of culture have moved away from racialized constructs of identity wherein “relevant factors” are believed to reflect genetic and essentialized differences between groups, that is, from explained to not explained. The following vignette offers a Haida perspective,

**Life Ways, Not Culture**

**Kii’iljuus**

*Kii’iljuus* is a Haida elder that I met almost three years ago and a person who I have come to admire and respect. She is one of those rare individuals that challenges your ways of thinking, yet does so in a way that makes you a part of her story. The last time we spoke, she explained that to her “culture” was a colonial attitude applied to a people. “A way of looking at people whether it’s New Zealand, Hawai’i, or Haida Gwaii. It’s a way of looking at people … with preconceived ideas of what it should mean and so I’ve chosen to use ‘life ways’ instead because this is about our life, and this is who we are, and this is how we live.” She went on to say that this was a better way of interacting with people. *(Interview, June 23, 2012)*

Her words reflect Garamond’s concern (2009) that the word is understood as a replacement for “race,” who advocates instead for the use of “relational conceptions of ethnicity…[wherein] the cultural features, or ‘markers,’ that group members use in identifying themselves…[develop] in the course of social interaction” (p. 11; see also Battiste, 2004; Linnekin and Poyer, 1996). From this perspective, culture is a reflection of individual and group choice taking into consideration internal factors affecting social change and development. It is to this flexible, freely chosen, and relational construct of culture that I ascribe, however, I prefer the elder’s use of the phrase “life ways” and have chosen to use this where possible. The following vignette makes the link to their language,
What is “Identity?”

Nika

One of the most oft repeated statements of those I spoke with while in Haida Gwaii was, “What will we call ourselves if we don’t have our language”. The other, “How can you call yourself a Haida when you don’t speak your language?” Nika explained that when she first started to learn the language she felt this was an incredibly hurtful thing to say and heard this or similar statements from many people in the community. But, Nika says, “the elders aren’t saying that you are not Haida, they are trying to tell people how important the language is—that the language contains us.” (Interview, June 28, 2012)

The link between language and identity as individuals and as a community was unmistakable. However, as with concepts of culture, concepts of identity have tended to be impressed upon indigenous peoples especially within tourism contexts. Amoamo and Carr (2010) speak to this, raising concerns of misrepresentations of Māori “image, tribal identities, and cultural difference” within tourism contexts (p. 36). Concepts of identity are very closely linked to that of culture, that is, it must be flexible, freely chosen, and relational to the situation of the individual or group (Macleod, 2004). In practical terms, one’s identity can be used to establish entitlement to, or association with something, but also reflects a deep human need to belong. Speaking from a Marxist perspective: Held (2011) advocates that one’s identity is relational to two things (a) our physical needs and (b) our need to belong.21

Regarding the latter, he suggests that the need to belong must establish itself in opposition to conformity, that is, individually or collectively one must establish difference as a means of “distinguishing between the self and other people” (p. 36). It is this sense of differentiation that creates rootedness or relatedness and is foundational to feelings of self-worth and security (Held, 2011). My understanding of the concept leans towards identity as relational to our sense of belonging and less so in terms of one’s physical needs. This

21 Held discusses Marx from the perspective that individual wellness must stem from freely chosen activities and that identity is an inherently social activity (Held, 2011).
construct is foundational to self-worth and empowerment and reflects an approach that is respectful of difference and supports actions that serve to better the condition of indigenous peoples.

However, the topic of identity is complex and while outside the scope of this thesis, theories around identity formation and identity expression touch on concepts of selfhood (Carl Rogers 1902–1987), social or group membership (Henri Tajfel 1919–1982), and by extension the boundaries established between and within those groups (John Turner 1947 – 2011). Broadly, the theoretical discourse within tourism studies considers the representation of cultural identity within the media (Amoamo, 2007), the use of tourism as a political tool to establish social and physical boundaries (Henry, 2000; Zeppel, 2013), the deconstruction and reconstruction of identity perceptions (Elias-Varotis, 2006), and aspects of cultural tourism as an expression of social agency (Henry, 2000).

Social agency, as argued by Henry (2000), suggests that authenticity shifts identity beyond the realm of economic or political reality to one wherein the embodied acquisition of culture through dance empowers place—allowing the past to remain in the present (p. 331). The tourism discourse also explores identity attachment to place, landscape, and the interpretation or experience of place (Carr, 2004; de la Barre, 2012; Zeppel, 2010). Language is ascribed great significance in the role of identity formation, one in which Jaworsky and Thurlow (2013) posit occurs within complex objective and subjective dimensions. The focus

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of this thesis is to consider language from the perspective of place as interpreted within the life ways of the Haida.

**What is the Relationality of Language?**

To understand the relationality of the language is to understand the intimacy of the relationship the Haida have with the islands of Haida Gwaii. The language was born out of their experience—the land shaped the language and in turn, the language shaped them as people. Hence knowledge, hence language, is place-based and unique as their experience of the land and place can only be expressed within that relationship. It understands that the Haida are not in a relationship with Haida Gwaii; rather that they are the relationship with Haida Gwaii (Wilson, 2008). The *presence* of this relationship with place is so fully expressed through the language that the language itself becomes the relationship—understood as the individual and collective identity of the Haida. This is expanded upon in subsequent chapters.

**What is Language Development and Language Revitalization?**

A final note here to the definitional concepts of *language revitalization* and *language development*. According to Long and Dickason (2000), language revitalization applies to endangered languages that are going through a shift to a dominant language and which must have the capacity to transmit the language inter-generationally restored. The focus of revitalization efforts is to increase the number of fluent first speakers (Long & Dickason, 2000). The focus of language development is the provision of tools to support language use wherein programs and initiatives serve to encourage second language learners (beginners and semi-speakers) through language promotion for the purpose of language maintenance (Long & Dickason, 2000).
1.6 Thesis Structure and Review of Chapters

This introductory chapter outlines the rationale and background for undertaking this research and provides support for the stated objectives. There are nine remaining chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 form the basis of the literature review. Chapter 2 outlines current theories on language acquisition and indigenous perspectives on the relevance and origins of language, in addition to a brief discussion on correlations within linguistic relativity and poststructuralist theory. Chapter 3 analyses six relevant studies that examine aspects of language and tourism issues at the community level. This chapter also examines additional literature and that of secondary non-academic strategic planning documents, which query the use of tourism as a means of supporting language development.

Chapter 4 is an overview of the foundational study site, Haida Gwaii. A general overview of historic and present day life ways is provided, including their social structures, values and beliefs, oral histories, and a creation myth. The physical geography of the islands is described in relation to the relevance of historic place names, key historic events affecting the progressive decline of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil (Haida language). Information is also provided on provided on the legislative and educational context of language use in the community and the Haida’s emerging and growing involvement in the tourism industry.

Chapter 5 outlines the rationale for using an indiginist methodology to conduct this research, drawing on participatory and narrative inquiry as a means of working closely with the Haida community (Bishop, 1996; O’Riley, 2004; Wilson, 2008). The chapter details the approach to conducting this research in relation to principles of engaging with the community (Atkinson, 2001; Battiste, 2008). Western constructs of metaphysics and epistemology are contrasted to that of Hawaiian, Māori, and Haida approaches to creating indigenous knowledge, focusing on wholism as the foundational and underlying approach to working with these diverse communities. The final section describes the research methods used and the level of community engagement.
Chapters 6, 7, and 8 comprise the key findings of this research. Chapters 6 and 7 present the findings from Haida Gwaii: chapter 8 the findings from Hawai‘i and Aotearoa. Chapter 6 reviews the meaning and relevance of the language, placing the current state of the language within the context of historical events affecting the progressive decline in the number of speakers. Chapter 7 considers community perspectives on how the Xaayda kil / Xaayd kil can be repositioned appropriately within community-based tourism contexts and examines the effectiveness of stewarding the language by supporting multidimensional language relationships within and outside the immediate speaking community.

Chapter 8 outlines the shared experiences, key insights, and valued practices around the use of language within tourism contexts in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa. Key insights and experiences include the critical need for language resources with the broader tourism industry, the growing need for speakers in educational tourism, and supports families who choose to speak the language, amongst others. Key examples at ten tourism initiatives across a range of tourism settings wherein language plays a central role exemplifies the range of culturally appropriate opportunities available within community-based and tourism related initiatives.

Chapter 9 begins with a synopsis of the major findings, followed by a discussion of those findings in relation to the current literature. The discussion places the findings in relation to the objectives of the study; considering (a) why the language should be integrated within tourism products and services, (b) how the community is supporting language use in those contexts, and (c) what must be done to reposition language appropriately within tourism contexts. A language-based tourism framework demonstrates the interconnected language relationships at work and the cultural and historical context in which they rest. Chapter 10 presents the conclusions and relevant recommendations, reflections on my learning experience, the contribution to knowledge, and areas where further research is required.
2. Language Theories and Indigenous Perspectives

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully consider issues relating to the field of linguistics, the following overview will provide readers with a basic understanding of the significant theories. While these theories are broadly oriented to idealist or realist philosophies (nature versus nurture), I acknowledge that they differ greatly from that of the Haida who understand that their language comes from the land (Guujaaw quoted in Gill, 2009). However, the scientific study of language contributed directly to the differentiation of peoples based on language and informed empiricist views of superiority (Said, 1978). These views supported rationalizations that led to justifications for colonization and the implementation of race-based social reforms and programs. These related issues will be addressed further in chapter four.

2.1 Significant Language Theories

Today, the work of linguists informs understandings of cognitive development, language acquisition, educational instruction, and the preservation and documentation of endangered and other languages. There are four significant themes within linguistics, which underpin the various theories advanced by scholars in an attempt to explain the whys and wherefores of language acquisition. These themes include, Behaviourist Views, Social Cognitive Perspectives, Nativist theories, and Social Cultural theories (Johnson, 2011). The following discussion provides an overview of each of these theories, followed by a discussion of indigenous perspectives on language and that of linguistic relatively and correlations with poststructuralist thought.

This historic use of language to differentiate peoples has given way to present day understandings where all languages are considered sophisticated, in which structuralism and post structuralism traditions have articulated expanding concepts of signs and meaning (Belsey, 2002; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Pinker, 2012).

Examples of the “social reforms and programs” include the banning of cultural practices like the potlatch and the segregation of students at residential schools, wherein those speaking their own language were punished.

Within the field of anthropology (the study of humans), linguistics is a sub-field in addition to ethnography, ethnohistory, physical anthropology, and archaeology (McMillan & Yellowhorn, 2004).
**Behaviourist language theory**

Behaviourist views consider language acquisition to be a process of reinforcement and reward, wherein a child builds neuro-networks within the brain over time to support language acquisition (Johnson, 2011). In outlining the history of behaviourist theories, Kymissis and Poulson (1990) describe Thorndyke’s turn-of-the-century theory of connectionism as “the original stimulus-response-consequence psychology of learning” (p. 113). The premise is that learning occurs in response to situational reward, that is, the correct response producing favourable outcomes (Kymissis & Poulson, 1990). The foundation of the theory rested on the “phenomenon of imitation in human and nonhuman behaviour” (p. 114). Critics of this theory note concern over what constitutes “imitation,” whether by instinct (nativist view) or by conditioning (reflexive learning) as posited by Pavlov and Humphrey in the 1920s (Johnson, 2010a; Kymissis & Poulson, 1990).

Departing from the stimulus-response approach, B.F. Skinner (1904-1990) theorized that learning processes must also consider the actions of the subject, that is, “operant conditioning” or responses emitted by subjects (Hilgard, 1988; Kymissis & Poulson, 1990). In this approach, the learning process is seen as an exchange between the leaner and external stimuli (Hilgard, 1988). More recent behavioural theories, focus on the cyclical nature of responses-stimulus patterns as forming imitative reinforcement between subjects and stimuli. Kymissis and Poulson (1990), tend to support the work of Baer and Deguchi (1985) who argued that first language acquisition could not be fully explained by imitation alone.

Chomsky argued strongly against Skinner’s behaviourist models, suggesting that not only were the methods employed erroneous, but also that it was not possible to acquire complex abstract knowledge by such simple means (1967, para. 11). Baer and Deguchi advanced the

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theory of “generalized imitation” through positive and negative conditioned-reinforcement to achieve desired learning outcomes. Kymissis & Poulson (1990) suggest that the theory of generalized imitation may be foundational to understanding first language acquisition as the theory can account for the development of speech forms initiated by the learner rather than external stimuli.

**Social cognitive language theory**

Social cognitive perspectives view language development as a process of role modelling and the imitation of others (Johnson, 2011). Related theories posit that language results from “social interactive cognitive thinking,” which is encouraged by adults who provide corrective feedback and responses to verbal exchanges (Johnson, 2011, 1:18). The work of Jean Piaget (1896–1980) is central to theories of social cognitive perspectives (Kozulin, 1986). The premise of Piaget’s theory follows a progression of a child’s early egocentric functions of thought, which are subconscious or autistic in nature, to later stages wherein their conscious or “directed thoughts” have an aim or purpose (Kozulin, 1986).29 Piaget’s (1896-1980) theories suggested that children went through a series of four stages in which language development and reasoning gradually increased through to adulthood. Broadly, these stages included (a) sensorimotor stage (experience through five senses, (b) preoperational stage (cannot use logical thinking, (c) concrete operational stage (thinking logically), and (d) formal operational stage (abstract reasoning) (Anonymous, 2010).

The stages of directed thought are essentially social in nature and are formulated through experience and progressions in logic. In discussing Piaget’s theory, Kozulin (1986) states, “His conception of the development of thought is based on the premise … that child thought is originally and naturally autistic and changes to realistic thought only under long

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29 Autistic: 1) A mental condition, present from early childhood, characterized by great difficulty in communicating and forming relationships with other people and in using language and abstract concepts. 2) A mental condition in which fantasy dominates over reality, as a symptom of schizophrenia and other disorders. (Apple Dictionary, Version 2.1.2, 2005-2009.)
and sustained social pressure” (p. 13). This “long and sustained social pressure” takes the form of role modelling, imitation of older others, and repetition—referred to as “social interactive cognitive thinking” (Johnson, 2011). This approach to learning views language development as an internalized process wherein language comes from within supported by social interaction and experience. Kozulin’s (1986) main critique of the theory rests on understanding the role of an activity in play—that a child’s thinking is also affected by the stuff of their interactions—an issue Kozulin felt Piaget did not fully address. Kozulin argues that the inter-functional relationship between thought and word is not fully understood, suggesting an intrinsic relationship rather than separate and distinct processes (p. 3). Kozulin goes further to state that it is at the point of “word meaning” that thought and language unite, that is, “a generalized reflection of reality” (p. 5).

**Nativist language theory**

Nativist approaches understand language to be a “Universal human trait—all humans learn language and that they are hardwired to learning through exposure and immersion” (Johnson, 2011). Within this context, “hardwired” refers to a genetic predisposition to acquiring language (Johnson, 2011). William Stern (1871-1939), an early proponent of nativist views of language development, saw development rooted in “expressive tendency, the social, and the intentional” (Kozulin, 1986, p. 25). Stern understood expressive and social tendencies of language acquisition as something shared by many social animals and higher primates. However, the quality of being “intentional” is a singly human characteristic in which a child at some point is able to assign meaning to objects. Stern suggests that intentionality “is a driving force, an innate tendency, almost an urge, at any rate something primordial” (p. 26). At issue in nativist theory for Kozulin is the amorphous concept of “at some point”, which indicates a progression of advanced human speech wherein an ability to

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“mean” something reflects objective thought and intellectualization (Kozulin, 1986). Kozulin posits that while Stern’s theory reflects the close relationship between language and thought it fails to understand the necessity of a genetic explanation as to how, and at what point, a child is able to ascribe meaning to words. Other critics suggest that it is not possible for language to hold such universal patterns of application when such great diversity is found everywhere within the organization of the world’s languages (Evans & Levinson, 2009).

One of the most well known advocates of nativist theory is Noam Chomsky who uses the concept of a Language Acquisition Device (LAD), to describe the innate ability found in humans to learn language, a process triggered by exposure to and immersion in the language(s) they are exposed to (Johnson, 2011). Chomsky’s (1965) basic treatise on language can be summed up as, “The innate component of the mind/brain that yields knowledge of language when presented with linguistic experience, that converts experience to a system of knowledge” (Chomsky, 1986, p. xxvi). Chomsky views the principles and rules of grammar as foundational to what are universal applications of thought and logic as represented, for the most part, by intrinsically determined genetic instruction, that is, evolutionary processes (universal grammar). Interestingly, within the context of this study, is that Chomsky relates language to an expression of experience, which in turn relates to cultural or systems of knowledge. An outspoken political activist, Chomsky equates “the misuse or control of language” as a central tenet or tool of political states (1986, p. xxix), a viewpoint arguably grounded in historical patterns of imperialism and colonization.

At issue, for Chomsky is the inability of other theories to clarify or explain the gap between what he considers relatively simplistic cognitive inputs (systemic or cultural) and that would account for the depth and richness of people’s language abilities (1986). Critics of nativist or universal language theory express concern over what they consider to be a non-scientific approach to explaining the phenomenon of language acquisition (Hurford, Studdert-

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31 Chomsky describes Language Acquisition Device or LAD as the ability of a child to learn language on the basis of an innate knowledge of grammar—LAD a process/ability of the brain to learn language (1965).
Kennedy & Knight, 1998; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). Other scholars find the theory insufficient to explain the fast-paced changeability of language based on evolution/genetic change—evolutionary processes being significantly slower by comparison (Christiansen, Collins & Edelman, 2009).

**Social cultural Theory**

The remaining broad category of language theory is that of social cultural theory. Johnson (2011) suggests that while this theory is closely linked to that of the social cognitive perspective, emphasis is placed on “language as central to cognitive development” rather than cognitive processes as central to language development (2:23). A major proponent of this theory is that of Lev Vygotsky, who posited that early learning occurs through external stimuli provided by language, cultural, and social interactions, but progresses over time wherein learning occurs increasingly in response to internalized stimuli (Evans & Levinson, 2009; Johnson, 2010b). One of the central tenets of this theory is that of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), which describes optimal learning opportunities as midway between boredom and frustration (Johnson, 2010b).

Those familiar with Csikszentmihalyi’s “flow theory” in recreation and leisure will find the ZPD a familiar concept. Briefly, flow theory describes a state wherein people in an activity are in balance between the *challenge and skill level* (1990). Similarly, Moscardo (1996) uses “mindfulness” as described by Langer (1993), as a state wherein visitors are in balance between *control and influence* when exposed or “connected to interpretation at built heritage sites” (p. 382). Within social cultural language theory, the most successful learners are those pushed toward frustration and provided with assistance through self-help, mentoring, and teaching. This is referred to as a process of scaffolding (Johnson, 2010b).

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32 Lev Vygotsky (1896 – 1934).


34 Scaffolding is a means of providing supports to learners intended to augment learning in the ZPD. Scaffolding uses social interaction, collaboration, and cooperative learning to achieve learning objectives (Johnson, 2010b).
2.2 Indigenous Perspectives on Language

This section seeks to balance the preceding discussion on western constructs of language theory by considering the import of indigenous perspectives on language. However, there are no clearly defined theoretical categories to be outlined and explained as language is understood as a sacred gift and discussed by indigenous scholars as relational within an interconnected whole (Battiste, 2002; Gardner, 2004; McDonald, 2011; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Little Bear (2000) describes indigenous languages as action oriented, as they tend to describe events rather than objects and, “allow for the transcendence of boundaries,” because everything is connected within the relationship (p. 78). The following discussion briefly considers three areas foundational to understanding an indigenous perspective of language. These include (a) language and place, (b) language and orality, and (c) language and education. Some of the issues raised, are discussed in subsequent chapters as they relate to specific aspects of this study.

Language and Place

Indigenous peoples’ relationship with the land is recognized and understood as central to their identity. Wilson (2008), a Cree scholar and indigenous researcher, speaks of the land as the core or foundational relationship of indigenous peoples—that people will orient themselves to a place and their ancestors—the relationship in which one exists. Yet, this does not fully express his meaning—rather that the relationship is the relationship, that is, inseparable and indistinguishable one from the other. He writes, “we are the relationships that we hold and are part of …” (p. 80). In reference to an interview with Lewis Cardinal, who states, “the environment is knowledge….” Wilson makes the point that “knowledge is held in relationships and connections formed with the environment … that knowledge, theories and ideas are only knots in the strands of relationality …” (p. 86, 87). This concept of relationality
is affirmed by Stewart-Harawira who notes that indigenous knowledge stands within a cultural context the central tenet of which is “the interconnectedness of all existence” (2005, p. 155; see also Meyer, 2001; Sasakamoose & Waskewitch, 2008). Language is bound to place through these relationships as explained in the following vignette,

**Language is Place-Based**

*Field journal*

*Early in my work I spoke with a Māori tour operator who was the first to tell me that “All Māori are born knowing their language.” Aay Aay, the interpreter who worked with me in Haida Gwaii, shared a very similar perspective, that “we know Haida when we are born...through the years we forget and try to re-learn it again.” Another Haida proverb is, “the language comes from the land” (Gill, 2009). While I was not able to understand these statements initially, a gentleman in Hawai‘i was to help me.*

*In his talk story, he shared that when the people first came to Hawai‘i they were not Hawaiian; that it was only when the land had accepted them that they became Hawaiian. He went on to say that it was the land and their experiences of it that gave them their language. I now understand this to mean that the language was born out of their experience—that the land shaped the language and in turn, the language shaped them.*

*Hence knowledge, hence language is place-based and each is unique to a people—there are similarities as the land remains a constant, but each is distinct because each peoples’ experience of the land and place will be expressed differently.*

Conceptually, the above narrative reflects a deep and intrinsic relationship between the land and people as expressed by their language. “Language is the core medium for expressing and sharing indigenous knowledge of the land, and thus connects to the land through that knowledge” (Parker, p. 35, 2008). Understanding this connection to the land is intrinsic to orienting language as “pedagogy of place” as described by Lewis Cardinal in Wilson (2008). Within the context of place, language is understood as integral to indigenous knowledge systems that move beyond the makeup of the language “to include the thought processes embedded in the language, as well as how, who, where, and for what purposes the language is
used” (Barnhardt & Kawagley, p. 19, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Marsden, 1992). Further, Cajete (1994) states that learning from place “frames movement, energy and [the] conduct of individuals” (see also Sasakamoose & Waskewitch, 2008). Essentially, place-based knowledge orients language to integrated models of learning within a cultural context of land, home, and community (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 1999, 2005; Cajete, 1994).

In contrast to the preceding section that understands language as an objective/subjective consequence of nature and/or nurture, language is perceived as intrinsic to a set of relationships bound to place. My understanding of this “bond” is that language is the *rope* to Wilson’s “knots in the *strands* of relationality” as noted above (2008, p. 87). However, while language is bound to place and the knowledge created through the experience of that place, Alice Te Punga Somerville (2011) asserts that language as a “form of fire” can transcend place. She writes, “Where land is not under the control of physical occupation … [those] who do not reside on their traditional homelands [can assert] an active relationship with place” (p. 37; see also Hokowhitu et al. 2011). It is to this “transcendence of place” in which I orient my understanding of language as it allows one to remain within their relationship of place within multiple contexts and scenarios.

**Language and Orality**

The oral communication of … cultural practices is at the heart of “being” and its articulation through indigenous voice and mother tongue is critical to the preservation of indigenous thought and practice (Sasakamoose & Waskewitch, 2008, p. 13).

It would be an oversight to discuss indigenous perspectives on language without understanding the oral nature of language itself. Admittedly, I did not even think of my own language as being oral until reading some of the works of Walter Ong who posits that all languages are essentially oral in nature (2002). A rather obvious fact once you think about it and Ong’s writings suggest that the written word privileges western constructs and
conceptualisations of knowledge. Derrida argues that science re-creates itself within the
hegemony of writing, noting the observation of Aristotle that the written word is a sign of
sign—a re-creation of something else, that is, the oral form of language, and from whence the
written word continues to inform and ascribe meaning to and within itself (1976). Derrida
goes further to express that linguistics or the grammar from which it is constructed is itself a
false science, but that the veracity of that image is seemingly so convincing few stop to
question it (1974).35

The importance of understanding indigenous perspectives on the relevance of orality
is to understand that orality still operates within today’s contexts and experiences of
indigenous languages. So too, understanding the oral nature of language is critical to
developing an awareness of the timeless ways in which language retains its connections and
relationships of place as described above. Orality remains a central feature of many
indigenous ceremonies and traditions as demonstrated by Māori waiata (song), kōrero tuku
ihō (stories of the past/traditions), whakapapa (genealogies), and whaikōrero (formal
speeches) (McRae, 2009; Rewi, 2005). In Hawai’i, traditions of speech making are captured
within Kākā’ōlelo (to fence with words) and reflect a rich history of “wisdom, politics, and
culture” (Nāea Chun, p. 228, 2011). Wilson (Kīi’iljuus) and Harris (2005) speak of the
k’aaygang nga (legends) of tllsda gaagwii (long time ago) in which the perspectives and
knowledge of the Haida are preserved in the oral histories.

Weber-Pillwax perceives orality to be omnipresent in her world as a Cree scholar and
educator (2001a). The context in which Weber-Pillwax speaks of orality is, “the practice of
shared memories and their functions in personal and communal healing among the Northern
Cree [of Canada]” (2001a, para. 3). In contrast to Ong (2002), Weber-Pillwax maintains that
it is orality, and not literacy, that remains central to the lived experience of the Cree and

35 It is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss the extensive discourse on deconstruction (Jacques Derrida) or
those affecting the issue of primary or secondary orality of texts.
indigenous peoples (2001a). In this, the consciousness of orality are perceived as the lived experience of relationships with environments, belief systems, and peoples—connecting the past to one another and to community—in the present. Further, she argues that a consciousness of orality cannot be set aside “because Havelock (and others whom he cites)” attempt to apply homogenous concepts of orality to the diverse reality of indigenous peoples (2001, para. 28).  

Past and present, orality presents itself within a continuum of creation, narration, dancing, singing, drumming, weaving, carving, art and ceremony, and other forms and representations (Carter, 2010; Weber-Pillwax, 2001a). Indigenous perspectives on orality also reflect an understanding that knowledge accumulates over many 1000s of years; passing to successive generations that serve to maintain connections to place—physically and spiritually (Carter, 2010; Cruikshank, 1994). This knowledge is not ancient—belonging only to the past—it remains fully relevant within the lived experience of indigenous peoples. Wilson (Kii’iljuus) and Harris (2005) maintain that the knowledge held within the oral traditions of the Haida have proven a valuable resource for scientific studies and as such “the two knowledges together can create something new, something better than they can separately” (p. 122; see also Cruikshank, 1981).  

In contrast, to the above section on language theory, indigenous knowledge does not confine itself to expressions of knowledge through written texts. Ong (2002) and Derrida (1976) posit that the written word is privileged and validated through the visual; the seeming veracity of which continues to detract from the rich heritage of orality within indigenous life ways, as the diversity of indigenous knowledge, as expressed by orality is limitless in its myriad forms and representations. Broadly, the consciousness of orality continues to inform the lived experience of indigenous peoples and, thereby informs underlying meanings and purposes of interactions within community-based tourism initiatives.  

**Language and Education**

Within the field of education, Sasakamoose and Waskewitch (2008) outline a number of indigenous perspectives on language and teaching related to language issues. While these perspectives are understood within the context of Saskatchewan, Canada they are applicable across many place-based contexts. These perspectives include (a) the role of elders, (b) the role of leadership, and (c) the role of ceremony in the development of effective language education (2008).

The role of elders is critical to language and education as they are the traditional knowledge holders and closest in their connections with the ancestors—across time and place (Sasakamoose & Waskewitch, 2008). Battiste (2002) notes that historically, educational systems have reflected Eurocentric beliefs and practices—diminishing or ignoring the traditional role of elders in educating younger generations. However, in the process of regaining and restoring control over indigenous development and capacity within education there is recognition that elders are critical at every stage in the transference of knowledge to current and future generations (Battiste, 2002; Reyhner & Lockhard, 2009). Sasakamoose and Waskewitch (2008) consider the inclusion of elders in the planning and development of curricula vital to programs that “reflect the life, the customs, traditions, and the belief systems of each Nation,” but point out that this is only to the point elders are willing and able to participate (p. 14; see also Ka’ai, 2009).

The role of leadership in language education is critical in supporting the implementation of place-based language programs that are reflective of the indigenous community (Sasakamoose & Waskewitch, 2008; Tuki, 2009). However, they point out that while it is one thing to gain an academic understanding of the damaging and continuing affects of colonisation within educational systems, it is another to change those practices on

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37 Sasakamoose and Waskewitch (2008) include perspectives on (a) the colonial experience and (b) language and identity. However, these topics are central to other aspects of this thesis and discussed in detail elsewhere.

38 *Education* is derived from the Latin: *educatus*, meaning to bring up or rear. (See: www.etymonline.com.)
the ground. The issues here are complex and support and/or resistance to various approaches to language education can come from groups internal and external to the community. A linked perspective raised by Tuki (2009), suggests that language development “focused only within the education system is too slow and too narrow in scale to be effective” (p. 205; see also Fishman, 2001; McCarty, 2003; McDonald, 2011; O’Regan, 2009). The need for strong community leadership within the context of language and education may be self evident, but goes beyond providing input and direction on program development. Rather it serves to ensure long-term sustainability in the face of changing internal and external political purposes (Capurso, 2004; Silentman, 1995).

Language is a diverse and critical part of indigenous ceremonies, requiring advanced skill levels and learning to perform the functions and duties required (Sasakamoose & Waskewitch, 2008; Rewi, 2010). Meyer posits that ceremonies are central to ways of knowing as they relate to an understanding of what is worth knowing in terms of “purpose, function, and use” (p. 139). Wilson (2008) understands ceremony as a means of maintaining relational accountability and Sasakamoose and Waskewitch (2008) consider ceremony a reflection of their lived experience. Imbedded within the metaphorical language are the spiritual beliefs and connections to creation. Without the appropriate expertise in language, the ceremonies will no longer be performed and that which maintains balance in the physical and the spiritual world, lost. Language is perceived as having inherent power, such that “In the word is life and in the word is death…which emphasizes the care one needs to place upon what one says and how one says it…” (Nāea Chun, 2011). Similarly, Cajete (1994) speaks of the sacredness of language,

> Spoken words and language have a quality of spirit because they are an expression of human breath. Language as prayer and song has a life energy that can influence other energy and life forms toward certain ends … language used in a spiritual, evocative, or affective context is sacred and is to be used responsibly. (p. 44).
Approaches to Indigenous Education

Indigenous education reflects holistic approaches to learning and teaching that embraces values inherent to relationships within the environment (physical and spiritual) and are most often placed-based in orientation (McDonald, 2011). In Aotearoa, the kaupapa (Māori ideology) approach to learning situates students in two ways: 1) within their whakapapa (genealogy), which orients them to creation and 2) within nine components of tuakiri tangata (total personality) (Dr. Pita Sharples, quoted in Ka’ai, 2009). The components reflect an understanding that education requires both theory and practice, in which advancement (poutama) is a progressive balancing of (a) knowledge transference in te reo (Māori language) and (b) the matching knowledge of tikanga (protocols and customs) (Ka’ai, 2009). In turn, the educational process is oriented within a broader framework of knowledge tradition, described by Charles Royal (2002) as “matauranga”: a way of gaining insight into Māori ways. This in turn sits within the Māoritanga (Māori worldview), in which “every person is linked to every living thing and to the atua” (ancestor with continuing influence) (Ka’ai & Higgins, 2009, p. 13).

Similar perspectives hold in Hawai‘i where “A’o” (educational traditions) reflect the involvement of both the teacher and student in a relationship—as receivers and givers that is forward and backward thinking in its approach (Nāeo Chun, 2011). Learners become teachers

39 No reference provided in the text. See pg. 207. Note: Incorporating Māori values within education began as the Kōhanga Reo movement in the 1970s in response to the progressive decline of te reo Māori speakers (Moorfield & Johnston, 2009). The movement was part of a shift toward bicultural education policies that provided increasing access to instruction in te reo as part of the curriculum. The first immersion te Kōhanga Reo (pre-school) program was begun in 1981 where children learned within an extended whānau (family) environment. The movement sparked other te reo immersion programs, e.g., Kura Kaupapa Māori (primary school), and Wānanga (tertiary schools), but beyond education to the development of Māori radio and television programs, and university degrees amongst others (Moorfield & Johnston, 2009). Te reo Māori was made an official language in 1987 (Ka’ai, 2009). The school language immersion programs became known as language nests and used as a model in many parts of the world to support language revitalization, including Hawai‘i (Pilana Leo) and Haida Gwaii (Wilson, W. & Kamana, 2001).

40 These nine integrated components of total personality include manawa (seat of emotions), iho matua (spiritual manifestation), auaha (creativity), hinegaro (mental), pūmanawa (potential), tinana (physical), ngākau (heart emotions), mauri (life force), and wairua (spiritual consciousness). See Ka’ai, T.M., 2009.

in some form or another and these relationships are mutually supported and dependent upon one another. Nothing happens in isolation of anything else, which reflect beliefs that all things, animate and inanimate, are connected within a holistic and cyclical pattern. The following vignette highlights this different way of understanding the relationships and connections of which we are a part.

We Are Not Alone

Field journal

One of the most interesting conversations I had while in Hawai‘i was when this concept of connectedness was shared with me in a way that I could understand. I have since read about this in other writings and contexts, but the hands-on experience is something to which I could relate. I was on the Big Island of Hawai‘i at the time and had spent the day visiting a charter school focused on ‘ōlelo (language) immersion. I had always conceptualized the term “independent” as being singular, individualistic, or something that stands alone. However, to present this concept differently and in a way that better reflected the Hawaiian values imbedded in this term, the individual took the word and wrote it thus,

In – dependence

He suggested wisely, that we are never alone when we understand ourselves connected to each other in this way. That within the Hawaiian understanding of this word there is trust given and trust received. We are all connected whether we understand this or not. For Hawaiian peoples a process allowing them to grow and move forward in confidence. The transference of knowledge and language occurs within this inclusive context.

Other perspectives suggest that indigenous approaches to education broadly reflect a preference for experiential knowledge, that there is no homogenous style/system of learning. Further, that knowledge is not considered a commodity, and that great value is placed on the ability of the individual to learn at their own pace (Battiste, 2002; Bell, 2004; Cajete, 1994; Capurso, 2004; Holmes, 2006; Nakata, 2012). The relevance of language within indigenous approaches to education is a central part of knowledge transference. Battiste (2002) states,
Language is by far the most significant factor in the survival of indigenous knowledge. Indigenous languages and their symbolic, verbal, and unconscious orders structure indigenous knowledge … where indigenous knowledge survives, it is transmitted through Aboriginal languages … where Aboriginal languages, heritages, and communities are respected, supported, and connected to elders and education. (p.16.)

2.3 Thoughts on Linguistic Relativity and Post Structuralism

One of the earliest archaeologists to work in Canada was Franz Boas (1858-1942) whose work with the indigenous peoples of the Arctic and the West Coast of Canada made him one of the foremost ethnographers of his day (McMillan & Yellowhorn, 2004). Boas organised the Jessup North Pacific Expedition of which John Swanton, a linguist, was a member. Swanton was to work extensively with the Haida at the turn the 20th century, publishing works in 1905 and 1908 respectively (McMillian & Yellowhorn, 2004; Swanton, 1905). Another individual to work extensively with the West Coast peoples of Canada was Edward Sapir (1884–1939) who, inspired by Boas, was the first to advance theories of “language and culture and the psychology of culture” (McMillan & Yellowhorn, 2004, p. 17).

Linguistic Relativism

The premise of linguistic relativism is that language shapes and or delimits thought and culture resulting in the differing worldviews of speakers (Kay & Kempton, 1984; Whorf, 1956). It was Franz Boas, who in the early 1900s first postulated that language and culture are inextricably linked and stressed the equality of all linguistic forms (E. Hall, 1990; Kay & Kempton, 1984). Before Boas, dominant theories supported concepts of “higher” and

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42 Franz Boaz (1858-1942), a native German who joined an expedition to the Arctic in 1883-1884, but the majority of his work focused on the west coast peoples of Canada. Boaz was responsible for recording the myths and oral traditions of the Kwakwaka’wakw and advanced the theory of “cultural relativism” as the appropriate way to understand individual cultural groups. (See McMillan & Yellowhorn, 2004, p 1-24.)

43 Works include Contributions to the Ethnography of the Haida, 2005 and Haida Texts, Masset Dialect, 2008).

44 See the section on Cultural Context for additional information on Swanton’s ethnographic and linguistic contributions on the people of Haida Gwaii.
“lower” languages thought to reflect the superiority of European grammar and languages (Kay & Kempton, 1984). While Boas suggested that language was informed by the state of a culture, Edward Sapir postulated that language itself created cultural variations in the worldview of speakers, that is, soft linguistic determinism. Sapir argued that, “language is an acquired function of culture rather than being biologically determined” (Language and Linguistics, 2013). Building on the work of Sapir, Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956) went further to suggest that grammar and language use affected how groups of speakers were able to perceive their world, that is, hard linguistic determinism.45 Those arguing against hard linguistic determinism posit that language is not the same thing as thought and therefore the claim is unfounded (Pinker, 2012).46 One of the strongest indicators of how closely aligned indigenous perspective are to that of linguistic determinism is a statement by Rev. Maori Marsden,

Now Te Whe (sound) represented the word in embryo, or the seed word. It was the Kahu (dress) in which alone the seed word could be clothed and articulated, then thought may be conceptualized and expressed in word. Te Whe and Wananga were each indispensable to the formation and existence of the other. Ancient Māori seers and sages were well aware of the ancient conundrum, which other cultures also posed when thinking about the existence of thought itself: namely. ‘Is it possible to think without words?’ For the Māori the answer was in the negative. One cannot exist without the other. (Rev. Maori Marsden, 1992, p. 5)

The crux of the divergence in opinion seems to stem from the perception of language as a mechanism to label a single world, as opposed to languages being used to experience and express a multitude of worlds, each made distinct within the perception of its speakers. Geertz (1983) suggests that the difficulty arises from the attempt by scholars to interpret cultural

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45 Hard or strong linguistic determinism is predicated on the belief that language defines/drives one’s experience of the world—delimiting their knowledge of the world. (See Sera, M.D. (2000).
46 Early critics of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis related to a perceived lack of rigour in the analysis of the data—the results therefore were questioned and the theory largely dismissed (Fishman, 1989; Hymes, 1964).
material as an expression of the individual rather than that of social institutions. Support for linguistic relativism asserts that language retains the power of thought or the unconscious application of meaning within cultures (Watson-Gegeo, 2004). This is supported by findings that suggest variations in language do have an impact on one’s thinking (Watson-Gegeo, 2004). E. Hall (1990) also suggested that language is so intrinsic to thought as to affect all behaviour and culture.

Within this context, language is linked to concepts of self, emotion, and collaborative socialization, i.e., community (Fishman, 1982; 1989; Reyhner, Cantoni, St. Clair & Yazzie, 1999; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). Kay and Kempton (1984) have suggested that linguistic relativism is the “antithesis” of evolutionary or empirical approaches to understanding language. While linguists tend to use an applied approach to working with cultural groups today (McMillan & Yellowhorn, 2004), the difficulty remains in resolving the use of western-based approaches to knowledge creation within cultural and social contexts that are oriented differently to ways of being in and understanding the world.

Post Structuralism

Post structuralism is an understanding of language as meaning (or non-meaning) and as such, not static in its expressed intention or interpretation (Belsey, 2002, Luke, 1997). Broadly, the words we use to express our intention cannot hold to a particular interpretation, that is, the meaning of words float freely within varying historic and present-day cultural] and other contexts (Luke, 1997). Philosophically, post structuralism moved away from early theories of structural linguistics (de Saussure 1856-1913), which posited all cultures can be linked to an underlying universal structure set within language (Belsey, 2002; Bolton, 2012).

In terms of this discussion, there are correlations that can be made to Saphir’s approach to understanding the significance and affect of language on culture as this body of thought considers language, written and spoken as, “constructive phenomena, shaping the identity and practices of human subjects” (Luke, 1997). Foucault and Derrida are proponents
of different aspects of post structuralism: Foucault advancing theories of power dynamics within language and discourse: Derrida advancing theories of anti-western constructs of language that insist on dualistic and binary interpretations (Belsey, 2002; Luke, 1997; Schwandt, 2007). These theories have significant implications for researchers as it suggests one cannot step outside the framework of their own constructed language and means of communication (Belsey, 2002). The outcome is the use of self-reflexive processes as a means of analyzing modernist and other models, which allows greater space for feminist and subaltern voices (Luke & Gore, 1993; Butler, 1990; 2004). Foundationally, these works stem from philosophers such as Wittgenstein, who argued in his earlier works that understanding the logic of language was the means of proving invalid, the basic tenets of philosophy, that is, existence, knowledge, and truth (Grayling, 2001, p. 18). He would argue later that language was a variation of activities or games played with words as applied to varying meanings and intentions and not contained solely within the words (Grayling, 2001, p. 85). Interestingly, Wittgenstein understood word meaning as, “a practice embedded in the customs and agreements of a community…we acquire the ability to use expressions…by our training as members of that community” (Grayling, 2001, p. 96).

While correlations can be made with linguistic relativism in terms of culturally based expressions of meaning and to aspects of indigenous perspectives on language and identity, it is problematic to extend the correlations any further. Post structuralism orients language to that of a hierarchy of meanings and non-relationships, whereas, indigenous perspectives orient language within relationships with each other and with the land (Cajete, 1994; Wilson, 2008). These relationships are not clearly addressed within post-structural theory and this is a critical distinction, as “meaning” becomes the benchmark rather than relationships. Belsey (2002) posits that somewhat like Alice in Wonderland’s Humpty Dumpty, post structuralism asks the question, who is to be in control, the speaker or that which they speak (p.3). Hokowhitu (2009) points out that while post structuralism considers modernity’s will to
power through positivist science, Māori have never, “pretended to assert universal truth, merely their own” (p. 3). His words highlight the fact that post structuralism rather flies in the face of theorizing about indigenous peoples, lest one intends to reinvent structuralism.

Summary

This chapter outlined some of the core theoretical issues that lie behind the main topic of this thesis: namely, significant theories of language acquisition, indigenous perspectives on language as a relationship, and aspects of linguistic relativism and post structuralist thoughts on language and meaning. While theories of language acquisition reflect a nature versus nurture approach to understanding the meaning of language within society or culture, indigenous perspectives orient language to place, that is, the land and environment and to each other. Indigenous perspectives understand language as facilitating relationships within an interconnected whole and extends further to connote responsibility (Interview Diamond, September 21, 2012; Interview Taum, October 22, 2013; Wilson, 2008).

Viewed in the context of western approaches to understanding language development there are correlations to linguistic relativism and post structural theory. These correlations stem from similar perceptions of how language informs and expresses meaning within a cultural context and that language is linked to understandings of self, identity, and community. Arguing that indigenous knowledge does not function as a binary opposite to western knowledge Battiste (2002) states, “indigenous knowledge benchmarks the limitations of Eurocentric theory–its methodology, evidence, and conclusions–reconceptualises the resilience and self-reliance of indigenous peoples, and underscores the importance of their own philosophies, heritages, and educational processes” (p. 5). Adding to Hokowhitu's point above, Battiste is arguing for added value when considering issues of language as it relates to indigenous ways of being in this world. The two value systems are not necessarily points of difference; rather they are simply points of reference.
3. Literature Review, Case Studies, and Strategic Planning

It is critical within scholarship to have a deeper understanding of indigenous perspectives on language as relational when researching tourism and language issues. Largely, this reflects the challenges of understanding the dominant and systemic structures of English and the influence it brings to bear on our ways thinking. Sekhar (2012) notes that English is now the “dominant or official language in over 60 countries” and L. Smith (1983) that it is the language most often used in trade, diplomacy, and tourism (p. 11). Writing from South Africa, Cloete (2011) argues that English as a meta-language employs its own European meaning systems in the construction of discourses affecting the management of the natural environment through tourism and education at the expense of indigenous knowledge systems (p. 35).

Historically, the spread of English around the world is rooted in the colonial practices of the past: persisting and expanding through the present day realities of western imperialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1989. Sekhar (2012) postulates linguistic imperialism is the basis of all other forms of imperialism, as English is the medium through which imperialism is executed. However, while English has become a pragmatic necessity around the globe, Phillipson (1992) and Sekhar (2012) suggest that the pervasiveness of the language is greater than the sum of its parts; that English not only replaces and displaces other languages, but also forces a way of thinking and experiencing upon speakers. This view to English has affected the approach of researchers in their consideration of issues affecting tourism and language development. While there are many studies that consider the issues separately, relatively few focus on the nexus between tourism, language, and indigenous community-based initiatives.

This chapter begins with an overview of indigenous cultural tourism literature in order to orient this thesis within the progressive development of scholarship in the field. This is followed by a review of six studies that have explored some facet of language and
community-based tourism. Given the small number of studies, what follows is a discussion of the emergent themes in relation to the broader tourism literature and a number of strategic planning documents, which have explored the use of tourism as a means of supporting language development. A final summary provides an overview of the chapter and a few concluding remarks as to the place of language and tourism within the literature.

3.1 Progression of Indigenous Cultural Tourism Literature

The emergence of indigenous tourism as a field of study began in the 1970s with the writings of scholars such as Valene Smith. The book *Hosts and Guests: An Anthropology of Tourism* (1977) was an early attempt to move away from the predominant analysis of tourism as a mechanism of economics and marketing (Burns, 2004). The early work of V. Smith (1977), de Kadt (1979b), and MacCannell (1976) emphasized the place of people within the context of tourism studies. This body of work sought to consider the progression of tourism and its impact on indigenous peoples, most specifically in terms of whether or not tourism, as a process of modernization was, “a major agent of cultural change” (V. Smith, 1989, p. 9).

The issues raised by these early scholars centered on concerns of indigenous cultural tourism as a continuing form of imperialism in which the tourist was an agent of change (Nash, 1998), the sustainability of indigenous cultures in the face of mass tourism (Ubanowicz, 1989; Nuñez & Lett, 1998), and the politics of cultural commoditization as posited by Greenwood (1989).

In contrast, the positive attributes of indigenous and cultural tourism were advanced in terms of the ability to preserve and protect cultural heritages and traditions (McKean, 1989), the positive progression of traditional gender roles (Swain, 1989), and the need for community participation in development (Peck & Lepie, 1989).

Broadly, the literature stemming from this scholarship has focused on aspects of economic development and the impact of tourism development on peoples and places, and Burns (2004) posits that much of the academic literature continues to be placed within the
dualistic concepts of negative and positive theories of tourism and tourism development. A stance based on the work of Crick (1988), who argues that such binary oppositions are false, and potentially misleading as it constrains the potential to understand tourism within frameworks other than economic. Scholars such as Butler and Hinch (1996) began to shift the focus of research away from subject object oriented treatment of the issues to consider the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples. Butler and Hinch (1996, 2007) would argue that the relative position of indigenous tourism within the broader industry could be determined based on the level and type involvement, specifically by the level of control and cultural content. Those enterprises reflecting higher levels of control and content were considered to have met the clearest definition of indigenous tourism (Butler & Hinch, 1996, p. 10).

Similarly, Sofield and Birtles (1996) raised questions around how to best manage indigenous tourism in such a way as to support and preserve cultural and other resources for the benefit of hosts and guests. Sofield and Birtles devised the Indigenous People’s Cultural Opportunity Spectrum for Tourism (IPCOST) in which to support the participation of indigenous communities in tourism planning and development (p. 396). The work of Zeppel (2006), Kutzner and Wright (2010), and Weaver (2010) amongst others explored indigenous peoples and ecotourism as a means of sustainable communities and economic development, noting the increasing use of tribal lands for this purpose. Ryan and Aiken (2005) focused on issues of commodification, noting that there are three perspectives at work within the study of cultural tourism and indigenous peoples, “academia, the indigenous perspective, and the imperatives of tourism” (p. 1). Writing from Canada, Notzke (2006) examined issues affecting community-based development, environment and the sacredness of land, noting the critical need for planning as a means of self-determination.

These and other literatures represent a shift away from understanding indigenous peoples and culture as subject to the tourism industry to one wherein tourism is increasingly subject to the needs of indigenous peoples. One of the biggest changes within the field of
cultural tourism studies is the advent of indigenous peoples’ voices within the literature. Haunani-Kay Trask (1999) was among the first to draw attention to the commoditization of culture and the negative impact of mass tourism on Native Hawaiian peoples. Shifting the discussion to consider Māori perspectives within the industry, Carr would argue that understanding the relationship of Māori peoples with the land is central to effective interpretation of cultural landscapes (Carr, 2004, 2007). Further, communicating a sense of place through Māori interpretations of the living landscape is an intrinsic part of, “nurturing personal identity through enabling their connection to ancestral land” (Carr, p. 127; see also O’Regan, 1987). Advancing the discussion within the discourse of postcolonialism theory, Amoamo (2008) argues that the creation of identity within Bhabha’s third space is a rearticulation of choice, “through collaborative participation in tourism in a way that goes beyond categorical binary structures” (p. 324). Similarly, McIntosh, Hinch, and Ingram (2002) posit that sustainable indigenous tourism development is directly related to the purposeful construction of identity within culturally-based attractions: arguing that, “Māori identity is conveyed to visitors through physical settings, activities and intangible dimensions of meaning” (p. 48).

Of interest to this present study, is that indigenous tourism scholars frame identity within the relationship of place (Amoamo, 2008; Carr, 2004, 2007; Horn & Tahi, 2009; McIntosh, Zygadlo, and Matunga, 2004; Spiller, Erakovic, Henare, & Pio, 2010; Taum, 2010). It is on this foundation wherein the discussion of the various facets of tourism occurs. This represents a further shift within academia wherein the affective choice of indigenous peoples is being heard within tourism studies, one wherein the first question is to the land, rather than to that of tourism. It is here that I seek to develop a deeper understanding of the Haida language within tourism contexts: first as it pertains to their relationship with the land and second as it pertains to relationships within the community. This necessitates a reversal of

47 The terms Native Hawaiian or Hawaiian are relatively current and commonly used terms referring to the indigenous peoples of Hawai‘i (Diamond, 2008).
how one might understand the issues—one must ask first what are the relationships and not what is the affect (influence) or effect (consequence) of tourism on language.

### 3.2 Tourism, Language, and Community-Based Studies

The lack of academic attention given to language and tourism issues was noted by Cohen and Cooper in 1985, who at the time were able to find only two related studies: Butler (1978) and White (1974). The study by Butler considered the impact of recreational development on residents of Sleat on the Isle of Skye in Scotland. The study by White explored the impact of tourism and language change in Switzerland. Cohen and Cooper (1986) looked at “verbal encounters in touristic situations” and the impact of this on choice of destinations (p. 534). Cohen and Cooper (1986) note that while there was considerable literature within sociolinguistics around interactions between groups affecting language acquisition and language shift, that these works neglected to consider situations of language accommodation in tourism contexts. The findings of this study posit that the temporary nature of the tourist visitor limits linguistic interactions, influencing and fostering a higher degree of linguistic accommodation on the part of hosts.

To a large extent, the observation of Cohen and Cooper (1986) remains largely the same, that is, there remain very few examples of studies that consider language and tourism issues at the community level. The following review draws on six recent case studies from within the fields of linguistics, tourism, and anthropology: Phillips and Thomas (2001), Zeppel (2002), Beard-Moose (2004), Snow (2004), Greathouse-Amadour (2005), and Burusphat et al (2010). Broadly, the studies tend to ask externally oriented questions, that is, what is the affect of tourism on language, rather than asking internally oriented questions, i.e., what is the community doing with language via tourism. In taking this approach, there is a significant gap in the literature in which the perspectives of the community have been considered. The focus here is to understand the lens through which the research has
considered the role of the community, the relationships affected, and the treatment of language within those contexts.

**Phillips & Thomas: 2001, Wales (Linguistics)**

One of the few studies to empirically link language shift to tourism and in-migration, Phillips and Thomas, focused on three Welsh communities: Arfon, Dwyfor, and Anglesy and found that tourism and in-migration had negatively affected the Welsh language. Phillips and Thomas note that historically, the number of Welsh speakers shrank due to the out-migration of people from rural areas, the arrival of increasing numbers of non-Welsh speaking people, and the deterioration of key economic industries (p. 1). Within tourism initiatives, the language is used most often at local events, traditional functions, and singing festivals— with some residents suggesting tourist development might actually encourage further use of the Welsh language: specifically in cultural and educational tourism.

The authors note that respondents from within the tourism sector were “keenly aware of the value and importance of the Welsh language as a potential tool in attracting more visitors to Wales” (p. 75). In response, the Wales Tourist Board has worked to promote the Welsh language, implementing bilingual signage, pamphlets, and brochures, organizing staff time for language learning, and the development of immersion experiences for visitors (p. 85). Broadly, the study does not fully explore the deeper network of relationships within the community that might serve to support the use of language within tourism initiatives. While the study highlights the benefits to the visitor industry and supports the view that language itself can foster positive visitor experiences, it does not address the role of the speaking community in supporting language development within these initiatives.

**Zeppel: 2002, Canada (Tourism)**

The Quw’utsun’ Cultural and Conference Centre is located in the Cowichan tribal area of Vancouver Island, Canada, in the City of Duncan. The Hul’q’umi’num’ (language) is
endangered with 150 fluent speakers, 95 who understand the language somewhat, and 1800 language learners. The study focuses on determining which cultural elements were most enjoyed by visitors: noting respondents had spent an average of two hours at the venue (Zeppel, 2002). Of relevance to this study is that guided tours linked visitor learning to four themes (a) Cowichan customs and traditions (48%), Cowichan history (19%), Cowichan and the environment (13%), respect for the Cowichan culture (9%), and the Cowichan language (5%) (p. 96). Although the number is low (5% of 299), the fact that “language” came up at all is striking and indicative of the potential to engage visitors on the basis of the language. The findings indicate that there is room to expand the scope and use of indigenous languages within tourism settings based on visitor interest. The findings are similar to that of Phillips and Thomas (2001), highlighting the benefits to the industry, yet the issue remains how the community might take advantage of this to encourage greater language use in the community.

**Beard-Moose: 2004, United States - Eastern Cherokee (Anthropology)**

This study focuses on issues of cultural change and the impact of tourism on Eastern Cherokee women. Beard-Moose suggests that the tourism enterprise has altered cultural systems to such an extent that the traditional roles of women and men in the community have two faces: a tourism face and a private face. The construct of the “tourism face” has subsequently undermined the cultural fabric of the community. While language is not central to the study, Beard-Moose explores the issue in relation to identity representation and a belief that tourism brought about renewed interest in the language (p. 106). Noting the specific use of language in tourism products (Cherokee words printed on posters and coffee mugs), Beard-Moose suggests that this has led to some confusion on the part of tourists and residents, as only the syllabary of the language is used. Beard-Moose states, “the tourist industry doesn’t

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48 Total surveys: 496. The majority of respondents were from Europe, BC/Canada, and the US (p 94).
49 Syllabary: A set of written symbols that represent the syllables that make up words. (Wikipedia.com)
so much use Cherokee language … it uses representation[s] of the syllabary … on postcards, bookmarks, and posters,” suggesting this has not improved language use (p. 168).

Beard-Moose raises two issues related to this present study (a) not being able to speak the language does not relegate a Cherokee to non-Cherokee, and (b) language may be the most basic and important marker of identity, but feels this is insubstantial as so few can lay claim to it (p. 165). While Beard-Moose acknowledges empathy for “the generation that were denied the Cherokee language” (p. 144-145), notes that ascribing identity based on one’s ability to speak the language, while at the same time understanding the near impossibility for some to attain it, is problematic (p. 167). There simply remains the persistent view that even though “all other aspects of identity can be there … ’when [the] Cherokee language is absent, or largely absent, there is somehow something missing’” (p. 167).

Snow: 2004, Panama (Linguistics)

Snow explores the impact of international tourism on language persistence and choice of language use by residents of Old Bank on the island of Bastimentos in the Caribbean. The findings suggest that Creole English persists, despite the dominant presence of Spanish due to the community’s increased contact with visitors who tend to speak English. Historically, the speakers of Creole English have experienced language shift due to social marginalisation. Snow argues the opposite is true in Old Bank, positing that the use of Creole English appears to be strengthening, “as the region’s economy shifts from bananas to tourism” (p. 116). Further, that the “everyday encounters involving tourists and residents in Old Bank are occasions for participants to ‘represent’ themselves linguistically and, as such, are a locus for the production and reproduction of language” (p. 122). Snow posits that language choice (a) is representative of identity construction, (b) works collaboratively to influence the group, and (c) suggests the possibility of maintaining language outside institutional structures. The findings support the rationale for increased support of indigenous language within tourism.
settings. What the study does not consider are the ways in which Creole English is being used and the relationships in the community that serve to support language use in tourism settings.

**Greathouse-Amadour: 2005, Mexico (Linguistics)**

This study considered language and tourism issues as part of a larger study in Cuetzalan, Mexico. A linguist and sociologist by profession, Greathouse-Amador explores the evolution of tourism in the Mexican community of Cuetzalan from 1968 to 1999 and suggests that community-based tourism development, “influenced, in what appears to be a positive way, the preservation and maintenance of the Nahuat [language]” (2005a, p. 49). Encouraged by an indigenous renaissance in the 1970s, the Nahuat became increasingly involved in economic development, including the formation of a woman’s cooperative that supported the production of arts and crafts and encouraged the use of language in relation to these activities.

Greathouse-Amador notes that the most significant outcome of these developments was the change in power relations between the dominant Mestizos and the Nahuat. Despite suggestions that tourism is imperialistic in its construction (Nash, 1989, 1995) and reduces cultural contact to business transactions (de Kadt, 1979b), Greathouse-Amador argues that tourism, “has given them [the Nahuat] the justification and backing they need to promote, protect, and be openly proud of their different cosmovision and language that make up their unique cultural identity” (2005b, p. 714). The article makes three key points related to this present study (a) tourism has strengthened the social and culture structures in the community, (b) renewed interest in the language has encouraged its use, and (c) tourism has provided a setting for the, “language, customs, culture, and traditions” (p. 56). Importantly, the study

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50 Nahuat is a regional variation of the Nahuatl language spoken by the Nahua people of Cuetzalan, Mexico (Greathouse-Amadour, 2005b, p. 51).

51 The mestizos are descendants of Italian, Spanish, and French immigrants. There are over 50 recognized indigenous groups in Mexico (Greathouse-Amador, 2005a).
explores the role of the community in supporting language development in contrast to considering resident attitudes towards tourism and the effect of this on language.

**Burusphat et al.: 2010, Thailand (Tourism)**

The purpose of this study was to, “explore the language use and language attitudes of ethnic groups … in order to support ethnic tourism development” (Burusphat et al., 2010, p. 23). The study measured language strength as a determinant of sustainability in seven regions of Thailand. Of interest to this present study, is that the researchers give *language vitality* priority in determining the potential to develop sustainable community-based ethnic tourism plans. Broadly, the objective was to use the findings, “as a fundamental reference for national language planning as well as sustainable ethnic tourism plans” (p. 24). The overarching concern was that increasing levels of tourism would undermine local cultural and traditions.

Language vitality was determined by measuring the degree of language use and language attitudes and plans to develop sustainable ethnic tourism initiatives are evaluated on this basis. Those communities where language use is strong and there exists a positive language attitude, the region would be considered to have a higher potential to preserve culture (p. 33). Despite a belief that tourism might prove detrimental, “the Thai government is encouraging ethnic groups to preserve their language and culture and has implemented a number of development projects including ethnic tourism” (Burusphat et al., 2010, p. 40). The attempt to link sustainable community-based cultural or ethnic tourism, based on language vitality is significant as it highlights the centrality of language for this purpose. Significantly, the study represents a shift in thinking to consider how language affects tourism rather than how tourism affects language.
3.3 **Emergent Themes Within the Broader Literature**

Understanding the treatment of language within the literature is challenging due to the level of complexity, as it is germane to every discussion and every dialogue. However, the central themes to emerge from the above studies correlate to a number of study areas within the broader tourism literature. These emergent themes include negative and positive effects of tourism on language and cultural relationships and identity in the use of language.

**Negative and Positive Effects of Tourism on Language**

As noted by Cohen and Cooper (1986), White (1974) was the first to consider language and tourism issues in their study on Switzerland: using *language* as the variable in relation to the number of speakers, changes in population, nights of accommodation, and the type of tourism. The results indicated, “a negative relationship between the size of the tourist presence and the percentage of people retaining … their mother tongue” (White, 1974, p. 25). While not related to indigenous language per se, White highlighted then emerging issues of globalisation, the spread of western cultural, and the dominance of the English language through progressive economic development (see also Coluzzi, 2011; K. Watson, 1999). More recently, Stenner (2011) raises the issue of globalizing factors that encourage the acquisition of English by locals in order to work in the tourism industry: the outcome of continuing pressure on host communities to accommodate the linguistic needs of visitors (Cohen & Cooper, 1986; Russ, 2006). Mbaiwa (2002) highlights the negative impact of tourism on the local languages in conjunction with increased crime and inappropriate styles of dress amongst youth in Botswana (Mbaiwa (2002)).

Three of the studies reviewed in the previous section, Zeppel (2002), Snow (2004), and Greathouse-Amadour (2005a/b) reflect the view that tourism can impact positively on language within tourism settings. Broadly, these studies link the benefits of tourism development to visitor interest, increased accessibility to language within tourism settings,
and the potential to develop cultural and educational experiences for visitors. Similarly, an important study by d’Entremont (2001) explores the use of heritage languages to build touristic imagery for the express purpose of preserving languages. The example is that of Creole French in Louisiana, which the government banned from schools in the mid 20th century. However, in the 1960s, James Domengeaux convinced the state legislature of the value of “preserving the language for the state of Louisiana for the cultural, economic, and tourist benefit of the state” (para. 6). The measures put in place, fostered a revival of the language and Cajun cultural heritage and d’Entremont (2001) argues that tourism has been the biggest beneficiary, to such an extent that it is now an economic force in the state and people come for the food, the music, and the culture. Similarly, Suraratdecha (2008) argues that the survival of the Lue language is critical to ethnic tourism as the language itself is one of the key factors to the success of tourism in the region (p. 94). The arguments put forth by d’Entremont and Suraratdecha support the rationale that the economic to be gained through tourism should garner further support for retaining language and hence culture. However, when linking cultural survival to that of economic benefit, concerns are raised over issues of authenticity, intellectual property rights, and what Haunani Kay Trask (2000b) refers to as the prostitution of culture for the purpose of economic benefit (para. 11).

Cultural Relationships and Identity in the Use in Language

Community-based development is often considered a means for indigenous peoples to participate effectively within the tourism industry with positive aspects potentially driving economic benefits, environmental stewardship, social capital, cultural ecology, and cultural independence amongst others (Colton & Harris, 2007; Colton & Whitney-Squire, 2010;

Harris (2009) argues that community-based tourism can be successful on the premise that the emphasis is placed on making tourism work for the community. Scheyvens (1999) states that successful initiatives must “start from the needs, concerns and welfare of local host communities” (p. 246; see also Mitchell & Eagles, 2001). Those questioning the challenges and effectiveness of community-based initiatives point out that the benefits are rarely distributed equitably and the socioeconomic benefits of community-based development are rather limited (Horn & Tahi, 2009; Jamieson & Nadkarni, 2009; Southgate, 2006; Stone & Wall, 2003).

Moving beyond the dichotomy of positive and negative, scholars addressing Māori cultural tourism have begun to advance new theories of relational well-being in which intrinsic cultural values guide development (Spiller, Erakovic, Henare & Pio, 2010). Of interest to this present study, is the conscious awareness of relationships within tourism initiatives that create multi-dimensional wealth (p.166). Spiller et al. (2010) argue that this holistic approach to business side-steps issues of authenticity as the emphasis is consistently placed on well-being rather than on profit. An earlier study by McIntosh et al. (2002) explored issues of cultural identity, noting the challenges of developing cultural attractions that maintain, “cultural integrity,” (p. 39).

In advocating for cultural preservation through tourism McIntosh et al. (2002) identify dimensions of cultural integrity, such that elements of attraction-based identity” can be used to purposefully construct culturally appropriate identity within tourism initiatives. The study notes three dimensions of place-identity: physical, activities, and meaning. Within the physical dimension, language is included as it pertains to the use of te reo, “in displays and interpretive programs” and where “policies ensure that each employee is competent in Māori language” (p. 44). Of note, McIntosh et al. (2002) argue that the value of authenticity lies not
in the visitor experience, rather that it remains within the presentation and production of place-identity (p. 47).

The relevance of language in the interpretation of tangible and intangible cultural and heritage sites is seen to play a significant role; incorporating language in signage, exhibition panels in museums, and interactive computer programs amongst others (Timothy, 2011, p. 244; McKercher & du Cross, 2002; Shackley, 2001). Reflecting on the use of language within interpretation, Glen (1974) understands, “language as an integral part of culture which is an integral part of heritage” (p. 83). In arguing that there is room within interpretation to draw on the living cultural of Māori peoples, Carr (2004, 2007) notes that, “place names, history and mythology or legends add meanings to features in the landscape and the Māori relationship with the land” (p. 115; see also Thompson-Carr, 2012). These diverse relationships reflect unique expressions of identity and reaffirm a sense of belonging, place, and identity (Carr, 2007; Keelan, 1996; O’Regan, 2011). Although speaking from the perspective of visitor behaviour, Clark (2009) argues that the appropriate naming of rock art sites should play a greater role in place-making, that is, “the sacrilization of sights or sites” (p. 111).

Within sociolinguistics, the role of the community is considered vital to the process of language revitalisation.\footnote{Sociolinguistics studies language interaction and change in a social context. Formal linguistics studies the structure and semantics of language (Spolsky & Hult, 2008). (See www.thefreedictionary.com)} Barrena et al., (2006) posits that, “every aspect of community life, including relationships with other communities, both surrounding and non-surrounding ones,” are of critical importance (p. 22). As an educator and language advocate from Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Tuki (2009) argues that the role of the community in slowing language shift is critical, but notes the need to expand the use of language to other settings. Crystal (2002) notes that while there are many factors that combine to facilitate language decline, the role of the community is instrumental in reversing or slowing this process particularly where, “the community has a strong sense of cultural or religious identity” (p. 89).
The critical role of the community is also clear within the broader tourism discourse, as it forms a nucleus for the cultural integration of values and practices. Rewi (2010) states, “cultural maintenance depends on a strong community life and commitment as well as the capacity for cultural transmission” (p.56). MacDonald (1997) advocates that community-based initiatives are representative of what and how the community chooses to be represented: and that it is “the local people who can make a substantial contribution toward the revitalization of their…language…that they are the agency of change and local action” (p. 172). Mita (2007) postulates that the traditional languages of indigenous peoples are the means of sustaining a culture and the way back to revitalizing a healthy culture. Linked to this, Shepard (2009) argues the direct effect of language is to maintain cultural integrity: specifically cultural practices, conventions, knowledge systems, and music, arts traditions, and medical traditions. This links directly to the approach to cultural tourism development advocated by Amoamo (2008), Carr (2004, 2007), and McIntosh et al, (2002) amongst others.

3.4 Strategic Planning: Tourism and Language Revitalisation

Outside the writings of scholars, there is a large body of work undertaken by organisations seeking to implement strategic planning initiatives aimed at tourism and or language development. Frequently, these initiatives focus on language development in educational settings and the work of linguists as a means of preserving languages. However, there are repeated calls to find new ways of bringing languages into the daily lives of those in the community (Goodfellow, 2009a/b; Mohi, 2008; O’Regan, 2009; Sheppard, 2009; Tuki, 2009). Pohe (2012) argues that language development focused only within the education system is too slow and too narrow in scale to be effective and Tuki (2009) argues that youth need more opportunities to use their language outside of school.

In Canada, the National First Nations Language Strategy identifies “Entrepreneurship & Tourism” (one of thirty suggested activities) as part of its twenty-year vision (Assembly
First Nations, 2007). This report acknowledges the critical role of the community and the need for grassroots initiatives; however, the implementation plan provides no information on how entrepreneurship and tourism initiatives might be implemented or supported (Assembly First Nations, 2007). Similarly, an extensive report, Towards a New Beginning, looks at the strategic development of an Aboriginal Languages and Cultures Centre (ALCC) in an effort to focus efforts in Canada on the revitalisation of First Nation, Inuit and Métis languages and cultures (Ignace & Jim, 2005). Two of the priorities of the ALCC are (a) encouraging and supporting in-home and community-focused activities including research and the development of innovative tools to increase intergenerational transmission of language and culture, and (b) fostering greater knowledge and appreciation of Aboriginal languages and cultures as an integral part of Canada’s national heritage.

The Cultural & Heritage Tourism: Handbook for Community Champions notes the draw of intangible heritage, such as culture, traditions, and language, as an important factor in attracting visitors (Whyte, Hood & White, 2012). The Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia (AtBC): Blueprint Strategy (2005) suggests that 47% of visitors stated that, hearing traditional languages was an important part of their experience. The only strategy in this report related to language use, notes the development of a Community Tourism Host / Development Program wherein training is provided on language, arts, land, and herbology. The report does mention the use of welcome signs in traditional languages at the entrance to tourism settings (p. 64). Critically, AtBC produced training and workshop materials for the express purpose of teaching indigenous tourism staff the importance of speaking their language and the importance of language to culture. Core areas of instruction include, language appreciation, creation stories, stories and songs, place and culture, and cultural preservation amongst

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56 The report found this to be low in comparison to preferences to meet and interact with local people, try traditional and modern cuisine, to view and purchase crafts, view performing arts/events and ceremonies, tour museums and galleries, etc. (p. 23).
Although much condensed, the follow-up report, *The Next Phase: 2012 A Five Year Strategy for Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in British Columbia*, (2012) makes no mention of the role of language within the organization’s overall strategy.

In Hawai‘i, a report produced by the Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association (NHHA), *Like ‘Ana: A Call to Action* (2007) recommends that basic Hawaiian be taught to visitor industry employees to help build a sense of place and awareness of the Hawaiian ‘ōlelo and that the use of correct words and place names be encouraged (2007). The Hawai‘i Island Strategic Plan (2006-2015) acknowledges concerns that the, “Hawaiian language is being lost because it is being mispronounced and misused in everyday language….,” Strategies include, accurate use of language, interpretive signage, and educational materials that convey the history and culture (Hawai‘i Tourism Authority, 2007). The best examples within the visitor industry are to be acknowledged annually for their contribution. Although visitor oriented, it is significant that it is the wider visitor industry that is acting in acknowledgement and support of language and culture. Similarly, the Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association (2007) advocates for the development of interpretive signage in both “official” languages of Hawai‘i, language educational programs, and the increased use of the Hawaiian words and place names. The purpose is to make the Hawaiian culture more accessible and educate visitors and residents alike, exposing them to authentic language and culture.58

The recognition of language as fundamental to sustainable culture and tourism was argued by George Kanahele (1994) whose report entitled *Restoring Hawaiianess to Waikīkī*, included specific recommendations on the use of Hawaiian words and place names in order to restore cultural authenticity to Waikīkī. The recommendations note the need to address spelling issues, encourage the use of key words by staff, the distribution of simple word lists

57 The training and workshop materials may be obtained from Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia (AtBC). The information is only referred to in the Blueprint Strategy (Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia (AtBC), 2005). Contact www.aboriginalbc.com
58 The Hawaiian Cultural Initiative (2007) is the only plan found that provides details on the implementation of the stated objectives. Keli‘i Wilson, Director of Hawaiian Cultural Affairs (October 17, 2012), was instrumental in implementing a number of these objectives, some of which are detailed in the compendium of valued practices (Visit: http://www.nahha.com/docs/Final-Action-Plan-012508KW.pdf).
to guests, staff training, and the use of place names in businesses as a means of increasing culture presence. Drawing on the work of Kanahele: Agrusa, Lema, Tanner, Host, and Agrusa (2010) looked at visitor demand, “for more authentic tourism experiences through the reintegration of Hawaiian culture” (p. 247). The findings, based on visitor survey data, found that more should be done to increase the presence of the culture. Based on Kanahele’s (1994) report, Agrusa et al, (2010) argues, “the use of the Hawaiian language in [sic]...a crucial part of Hawaiian culture and essential to the restoration [of cultural presence]” (p. 251). While the study is oriented to understanding visitor interest in cultural tourism experiences, of note is that a link is made between tourism to support culturally appropriate use of the language as central to re-establishing cultural presence or place. Similar to the findings of Zeppel (2002), the study notes an interest in the language on the part of visitors, 8.1% of whom would enjoy introductions to activities in the ‘ōlelo.

An early report by the Māori Tourism Task Force (Butterworth & Smith, 1986) expressly noted the use of tourism to support language maintenance; recommending the development of wānanga marae (places of learning) to train cultural experts wherein interactions with visitors would engender continued support (p. 13,16, 49). More recently, the Mā te Reo Language Regeneration Program, funding is provided to support events such as concerts, festivals, speech competitions, and language club activities (2012). The purpose of the funding is to increase “Māori language speaking domains and opportunities to use te reo Māori” (www.ma-tereo.co.nz). The Māori Language Strategy, Te Reo Mauriora (2011), notes the continuing decline of the Māori language, down from 25.2% in 2001 to 23.7 in 2006, the principal recommendation of which is the development of community planning associations (Rūnanga ā-Reo) in each of nine regions and the re-establishment of te reo in the home (p. 7).

While the iwi (tribe/kinship) and hapū (family/kinship group) are to lead initiatives, the report notes the need for a place of learning and to build awareness of the value of the language amongst Māori and New Zealanders (p. 23). Of interest to this study, is that the
report notes the need to integrate language into the daily life of residents, yet the focus remains on education oriented strategies, for example, the establishment of community wānanga as a means of developing speakers and building awareness (p. 47). The use of community-based tourism initiatives for this purpose is not explored as it has been in Hawai‘i. In contrast, the Ngāi Tahu 2025 (2005) development strategy notes the development of tourism opportunities, “that meld environmental and Ngāi Tahu cultural values and make good financial sense...including cultural/eco/heritage tourism” (p. 10). While not directly linked, the goal is to strengthen cultural identity and reo capability and there is growing awareness within the organization of the potential for tourism to support language development (O’Regan, March 15, 2013).

The purpose in reviewing these strategic planning initiatives is to highlight the similarities and discrepancies between the goals and objectives of tourism development and that of language revitalisation. On one hand, the tourism strategies suggest that there is room to improve language use within community-based initiatives, and language revitalisation strategies that only touch on the possibility of using tourism for this purpose. What appears to be missing is a clear understanding of how to incorporate effective language-based tourism opportunities within tourism initiatives.

**Summary**

This chapter draws together literature from within the fields of linguistics and tourism, and secondary documents that reflect past, present, and developing initiatives aimed at supporting language development and language revitalization. In drawing together these diverse works, the literature demonstrates that there is a level of visitor interest in hearing and learning about indigenous languages (Agrusa et al., 2010; d'Entremont, 2001, Phillips & Thomas, 2001; Zeppel, 2002). Although, there are a small number of representative studies, the academic literature suggests that tourism can be used to support and encourage language use as evidenced by Greathouse-Amadour (2005a) and Snow (2004). This is supported by
tourism industry reports and language development strategies in which initiatives have either incorporated or suggested the use of tourism for this purpose.

The work of Burusphat et al. (2010) and Greathouse-Amador (2005a) are pivotal within the academic literature. While both studies focus on language and tourism issues, the study by Greathouse-Amador explores the role of community-based tourism in influencing the preservation and maintenance of Nuhuat (language) in Cuetzalan, Mexico. The study by Burushat et al. (2010) uses language vitality as the critical factor in determining the cultural safety of Thai communities considering ethnic tourism development. The express use of language for this purpose is representative of the capacity of language to reflect broader cultural constructs. The work by Amoamo (2008), Carr (2004, 2007), McIntosh et al. (2002), and Spiller et al. (2010) are also pivotal as these scholars argue that tourism initiatives grounded in cultural value systems step away from mainstream operational constructs, which place indigenous peoples in relationship to tourism as opposed to being held a relationship with tourism, i.e., choice and control.

Within the broader tourism literature, discussions of language are of necessity subsumed within or attached to larger issues, for example, within discourses on the socioeconomic effects of globalization as posited by Sekhar (2012) and Stenner (2011) amongst others. However, this can also occur unintentionally, for example, in discussions wherein the benefits of community-based developments are extolled. I refer to my own master’s thesis here as an example as I assumed language would benefit by virtue of it being a part of indigenous peoples traditions and practices (Whitney-Squire, 2011). At the time, I was unable to appreciate the complexity and relevance of language to indigenous peoples. I have since read others works wherein assumptions around the meaning and purpose of language have had similar effect. While discourses on globalization and community development are critical issues, it can belie the need to look more closely at language specifically.
This has created a gap in our understanding of indigenous peoples’ languages within community-based tourism and tourism related initiatives. While the literature acknowledges the importance of language within tourism, there is a gap in our understanding as to why language is important, which precludes a deeper understanding of how language operates within tourism settings. Following this, it precludes a deeper understanding of the role of the community in supporting and encouraging language use in these and related contexts.

Drawing on the perspectives of indigenous peoples on language, as presented in chapter 2, one of the significant gaps is to consider the relationships or relationality of language, first as it rests within the community and second as rests within community-based tourism contexts. The remainder of this thesis seeks to address these challenges.
4. Foundational Study Area: Haida Gwaii

Haida Gwaii is the traditional homeland of the Xaayda / Xaad peoples who have known this place since the time of the supernatural beings: the ancient myths tell them they came from the ocean. I have felt the mystique of Haida Gwaii while standing in front of the ancient totem poles at Kiusta village (K’yuusda), which lies south of Langara Island (K’iis Gwaay) along the shores of Parry Passage. In 2010, I watched as the Haida celebrated the re-instatement of Haida Gwaii as the official place name of the islands and the return of Queen Charlotte Islands to the Government of British Columbia.\(^{59}\) This event was deeply significant to the community: the original place name supplanted in 1787 by Captain George Dixon (Gough, 2000). I attended my first potlatch in Skidegate and watched young and old celebrate their life ways and heritages in song and dance and drumming. The following sections provide information about the people and the place some call the Misty Isles. The content broadly covers the life ways of the Haida, geography and history, historic events and language, legislative and education issues, and tourism development.

4.1 Life Ways of the Haida (Xaayda giina’ah)

Haida society divides into one of two matri-moieties: the Raven Clan (Xuuya K’waalas) of Old Massett (Gaw) and the Eagle Clan (Guud K’waalas) of Skidegate (HiGaagilda) (Acheson, 2005; Boelscher, 1989; Dalzell, 1968; Swanton, 1905; Wilson (Kii’iljuus) & Harris, 2005).\(^{60}\) Within these two clans, approximately forty lineages represent the hereditary descendants of Haida Gwaii (Virtual Museum Canada (VMC), 2009). The Haida are a matriarchal society in which rights and privileges pass from generation to generation through the mother (Boelscher, 1989; (VMC, 2009). A Raven (Xuuya) must marry an Eagle (Guud) just as an Eagle must marry a Raven, which the parent traditionally would

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\(^{59}\) Pursuant to the Haida Gwaii Reconciliation Act Sec. 2 (2010). See www.leg.bc.ca/39th2nd/1st_read/gov18-1.htm#section2

\(^{60}\) Moiety: A form of social organization characterized by the division of society into two parts called moieties (www.britannica.com). In the case of the Haida, lineage was traditionally maintained through the mother’s family, that is, a matriarchal society (Boelscher, 1989).
have arranged (Interview Aay Aay, May 31, 2012). Villages had chiefs as did family units and people were able to obtain additional social status as negotiated by parents on behalf of their children (Boelscher, 1989; Murdoch, 1936 cited in Boelscher).\textsuperscript{61}

Traditional social structures continue to inform present day social structures. The potlatch (‘waahlGahl) still plays a major role in the community, as does the passing of rights and privileges to hereditary descendants within clan lineages. While marriages must still join Raven and Eagle, some marry outside these traditional arrangements. The right to use songs, crests and emblems, dances, to carve in a particular way, harvesting cedar bark or food, naming canoes and houses, and the instruction of youth by their aunties and uncles–all are still carefully governed by the rights and privileges of heredity unless permissions are obtained (Brown & Brown, 2009). The oratory skills of chiefs are of great importance and one’s position in the community rests in equal measure to their generosity, moderation, and meeting of obligations (Boelscher, 1989).\textsuperscript{62}

Each of these social practices are governed in accordance with values and beliefs founded on respect and responsibility, which are maintained through kinship ties within clan and family units (Brown & Brown, 2005; Wilson, 2005). These core values and beliefs are foundational to how the Haida orient themselves within their world and guides understandings of the relationships that constitute that world. In this community document, Wilson (Kii’iljuss) and Brown (Kaxkina) speak of the universal truths of the Haida and the validity of those truths as evidenced by the fact that they remain on their traditional lands to this day. Working in collaboration with other Coastal First Nations, Brown and Brown (2009) in conjunction with Barbara Wilson (Kii’iljuus), outline the seven universal and fundamental truths (values) of the peoples. While all are of equal value, three of these truths play a significant role in this thesis,

\textsuperscript{61} Original source not obtained. Murdock, G.P. (1936). Rank and potlatch among the Haida. Section of Anthropology, Department of the Social Sciences, Yale University Press.

\textsuperscript{62} Swanton (1905) and Boelscher (1989) describe customs, including clean and unclean sections in homes, high and low class foods, and carvings in and outside homes depicting lineages, events, and histories.
1. **Universal truth**: “Connection to nature,” understands that we are all on and know all things, animate and inanimate, as being connected not just physically but by virtue of the ebb and flow of the universal truths. It understands the social interconnectedness of all things as extending to their relationship with the land and sea. (p. xiii).

2. **Universal truth**: “Respect,” understands that there is equal value in all life and that there is a life force in all things. Building on this, Wilson and Harris (2005) and Wilson (2009) state that the Haida know that “respect for all things” (yahguudang) and “ability to make things right” (tll yahda) are the two laws that underpin all else. “These work hand in hand” to maintain balance—in a cyclical momentum that has at its centre the belief that the actions of one thing affect all else (p. 7).

3. **Universal truth**: “Adapting to change,” understands an essential need to accept change for the purpose of survival (p. xiv). Webster (cited in Brown & Brown, 2009) acknowledges that they are living in a world “completely different from our old people,” and notes that “they can no longer transfer knowledge in the traditional way, but must develop new ways of teaching” (p. 68).

The relevance of these truths speak to a particular understanding of relationships, the importance of maintaining balance in all things, and the fact that the Haida are intimately aware of the need to change and adapt—opening themselves to new ways of transferring knowledge. The remaining truths or values relate to concepts of “knowledge” and “stewardship” wherein traditional practices reflected their intimate relationship with nature and personal responsibility to the land and sea and “sharing,” to support others “in order for our world to survive” (Brown & Brown, 2009, p. xiv). Foundational to all else is the knowledge that the Haida and other Coastal First Nations have been on these lands since Creation (Brown & Brown, 2009).
Oral Histories of the Haida

The oral narratives of the Haida describe the actions of the Raven, Foam Woman, the Eagle and other mythical beings in the peopling of the islands (Wilson (Kii’iljuus) & Harris, 2005, Brown & Brown, 2009; Young, 2005). An underlying theme is that the Haida came from, or were born of the sea, within the supernatural origins of their peoples (Wilson (Kii’iljuus) & Harris, 2005; Young, 2005). Other myths explain the mysteries of life, record events of the past, or offer insight or instruction on how to live well—to maintain respect and balance as described by Wilson (Kii’iljuus), 2009. Wilson (Kii’iljuus) and Harris (2005) posit that the myths form the perspectives of the Haida on such things as the “origins of the lands, resource ownership, crests, songs, names, how medicinal plants are used, facial paints, and the names and locations of places” (p. 122).

The oral narratives are the means by which the Haida preserved their knowledge from generation to generation using the language to create place-worlds in which personal connections or relationships are formed and maintained with places, with people, and with ideas (Basso, 1996). A system of rigorous training ensured that the stories were passed on accurately, such that representative facts of thousands of years ago have recently begun to be proven within scientific fields of study (Wilson (Kii’iljuus) & Harris, 2005). Not mere stories, Boelscher (1989) suggests that the oral narratives are known and understood by the Haida “in the form of cultural-internal perspectives as theoretic of legitimacy,” that is, much of the oral narrative cannot be understood from outside the cultural place-making of the Haida (Basso, 1996), however, the tapestry of words gives a glimpse into their world (p. 44). A creation myth, shared by James Young [Nang Kiing.aay7uuans] (2005, p. 142), describes the time of the Loon,

63 Wilson, a Haida Elder, suggests the myths be taken literally as a form of knowledge of a long time ago.
The story begins a long long time ago, before Haida Gwaii came out of the water. Loon was swimming, he fly around, but there was no land. He saw a cloud and flew up into the cloud, there was a native dwelling there; this was a supernatural dwelling. Loon went in and removed his skin and changed into human form. There were two quartz stones in the centre; the stones burned all the time; beside the stones was a very old man. The old man didn’t wake up so loon went outside, calling; kept checking the old man, but still as sleep so loon continues to call outside. All night this went on day after day...on the third day the old man woke up and said he couldn’t sleep with all this calling. Loon told him that there was no place for the Haida to live. The old man called the loon, who was in human form into the house, and started to rub his stomach. The supernatural being rubbed and pulled out a baby that he then made bigger than the average man...perfect. The old man told him to get the box around the partition and he did, but there was a box in a box in a box in the 5th box there were two stones a larger one and a smaller one. The supernatural being instructed loon to take the stones back down; he was to blow on the smaller stone and then place it in the water and the next day come back and do the same with the larger stone. The smaller stone became Haida Gwaii, the larger stone became the mainland. After the island was there, the baby/Haida the supernatural being had created came down and changed into Raven. The story is about Raven; he walked the earth and taught the people; on land he changed into a human and with one hand pointed to the rock and with the other pointed to the bushes and out came the first human beings; they don’t live long because he pointed at the bushes; had he pointed at the rock they would have lived longer. There are no descendants of these people.

There are other creation myths involving the Raven (the Trickster) who, while alone on a northern strip of sand called Rose Spit, found a clamshell/cockleshell with a number of very small people protruding from inside (Bill Reid Foundation, 2011; Gill, 2009). Raven coaxed the people out of the clamshell, asking them to join him in this wonderful world and they did—growing larger and larger as they made their way into the forests (Bill Reid Foundation, 2011; Newton, 1973; Swanton, 1905). Another creation myth, tells of Foam Woman who, when the whole world was covered with water, held the only land away from the other supernatural beings (Dalzell, 1968; Gill, 2009; Newton, 1973; Swanton, 1905). It is said that Foam
Woman had as many as 10 breasts and the other supernatural beings, having come to her, produced the female ancestors of the Raven Clan (Swanton, 1905).  

The world of the Haida is a world where supernatural beings exist and form a part of everyday life (Wilson (Kii’iljuus) & Harris (2005). During the year Swanton spent in Haida Gwaii in the early 1900s, he was to record four types of supernatural beings,

**Beings of the upper world:** The highest of these is the “Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens,” to whom they pray in need and in thanksgiving; it is this being that decides who lives and who dies, knows the thoughts of people, and is the source of Haida power (p. 14).

**Beings of the sea:** These supernatural beings are people in the form of animals. They are called Salmon–People, Porpoise–People etc, but the being of the most importance is the Killer–Whale–People, which the Haida do not hunt to this day. (p. 22)

**Beings of the land:** Land beings were people who took the form of a particular place or object: for example, Creek–Woman or Forest–People. Some are thought to have ill intent towards people (Land–Otter–People), whereas others were thought to help people out.

**Beings of the more general:** Swanton (1905) described these supernatural beings as more closely linked to the activities and pursuits of the people and less so the realm of the gods (my word). For example, Master–Carpenter and Master–Canoe–Builder. (p. 29-31).

To the Haida, nothing exists in isolation from the natural and supernatural. Boelscher (1989) suggests that the dualistic concepts of Western philosophy such as animal/human and natural/supernatural do not apply (Boelscher, 1989). The oral narratives use the language to underpin the values and beliefs within of the Haida worldview, which inter-connects with and forms relationships that are the spiritual, the natural, and the cultural life ways of the Haida. Wilson (Kii’iljuus) and Harris (2005) suggest that the beliefs and values of the Haida move

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64 This story, shared by Wilson (2005), indicates that it was the Eagle who was permitted to approach Foam Woman. Other versions of the story indicate that it was the Raven. (Also see Brown & Brown, 2009, p. 131.)
beyond mere concepts when taken to incorporate acts of respect and making it right, wherein practice and action demonstrates those beliefs and values as truths.

4.2 Islands of the People (Xaayda Gwaay.yaay)

Geographically one can draw a connecting line between New Zealand, Hawai‘i, and Haida Gwaii. The later located at 53˚00’N, 132˚00’W, which is approximately 100 kilometres off the northwest coast of British Columbia—across from the coastal community of Prince Rupert, B.C. (Carey, 1991; Council Haida Nation (CHN), 2013; Dalzell, 1968). The geographic location of Haida Gwaii makes it one of the most remote areas of the world containing two major islands—Graham Island to the north and Moresby Island to the south. In addition, to these major landmasses, there are approximately 150 smaller islands and over 1500 islets (Carey, 1991, 1995; Dalzell, 1968). Figure 1 depicts the major islands of Haida Gwaii. Figure 2 depicts the national park with Haida places-names.
Figure 1. Major islands of Haida Gwaii. Government of Canada and Council of the Haida Nation. Used with permission (September 24, 2013). (www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/visit/visit8.aspx)
The geography and ecological diversity of the islands is so distinctive that the islands are known as Canada’s northern archipelago. The Haida know the islands by many different names, each of which expresses their unique history and life ways in the language of the land. Naming the features of the islands with place-names is an ancient form of geography and is far more interesting than modern day signs used to indicate one’s arrival at a particular
destination. Place-names passed on important geographical facts, such as how to get in and out of particular areas, knowledge of land features and tidal levels, and the seasons in which to gather certain foods (Kii’iljuus, personal communication, June 28, 2010; Steedman & (Jisgang) Collison, 2011). In addition, place-names helped people to remember past events, the people linked to those events, and the sacred knowledge of those places (Field journal, 2010, 2012). Place-names provided what people needed to survive, but also served to maintain connections (relationships) with the ancestors and the land (Interview Kii’iljuus, June 23, 2012). Place-names do not orient oneself to a longitude and latitude; rather they orient people to one another and the land—an entirely different sort of compass.

The Māori and Hawaiian peoples use their traditional place-names similarly. Davis, O’Regan, and Wilson (1990) note that Māori place-names contain large amounts of information about the land, the resources, traditional events, and people’s relationships (see also Pohe, 2012). In Hawai‘i, McGregor (2010) notes that place naming articulated the nature of the winds, the rains, even the scent that they carried or “how they feel when they caress our bodies” (p. 213). Place-names are a means of place making as described by Basso (1996) wherein the words used create the scene, imbue social traditions, practices, and processes—the pieces that construct the personal and social identity of peoples. The process of place-making forms strong physical and emotional attachments to place through collective narratives (Basso, 1996).

The renaming of the oceans, waterways, and lands of Haida Gwaii began long ago. Juan Perez was one of the first in 1774; christening the northern tip of what is now Langara Island, Cape Santa Margarita and the western most ranges of South Moresby Island, the San Christoval Mountains (Dalzell, 1973). Similarly, the ocean waters to the north of Graham Island (Dixon Entrance) known as the Siigee (Council of the Haida Nation, n.d.). Other names of this area include “Entrada de Juan Perez, Entrada de Font, Granitza Sound, Douglas
Channel, Hancock’s Strait, Addam’s Strait and Kygannie Strait” (Dalzell, 1973, p. 28). Other major waterways around the islands of Haida Gwaii are called Duuguusd (West Coast, Graham Island), Tang Gwan (Pacific Ocean), Daawxuusda (West Coast, Moresby Island), and Kandaliigwii (Hecate Strait) (Council of the Haida Nation, n.d.). Hecate Strait was named after the H.M.S. Hecate, a paddle wheeler/sloop, which provided services along the east coast of the islands in the 1860s (Dalzell, 1973). To the Haida, South Moresby Island is properly called Gwaii Haanas, meaning the Islands of Beauty (SHIP, 2011).

The Skidegate Haida Immersion Program orthography provides numerous examples of the place-based and people-based meanings of specific geographical areas and regions of Haida Gwaii. Table 2 provides an excerpt of selected words and phrases from the orthography.

Table 2
Excerpt of Haida Place-Names and Meanings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sgaada.nga</th>
<th>A tiny island about half way up Dawson Harbour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sk’aagii hll k’aagada</td>
<td>Dog salmon I dry – fall activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘UwanGa</td>
<td>Gather seafood from beach (only seafood gathering)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XaaydaGa Gwaay.yaay linaGwaay</td>
<td>Graham Island (people island half)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Din Stl’in</td>
<td>Pallant Creek – small bay just north of the mouth of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiila Ga linas</td>
<td>Medicine grow in that Place Mountain (Mt. Moody)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Skidegate Haida Immersion Program orthography (Download application at: iTunes: https://itunes.apple.com/ca/app/hlgaagilda-xaayda-kil/id474664985?mt=8

Today the Haida work with a number of organizations, elders, and individuals to document, recover, and retain the cultural and place-based names of Haida Gwaii.67 Once new names

65 The poster/map produced by the CHN and the Gowgaia Institute, includes a disclaimer on the spelling of names as it can be difficult to verify.
67 These include Council of the Haida Nation, Skidegate Haida Immersion Program, the Haida Language Society, Haida Gwaii Museum, the Haida Heritage Centre, Parks Canada, BC Parks, Gwaii Trust, and other funding agencies.
are in common use, it can be difficult to bring earlier names back into popular use. Davis et al., (1990) suggests that the meanings attributed to places by non-Māori often reflect deep emotional attachment, however, these associations often reflect familial or individual preferences and not necessarily that of the broader culture or community.\textsuperscript{68}\textsuperscript{69} Over a period of years the Haida have made several attempts to re-establish place names in Haida Gwaii,

**Locals Challenge Name Change**

*Field journal*

Just before I arrived in Haida Gwaii in May 2012, the Council of the Haida Nation sought agreement from the community of the Village of Queen Charlotte to change the name back to its original place-name of Daajing Giids (Interview K’iiwaay, June 2012). When put to a vote, the petition was defeated for a number of reasons including ‘not our culture,’ ‘would have to change signage,’ ‘it’s too expensive,’ ‘too hard to spell,’ and ‘people won’t know where that is’ (Interview K’iiwaay, June 2012). However, six years earlier, a similar effort to change the name of a section of highway near Skidegate to Daajing giids Way was widely supported (qciobserver, 2006).

The geography of Haida Gwaii cannot be understood outside of its cultural and place-based contexts. The ancient and present day use of place-names is central to understanding the life ways and cultural identity of the Haida. Meanings commonly attributed to geographic place-names by non-indigenous peoples tend to negate or minimizes the importance of indigenous peoples relationships with the land and with each other (Davis et al., 1990). These issues are discussed further in Chapters seven and eight.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{68} The New Zealand Geographic Board Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa (2008 Act) is responsible for naming places in New Zealand. Legislation governing the use of place names has been in place since 1946 and reflects a long history on this and related issues. Presently, the Board is tasked with reviewing issues of spelling, determining the priority of discovery, and collect original Māori places names for recording on official maps amongst others. (www.linz.govt.nz/placenames/about-geographic-board/nzgb-news-notices/2009/0421-alternative-maori-names)

\textsuperscript{69} The Hawai’i Board on Geographic Names, Office of Planning is responsible for ensuring the correct spelling, use of diacritical marks, and meanings office names and spellings for geographical locations only. (www.planning.hawaii.gov/gis/hbgn/)

4.3 Recent History of Language and the Xaayda / Xaad Peoples

Tuhiwai Smith (2012) posits that much of the world’s indigenous history remains unknown as history is most often told from the perspective of non-indigenous peoples. While this can be unintentional, the telling of another’s history on their behalf cast’s people in the role of other” as articulated by Said (1979) and enforces stereotypes that bind people to a particular reality not of their own making (Fanon, 1952). However, as a non-indigenous researcher, I have undertaken to balance this by using a methodology that is participatory and inclusive of the community and a narrative format that reflects, to the extent possible, information produced by the community. I acknowledge that ideally the Haida have their own story—a story better told through the art, literature, music, and narrative traditions of their own people.

The Haida Gwaii Museum (The Savings Things House) and Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnagaay houses a large collection of Haida works of art, photographic records dating back to the 1870s, and extensive records on key historic events. Within the gallery is housed a timeline of those events that hold significance from the perspective of the Haida. This timeline highlights key historic events since the Haida’s first contact with the European world. While the forward acknowledges that, “by the 18th century, the Haida had witnessed thousands of years of events, including massive floods, the ice age, and the arrival of the first tree …” The events contained within the timeline are foundational to establishing the historical context of this thesis. Table 3 is an excerpt of some of the key events from the panel in the museum, although somewhat condensed. While the timeline provides a generalised review of key events, the discussion to follow expands only on those historical events that impact directly on this study. These key events are shaded in grey.

72 The Haida Gwaii Museum opened in 1976 and today forms part of the Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnagaay, (opened in 2007). The Haida Gwaii Museum Society is run by local volunteers and has the broad support of the community. A second smaller museum is planned for the community of Old Massett, which would reflect their regional history and life ways. See: http://www.haidaheritagecentre.com/
Table 3

Excerpt of Key Events: Historic Timeline Housed in the Haida Gwaii Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>The Royal Proclamation is signed establishing what would become aboriginal title/rights to land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1778</td>
<td>The ships Resolution and Discovery under Captain James Cook trade for sea otter pelts…creating demand in China…the maritime fur trade” begins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>Captain George Dixon arrives in Haida Gwaii and renames it the “Queen Charlotte Islands” after his vessel and Queen. Dixon trades with the Haida for over 1800 sea otter pelts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>The British claim sovereignty over “British Columbia.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Major smallpox outbreak occurs on the northwest coast. Tens of thousands of aboriginal people die over the next twenty years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Gedanst – the first Haida to accept Christianity – baptized in Victoria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>The British North America Act creates “Canada.” The Indian Act consolidates laws relating to Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>An Indian Act amendment bans the potlatch, making “the Haida legal system illegal, and denied us the right to an essential part of our social and economic and political system.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>The federal government and churches partner to run a school system for “Indian Children” – the Residential School System. The first Haida children to attend were sent to Coqualeetza Residential School near Chilliwack – a distance of 1,600 kilometres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Epidemics reduce population of Haida to less than 600 persons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Aboriginal people “prohibited from raising funds or retaining legal counsel for the purpose of pursuing land claims.” Repealed two years later.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Potlatch ban is removed pursuant to revisions to the Indian Act. By 1960 Registered Indians are granted the right to vote in Federal elections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>The Council of the Haida Nation is formed. By mid 70s most residential schools cease to operate. Seven residential schools remained open in the 1980s, the last closes in 1996.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Canada Constitution recognises and affirms existing aboriginal and treaty rights. By 1985 people no longer lose or gain “status” through marriage etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site established following stand against the logging industry and government on Aahlii Gwaay (Lyle Island).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>The Supreme Court of Canada acknowledges the continued existence of aboriginal title.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from an interpretive panel located in the Haida Gwaii Museum. Reproduced with permission. Received September 26, 2013.

73 Captain Cook was also the “discover” of Aotearoa (1769) and Hawai‘i (1778), providing a further historic connection between the three study sites (Collingridge, 2002; Wisniewski, 1979).
The Fur Trade

The first trading ship to land in Haida Gwaii was that of Captain George Dixon in 1787, which began a chain of events that would change the islands forever. Dixon first sailed with Captain James Cook in 1776 seeking the famed North West Passage; a journey that ended in the death of Captain Cook in 1779, in Hawaiʻi (Collingridge, 2002; Wisniewski, 1979). While it was Cook that initiated trade with China for sea otter pelts, it was Dixon that first traded with the Haida (Gough, 2000). By 1825 approximately 230 ships had visited the Queen Charlotte Islands and some Haida had been hired on as seal and sea otter hunters—travelling as far as Japan and Hawaiʻi throughout this 25 year period (Newton, 1973).

One of the stories shared with me while I was in Haida Gwaii, was the recounting of a family story wherein a young man whose girlfriend was taken onto one of the trading ships. Although the young man followed the ship down the coast in his canoe, he was unable to reach the ship and affect her rescue. It was years later that she and other women taken from the islands were finally found living in Hawaiʻi. (Recorded Histories, May, 2012)

This story is but one example of the displacement of Haida resulting from the fur trade and supports the Haida’s belief that they have genealogical and historical ties with the peoples of Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa. The documented movement of Māori people on trade ships—to Australia, Japan, and Hawaiʻi also supports this belief and it is probable that they made connections. The disruption of peoples caused by the fur trade had a catastrophic impact on the culture and traditions of aboriginal tribes across Canada. This affected community and family relationships, traditions and practices, and undermined economic and legal systems; resulting in the “total transformation of life for the First Nations people” of Canada (Purich, 1986, p. 25, see also Long and Dickason, 2000).
The Epidemics

The introduction of diseases to the Haida population had a devastating affect on their communities. Population estimates before 1770, range from a low of 10,000 to a high of 30,000 people (Cline, n.d.; Wilson (Kii’iljuus), 2009; Newton, 1973; VMC, 2009). The most severe small pox epidemic on the west coast of Canada occurred in 1862 and estimates suggest that upwards of 20,000 Haida lost their lives at that time (Henderson, 1972; Newton, 1973). Other diseases took their toll, including “measles, dysentery, consumptions, influenza and other communicable diseases [that] wiped out thousands of people” (Wilson (Kii’iljuus), 2009). By the turn of the 19th Century, the deaths from disease would reduce the population to less than six hundred (Wilson (Kii’iljuus), 2009).

The huge loss of population had a profound affect on the ability of villages to sustain themselves on their traditional lands, forcing many to relocate to other villages (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012). Of the 18 villages reported in the 1840 Work Census, only two occupied village sites remain in Canada: the Old Massett Village (Gaw) and the Village of Skidegate (Henderson, 1972). Wilson (Kii’iljuus), (2009), states that the impact of this loss on the oral histories of the Haida was incalculable as it removed young and old from the population, breaking if not obliterating, the transference of traditional knowledge to future generations including the language (Wilson (Kii’iljuus), 2009).

The Banning of the Potlatch

In 1883, the Canadian government banned the potlatch in response to concerns held by politicians, missionaries, and the public (Gill, 2000; McMillian & Yellowhorn, 2004). These concerns reflected a belief that: (a) property was being destroyed in unnecessary displays of wealth, (b) it led to social disorder wherein community members vied for social power and position, and (c) gatherings might encourage uprisings and revolts against the established order (Manual & Posluns, 1974; Newton, 1973; Purich, 1986). On a surface level, the potlatch
is a traditional gathering where aboriginal peoples celebrate accomplishments or mark special
events in the community. However, the potlatch (separate from feast) serves a deeper societal
system wherein the community conducts and formalizes the political and legal affairs of the
people (Swanton, 1905). Swanton noted two types of potlatches: those given by a chief to
members of the clan to officiate special occasions and those given at the raising of a grave
post (1905). Murdoch (as cited in Boelscher, 1989) lists two additional reasons for
potlatches, the raising of a totem pole and the need to right a wrong. Potlatches are an
opportunity to acknowledge the names of individuals, to officiate adoptions, and to pass on
rights and privileges to resources, crests, songs, and dances (Boelscher, 1989). It was also a
system of redistributing wealth, such that gifts given to others represented the status of the
holder of the potlatch (Gadacz, 2012).

The giving of personal and other names is significant in the life ways of the Haida.
Names are given at various times in one’s life and Boelscher (1989), explains that the names
represent a person’s links or kinship with past and future generations, connects people to their
lineage and place, and serves to mediate for them between the supernatural and social world.
The dismantling of the potlatch system had devastating consequences to the social order of
the Haida and affected generations. An alternative view is suggested by Jason Alsop
(Interview, June 1, 2012) who stated that it was not the cessation of the potlatch that caused
social disorder for the Haida, rather it was the loss of people to disease, well intended
missionaries, and the sudden access to wealth that caused upheaval in the social order of the
Haida. The upheaval from this period undermined the use of the language within Haida
communities for generations, as missionaries and authorities increasingly encouraged the use
of English rather than their own languages as a means of advancing socially and economically
(Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012).

74 “Clan” often used in place of the more correct term “moiety.” Swanton (1905), writers, and members of the
community use “clan” most commonly. Moiety defined in anthropology is “each of two social or ritual groups
into which a people is divided.” (See www.http://oxforddictionaries.com/). The term clan is used herein.
The Residential Schools

The first residential schools opened in the 1880s (Manual & Posluns, 1974). The following excerpt is from the Xaayda kil (Haida language) exhibit in the Haida Gwaii Museum,

Before European contact, there were as many Xaayda kil dialects as there were Haida villages. However, in the 1880s, oppressive regimes designed to obliterate native cultures were set into place by the Canadian government. Residential school was one of these regimes. The speaking of native languages at residential school was absolutely forbidden and severe punishments were given to those who did. Many Haida went into residential schools as young children speaking only Haida, and came out many years later speaking only English. People were made to feel ashamed to speak Haida. (Haida Gwaii Museum, n.d.)

The purpose of the legislation was to assimilate First Nations people into the broader Canadian culture in a single generation in the belief that an “English only policy” would hasten the process (Long & Dickason, 1996). Aboriginal people of Canada consider it cultural genocide, “Of all the things the government did, the most harm was their education policies; removing children from the home and family; away from the language and culture … it almost destroyed us … we call it cultural genocide” (Long & Dickason, 1996, p. 294). While not all children and youth experienced negative effects, the majority of aboriginal children enrolled in these schools suffered from lifelong mental health and other disorders (Wilson (Kii’iljuus), 2009).

4.4 Legislative Context of Language Use

As part of British Columbia, Haida Gwaii is governed by two independent systems of government: a federal parliamentary system based in Ottawa and a provincial parliamentary
system based in Victoria (Constitution Act 1867, Sec 91–92).\textsuperscript{75} This system results in a division or separation of powers within Canada between the federal and the provincial governments—creating differing levels of authority in carrying out the responsibilities of government. Pursuant to Section 91(24) of the Constitution Act, the Federal Government retained responsibility for “Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians,” while Section 93, accorded provinces with responsibility for education (1867).

However, responsibility for the education of aboriginal children living on reserves remains the responsibility of the Federal Government, although this may be delegated through agreements with the provinces, territories, and school boards (Indian Act, 1985, Sections 4(2), 114–122). Clarifying this division of powers is critical to understanding the legislative framework in which responsibility for the provision of education to aboriginal peoples informs present day jurisdictional conflicts in Canada. The Indian Act (1985) establishes the legal relationship between the Federal Government (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs) and registered status Indians (Indian Act, 1985). The Constitution Act (Canada Act, 1982) establishes the rights and freedoms of citizens and includes two sections relevant to this study,

\textbf{Part 1: Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms}
- Sec. 16 Official Languages of Canada
- Sec. 23 Minority Language Educational Rights

\textbf{Part 2: Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada}
- Sec. 35 Existing Aboriginal and Treaty Rights Affirmed
- Sec. 35(1) Sec. 91(24) of the Constitution Act (1867) Affirmed

Pursuant to Sec. 16(1) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, “English and French are the official languages of Canada…” (1982). The act also ensures the right of individuals to receive their primary or secondary school instruction in English or French providing sufficient

\textsuperscript{75} The Constitution Act, 1982, S.35(2) establishes “Indian, Inuit, and Métis as aboriginal peoples of Canada”.

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numbers exist to warrant the expenditure of public funding (Sec 23). Access to services in English and French at federal institutions is pursuant to the Official Languages Act (1985). The preamble to the Official Languages Act does acknowledge the importance of preserving and enhancing languages other than English and French, yet this is provisional to “strengthening the status and use of the official languages” (para. 10). The governance of language within this legislative framework leaves indigenous peoples vulnerable within a divided and highly structured system that emphasises the preferential place of English and French. While indigenous languages are acknowledged there is limited support, financial or otherwise, provided and few options available outside that of the community and non-profit organizations to advance language development and language revitalization.

4.5 Language Education in Haida Gwaii

The legislative and governance structures affecting language and education issues in Haida Gwaii are complex. The separation of powers in Canada between the federal and provincial governments complicates the negotiation and implementation of programs and services. Further, the effect of hanging entitlement on “status and non-status” and the administration of lands as “on and off reserve” goes to the heart of identity issues in the Haida community (First Peoples’ Heritage, Language and Cultural Council (FPHLCC), 2010). While it is outside the scope of this study to fully consider language and education issues in Haida Gwaii, understanding the limitations of education to meet the needs of language learners in the community is foundational to appreciating the need to expand language-based programs to include other approaches.

While responsibility to aboriginal peoples remains with the federal government, the majority of educational programming is delivered via the Ministry of Education in British

76 The BC Report on Languages (2010) note the majority of language-based programs are delivered on-reserve only. Aboriginal people living off reserve have limited access to language instruction outside the public school system.
Columbia (Constitution Act, 1867; Canada Act, 1982). As a result, federal, provincial, and NGOs impose varying program parameters, and funding restrictions with which communities must comply. Further, the cyclical nature of the politics involved (federal/provincial/municipal) leaves communities vulnerable to changes in funding levels, political mandates, changes in staff, and myriad other factors outside their control (First Peoples’ Heritage, Language and Cultural Council (FPHLCC, 2010). There are currently four language and cultural education programs available to assist students / student performance in British Columbia (See Appendix C, Descriptions, References, and Links). These include,

- Aboriginal Education Enhancement Program/AAEP (Available HG / 2012)
- Grades 5-8 Second Language Education Program (Not available HG)
- Pre-school Language Nest Program (Not available HG)
- Head Start / Strong Start Programs–Birth to Age 6 (Available HG / n.d.)

Presently, the Haida language is taught at the four larger schools and students (K-11) receive approximately 9 hours of regular language instruction per week (British Columbia Ministry of Education [AAEP], 2011). In February 2012, a partial Haida immersion program was implemented at two elementary schools. The school district is required to collaborate with the communities and the Literacy Haida Gwaii: Community Literacy Plan (Ministry of Education, 2012-13) includes provision for the inclusion and support of the Haida language in the curriculum. Appendix D provides a listing of the schools in Haida Gwaii.

The 1970s were the beginning of the Haida cultural awareness coming after the raising of the poles in the late 60s in Old Massett. Resurgent interest in Haida Language, art, and traditions began to take root in the community and in our schools, with the old taboos around expressing cultural interest waned. If we accept a ‘status quo’ we accept the decline of the language. (Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement 2012-2016)

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77 There is no direct funding from fed/prov gov’t for language. (A. Wilson, personal communication, 2012.)
The programs noted above did not exist before 1990. While there is support for languages other than English and French within the education system, the issues are historically and legislatively complex (Battiste, 2002; Laboucane, 2010). Hyslop (2011) suggests that while there have been efforts made to include Haida culture and language in the curriculum “There is still a tangible, inescapable tension between maintaining an aboriginal identity [in a system] that, for all intents and purposes, still assimilates aboriginal children into the larger Canadian society” (para. 7). The small but growing number of educational opportunities available in Canada may be attributable to the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which established their right to revitalize language and culture (UNESCO, 2008). The following vignette describes similar advances in Aotearoa and Hawai‘i,

Language Rights Hawai‘i and Aotearoa

Field journal

Hawaiian peoples won the battle to include the ʻōlelo in education in 1986 when a 90-year-old law was repealed that made it illegal to speak the language, even on school grounds (Interview Silva, September 22, 2012). Charter Schools provide an alternative to mainstream education in Hawai‘i. I had the opportunity while on the Big Island to visit the Kua O Ka Lā Public Charter School. The school is located at the ancient coastal village site of Pu‘ala‘a and the efforts of these educators to support cultural learning and education is truly outstanding. The mission of the school is to provide students with knowledge and skills, through Hawaiian values, culture, and place-based education. When I arrived, the students were preparing their early wehena (ceremonial school opening), which is done entirely in the Hawaiian ʻōlelo (www.kuaokala.org).

In Aotearoa, the Māori were instrumental in developing the language nest models that have become the standard in many parts of the world (Ka’ai, 2009). The te reo was virtually outlawed in 1867 by the Native Schools Act and it was not until 1987 that the Māori language was recognised as an official language of New Zealand (Ka’ai, 2009). The Xaayda kil / Xaad kil is not yet an official language of Canada. However, by their

79 Initially, Canada did not sign the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It was not until November 2012 that Canada would become a signatory to the declaration (www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1309374239861/1309374546142).
own action of self government, Section A3.82(c) of the Constitution of the Haida Nation states “The official languages to the Haida Nation shall be Haida and English” (www.haidnational.ca).

4.6 Come to Haida Gwaii (Xaayda Gwaay gwii hla aan Kaa): Tourism Context

Arriving in Haida Gwaii from Prince Rupert is an inspiring sight. BC Ferries makes an overnight trip to drop you at Skidegate Landing around 6:00 in the morning. In the early light, the mountains and coastline of this unique archipelago provides a vista of craggy rocks, dark forests, and moonlit waters. One can also fly into one of two small airports: Massett in the north or Sandspit, which is located across the harbour from Skidegate, to the south. For the more adventurous, arriving under sail or motorboat provides the mode of transportation most suited to the islands. Once on shore you quickly realize the remote nature of the setting. There are no bright lights, no cabs waiting, and a good hour’s walk in either direction to find a coffee shop in the hope someone is awake. Heading to the left on the main highway takes you to Queen Charlotte, whereas heading to the right takes you first to Skidegate and then north towards Tlell, Port Clements, and Massett/Old Massett.

Infrastructure on Haida Gwaii is limited in comparison to larger centres on the mainland of Canada. A main highway runs to all points between Queen Charlotte and Old Massett and a spider’s web of old logging roads provide access to many remote areas of the islands. Basic amenities and services are available in most of the communities; however, the Village of Queen Charlotte and Massett/Old Massett serve as the major service centres and transportation hubs for the islands. The Village of Skidegate is centrally located and has become a focal point for cultural tourism given the proximity of the Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnagaay, the Haida Gwaii Museum, and Parks Canada. Old Massett and Massett have a long history of sport fishing and a number of floating lodges continue to operate throughout the summer months. While Old Massett does not yet have a cultural centre, there are a
number of cultural tourism experiences available. The following images depict the Haida communities of Old Massett and Skidegate.

Figure 3. Old Massett Village near the entrance to Massett Inlet. Source: Author, 2012.

Figure 4. Village of Skidegate from Skidegate Inlet. Source: Author, 2010.

The majority of Haida live in Skidegate and Old Massett with total resident populations of 709 and 6,2011). The total estimated population of the islands is 4370 as reported in the 2011 census, which is down from a population of 4812 in 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2012). In 2006, 1885 (40%) residents self-identified as Haida: 2905 (60%) self-identified as non-Haida (2006 Community Profiles, 2010). The two main industries on the islands are 1) agriculture and resource-based activities and 2) manufacturing and construction. The majority of occupations are (a) management positions, (b) sales and service, (c) trades and related services, and (d) other occupations. The unemployment rate is high in both communities: Old Massett at 33.8 and Skidegate at 15.1, with an average participating workforce income of

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80 There are minor discrepancies in the figures reported by AANDC & Statistics Canada Community Profiles. See the interactive map at: http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/index.aspx?lang=eng
$16,404 and $25,501 respectively (Statistics Canada, 2006). Appendix E includes additional statistics showing a breakdown of the population by community and population by age group, over a 10-year period.\(^{82}\) Anecdotally, I was told that at the height of the logging boom (60s, 70s, & 80s), residents were earning upwards of $40.00/hour with estimated annual incomes of $70 to $100K (Field journal, 2010). A report prepared for the Action Canada Northern Conference, notes the average family income for all residents in Haida Gwaii in 2011 at $57,598 compared with a provincial average of $80,511 (Markey, 2012).

**Perspectives on Tourism**

Perspectives on tourism development in Haida Gwaii vary considerably depending on the level and type of involvement in the industry. In Haida Gwaii, the industry is informed by the interests of national and provincial parks, tour operators, non-profit organizations, private and corporate business, governments, tourism associations, the sport fishing industry, special interest groups, communities, and of course visitors.\(^{83}\) These interests extend to personal and cultural value systems wherein economic development, environmental issues, access to lands and waters for recreation and other uses, legislative requirements, land claims issues, and the role of governments directly impact on the ability of the industry to maintain balance between the goals and objectives of diverse stakeholder groups.

Despite the diversity of these groups, Haida Gwaii itself has become a focal point for the managed growth of the tourism industry. The Heritage Tourism Strategy (2003) set out core strategies as to how collaborative, managed growth could benefit all islanders while protecting, celebrating and sharing, their heritage (Land Use Plan Recommendations, 2006). These strategies reflect a desire to maintain healthy ecosystems, profound respect for the Haida culture, preservation of island life, an inspired relationship to place, and the importance

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\(^{82}\) Most recent figures available as at April 2013. The data are for the year 2006. Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Interactive Community Map, http://pse5-esd5.aic-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/index.aspx?lang=eng

\(^{83}\) A wide range of stakeholders are represented here, but not all internal / external interests have been acknowledged.
of local community (Heritage Tourism Strategy, 2003). Overall, there is strong support within the Haida and non-Haida communities to ensure that sustainable practices and management strategies focus on protecting the environmental and cultural heritages of the islands. Perspectives on tourism development within the Haida community also vary depending on the level of involvement in the industry. With the decline in the fishing and logging industries, there is a general understanding in the communities that tourism is one of few options available for economic development (Land Use Plan Recommendations, 2006).

However, while there is a pragmatic basis as to the necessity of tourism development, one is left with the impression that tourism is not viewed as the perfect or optimal solution. The following vignette notes some of the perspectives held in Haida Gwaii,

**Perspectives on Tourism**

**Participants**

*While working in the communities, tourism was, of course, a topic of discussion that came up naturally and frequently. Many of the comments seemed made with an entirely different vision of what would be the preferred situation in Haida Gwaii.*

*Kwita* (Interview, July 6, 2012) commented, *I wasn’t really excited about it [tourism], but when there isn’t anything else we just got to try to make the tourism work.*” Others were keenly aware of the historic changes wrought in Haida Gwaii.

Collison looks back to state “The first time we talked about tourism was 20 years ago. It takes a long time. You’re dealing with people who were fisherman, people who were loggers, dealing with people who were independent.” Another perspective taken is out of concern for the wellbeing of the community and those who work in the industry.

*Kii’lifuus* (Interview, June 23, 2012) does not see tourism as the ideal, suggesting that the jobs are not sufficient to meet the needs of the staff and takes issue with what she sees as a subservient relationship with visitors.

Jason Alsop explains that the community understands tourism development as a “transitional piece from resource extraction into a new sustainable economy.”

Premised on the fact that one can share themselves and their community only to the

84 Also see Misty Isles Economic Development Society (2013) http://www.mieds.ca/
point where they felt comfortable. Outside of personal parameters of comfort, issues of sustainability—preserving and protecting the land and culture are the imperative. “From the Haida perspective [tourism] has to be sustainable in the sense that it respects cultural values and the—rules—respecting Haida Gwaii essentially. That means the land, water, the animals, and the people—everything together. We don’t want cruise ships … dumping waste or people coming just to kill things and leave” (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012). However, there remains an overarching sense of welcome. Nika shares, “I think tourism is really important … once they get to know us better … people have these preconceived ideas about us [yet] with mutual respect and cooperation and understanding … it doesn’t take away our Haidaness … there is this sharing and getting to know each other. I like tourism when it can work that way” (Interview, June 28, 2012).

**Historic Development**

Travellers have found their way to the islands for centuries and early oral and written records indicate the involvement of some Haida as expert translators and guides to early explorers, prospectors, and ship’s captains (Swanton, 1905; Interview Collison, June 24, 2012). The islands attract sport fishers, hunters, and adventurists and the tourism industry developed in response to the needs of these travellers (Dalzell, 1968; Carey, 1995). However, a major shift in the usual dynamics of development occurred in the late 1980s when the Council of the Haida Nation won a landmark award over the continued logging of Lyell Island (HlGaa Gwaay) (Coven, 2009). The events leading up to the award involved the Haida’s opposition to the continued logging of un-ceded lands by the province/crown (CHN, n.d.; Gill, 2009).

The Haida’s on-going fight to stop logging, resulted in a British Columbia Court ruling that the government/ministry has a *duty of fairness* to consult on forest management issues.\(^{85}\) In 1987, this ruling resulted in the signing of the South Moresby Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Government of Canada, the Province of British Columbia,

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and the Council of the Haida Nation (Gill, 2009). This MoU ended logging in, what is now, the Gwaii Haanas National Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve, and Haida Heritage Site (Gill, 2009; Parks Canada, 2012). These historic events brought about a series of agreements; providing the Haida with ever increasing powers to control economic, social, and community development. The South Moresby Agreement (1988) between the Government of Canada and the Province of British Columbia provided $38,000,000 in funding to establish a national marine and terrestrial park and a regional economic development fund (Gwaii Trust, 2009).⁸⁶

In 1993, the Gwaii Haanas South Moresby Agreement between Canada and the Council of the Haida Nation established the Archipelago Management Board and implemented a system of consensus management of the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site. The agreement provided for the care and protection of the land, protection of the environment and Haida culture, and priority hiring of Haida people (Whitney-Squire, 2011). These historic events were instrumental in the development of indigenous tourism in Haida Gwaii. The construction of the Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnagaay and expansion of the Haida Gwaii Museum in 2007 further solidified the Haida’s role in community-based tourism development and provided a foundation and opportunities for the expansion of programs to support cultural and environmental stewardship.⁸⁷ Appendix F provides additional details on these key agreements.

**Tourism Products and Services**

Haida Gwaii offers a wide variety of outdoor recreation, adventure, ecotourism, and cultural tourism products and services. Residents and visitors alike have innumerable opportunities available in terms of natural and wildlife attractions. There are over 4,637

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⁸⁶ Gwaii Trust Society: Established in 1988 through the South Moresby Agreement. (See http://www.gwaiitrust.com/.)

kilometres of coastline to explore and the parks and protected areas total just over 50% of the island’s land mass: 518,000 square kilometres (Land Use Plan Highlights, 2008). Appendix G provides a graphic overview of the available tourism features noting the placement of 23 fishing lodges, 40 trail systems, and 26 anchorages. A second graphic shows the 21 protected areas in Haida Gwaii in addition to the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site on South Moresby Island (Land Use Plan Recommendations Report (2006).

Tourism experiences include fishing and charter boat tours; kayak tours, motherships, power and sailboat; land tours and adventure excursions; museums and attractions; art galleries and gift shops; and, spas, massage, and beauty salons (goHaidaGwaii.ca).

One will find the usual range of amenities and services: accommodation, air and ground transportation, food and beverage, shopping outlets, camping and recreational vehicle sites, in addition to a number of annual festivals and events (goHaidaGwaii.ca). There are a number of Haida owned and operated tourism businesses (private, corporate, and not-for-profits). Broadly, these include fishing charters, accommodation, restaurants, land tours, cultural dining, galleries and gift shops, private studios, the Haida Heritage Centre, and the Haida Gwaii Museum.

The Council of the Haida Nation has continued to invest in tourism development. Funding projects to build infrastructure and develop capacity to support ecotourism initiatives, to facilitate the re-organization of tourism related business within the Haida Enterprise Corporation (HaiCo), and the purchase of the West Coast Resorts and the Haida House at Tllaal (Coast Opportunity Funds, 2010; The Nations Business, 2012).88 89 90

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88 West Coast Resorts consists of 5 world-class fishing lodges. (www.haidanation.ca)
89 Coast Opportunity Funds (www.coastfunds.ca). A number of organizations have contributed to the fund including the Nature Conservancy, Tides Canada Foundation, the Government of British Columbia, and the Government of Canada (See About Us for listing.) The purpose is to provide coastal First Nations with funding to support sustainable development. The Council of the Haida Nation has received direct and in-direct funding for the purpose of tourism development. For example, 350K in 2011 “to build infrastructure and develop capacity for the eco-tourism sector.” Funding has also been provided to consolidate organizational needs related to tourism. For example 1.0 million, “to consolidate tourism related businesses under a TaiCo subsidiary and 2.1 million for the purchase of the Tlell River Lodge. (See Awards & Projects). The Gwaii Trust continues to fund tourism related initiatives including workshops, events and festivals, arts programs etc. See Projects
Tourism is considered a sustainable strategy for economic development and as such is included in the Haida Gwaii / QCI Land Use Recommendations Report (2006). In addition, Protocol Agreements are in place between the Council of the Haida Nation and the island’s communities, which outline broad principles of sustainable development in regard to forestry, access to timber, marine economy and tourism.

**Tourism Organization**

At the provincial level, the Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Skills Training is responsible for the organization and administration of the tourism industry (www.gov.bc.ca/jst/). The province has six tourism regions of which Haida Gwaii is part of the Northern British Columbia Tourism Region. This region covers the entire northern half of the province—an area the size of California (www.hellobc.com/northern-british-columbia.aspx), a fact considered a drawback by some residents of Haida Gwaii who feel the area is too vast to fully consider or manage the unique needs of the coastal communities (Field journal, June, 2012). In response to this and other issues, the Misty Isles Economic Development Society (MIEDS) formed in 2008 and began implementing an islands-wide collaborative economic development strategy of which tourism development forms a part (www.mieds.ca).

As part of this process, the Tourism Advisory Committee was established as a collaborative structure through which stakeholders in the community could provide feedback into planning and development strategies. Key strengths identified in the Plan in 2009 relating to the Gwaii Trust (2M) contributed to the building of the Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnagaay as did Parks Canada (6M), Aboriginal and Northern Affairs Canada (3M), the Haida Gwaii Museum Society (.750M), and the Skidegate Band Council (4.25). The total estimated cost to build the facility was 19.2 million (CAN) as reported by Parks Canada (www.pc.gc.ca/APPS/CP-NR/release_e.asp?bgid=627sandor1=b).

**Funding General:** It is beyond the scope of this thesis to outline all the funding agreements currently in place. Much of the information is not available publicly and there is no way to ensure accuracy due to the layers of complexity involved. Refer to Appendix F for a detailed outline of the key historical agreements affecting tourism development in Haida Gwaii (Whitney-Squire, 2011).

Note: No final settlement has been reached regarding the Haida Nation Statement of Claim to the lands and waters and air of Haida Gwaii filed in 1994 (www.haidanation.ca), although agreement in principle has been reached (www.aadnc-aadnc.bc.ca/en/1346782327802/1346782485058).

91 The Haida Gwaii Strategic Land Use Agreement: Signed September 2007 between the Haida Nation and the Province of BC. A series of planning processes including the noted report formed the basis of the agreement.
to cultural tourism were (a) Haida history and living culture, (b) Gwaii Haanas World Heritage Site and Haida Heritage Site, (c) Haida Heritage Centre / Museum, and (d) international recognition of the Haida culture. Key weaknesses reflected concerns over the lack of cooperation among stakeholders, the high cost of ferry and air transportation, issues of seasonality, and the lack of infrastructure, service, and human resource capacity (MIEDS, Community Tourism Plan, 2009).

Visitor information statistics suggest that the majority of visitors are domestic; arriving from British Columbia, Alberta, and other areas of Canada. Internationally, the majority of visitors are from Washington and California; followed by travellers from Other US/Mexico and Europe. This information reflects onsite inquiries at the Queen Charlotte and Sandspit Visitor Information Centres. In 2009, the Community Tourism Plan estimated annual arrivals at 50,000; however, recent numbers indicate a downward trend. Table 4 notes visitor arrival data from the Queen Charlotte and Sandspit Visitor Information Centres (combined/annual), BC Ferries over a three-year period (peak months), and Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve, and Haida Heritage Site (number of annual permits issued).
Table 4

*Selected Visitor Statistics / Haida Gwaii*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2010</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BC Ferries</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>1597</td>
<td>1674</td>
<td>1738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>3007</td>
<td>3039</td>
<td>3458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>3072</td>
<td>3471</td>
<td>3649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7676</td>
<td>8184</td>
<td>8845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QC/SS VIC</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>1290 (51%)</td>
<td>1876 (51%)</td>
<td>1662 (51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>271 (11%)</td>
<td>426 (12%)</td>
<td>378 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Canada</td>
<td>355 (14%)</td>
<td>461 (13%)</td>
<td>415 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>115 (4%)</td>
<td>147 (4%)</td>
<td>87 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>71 (2%)</td>
<td>61 (2%)</td>
<td>27 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other US/Mexico</td>
<td>262 (8%)</td>
<td>347 (10%)</td>
<td>176 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>291 (9%)</td>
<td>220 (6%)</td>
<td>215 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2655</td>
<td>3538</td>
<td>2960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gwaii Haanas</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guided</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1252</td>
<td>1303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1696*</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>1737</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: BC Ferries data includes all passengers/travellers.

*Total only available (Personal communication, Gwaii Haanas Parks Canada, November, 2013).

Source: 1) BC Ferries Traffic Statistics, Route 11 (www.bcferries.com/about/traffic.html)
2) Misty Islands Economic Development Society (http://www.mieds.ca/contact-us)

While not a comprehensive picture of visitor arrival information, these key sources indicate a downward trend. Between 2010 and 2012, BC Ferries reported a 13.22% decrease in arrivals in the peak months and the Queen Charlotte and Sandspit Visitor Information Centres reported a 10.3% decrease overall in their major market sectors. Gwaii Haanas reported a 2.4% decrease over the same years for independent travellers, guided tours, and other visitors.

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92 Additional statistics are not readily available on the total number of visitors to Haida Gwaii beyond that estimated in the MIEDS Community Tourism Plan (2009). The author made several unsuccessful attempts to obtain additional information.
to the national park. Visitor statistics collected at the Haida Heritage Centre and Haida Gwaii Museum report a similar demographic in terms of the number of domestic and international arrivals.\footnote{A report in the Haida Gwaii Observer (July 9, 2014) notes that the downward trend in visitor arrivals has continued with a slight upturn (anecdotal information) due to good weather in 2013 (www.haidagwaiiobserver.com/Article.aspx?id=8112). One of the recommendations of the Haida Gwaii Tourism Strategy is that the available data currently collected be reviewed regularly in order to gain a better understanding of visitor trends at the local level (MIEDS, Community Tourism Plane, 2009). Regionally, Haida Gwaii is part of the Northern British Columbia Tourism Region, which provincially attracts approximately 6% of all visitors to the province (BC Tourism Labour Market Strategy, 2012-2016). This report notes a province-wide downward trend in 2009 “consistent with global and Canadian tourism trends, and reflects poor global economic conditions” (p. 13).}

**Summary**

The entire history of the Haida since contact has contributed to the continued loss of their language. The four historical factors, i.e., the fur trade, epidemics, banning of the potlatch, and residential schools (Sec. 4.3), were especially harmful as they served to undermine the social fabric of the community or targeted the language directly. The undermining of social traditions and practices caused people to question and doubt the use of their own language. None, however, had the single negative social and cultural impact as did that of the residential school system of education. Statements made by participants and secondary documents clearly support this, yet it is important to understand that the impact of residential schools on language use worsened within the progressive context of major historical events. Those noted above, represent only some of the assimilationist practices incorporated. The negative social consequences of these events culminating within a government imposed education system and the isolation of children from their families—severing them from their cultural and linguistic heritages.

Haida Gwaii is the traditional territory of the Haida, who refer to themselves as the people of the island or XaaydaGaay Gwaay.yaay and have a long and rich oral history and life ways that express their relationship to the land. The language is said to come from the land and is linked to the geography of the islands through place-names, phrases, and the ways
animals and plants are used to reflect the values and practices of the people. All things, animate and inanimate, are connected and have a life energy respected by the Haida. In recent years, tourism has become a means of transitioning from an extractive resource based (forestry and fishing) economy to one, which is sustainable and supportive of the needs and aspirations of the community.

In response to historic and recent challenges affecting language, the Haida have begun to seek out adaptive strategies to support and encourage language use in their communities. And this, despite the continued loss of their language as elders are lost to the community and new learners struggle to take on the legacy left to them. Often, the historic processes of assimilation in Canada continue to force a course of action bound within the legislative parameters of the federal and provincial governments. It is imperative to find new ways in which communities can make the language relevant within modern day contexts. The Haida have begun to take on this task and the following chapter outlines the methods used to work with the community to take a closer look at their approach.
5. **What Will Your Legacy Be: A Methodological Approach**

Developing an understanding of the complex philosophies that underpin this research has been one of the most interesting aspects of this work. When I started this endeavour, I was blissfully unaware of how shallow my understanding of Western philosophy was and the impact it has, whether I am aware of it or not, on my every thought and action. A number of years ago, when I decided to undertake my Masters work at Acadia University in Nova Scotia, Canada, I decided that I would focus on the use of qualitative methods as this had to be “much easier” than quantitative methods given my lack of skill in statistics. I have since revised my opinion, having discovered that regardless of the approach, I had to understand what lay behind the methods, behind the methodology, behind the worldview or paradigm in which western constructs of knowledge and reality operated. Ultimately, I had to gain a deeper understanding of my own worldview in order to have any hope of gaining insight into indigenous perspectives of what constitutes knowledge and belonging. This chapter describes the development and use of an indigenist methodology as a means of working with the Haida to explore the community’s perspectives on how they might use tourism to support language development and language revitalisation.

5.1 **Western Constructs of Metaphysics and Epistemology**

Within this chapter, I endeavour to outline the basic arguments and beliefs that underpin Western philosophies only to the point that they inform this present study. The relevance of this is to understand the correlations between Western approaches to research and that of indigenous approaches to research, such that as a non-indigenous researcher I am more aware of my own limitations and strengths (Battiste, 2008; Wilson, 2008). In choosing to work with indigenous communities, I am accountable for my actions and the outcomes of those actions, but my awareness of this is commensurate with my ability to understand the foundations of my personal values and beliefs. One cannot embrace more than they know.
unless they understand the limitations of what they know. It is not sufficient to select an Indigenist methodology, tick off all the boxes, and move on (Denzin, 2008; Wilson, 2008). Accountability requires that I explore the foundational parameters of Western philosophy as this informs the metaphysics, epistemology, ethics, and values of all methodologies. I draw here on the writings and lectures of Steven Hicks, a well-known scholar on the philosophy of education. Broadly, the basis of Western philosophy rests on, or between, one of two stances: idealism and realism. Hicks (2009) posits that idealism is a faith-oriented approach to understanding the world associated with pre-modernism, whereas realism is a nature-oriented approach to understanding the world associated with modernism (Hicks, 2009).  

Idealism is oriented to a dualist understanding of human nature: that the physical or material world is separate to that of the supernatural world (Hicks, 2009). This ontology places the soul, spirit, and mind in conflict with that of the body, physical, and senses (Hicks, 2009). The underlying belief systems assume people are essentially bad (born into sin) and in need of a higher power (faith or pure reason) as the means of acquiring knowledge of the world (Hicks, 2009). Ethics and values emphasize duty and discipline as central to issues of morality and justice. In contrast, realism is oriented to the natural world, the senses, and rational thought as the source of knowledge (Hicks, 2009; Knudston & Suzuki, 1992; Novy, 2011). This ontology emphasizes the integration of the mind and body wherein both are valued. The underlying belief systems assume people are essentially good (tabula rasa) which situates human nature as optimistic and having the potential to do anything they choose (Hicks, 2009). Ethics and values are framed within the constructs of the individual pursuit of

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94 Examples of the underlying the philosophical streams of idealism: Plato (rationalist) and Kant (faith) and that of realism: Aristotle (natural world) and Descartes and Locke (sense and reason) (Hicks, 2009; Russell, 2005). 95 Metaphysics: “Branch of philosophy that studies the ultimate structure and constitution of reality—i.e., of that which is real, insofar as it is real. The term, which means literally “what comes after physics,” was used to refer to the treatise by Aristotle on what he himself called “first philosophy.”” (1) “A division of philosophy that is concerned with the fundamental nature of reality and being and that includes ontology, cosmology, and often epistemology (2) Abstract philosophical studies: a study of what is outside objective experience.” (See www.merrian-webster.com) 96 Dualist: Not to be confused with Cartesian dualism, which differentiates the mind from brain–categorizing material substance and mental substance. (See http://www.blutner.de/philom/mindbody/Mind_body_dualism.pdf)
happiness and personal liberty. Post-modernism moves away from the polarity of these stances wherein the nature of being in the world is oriented in opposition to realism and idealism. Hicks (2004) positions the epistemology of post-modernism to that of scepticism and human nature to that of group determinism. Here, ethics and values are ascribed on principles of egalitarianism and politics on that of action taken in opposition to oppression and competition (Hicks, 2004). Held (2011) uses Foucault as an example of this ethical stance stating, “knowledge is power, power over the world, and so liberation…comes from refuting and rejecting such systems of knowledge–systems that seek to control us, but which are historically relative” (p. 89).

Broadly, the above philosophical stances are foundational to Western approaches to research. Guba and Lincoln (2005) use the constructs of ontology (metaphysics / nature of being / nature of reality), epistemology (theory of knowledge), and values and ethics (axiology) to differentiate the methodological underpinnings of quantitative and qualitative research. My personal beliefs or worldview can be articulated in a similar fashion; however, my understanding of these things has changed significantly over the years. I was brought up with no formal religious training, received my education at public school, and had no strong feminist role models in my life. As a youth, my upbringing gave me a profound respect for nature and as an adult became involved in a fundamentalist church group. Later in life, I was able to reject the teachings of the church and trappings of marriage to embrace education and the pursuit of knowledge. Because of this diverse personal history, I draw on different aspects of idealism, realism, and postmodernism as a framework for an interchangeable worldview.

Presently, I tend to not hold firmly to any particular or confined metaphysical or epistemological view of the world. Rather, I prefer flexible and pluralistic conceptions that provide room for multiple ways of experiencing and being in the world (Goodman, 1978; Held, 2011). Aspects of pluralism are closely aligned with that of cultural relativism, which

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97 Egalitarianism: “a belief in human equality especially with respect to social, political, and economic affairs...a social philosophy advocating the removal of inequalities among people.” (See www.merriam-webster.com)
Marcus and Fischer (1999) posit can be used to acknowledge the inherent value of all cultures, yet do so in a manner that does not essentialize or homogenize peoples and cultures or privilege the West as normative (see also Geertz, 1984). My values and beliefs are oriented to aspects of idealism and realism. Yet, I often apply these within pragmatic points of view as this approach (a) attempts to draw together the practical and the theoretical, (b) there is no ability to know anything in terms of universals, and (c) provides for multiple realities and ways of belonging (Held, 2011; Ruwhiu & Cone, 2010).

The following sections explore each of the Haida, Hawaiian, and Māori perspectives on how knowledge frameworks are conceptualized within a methodological space. This is followed by a series of narratives describing the reflexive approach taken to carry out this research. A final section outlines the details of the research design.

### 5.2 Haida, Māori, and Hawaiian Constructs of Metaphysics and Epistemology

Tuhiwai Smith (2012) articulates the contestation of research as a continuing process of the colonisation of indigenous peoples who sees within its tenets the imperialistic and hegemonic practices of the past.

From an indigenous perspective Western research is more than just research that is located in a positivist tradition. It is research which brings to bear on any study of indigenous peoples, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language, and structures of power (p. 44).

The central purpose of Tuhiwai Smith’s work (2012) was to validate and acknowledge indigenous perspectives on research and to consider how research gone wrong disregards and negates cultural values and protocols, that is, functions in contrast to indigenous peoples ways of knowing and belonging in the world. The result of which, is to reaffirm and validate Western constructs and beliefs about the ‘Other’ as postulated by Said (1978). To avoid the
inevitability of repeating and reinforcing the practices of the past, Tuhiwai Smith (2012) advances a decolonizing framework wherein issues related to (a) control of research activities, (b) control of knowledge produced, and (c) the development of ethical guidelines are addressed (p. 4.)

**Perspectives from Haida Gwaii**

The Haida have few texts available in which considerations of knowing and being are re-articulated or re-framed in terms of Western constructs of metaphysics and epistemology, which made interviewing a necessity. Wilson (Kii’iljuus) and Harris (2005) understand knowledge as part of the Haida’s heritage, preserved within the oral traditions, myths, and legends of the ancestors to the present day. Not myths nor stories, rather they are the knowings of the elders passed on through successive generations and in which modern science can now correlate and confirm present day archaeological and geological findings (Wilson (Kii’iljuus) & Harris, 2005). These myths and legends express the foundational beliefs and practices of the Haida, “the origin of the lands, resource ownership, crests, songs, names, how medicinal plants are used, facial paintings, and the names and locations of places” (2005, p. 122). An underlying philosophical message contained in some of the stories is, “the need to respect all things occupying this earth” (2005, p. 123). Wilson (Kii’iljuus) and Harris (2005) state that the knowledge of the Haida and the knowledge of the West are based on very different worldviews, noting that translations of meaning and intent are not always possible. A key differentiation between these two ways of knowing is that the Haida do not separate or categorize the world into animate and inanimate; rather all objects have a life force and are animate and as such, “communication and interaction with stones is possible” (2005, p. 124). There is a pragmatic sense of knowing for the Haida: a knowing to which one is intrinsically connected. An elder in the community provided a better explanation,

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98 I will use Kii’iljuus’ word “knowings” to replace the word “knowledge” where appropriate. The reason, is that knowledge implies segmented pieces of information, whereas knowings implies or re-contextualises the concept to embrace a woven and relational way of being.
Knowing and Being

Kii’iljuus

I first met Kii’iljuus two years ago when I was doing my master’s work in the community. An inspirational Elder and leader in the community who, after receiving an honorary master’s degree has decided to do her doctorate at Royal Rhodes University in Victoria, B.C. She was almost 70 at the time and as a mature woman myself, can appreciate her strength and energy. Kii’iljuus was and continues to be inspirational to me because she asks the hard questions and makes the effort to help me understand the Haida perspective. When speaking about Haida Gwaii, Kii’iljuus talks about the land and the long, long, long, relationship the Haida have with this place. Often, she does not answer your questions directly, rather she tells you a memory of her youth, of a place, of a time and leaves you to listen and think on it before making her point.

She shares, “I think if you are healthy you’ll be concerned about what’s happening on the land more so than we are right now...to survive we need to be thinking in four dimensions...there’s the spiritual connecting part, there’s the physical part, there’s the mental part, and then there’s the connecting part. The connecting part for me is the knowing...the knowing of when I see the berries growing—the berries are like...you know, when the fish or the whales go through the water and there’s that effervescence/essence you know—there’s that wake under the ocean that sparkles and the fish are swimming. When the berries get ripe...there’s this popping [and] it tells you that it’s time to go to the fishing villages and start gathering the passing fish. Because somebody a long long time ago made the ‘connection’ that when the berries are getting red or black or yellow...the time is now...go out there and start putting your nets in the water and get the fish. It’s the language that connects you to the knowing...it’s the connection that’s made between the ocean and the land by saying a phrase...that’s what I think it is.” (Interview, June 23, 2012)

Knowings or knowledge for the Haida is visceral, connecting them to the land and the seasons and to each other—a relationship of belong and not something solely reliant on one’s intellect. There is no separation of body and mind, spiritual and physical, being and knowing. Wilson (Kii’iljuus) and Harris (2005) posit that the knowledge of the Haida, “consists of the values,
philosophies, spiritual understandings, and practical knowledge that enabled our people to thrive for millennia” (p. 138). M. Smith (2012) a Cree/Métis scholar who has worked with the Haida on aspects of indigenous cultural visuality states, “Haida epistemologies are based on values in which nature and culture are intrinsically connected…fundamentally grounded in protecting the relationships that are essential to sustaining their culture” (p. 18–19).

M. Smith defines indigenous cultural visuality as, “the various activities that indigenous people undertake to make visual the cultural epistemologies, values and histories which would lead others into knowing and understanding… said issues. Difference from visual cultural its primary focus is on cross cultural understanding and education” (p. 2). In contrast, M. Smith states, “Eurocentric discourse about culture is still predominately separated into disciplines of knowledge, often discounting the cultural lens…detached, hierarchical, and patriarchal” (p. 91). Speaking from the perspective of an educator, Battiste (2002, 2008) posits that indigenous knowledge, “fills the ethnical and knowledge gaps in Eurocentric education, research, and scholarship” (p. 5). It is into this space that O’Riley (2004) has suggested, “a more critical, responsible, and culturally respectful research conversation is urgently needed, taking on a whole new set of meanings, values and configurations” (p. 88).

**Perspectives from Aotearoa**

Situating kaupapa Māori research in a framework that emphasises the Māori relationship to the land and each other as tangata whenua (people of the land) Pihama, Cram, and Walker (2002) outline the two central elements they understand represent, “the desire of Māori to be Māori” in a methodological space. They write, “this is the core of Kaupapa Māori: the affirmation and legitimation of being Māori” (p. 30; see also Ruwhiu & Cone,
In reference to the writings of Ranginui Walker, kaupapa tangata (people’s ways of doing) is established as foundational to a Māori worldview (Pihama et al., 2002, p. 31).

G. Smith (1997) posits that central to a Kaupapa Māori paradigm is (a) the validity and legitimacy of being Māori, (b) the survival of te reo Māori, and (c) autonomy over cultural well-being and the lives of Māori people. A Kaupapa Māori research paradigm then, seeks to question and challenge the hegemony of non-Māori ways of being and knowing the world (Pihama et al., 2002; see also Bishop, 1996). Tuakana Mate Nepe (1991) states that Kaupapa Māori is “a conceptualization of Māori knowledge” in a metaphysical space that is distinctly Māori” (p. 15). Table 5 outlines the elements (themes) of Kaupapa Māori research as identified by Pihama et al. (2002), using excerpts from the text of the article.

99 Kaupapa: kau described as, “the process of ‘coming into view or appearing for the first time, to disclose’” and papa described as, “the ground, foundation base.” “Together kaupapa encapsulates these concepts, and a basic foundation of it is ‘ground rules, customs, and the right way of doing things’” (Taki, 1996).

Table 5

*Epistemological Themes: Māori Ways of Knowing*

| 1) Tino Rangatiratanga/ Self Determination: | The heart of Kaupapa Māori…sovereignty, autonomy, and mana motuhake, self-determination and independence…meaningful control over life and cultural well-being…out of struggle…the desire to critique and transform. |
| 2) Taonga tuko iho/ Cultural aspirations: | To be Māori is both valid and legitimate…te reo Māori Matauranga Māori, and Tikanga Māori…the conceptualization of being Māori…knowledge is esoteric and essentially Māori…language and knowledge are inextricably bound. |
| 3) Ako Māori/ Culturally preferred pedagogy: | Learning practices are unique to tikanga Māori…whenua (land) and whakapapa (genealogy) are imperative…Matauranga Māori is not knowledge…it was created by Māori to explain their experience of the world. |
| 4) Kia piki ake I nga raruraru o te kainga The socioeconomic mediation: | The disadvantage on whānau (family) and their children…collective responsibility of the Māori community and whānau (family)…critical role of the hapū (clan)…values and practices…well-being of the whānau. |
| 5) Whānau/ Extended family structure: | Integral part of Māori identity and culture…the cultural values, customs, and practices…organized around the whānau…necessary part of survival…for all Māori. |
| 6) Kaupapa/ Collective philosophy principle: | Collective commitment and vision…connects Māori aspirations to political, social, economic, and cultural well-being…cannot be understood outside wider context of struggle by indigenous peoples worldwide. |


Pihama et al. (2002) clearly situate the methodological space for Māori research within the context of political struggle (see also Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). However, these elements or themes are founded on metaphysical understandings of mana (spiritual authority derived from the gods), tikanga (customary practices based on tapu and noa), and whānau (social relationships whakapapa [genealogy]) (Jones, Crengle & McCleanor, 2006; Ka’ai & Higgins,
2009; Marsden, 1992; Reilly, 2009). Ka’ai and Higgins (2009) state that the primary cultural concepts of mana, noa, and tapu are foundational to all other cultural concepts of Māori peoples, which collectively frame the Māori worldview. Nepe (1991) takes the metaphysical stance that knowledge is culturally defined and in terms of Māoritanga (Māori cultural) distinctive and separate from that of Western constructs of metaphysics. Of relevance to this present study, is that Nepe conceptualizes Kaupapa Māori within oral traditions, such that it is through the language, “the Māori mind receives, internalises, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through te reo Māori” (p. 15).

To Nepe (1991), knowledge and belonging rests within Kaupapa Māori and societal-based kinship relationships (whakapapa) (p. 19).

Writing from the perspective of education, Ruwhiu and Cone (2010) explore the challenges of using methodologies grounded in “normative models of science.” Arguing that “kaupapa Māori research, as an indigenous paradigm, draws from a pragmatist epistemology” suggesting it as a viable alternative as there is a correlation in purpose to open up opportunities in which to counter the dominant epistemologies of Western culture (Ruwhiu & Cone, 2010, p. 122). Further, they posit that pragmatist paradigms offer culturally sensitive approaches in a variety of settings; providing a rationale for using suitable non-indigenous approaches to support research done with Māori peoples (p. 101). Bishop (2005) suggests that two challenges of Māori researchers has been to carve out methodological space that is valued by Māori people themselves and to convince the broader established research community of the need to involve Māori people in the research (p. 109; see also Tuhiwai Smith, 2012).

Bishop also advocates for the use of Kaupapa Māori approaches to research with Māori people, wherein power imbalances, cultural differences, initiation and participation,


Perspectives from Hawai‘i

Manulani Aluli Meyer (2001) uses the term *epistemology* only for the purpose it serves within mainstream academia. Meyer’s prefers *indigenous ways of knowing*, or *Hawaiian ways of knowing*, noting that epistemology is simply a way of asking, “What is knowledge, How do we know, What is worth knowing” (p. 146). Meyer wrote her doctoral thesis on Hawaiian epistemology and writes from the perspective of an educator addressing concerns over issues of representation, power, and control in the education system (p. 148). Her work provides an alternative discourse to the colonial systems of assimilation embedded in language immersion, education content, performance standards, and cultural assumptions within schools. The perspective of Meyer (2001) is that the Hawaiian people are not like those who colonized them: that their experience of the world is to see, hear, and taste differently. Relating experience and knowing as fundamental to identity, Meyer suggests that the truth of that identity links one to a distinct cosmology of being and place. It is this orientation to place as an oceanic people, which determines what is worth knowing and structures itself as “our sense of community” (p. 125). Meyer cautions that Hawaiian ways of knowing are specific to place, space, and time: that knowledge shifts and changes accordingly. Table 6 outlines the themes of Hawaiian ways of knowing as identified by Meyer, using excerpts from the interviews and text of the article.
### Table 6

**Epistemological Themes: Hawaiian Ways of Knowing**

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<td>1)</td>
<td><strong>Spirituality &amp; knowing:</strong> Knowledge as an “extension of what is respected and practiced...an origin, and history helps direct its future...as links in this chain of cultural continuity...a sequence of immortality”</td>
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<td>2)</td>
<td><strong>That which feeds:</strong> “I am shaped by my environment...the place of birth (‘aina hanau)...shaped their differences and values...where each one grew up that most shaped their worldview...ontology shaped by environment.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td><strong>The cultural nature of the senses:</strong> There are “six body-centric senses...we don’t believe the concrete world is the only reality...senses are developed by culture...knowing becomes something we create. [The sixth is] awareness...intuition, insight...linking experience with awareness is active.”</td>
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<td>4)</td>
<td><strong>Relationship &amp; knowledge:</strong> “Self through other...interdependence offered opportunities to practice reciprocity, exhibit balance...this continuance with our ‘ohana...knowledge is valued when it is applied...maintenance of relationships takes conscious and deliberate thought and action.”</td>
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<td>5)</td>
<td><strong>Utility &amp; knowledge:</strong> “Ideas of wealth and knowledge...purpose and function are tied to knowledge...information that did not have use could not become knowledge...[it is] the doing, the cultivating, the accomplishing.”</td>
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<td>6)</td>
<td><strong>Words &amp; knowledge:</strong> “Causality in language...words cause things to happen...the most intelligent person...spoke the least...it matters who is talking and how what’s being said gets incorporated into what is learned...words...play a role in shaping their experiences.”</td>
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<td>7)</td>
<td><strong>The body-mind question:</strong> “Separation of mind from body is not found in a Hawaiian worldview–intelligence [is] not separate from feeling...intelligence is found in the core of our body system...if it did not feel right...that knowledge was something to cast aside...feeling and knowing go together (Ed Kanahele, 15 January 1997).”</td>
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Rubellite Kawena Johnson, cited in Meyers (2001, p. 131)

Meyer (2001) takes the epistemological stance that empiricism is culturally defined because the senses are culturally defined (p. 147). Her work posits that education and knowledge is “not something in relation to a western norm, but something that we must define in relation to...ourselves, our past, and our potential [it is] organic, more real, more tied to place” (p. 146). Meyer posits that within Hawaiian epistemology, experience and therefore knowledge are shaped by the land or geography, that understanding comes form the land (p. 128). Gegeo
and Watson-Gegeo (2001) discuss the increasing number of indigenous peoples questioning the role of mainstream research, who are working to assert the validity of their own ways of knowing and being (p. 55). As Native Pacific Islanders, they understand indigenous epistemology as “a cultural group’s way of theorizing knowledge” (p. 55). Similar to Tuhiwai Smith (2012), Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo posit that they only way to mitigate and alter the affects of Western approaches to researching are to develop culturally oriented epistemic frameworks. By this, they mean to understand, from an indigenous perspective, how knowledge is constructed, how it is obtained, and how it is passed on to future generations (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001).

Lynn Nelson, a feminist epistemologist observed that, “knowledge is constructed by communities” and while outsiders are able to draw on indigenous knowledge, that knowledge is then reconstituted and reconceptualised within a western philosophical framework (cited in Watson & Watson-Gegeo, 2001, para. 7). An indigenous epistemology anchors truth in the culture itself and is unique and distinctive to that culture (Gegeo, 1994, 1998). The stance of Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo is very similar in content and context to that of Nepe (1991) and Pihama et al. (2001) who also understand indigenous epistemology as linked distinctively to the community, as reflected within the cultural mores, traditions, and practices of the people. Similar to that of language, these scholars understand indigenous knowledge as place-based: inclusive of the “person, family, kin groups, and society…socially constructed and (in)formed through socio-political, economic, and historic context and processes” (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001, para. 10). Speaking from the perspective of the politics of authenticity, Lyons (2010) states that most Hawaiian scholars consider that the only way to address the effects of occupation is to do so within contexts, “in which Hawaiian epistemological categories and language [are] placed on an equal footing with the cultural knowledges and practices of the occupiers” (p. 22). Lyons describes this politic as, “pono or (righteousness, justice, well-being)…one dimension of which is a call for self-determination” (p. 20).
5.2.1 Correlations of Western and indigenous Research Perspectives

Historically, the practice of researching indigenous cultures and peoples has proven itself exceedingly effective in constructing and maintaining the objective other as a knowable (Battiste, 2008; Cajete, 1994; O’Riley, 2004; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Wilson (2008) posits that this was largely the case until well into the 1990s when indigenous scholars began to gain some space within academia for the development of indigenous research paradigms (see also Steinhauer, 2001). Wilson (2008) posits that while the process of decolonizing methodologies, as advanced by Tuhiwai Smith (2012), challenges Western approaches, “it does not necessarily focus on what indigenous methodologies actually are” (p. 53). However, Wilson acknowledges the work of Bishop (2010), Fleras (1987), Stewart-Harawira, 2005, Restoule, Archibald, Lester-Smith, Parent and Smillie (2010), Tolich (2002), Tuhiwai Smith (2012) and others who have stood to advance alternative approaches to researching with and for indigenous peoples (p. 16).

Tuhiwai Smith (2012) asks the question, “What happens to research when the researched become the researchers?” (p. 185). The short answer is that much would change: the questions asked would be fundamentally altered, the answers given reflect a very different perspective, and the conclusions reached demand a very different response. However, considering that not all Māori would situate their own work within a Kaupapa Māori framework, what then of their work and contribution to research and the betterment of Māori peoples (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). Raising the question as to the legitimacy of non-Kaupapa Māori research and that of non-Māori or non-indigenous researchers, Tuhiwai Smith draws on the writings of Kathy Irwin who views Māori research more broadly.103 Irwin (1994) takes the stance that research is Kaupapa Māori when it is, “culturally safe…involves the elders…is culturally relevant and appropriate,” and methodologically sound. Bishop (1994, 1997, 2010) underpins his argument to provide space for Māori and non-Māori researchers on that of

103 Unable to obtain original source.
researchers’ responsibilities and rights under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi (see also, Tolich, 2002). Tuhiwai Smith posits that “under the rubric of Kaupapa Māori research” the intersection or point of correlation “where research meets Māori, or Māori meets research on equalizing terms” is founded on the engagement and involvement of the whānau (extended family) (p.187).

A number of Western methodologies and methods have been advanced as effectively supporting or correlating with indigenous methodologies. Tuhiwai Smith (2012) posits that Kaupapa Māori research is located within the constructs of critical theory; and Ruwhiu and Cone (2010) that pragmatist methodologies serve to open up and counter the hegemony of Western assumptions and practices.104 However, while addressing the politic within the purpose and process of research will ultimately advance the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples, research methodologies must also support the worldviews of indigenous peoples. Archibald (1997) argues that critical ethnography bears correlations with indigenous methodologies based on “action, reflection, and transformation” and quotes Haig-Brown who suggests, “critical ethnography in a First Nations context resists hierarchical power relations between study participants” (p. 57). Wilson (2008), a Cree scholar, advocates for the use of critical theory and constructivism as a starting point to supporting an indigenous research paradigm (see also Watson-Gegeo, 2004). Choices around the use of Western research methodologies must expand, “the concept of connectedness to consider, the fluid ‘relational nature of indigenous epistemology’” (Kovach, 2009, cited in M. Smith, 2012, p.3). Such that there is a correlation with (a) the integration of all life–spiritual and natural, (b) the validation of experience–as a source of wisdom and knowledge, (c) respect and reciprocity–harmony with the earth, and (d) people kinship and empathy for all life (Interview Kii’iljuus, June 23, 2012; Knudston & Suzuki, 1992; Meyer, 2001; Pihama et al., 2002). In contrast to Western paradigms, which tend to see knowledge as the intellectual property of an individual similar

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104 Denzin, posits that all forms of indigenous epistemologies are, “forms of critical pedagogy; that, they embody a critical politics of representation that is embedded in the rituals of indigenous communities” (2008, p. 449).
to that of private property, indigenous knowledge is discerned as, “belonging to the cosmos of which we are a part and where researchers are only the interpreters of this knowledge” (Wilson, 2008, p. 38, 74).

In terms of selecting a suitable supporting methodology, Wilson suggests that the epistemology and ontology must parallel or correlate with that of an indigenous ideology or worldview (see also Reyhner & Lockard (2009). Outside indigenous scholarship there is also growing support to suggest that given the multi-disciplinary nature of tourism research it is possible to combine paradigms, methodologies, and methods for the purpose of constructing knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004; Hollinshead, 2004). However, it is critical that congruence between these components provide a solid theoretical foundation and praxis, which converges to meet the purpose and objectives of the research (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). The following sections explore the use of an indigenist methodology in this study–interwoven with the ways in which participatory action and narrative research methodologies have supported and informed this work.

5.3 An Indigenist Methodology

In order to adopt an Indigenist methodology, one has to entertain the idea that there is a different way of being and knowing this world than the one I presently experience and know. This idea is exceedingly interesting. How is it possible that there is a different way to be–a different way to know? One immediately begins to consider…“Is it possible?” ”How is it possible?” Yet, if one thinks of it from an indigenous person’s perspective this is exactly what they have been pushed to do historically and presently for the most part (Battiste, 2002; Cajete, 1994; Neel, 2008). This is not new age, meaning alternative or mystical, it is simply

105 The term “praxis” in this case means practical activity. This, according to Schwandt (200a), refers to phronesis (requisite knowledge) as a form of activity relating to how one conducts their life and affairs. Within the context of this study, the intention is to lay a foundation within the methodology and methods that does not see outcomes as separate from the task, i.e., reflexive engagement. In my opinion it is an essential differentiation from praxis as poiesis/techne, meaning activities aimed at technical expertise (Schwandt, 2007).
the ability to grasp that there is a possibility that there are many ways of being right--of rethinking my own assumptions on a very deep level…to consider seriously the possibility that there is another way to experience life. At the very least, to consider that there is more to the tapestry of being and knowing than I am presently able to comprehend (Neel, 2008). Willie Ermine (1995) puts it this way,

Those who seek to understand the reality of existence and harmony with the environment by turning inward have a different incorporeal knowledge paradigm that might be termed ‘Aboriginal epistemology’…The inner space is that universe of being within each person that is synonymous with the soul, the spirit, the self, or the being. Willie Ermine, 1995, p. 103.

In terms of researching with indigenous peoples, Wilson (2008) advocates that it is not possible to use western science-based methods--quantitative or qualitative--to produce indigenous knowledge. The crux of the problem, as pointed out by Bishop (1996), Ryan (2005), Tuhiwai Smith (2012), K. Smith (2006), and others is that you end up asking the wrong questions and making the wrong assumptions. The result of which can be empty knowledge that only serves to maintain the status quo, that is, the reproduction, and validation of what we already experience and know (Said, 1978). Wilson (2008) maintains that you can use modern research methodologies to support an Indigenist approach, but that an Indigenist methodology stands on its own, based on indigenous peoples’ values (ways of belonging in the world) and criterion (ways of knowing the world). Simply put, a research paradigm sets out the underlying beliefs and values that guide our actions as informed by a worldview (Meyers, 2001; Schwandt, 2007; Wilson, 2008).
Using Westernized terms, correlating concepts within an indigenist paradigm can be articulated as beliefs about:

- **epistemology**: What is indigenous knowledge—ways of knowing?
- **ontology**: What is the nature of indigenous reality?
- **axiology**: What ethics guide relational accountability?
- **methodology**: How is traditional knowledge gained appropriately?

Source: Archibald, 1997; Battiste, 2002; Bishop, 2010; Meyer, 2008; Neel, 2008; Stewart-Harawira, 2005).

Wilson (2008) understands these elements as cyclical and interwoven; however, within shared aspects of (p. 114, 137):

- **epistemology and ontology**: that relationships form knowledge...are reality; and
- **axiology and methodology**: that research is accountable to the relationships formed.

An Indigenist paradigm then, understands that it is the relationships and interconnectedness of all people and things wherein knowledge and reality forms. Knowledge of that reality gained (appropriately) by maintaining accountability to those relationships (McIvor, 2010; Stewart-Harawira, 2005; Wilson, 2001, 2008). In expressing relationality, Wilson explains, “we are not in a relationship—we are the relationship” (p. 80; see also Cajete, 1994; S. Wilson, 2001).

Wilson posits that based on indigenous understandings of relationality and interconnectivity, the paradigm can be applied across cultural contexts and settings, but applied locally as each set of relationships will be expressed uniquely and in accordance to the relationships held.

The statements of other indigenous scholars who speak to the cyclical and inter-relational constructs that unite the intellectual, spiritual, emotional, and physical; often referred to as *wholism*, would seem to support this stance (Archibald, 1997; Battiste, 2005; Meyers, 2008; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). An early and well-known advocate of culturally based education models, Cajete (1994, p. 73) writes,
‘We are all related’, is a metaphor used by the Lakota in their prayers. It is a metaphor whose meaning is shared by all other Indian people. It is a guiding principle of Indian spiritual ecology reflected by every tribe in their perception of Nature. It is a deeply spiritual, ecological, and epistemological principle of profound significance.

This approach is not a Westernized research paradigm adjusted to align with the principles, needs, and perspectives of indigenous peoples. Rather, it is a paradigm to which I must try and adjust—to this way of knowing, this way of relating. This seems deeply and intuitively right to me. As Manu Meyer (2001) says, one has to learn to hear differently, think differently, and interpret differently to gain different understandings. In my attempt to research with and for the Haida community on this study, I relied on the principles advocated by Judy Atkinson (2001) who posits that researchers willing to work within these tenets can honour the worldviews of indigenous peoples and do so ethically, responsibly, and with sensitivity (Koster et al., 2012; Reyhner & Lockard, 2009; Wilson, 2008, p. 58).

Foundational to these tenets is the acceptance on the part of the researcher that, “all forms of living things are to be respected as being related and interconnected” (Weber-Pillwax, 2003, p. 49). The relevance of their work to this present study, is that this became the measure of my own conduct as I formed relationships within the community and worked collaboratively as a participant to foster a greater understanding of language and tourism issues in the community (Kemmis, 2008). It was not done lightly and not without ensuring the integrity of my own motives regarding my dealings with the Haida community (Kemmis, 2008; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008).

I have found that by attempting to reflect on my own limited understandings of these complex issues, I rather discovered my way to the use of an Indigenist methodology, mostly due to the kindness and warmth of people whom I met along the way, who encouraged me to

106 Professor Atkinson was the former head of Gnibi College of indigenous Australian Peoples at Southern Cross University. See: Privileging indigenous Research Methodologies. Paper presented at the National indigenous Researchers Forum, University of Melbourne. Note: Unable to obtain the original source material.
trust my instincts…my intuition. It seemed a process of mutual discovery—of relationships already present (Wilson, 2008). Table 7 outlines the guiding principles for researchers as posited by Atkinson.

Table 7

*Principles of Indigenous Research*

- indigenous people approve the research and methods;
- awareness community diversity and the unique nature each individual brings
- relating with the community…understanding principles of reciprocity and responsibility
- participants must feel safe and be safe…includes respecting confidentiality
- reflective non-judgemental of what is seen and heard
- non-intrusive manager of observation, or quiet aware watching
- deep listening…hearing with more than the ears…
- plan to act informed by learning, wisdom, and acquired knowledge
- awareness of connection between logic of mind and feelings of the heart
- listening and observing self in relationship with others
- acknowledge that I bring my subjective self to the research


The following sections describe the development of this cross-cultural study with the Haida, Hawaiian, and Māori peoples. I endeavour to share from the perspective of the relationships of which I now find myself a part, yet understanding my own position as an outsider / insider within the community (Jones & Jenkins, 2008). I have used the above principles in which to place these learning experiences as they reflect the values and ethics that have guided my actions and to which I hold myself accountable. Some related principles have been combined in order to confine the length of the discussion.
5.3.1 Community Approval of the Research

The central concern of virtually all indigenous scholars is that indigenous peoples must have control over the research process. Failing to obtain approval is to assume the right to act, the right to know, the right to make decisions on behalf of another. It leaves the community fully outside any opportunity to control or participate in the research process. In this case, the opportunity to work with the Haida on language and tourism issues came about while doing my master’s research with the community. Jason Alsop, the Manager of the Haida Heritage Centre, approved my first efforts to undertake research with the community in which I explored ecotourism and community-based development (Whitney-Squire, 2011). However, having worked in the community and spoken with Jason and others at that time, there was interest in understanding how they might use tourism more effectively to support language development and language revitalisation. There was also an interest in determining how the Hawaiian and Māori peoples were supporting language development within tourism initiatives, in the hope that their experiences might augment and inform the Haida’s own efforts.

As I had identified language as a form of cultural stewardship within my master’s thesis, I too was interested in these issues (Whitney-Squire, 2011). In response, I applied to the University of Otago while still in Haida Gwaii doing my master’s fieldwork. By the end of February 2011, I found myself in Dunedin, New Zealand learning a great deal more about Māori life ways and indigenous research issues. In that first year of my doctoral studies, I met with various Māori and Hawaiian tourism business operators and knowledgeable individuals to get a better understanding of the complex issues involved and individuals whose interests were similar to my own. In December 2011, I contacted Jason Alsop again, to ascertain if he remained open to my returning to the community. As an elected member of the Council of the Haida Nation and Manager of the Haida Heritage Centre, Jason was in a position to extend an invitation on behalf of the community. I received formal approval to return to Haida Gwaii on
December 16, 2011 (See Appendix H). Reiterating the community’s interest in language issues, Jason wrote,

The continuation of the Haida language is of utmost importance to us as an organization and as a people and any research that can contribute to this in any way is welcome. Having you working here and contributing to our organization was mutually beneficial [last time] and we look forward to working together again in the near future. (Personal communication, December 17, 2011)

Relational accountability required that I asked permission at all stages of the research process. Each interview, each conversation necessitates, not a negotiation as that would imply a power dynamic that should not and does not exist, but rather an attitude of respect and humility. The most important thing I learned about community participation and ensuring that control over the research process remained with the community, stemmed from the development of the semi-formal and informal interview questions. On arriving in the community in May 2012, I set about initiating a meeting with Jason Alsop, the Curator of the Haida Gwaii Museum, and Aay Aay, the interpreter who agreed to work with me. The purpose was to discuss the overall approach to the project, review some of the related community issues and concerns, and obtain input on how and which interview questions were best suited to the purpose of obtaining the necessary information.

It was not until later that I would realize just how critical it was to have had this input. Said (1978) posits that the written word is born of the values and intentions of the writer; Derrida (1976) posits that the words themselves construct and inform meanings. Had I failed to do this, the Haida would have had no voice in this research, regardless of how much they participated in other ways. I did not understand fully at the time how completely the questions would constrain the answers given and the conclusions reached. It was imperative that the community be involved as much as possible in the development of the questions.
5.3.2 Awareness of Community Diversity: Reciprocity and Responsibility

The use of a narrative style in parts of this thesis to present the life experiences of those who shared their stories with me, is an acknowledgement of the rich and diverse oral heritages of the Haida, Hawaiian, and Māori peoples. The intention is to ensure that their collective voices are respected and maintained and not appropriated or subsumed entirely within my own narrative (McCall, 2011; Rosiek, 2007). Wilson (2008) posits that relationships are foundational to an indigenous epistemology and ontology and as such, it is through narratives that one’s relationships and connections with people are maintained. Battiste (2008) posits that orality and the transmission of knowledge is rooted in an epistemology that is, “derived from the immediate ecology; from peoples’ experiences perceptions, thoughts, and memory, including experiences shared with others…[passing]…to succeeding generations through dialogue [and] storytelling…” (p. 499).

In this sense, the narrative becomes a form of reciprocity, or giving back, as it provides a way to relate to and remain engaged with the community in a culturally appropriate manner. Bishop (1996) posits that while narratives are often just the researcher telling a story, this dynamic changes when there is a relationship with the researcher–with the community over time and it becomes a collaborative process of mutual respect and interest. Narratives provide space for developing connections or relationships within the community and are not confined to certain functions, that is, interviewing, rather it is an inclusive process where everything becomes part of the narrative (Wilson, 2008). It was Aay Aay, the interpreter, who first helped me understand the deep relevance of narratives to the community even in the context of this work.

107 Issues of validity regarding narrative inquiry have been linked to aspects of what can and cannot meet the criteria of a knowledge claim; however, scholars note that there are some aspects of personal and social experience that cannot be confined to restrictive and conventional standards of evidence (Polkinghorne, 2007). Narrative inquiry seeks to understand peoples’ experiences within social constructs and as such Polkinghorne (2007), posits it falls to the reader to based on the plausibility of the argument to determine “a narrative knowledge claim” (p. 485).
Aay Aay

Field journal

Aay Aay and I had spent several days working through everything that people in the communities’ of Skidegate and Old Massett had shared with us. We discussed every word, every sentence…trying to decide how all the pieces fit together into a series of themes and sub-themes that I would later review and present in the thesis. It was the approach that I had used in my master’s work. At some point it occurred to me to ask Aay Aay which he would prefer: to list out all the themes and sub-themes and discuss each independently or is it better to share the stories of a few of the key participants and use their stories to support what we had found? There was no hesitation…of course a story would be better! He wanted to read about his Elders and his community in a format that he could personally identify with. The idea of reading about themes and sub-themes could not be more boring. (May 31, 2012)

The challenge is to tell the story in such a way that it meets the requirements of a PhD thesis and adjust my tendency to present the information in a purely linear fashion sufficiently to one wherein I retain my connections and relationships with participants. It is of profound importance that the Haida, Hawaiian, and Māori people who shared of themselves; can see and hear their own words–have their own voice–be part of their own story–at least to the point I am able and they agree (Battiste, 2000; McCall, 2010). The choice of some participants to identify themselves by the use of their personal names in the research is a declaration of ownership due to the great importance placed on the issues addressed.

5.3.3 Safety of Participants and Respecting Confidentiality

Tolich (2002) posits that issues of cultural safety must be addressed in order for research to be empowering to indigenous peoples (see also Bishop & Glynn 1992). Addressing issues of cultural safety requires researchers to be aware of the impact of their presence in the community (Fleras, 2004). Tolich suggests that not only must the researchers examine their own motives for undertaking the research, but be able to reflect on their own cultural identity (p. 175). Within Kaupapa Māori research, Jones et al. (2006) suggest that the
ethics of cultural safety requires (a) the *mana* (prestige) of participants not be undermined, (b) the information received not be disrespected, and (c) the participants be involved throughout the study. In Hawai‘i, values and traditions are referred to as *pono* “the way of living”; in Aotearoa the right way or customs or are referred to as *tikanga*; in Haida Gwaii, the concept is “till yahda” meaning to maintain respect and balance. Understanding the significance of cultural protocols within each community is central to ensuring the safety of participants (Jones et al., 2006).

My ignorance of Canadian history was shattered in 2009 when I developed a *Historical Timeline of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada* for a course I took at Acadia University. Canadians were not “the good guys” I had presumed them to be. Space does not allow me to develop this train of thought; however, I have suggested some readings for interested readers, including related materials on the histories of Hawai‘i and Aotearoa.¹⁰⁸ I read extensively about the history of Canadian First Nations, Native Hawaiians, and Māori peoples to gain a deeper understanding of the historical events that have shaped their present day reality and struggle for self-determination. Suffice it to say, that it is a humbling experience to read of the historical injustices perpetrated. This reading informed and deepened my empathy for these communities and the complex social and economic challenges they face. It is my responsibility as a researcher to conduct myself in a reflexive and non-judgemental manner out of respect and more importantly to realize that without due care I will repeat the mistakes of the past (Fleras, 2004).

One of the reasons I wanted to work with an interpreter while I was in Haida Gwaii was to ensure the cultural safety of participants. Aay Aay went to the majority of interviews, helped facilitate introductions, and was able to open up aspects of the conversation as only a

member of the community could. Aay Aay is of the Eagle Clan and lives in Skidegate. As a youth, his Nanaay (Grandmother) would take him each summer to help guard the ancient village sites as part of the Haida Watchmen Program and would himself later serve as a Watchmen at Hlk’yah Gaw’ga (Windy Bay). At one time, Aay Aay worked as a tour guide at the Haida Heritage Centre and has been working with the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program for a number of years. Aay Aay was well suited to help with this work because of his position in the community, his work in the tourism industry, and his current involvement with the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program.

In carrying out the interviews, all the usual protocols were followed: ensuring we had consent and explaining the purpose of the work, assuring people that the information was confidential and could opt out at any time. All participants also received a gift of a book in accordance with local customs and protocols. All direct quotes, larger passages, and non-English words were checked again to ensure the accuracy, intent, and meaning of speakers. Further, in order to ensure that participants knew they continued to be an important part of this work, an email list was developed and tri-monthly updates provided to participants and interested individuals in Haida Gwaii, Hawai‘i, and Aotearoa. One can read a thousand books, but issues of cultural safety can be addressed by answering a single question,

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109 The Haida Gwaii Watchmen Program was implemented by the peoples of Haida Gwaii to protect the culture and heritage of abandoned villages sites on Moresby Island. The program was established in the late 1970s as residents would return in the summer months to find artefacts missing, totem poles cut down etc. To protect these sites, residents began scheduling their return each summer to coincide with the visitor season. In 1986, the Haida Heritage Sites were designated by the Council of the Haida Nation, prior to the establishment of the Gwaii Haanas National Park. There are five ancient village sites in Gwaii Haanas and a sixth, Kiusta, located on the northwest coast of Graham Island. Parks Canada began funding the program in the late 1980’s and today cooperatively manages the program with the Council of the Haida Nation. (See: Whitney-Squire, 2011 and http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/natcul/natcul4.aspx; 110 Aay Aay has held a number of positions at SHIP, as the demands of the program change. He is currently called an Information Technician, but has worked as the Director in their absence.
Cultural Ethics

Kii’iljuus

“What will your legacy be?” We were sitting in a restaurant at the time and I sensed that the question held within it the collective memories of the community. Kii’iljuus challenges many university students with this question—encouraging them to think for a moment of the impact of their actions. “Are you going to be one of those people that comes in and takes and leaves and we never hear from them again?” It’s about yahgudang (respect) for Haida Gwaii. Respect for the Haida is about keeping things in tll yahda (balance)—making it right through acts or agreements of reciprocity. There are many ways to keep things in balance: it is not just about your needs, but the needs of the community. Both sides must be kept in balance—this is tll yahda—making it right.” (Interview, June 23, 2012)

5.3.4 Watching, Listening, and Hearing: Action Informed by Wisdom

In retrospect, I am glad I did not have a set plan in May 2012 when I headed back to Haida Gwaii to begin the fieldwork. I had a general plan, but was not overly clear about how to expand the research to include the Hawaiian and Māori peoples in this study as had been discussed with the Haida community. Had I planned every step in advance it would have been more difficult to fully consider the needs of the community in developing Phase II of this study. I am in the habit of journaling and blogging: a skill I find extremely useful because I am able to reflect on my learning experiences. This reflexive process allows me to watch, listen, and hear more deeply: informed by the people around me—by osmosis if you like.

It was while working with Aay Aay, assessing participant interviews, I realized that within the identified themes and sub-themes lay the means of expanding the research appropriately outside that of the foundational study site. I had been trying to sort out how to act on the identified needs of the community, i.e., to seek out the experiences of the Hawaiian and Māori peoples on tourism and language issues, yet do so in a way that would

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111 Section 5.4 describes the assessment of participant interviews and the development of the noted themes and sub-themes.
fundamentally connect the three components. The answer lay in the words and experiences of the Haida, as the major themes to come out of the participant interviews formed the basis of their perspectives; hence the very topics of greatest relevance to the community. Using these major themes to guide the discussions with individuals in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa would leave the Haida in control of the research questions while at the same time create a collaborative and inter-relational context in which many voices were heard.

Originally, Jason, Aay Aay, and I planned to come up with additional questions to conduct interviews with individuals in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa. However, I understood that using the same or additional questions would create a dichotomy—an us and them space wherein the community would simply end up comparing their situation to that of another—the information no longer relational with the needs of the Haida community. Relying on the needs of the community to direct the research approach provided an opportunity to discover a new way of working across cross-cultural contexts in this particular scenario. The only proviso was that the relevance of the language and historical impacts be established outside that of tourism issues initially (Personal communication, Alsop, July 28, 2012). The concern was that people might launch into the discussion on tourism and not address the shared experiences and key insights around the relevance of the language and the historic impacts facilitating language loss.

This is one of many examples where working closely with the community created an opportunity not only to understand the underlying connections and relationships involved, but allowed those relationships to inform the research process. In this way, the approach taken came from within the community. Over time, I would understand more clearly, what had been accomplished in taking this approach. The Hawaiian and Māori people with whom I would
later speak, received this approach very positively.\textsuperscript{112} After explaining the methodology and approach to a tourism operator in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand he shared,

\textbf{Research as Relationships}

\textbf{Mihaka}

\textit{So you have, um consulted with several different peoples and come up with a bunch of questions--four questions, which have genealogical links and roots to the indigenous peoples that you’ve met. So this isn’t…ya that’s awesome--so that’s not a western paradigm/ideology--that’s pretty cool--so it’s an indigenous question being asked to an indigenous person rather than a westernized question…that’s awesome. (Interview, December 18, 2012)}

This statement reflects the presence of a relationship underpinned by a methodology that reflects indigenous ways of knowing and belonging in the world. This cross-cultural approach connected the experiences of three diverse cultural groups and provided an opportunity to gain insight into the perspectives of the indigenous community regarding language and tourism issues. The use of a foundational study site, linked with other indigenous communities is a unique approach to connecting groups faced with language loss. Not a comparative study, rather issues of language loss and tourism development were considered in a supportive and mutually beneficial cross-cultural environment.

\textbf{5.3.5 Logic, Heart and Self in Relationship with Others}

Atkinson (2001) suggests the need, within indigenous research contexts, to be increasingly aware of the connection between the “logic of the mind and the feelings of the heart” (p. 50). In Haida Gwaii, Hawai‘i, and Aotearoa, these relationships were expressed as follows:

\textsuperscript{112} The process of developing contacts and networks in these communities is discussions in section 5.4, Phase I and Phase II.
• **In Aotearoa:** “You must become your own purpose…but you will be able to see things the Māori way better.” (Field journal, June 19, 2011)

• **In Hawai‘i:** “You can’t learn from categories and lists…the voices of many speak through [you].” (Field journal, September 13, 2012)

• **In Haida Gwaii:** “If we work from our heart instead of our head all the time…you’re going to do the honourable thing.” (Interview Kii’iljuus, June 23, 2012)

Over the course of my fieldwork (2012-2013), which included three months in Haida Gwaii, two months in Hawai‘i(Big Island, Kaua‘i, and O’ahu), and two months in Aotearoa (Te Ika a Maui – North Island and Te Wai Pounamou – South Island) I became increasingly aware of the relationships and connections I had formed with these communities and peoples.\(^{113}\) Not as deeply as their own connections obviously, but I had started to sense different connections and different types of relationships. In my journal I write,

> I have slowly begun to shift lenses as it were and started to observe and interpret differently. This means that what I take away from my conversations and activities have slowly taken on deeper meaning. I don’t listen and hear the same way I did when I began. It’s as if the glasses I was looking through before are different from the ones I wear today. (Field journal, 2012)

Manu Meyers (2001) posits that what gives meaning to something lies within action, the practice of doing–she refers to this as “aloha knowledge” or knowledge through service to others–the awareness of loving intelligence or intuition. Wilson (2008), shares this perspective that, “knowledge is formed within a relationship” (p. 114). Weber-Pillwax (2003) posits that the source of a research project is the heart and mind of the researcher; hence, it is critical for the researcher to understand themselves as part of the relationships formed. This places great responsibility on the researcher to act with integrity and do what is best for the research and the community rather than what is best for themselves.

\(^{113}\) North Island: Te Ika a Maui. South Island: Te Wahi Pounamu.
This comes at a cost as the bar is set so high; however, it also provides a means for the mind and the heart to come together, that is, intention and intuition (Battiste, 2008; Meyer, 2001). If one undertakes research at the behest of the community, one cannot be outside of the community in this sense. Relationality requires that you acknowledge and understand that you are a part of the relationships formed (Wilson, 2008). However, this will rest outside other aspects of the community’s experiences and relationships and it is within this context that I understand myself as an outsider/insider. Like Wilson, I acknowledge that I bring my subjective self to this work—it falls to me to be a person worthy of such responsibility.

5.4 Methods and Community Engagement

5.4.1 Description of Research Methods

The previous sections (5.3.1 to 5.3.5) clearly demonstrate how this research meets the principles of knowledge formation and that of the ethical accountability required of an Indigenist methodology (Table 7). The knowledge gained, informed within a partnership of multiple relationships in the community and the affective choice of participation and engagement. In turn, these foundational principles informed the selection and development of methods that supported this level of engagement within the community. The approach and tools used to facilitate this knowledge partnership correlating with that of participatory action research and narrative theory.

Participatory Action Research

Participatory action research (PAR) attempts to re-orient the ways in which knowledge is gained by (a) working collaboratively with communities, (b) is pragmatic in the

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114 Jones and Jenkins (2008) address aspects of cross-cultural studies in terms of collaborative engagement as necessarily constructed as “self and other”. They underscore difference not in terms of Self-Other, rather that one cannot know another’s experience (see also Narayan, 1988). Like Kii’iljuus, they query the possibility of inverting this paradigm to Other-Self, as a criterion of reciprocal collaborative inquiry (p. 480). This centres the community and relegates the researcher to the potentiality learner wherein, “[we can] learn...from difference rather than learning about the Other” (Todd, 2003, cited in Jones & Jenkins, 2008, p. 480).
potential to bring about change, and (c) the goal of producing knowledge that empowers and enriches participants (Battiste, 2008; Chevalier & Buckles, 2013; Kemmis, 2008; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000; Koster, Baccar, & Lemelin, 2012; Schwandt, 2007). The methods employed, deliberately seek to invert traditional research processes, for example, who constructs the research questions, who designs the approach used, and who interprets the results (Fine, Tuck, & Zeller-Berkman, 2008, p. 160). The method places the researcher at the bottom of the social hierarchy wherein they become the subjects of the process—allowing space for the “distribution of resources, opportunities, and the right to produce knowledge (Fine et al., 2008). Examples wherein these methods correlate with that of the principles outlined in Table 7 include,

- community initiated inquiry and approval of objectives (empowerment);
- key representatives wanted to work with me (capacity building);
- direct community involvement in planning and implementation (educative);
- deep listening to those with knowledge; learning informed by community (empowerment);
- hiring local interpreter; culturally informed fact finding; respect for cultural knowledge and perspectives on historical events (educative; reciprocity);
- reflexive community involvement informed cross-cultural approach to draw on knowledge and experiences of other indigenous peoples (capacity building);
- awareness that knowledge was informed within a relationship and mutual goals (enriching; community ownership; carefulness); and,
- ensuring that the knowledge created is retained within the community (educative; reciprocity).115 116 117

**Narrative Theory Inquiry**


116 PAR attempts to draw meaning and knowledge from the real lives of peoples and communities, learning informed by involvement and action, and collaborative, planned inquiry (Chevalier & Buckles, 2013).

117 NB: As of July 2014, I returned to Haida Gwaii to work with the Haida around language and tourism issues; demonstrating the importance of ensuring the knowledge gained is retained by and made fully available to the community.
Broadly, the goal of narrative inquiry is to generate the lived experience of individuals by recording or capturing their stories for the purpose of interpreting events framed within a particular human context (Rosiek, 2007; Schuler, Aberdeen & Dyer, 1999; Schwandt, 2007; Webster & Mertova, 2007). The approach is argued to support relational ways of thinking in the construction of our lived experience and inform of a line inquiry concerned with the expression and ownership of voice (Bruner, 1986; McCall, 2011). Ladson-Billings (1994) considers story-telling a culturally relevant pedagogy—a way of maintaining experience and knowledge within its historical and cultural context (cited, in Dunbar, 2008, p. 96). The methods employed herein included the use of reflexive journaling and narrative interviewing to gain insight into the stated purpose and objectives of the study (Schwandt, 2007). Semi-formal and informal interviewing facilitated the means of sharing indigenous knowledge and shaped the writing and presentation of this thesis as a means facilitating and maintaining culturally appropriate relationships. Reflexive journaling provided the means of thinking deeply about the knowledge shared with me and created the opportunity to immerse myself in the experiences and perspectives of the Haida, Hawaiian, and Māori peoples.

**Interpretive Theming Assessment of Interviews**

The assessment of meaning within the context of community engagement was informed through participatory action research, narrative inquiry, participant observation, reflexive journaling, and the documentation of language use within tourism settings in each of the study sites. The largest source of information was the semi-formal and informal narrative interviews conducted with participants. While the details and circumstances as to who, where, and when these interviews were conducted is discussed in the following section, the following outlines the basic procedure used to assess and interpret the interviews.

Step 1: full transcription of interviews

Step 2: review transcribed material for key response statements
Step 3: assignment of codes to identity similar response groups

Step 4: round one: coding of all interviews

Step 5: round two: review and re-code similar responses into larger groups

This emergent process of coding, re-coding and re-grouping response statements continued until five core themes were identified, each made up of a number of sub-themes. This process was repeated in Haida Gwaii, Hawaiʻi, and Aotearoa; the transcribing and theming process completed in advance of the subsequent site visit. The process of open coding involves multiple stages and requires the full immersion of the researcher and interpreter to fully consider the meaning and cultural context of participant statements. De-briefings were held before, during, and after with key individuals to discuss the emerging results.\(^ {118} \)\(^ {119} \)

Table 8 (located at the end of this chapter) provides a detailed accounting of each of the major themes and sub-themes identified by study site. The collection of responses highlights shared experiences occurring across all three sites (blue highlights), key insights and perspectives held in Hawaiʻi (orange Xs), key insights and perspectives held in Aotearoa (blue Xs), and those shared insights and perspectives held in both Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa (red Xs). The letter / number combinations to the left of each column represent the final code grouping of each sub-theme and is traceable to the original interview. The major themes and sub-themes form the basis of the results discussed in Chapter 6 and 7 (Haida Gwaii) and Chapter 8 (Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa). Table 8 (Chart of Themed Assessments) is foundational to

\(^ {118} \) The method of emergent theming is linked to grounded theory; however, the process outlined above developed within the context of relationships formed within the community and in deep discussion with and the direct participation of the interpreter. Within this larger methodological context, the process of identifying the themes and sub-themes relied on hand coding and not that of a computer program to generate results.

the development of Table 14 (Synopsis of Key Findings), which synthesizes the key findings into manageable statements as discussed in Chapter nine.

**Linking the Study Sites Through the Major Themes**

One of the challenges of this research was to expand the study from that of the foundational study site to include two additional sites, i.e., Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa. As noted previously (Sec. 1.3) the rationale was to draw on the experiences and insights of other indigenous peoples with very different experiences of tourism and language to inform the Haida’s own understanding of the issues. The hope was to gain knowledge of other approaches and valued practices to support the development of a language-based tourism program in the community. As described in Section 5.4.3 the decision to use the major themes, rather than developing an entirely new set of questions for use in Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa, grew out of the interpretive theming process and my own growing understanding of the need to find a way to connect the study sites in culturally appropriate ways. There was no point in orchestrating three different case studies with no central purpose or relationship to the needs and perspectives of the Haida.

The use of the five major themes as points of discussion informed a highly narrative series of interviews, which created a relationship wherein the focus or lens through which participants spoke remained on the needs and aspirations of the Haida. From a methods perspective, the Haida initiated the questions, developed the questions, answered the questions, interpreted the questions and on this basis sought feedback from two communities whom they felt could offer a valid culture perspective. An added benefit was that the themes allowed participants to think about the issues quite broadly, rather than being restricted to a formulaic series of questions. It was of great interest to me and quite unexpected that the interviews, once transcribed and put through the same interpretive theming assessment, remained within the same major themes—allowing the sub-themes to be placed relationally to that of the findings in Haida Gwaii. (See Table 10.) This cross-cultural approach provided a
space wherein the cultural context of each site was maintained, yet allowed room for meaningful engagement and discussion of the relevant issues.

**Documenting Language Use**

Documenting the tangible and intangible forms of language use in each of the study sites informed a deeper understanding of the ways language is expressed and shared within the related tourism settings. The methods used to document these primary and secondary sources included photography; videography; journaling; the collection of promotional, media, and other printed materials; and participant statements.\(^{120}\) No attempt was made to record instances of language use or assess the photographs or other materials using content analysis or semiotics to support comparative or contrastive interpretation (Swandt, 2004).\(^{121}\)

Rather, the purpose was first, to document a range of examples to demonstrate the active role of the community in supporting language use within tourism contexts (Objective #1) and second, to document valued practices in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa to demonstrate other culturally appropriate uses of language (Objective #2) in similar settings. Broadly, the examples included, signage, interpretative panels, storyboards, guided tours, creative arts, the spoken word, promotional materials, multi-media formats, printed materials, training and education et cetera. Table 10 (Photo-log) and Table 13 (Valued Practices) provide the most substantive review and discussion of this information. The majority of examples and valued practices will be catalogued as a compendium of valued practices for the community.

**Issues of Accuracy and Trustworthiness**

\(^{120}\) Three qualitative methodologies intersect with the use of photography (a) visual photography, (b) content analysis, and (c) semiotics. Harper (2008) notes that the use of photographs in qualitative research as a basic means of communication is the provision of evidence of something seen (p. 186). Visual illustrations are used to contextualize meaning in particular settings and serve to connect the viewer and content (Harper, 2008).

\(^{121}\) Content analysis refers to processes where material (photographic or written et cetera) is used to compare, contrast, or categorize data to support a hypothesis (Schwandt, 2007). Semiotics is a process of applying meaning to signs and investigating relationships between these meanings and may incorporate sounds, vocals, written words, or images (Schwandt, 2007).
My priority in meeting the requirements of trustworthiness was to ensure that each stage of the research fulfilled the Principles of Indigenous Research (Table 7). It is my belief that working ethically within these cultural contexts exceeded the standards of inquiry set within qualitative research. The qualitative standards of trustworthiness refer to elements of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Schuler, Aberdeen, and Dyer (1999) argue that these standard truth-values reflect a system of inquiry that privileges abstract forms of investigation and knowledge production. Their stance mirrors that of Wilson (2008) who argues that an Indigenist methodology stands alone and is not dependent upon or comparable to western approaches. However, the correlational use of participatory action research and narrative inquiry, which informed the methods selected, necessitates a consideration of these elements. At a minimum the qualitative standard of trustworthiness is demonstrated within this research through,

- credibility: extensive, on-going collaborative engagement with the community;
- transferability: triangulation of findings across three study sites;
- dependability: thoroughness in documenting the research process and results; and
- confirmability: obtaining informed consent, participant check-backs, peer debriefing.

**Ethics Approval and Participant Confidentiality**

Three Category A approvals were obtained from the University of Otago Ethics Committee in preparation for conducting this research. The first provided approval to conduct an advance site visit to Hawai‘i in October 2012 (#11/236), the second provided approval to conduct research with the Haida community in summer 2012 (#12/005), and the third provided approval to conduct research with Native Hawaiian and Māori peoples in September and October 2012 (#12/200). The application to conduct research in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa was reviewed by the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee, who considered, “the research to be of interest and importance” (Received July 17, 2012). Appendix I includes
copies of the approved applications, consent forms, and information for participants. The questions and themes used to inform the narrative interviews can be found in Appendix J.

5.4.2 Community Engagement

The following section details the level of community participation and collaboration in carrying out this research. As this engagement took place over an extended period of time and incorporated two distinct phases, this information is presented as such. Broadly, the process of engagement stemmed from the Haida’s own desire to explore language and tourism issues outside their immediate community. Hawai‘i and Aotearoa were selected for this purpose as these sites presented similar histories, yet presented very different experiences around the impact of tourism development on language, which is detailed in chapter nine. The broad design of this research was to first, explore language and tourism issues in Haida Gwaii and second, to identify shared insights, experiences, and valued practices occurring or emerging in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa.

Phase I: Haida Gwaii

A total of 23 semi-formal narrative interviews were conducted. Participants included elders, tour guides, tour operators, language activists, language experts, community leaders, business managers, parks administrators, educators, industry leaders, and small business owners. Many participants hold, or have held, multiple positions within the community, for example, traditional and modern creative artists, youth advocacy, outdoor education, Haida Watchmen, political appointments, community outreach et cetera. Individual speaker ability ranged from not actively engaged in learning the language to advanced learners or fluent in the case of one elder. The majority of participants considered themselves language learners.

122 Refer to footnote #107 for information on the Haida Gwaii Watchmen.
Site visits were conducted at tourist information centres, local and regional museums, tourism businesses, art galleries, community language programs, community events, artists’ galleries, and planned excursions. The goal was not to determine the correctness or character of language use; rather it was to observe the level indigenous language use compared to that of English. Information obtained relating to tourism and language use was noted in journals at the end of day so my work did not impose on anyone’s time or usual practices. The majority of my activities as a participant observer were contained to the Haida Heritage Centre and Haida Gwaii Museum. I volunteered there five days per week over three months and was directly involved in the activities of the centre. The put me in direct and regular contact with individuals and community associations involved in language initiatives and the production of cultural tourism experiences at the cultural centre. In addition to the photographic and videographic record maintained, I documented the use of language in promotional materials, tourist brochures, websites, local papers, government and organizational reports, signage, advertisements, and educational material, amongst others.

The interview questions were developed in consultation with three key members of the community with knowledge of language and tourism issues in Haida Gwaii. Two trial interviews provided an opportunity to remove overlap, simplify the flow, and remove unnecessary duplications. As a result, a number of additional changes were made, however, this process of refining the questions continued throughout as issues came up or new ideas emerged. For example, participants highlighted the language needs of youth early on in the process, which opened an additional area of discussion. Aay Aay, the local interpreter, was invaluable in identifying key participants, arranging interviews in Skidegate and Old Massett, ensuring the consent forms were understood and signed, and reminding me to present the gift book brought from Aotearoa. Aay Aay attended the majority of interviews with me and took a direct role in speaking with individuals, asking questions, and clarifying words or issues that
arose. For example, he would provide the history or background to a particular event or issue to which I was unfamiliar or unaware.

All interviews were transcribed from audio recordings while on site in order to facilitate the early theming and assessment of participant responses. Although often done at the conclusion of a study, this step was critical to identifying the themes and sub-themes that would be used to engage the Hawaiian and Māori communities. All participants were asked if they wished to obtain a copy of the transcribed interview and individual check backs were conducted to confirm the accuracy of participant statements used in the thesis. As detailed in the previous section, a process of progressive theming was used to identify the major themes and sub-themes. Aay Aay’s involvement in assessing the interviews was critical. His input provided invaluable insights into the cultural context of the discussions, background information on related community issues, and guided the re-grouping of participant statements into increasingly broad concepts. Before beginning the assessment, which took approximately four days, a briefing was held to ensure each of us were comfortable in raising any issues or concerns. The theming and assessment of the interviews was not an analysis of the frequency of types of responses or key words; rather it was a highly detailed means of identifying language use, language resources, and language relationships at work in the community. Once this assessment was completed and the major themes and subthemes identified, a de-briefing was held with key individuals to determine how to proceed with Phase II of the research.

Phase II: Hawai‘i and Aotearoa

A total of 22 informal narrative interviews were conducted in Hawai‘i (10) and Aotearoa (12) immediately following the conclusion of the fieldwork in Haida Gwaii. Participants included elders, tour guides, language activists, language experts, community outreach providers, charter schools, industry leaders, museum and other cultural experts, tour business owners, cultural performance groups, business owners, and industry leaders. The
range of individual speaker ability was similar to that found in Haida Gwaii. Extensive site visits were conducted at museums, key tourist attractions, cultural performances, festivals and events, guided tours, cultural centres, hotels and resorts, tourism outlets (gifts etc.), community outreach organizations, national and state parks, national historic sites and major transportation hubs. As done in Haida Gwaii, information obtained relating to language use in tourism products and services was noted in my field journal on a daily basis. As done in Haida Gwaii, I maintained a detailed photographic, videographic, and journalistic record of these visits, noting the use of language in tourism products and services. I remained in contact with Jason Alsop and my supervisors at key points throughout the fieldwork, which provided opportunities to discuss emerging issues and ensure that research was progressing as planned.

This study generated a lot of interest in the Kānaka Maoli (native born) Hawaiian and Māori communities, which reflected not only their personal interest in these issues, but also concern for the Haida community and the critically endangered state of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil. Participants were empathetic for the Haida—recognizing that their own languages face similar challenges and potentially the same end. The decision to continue with the fieldwork immediately following Haida Gwaii was based on 1) earlier discussions with key participants in Hawaiʻi who anticipated my arrival, 2) the timing fell in the non-peak visitor season, and 3) it facilitated my own travel plans and return to Aotearoa. Importantly, this progression allowed me to remain fully immersed in the research process with the words, concerns, and vision of the Haida fresh in my mind. In Hawaiʻi, interviews were completed with key participants on the Big Island, Kauaʻi, and Oʻahu. I spent approximately three weeks on each of these islands, providing sufficient time to expand my network of contacts and familiarize myself with the people, key attractions, and the islands generally. This portion of the fieldwork took place in October and September of 2012. All interviews were transcribed while on site to ensure that the contribution of participants could be themed and assessed before continuing on to complete the fieldwork in Aotearoa.
On returning to Aotearoa, I continued the fieldwork in December (2012) and January (2013). Interviews were conducted with seven key participants from the North Island and five from the South Island: approximately one month was spent on each island. Site visits were loosely determined on the basis of participant availability; however, key towns and areas visited included, the Hokianga, North Cape, Bay of Islands, Paihia, Wellington, Rotorua, the Kapati Coast, te Urewera forest, Kaikoura, Timaru, Greymouth, Oamaru, Stewart Island, Milford Sound, and Queenstown, amongst others. The majority of interviews were transcribed on site; however, it was not until April that I would be able to complete the themed assessments. As done in Haida Gwaii, all participants (both study sites) were asked if they wished to obtain a copy of the transcribed interview and individual check backs were conducted to confirm the accuracy of participant statements used in the thesis.

Facilitating the level of community engagement required to conduct this research ethically and to the highest standard began early in my studies and I was encouraged by my supervisors to begin networking with individuals from the various communities for this purpose. This incorporated an advance fieldtrip to take in a number of tourism experiences in Aotearoa and Hawai‘i. The purpose was to determine if there was (a) sufficient advantage in broadening out the scope of the foundational study site, (b) to consider other experiences and approaches to tourism and language development, and (c) begin the process of establishing relationships within these diverse communities. This advance fieldwork helped me to develop a level of familiarity with these places and life ways and provided a means of connecting not only with locals and residents, but helped me feel more comfortable in following up later with those who indicated an interest in the research. The singly most important connection was made through the Ka Welina Network in O‘ahu (www.kawelina.net), which resulted in an invitation to attend a community tourism conference. This conference resulted in a number of introductions to key people working to develop community-based tourism initiatives and invitations to visit their island communities. It also resulted in an opportunity to do volunteer
work at the Waipa Foundation in Hanalei on Kaua‘i, and further opportunities to speak with key individuals with knowledge of language and tourism issues. Similarly, in Aotearoa these early contacts provided an opportunity to do volunteer work in the Ngāpuhi community of Omapere in the Hokianga, North Island. It was significant that one of my supervisors was herself of Ngāpuhi decent and familiar with the community. These experiences were invaluable to developing a level of trust and familiarity with residents of these communities and the positive response from individuals to this research resulted in numerous introductions to those involved in the industry.

**Summary**

Kincheloe and Steinberg (2008) posit that non-indigenous researchers must constantly ask how the self-direction of indigenous people can be enhanced and not become an appropriation of culture for the purpose of transforming the researcher’s own identity. This is an interesting point, that I feel can be balanced within the use of an indigenist methodology. Indigenous and non-indigenous researchers must understand their own epistemology and ontology in order to be aware and open to other ways of knowing and belonging in this world. This, coupled with an ability to think deeply and frequently about the principles set out by Atkinson (2001), can result in meaningful relationships that support long-term and mutually beneficial research partnerships.

Further, it is critical to understand that relationality in this context is contained within the research process—underscoring the importance of knowing yourself as the subjective outsider / insider (Fine et al., 2008). This places the focus on the needs and aspirations of the community rather than on those of the researcher. My habit of reflexive journaling and blogging has been critical to my growing understanding of myself within this research context. However, it can be a difficult balance to maintain, having read or heard somewhere
that, “If doing research doesn’t transform you, then you are doing it wrong.” How can I not be transformed by these experiences? By maintaining respect and balance, which leaves space for the community—full stop. It places me in the role of an invited and honoured guest. This chapter outlined the extensive effort that went into ensuring that this research was conducted to the highest ethical standards and was carried out within an appropriate cultural framework. The research design, the methods employed, and level of community engagement, demonstrates thoroughness of the researcher in carrying out this collaborative study.

The following three chapters present the findings of this research. The chapters are organized around a discussion of the major themes, centring first on the relevance and historic impacts on language use and second on the broader use of tourism to support language development and revitalization.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foundational Study: The section below reflects a mid level grouping of the major themes.</th>
<th>Haida Gwaii</th>
<th>Hawaii</th>
<th>Aotearoa</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relevance of the Language</strong></td>
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<td>B1</td>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Language is a tool.</td>
<td>A7</td>
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<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Language connects everything / land / place</td>
<td>B30</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Connection to ancestors / stories</td>
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<td>O</td>
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<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>What we see all around</td>
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<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Knowledge linked to language</td>
<td>B21</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>It’s hard to explain it in English</td>
<td>B15</td>
<td>O</td>
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<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>Language and culture are tools of reverence</td>
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<td>O</td>
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<td>Language is an impact we no longer use</td>
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<td>O</td>
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<td>What we see all around</td>
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<td>B3</td>
<td>A3</td>
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<td>A6</td>
<td>Language not used much with visitors</td>
<td>A14</td>
<td>B14</td>
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<tr>
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<td>A25</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Language used much with visitors</td>
<td>A14</td>
<td>B14</td>
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<td>A3</td>
<td>Language can be a social-economic investment</td>
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**Table 8**

| Chart of Themed Assessments |
6. Life Ways of the Haida and Their Language

The key findings of this study are detailed in the following two chapters. Foundational to this discussion is to understand the sacredness of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil to the peoples of Haida Gwaii. The place of language within Haida life ways is not connected to that of tourism in any way and it is critical to understand this distinction. For this reason, chapter six outlines the relevance of the language and the historic impacts on language as each bears directly on the use of the language in present day contexts. Following this, chapter seven details the use of language within tourism contexts, stewardship of the language, and the vision and challenges of supporting language within community-based tourism initiatives. These chapters establish the basis for the correlations made within the findings to emerge from Hawai‘i and Aotearoa as presented in chapter eight: addressing first the historic impacts and relevance of the language, followed by the issues of stewardship, tourism and language resources, and the vision and challenges.

Chapter 6 begins with a reflexive narrative by a respected member of the Haida community, establishing a cultural context in which the relevance of the language can be understood. This narrative brings the intrinsic relationships and connections within the language to the forefront and captures a deeper sense of how the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil connects and holds within it the life ways of the Haida. This narrative highlights the sub-themes related to the relevance of the language (a) Language Connects Everything, (b) Unique Way of Expressing Self, and (c) What is a Haida Without the Language. The remainder of the chapter is dedicated to exploring the impact of historic events on the language and the ways in which the language is used within present day cultural contexts. The sub-themes here reflect (a) Language was Always Present, (b) Language Always Played a Role, (c) How is the Language Used Today, and (d) Expanding Language Use in the Community.
6.1 Relevance of Xaayda kil / Xaad kil (Language) to the Haida

To understand the relevance of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil, one must look back and forward at the same time as both inform the present. What I understand by this is that there really is no past and future…that the words of the ancestors stand within the same realm in this moment as they did when first spoken. Nika is a language advocate and a dedicated member of the Haida community. The following vignette exemplifies the complex contexts and relationships held within the language, highlighting the historic and present day relevance of the language to Nika and the broader community,

Community Language Advocacy

Nika

Nika is a vibrant advocate for the Haida people and is of the Joth Eagle Clan. She is a tireless volunteer and works closely with many community organizations to support Haida culture, art, language, heritage, music, and dance. Nika was a key contributor to the development and authorship of the book entitled, ‘That Which Makes us Haida: The Haida Language Book’. I sought her out to ask after her experiences and thoughts on language and tourism issues. Nika is a lot of fun to chat with and she understands the complexity of the issues deeply, having two young children to whom she is in the process of sharing the Xaayda kil. After motherhood and family, Nika splits her time between her work as the Associate Curator of the Haida Gwaii Museum and that of a Haida singer and song leader. Within the context of these roles, she works very closely with the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program and ultimately understands her work as, “facilitating the needs of the Haida community.” A language learner herself she states, “I also work with SHIP very closely for the singing…to learn you know the songs properly and pronunciation and I think singing has helped me a lot in learning Haida. Sometimes the way you sing is different than how you would say it if you were speaking, but its helped to develop an ear for the language and for pronouncing the language.”

As a youth, Nika says she, “probably knew about 10 words” of the Xaayda kil, not realizing until she was a teenager that there was a difference between the English and Haida words when she saw prints with dual descriptors for ‘eagle’ listed below. It was
while she was away from the islands to attend school that she would first learn of ‘Haida Gwaii’, a place she’d known only as the Queen Charlotte Islands previously. Returning home in 1997, the following year she would participate in a two week Haida immersion program that exposed her fully to the language for the first time in her life. Today, Nika describes those moments, ‘Most of the Haida that I can use conversationally today I learned in those two weeks. It was an amazing program... they didn’t get [all they hoped for], but my god what they got started, a whole new era right. It was the seed, in wasn’t going to fix everything...but it certainly got the ball rolling.’ Reflecting on those early days of the Haida cultural renaissance, Nika recalls the words of the Elders when SHIP first started, ‘How can you call yourself Haida when you don’t speak Haida?’

The statement brings with it a sense of failure and exclusion for those unable to speak the Xaayda kil, but today Nika understands these words differently, ‘It used to be such a hurtful comment because I’m Haida and I don’t speak Haida right. But they’re not saying that...what they’re saying is the importance of the language, that our language contains us—we come from the waters and the supernatural—our language comes from the lands, the waters, and our relationship with that. It’s kinda like the language is our identity. It is the descriptive of our interactions and relationship and interdependence on our lands and waters that we love so much. And there’s so much knowledge in one word...an entire story in one word...it’s a way of looking at the world, it’s a philosophy...when I get really into it I start to cry it’s so important. That’s why it can’t die.’ Nika draws on the example of the repatriation of the bones of their ancestors and artefacts to the Haida Gwaii Museum over the years as being similar to that of reclaiming the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil. ‘It’s the same thing... but its so much more, there’s the identity I just talked about in both things, but it represents this recent history—a 150 year history of literally a biological genocide...and a cultural genocide.’

Within this history all Haida have been affected and Nika believes that the failure to recover their language, ‘like the Māori sort of did it’, is to relinquish themselves to another’s version of reality. ‘It would be so easy to walk away...ah no one speaks it anyway...it would be easy to walk away, but it feels really wrong to give that even a shred of thought.’ (Interview, June 28, 2012)

Nika’s words and experiences highlight the underlying relationships that the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil expresses and weaves within itself, that is, the individual and shared connections
with the land and ocean, their unique perspectives on life and ways of being, the knowledge of the ancestors, and the recent histories of their people. Considered as a whole, these relationships and connections within the language inform their individual and group identity as the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil holds within it the shared experiences of the Haida. There are a number of phrases within this narrative that underscore the relevance the language holds for Nika. Her words demonstrate her deep connection and commitment with the community and her use of song as an intrinsic expression of that relationship. While on a practical level singing has helped Nika learn to speak the words, the disconnect she experienced as a youth from the language continues to impact every facet of her life. As an adult, Nika understands the historic progression of language loss through colonization and oppression and the ramifications of this for her community. However, Nika is working with her elders and community to ensure the Xaayda kil is not lost to them.

6.1.1 The Language Connects Everything

The Xaayda kil / Xaad kil is understood as containing the collective knowledge or (knowings) of the Haida (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012). The connections inherent within this collective knowledge are expressed in myriad ways, but fundamentally as the connection with the land and ocean, life ways, and ancestors (Interview Kii’iljuus, June 23, 2012). Upon each of these is a fluid and interwoven pattern of,

Land & Ocean \quad \text{origin – place – resources}

Life Ways \quad \text{practices – arts – people – recent history}

Ancestors \quad \text{supernaturals – myths – ancient past – future}^{124}

\text{124} Outside the fundamental relationship with the land and ocean, the format is not intended as hierarchical, rather a weaving together of knowings within a whole–all in relation, one with the other.
Before contact with the Europeans, the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil expressed and informed all that the Haida knew of the world based on the accumulated knowledge of their ancestors and experience of Haida Gwaii over 1000s of years. Nika notes that even though this knowledge is now fragmented it remains collective and “still comes together to make a whole” (Interview, June 28, 2012). In trying to help me understand the relevance of this, people in the community would choose simple but powerful examples to show how this ancient knowledge remains connected to the present or, in other words, what their relationship with the language is. The most fundamental relationship of the Haida is their relationship with the land; they come from the ocean, and the lands and waters provided all that they needed for life (Interview Collison, June 24, 2012). Their inter-dependence upon the lands and waters to provide for their needs was absolute. Knowledge was not mere anecdotes or idle banter; knowledge meant physical survival, upon which all other aspects of life depended. These relationships were and are not compartmentalized—operating independently one from the other, rather they form an inter-connected and woven whole as expressed by Nika and others.

Some of the best examples of this relationship or connection between the land and knowledge and language are found within place names. Place names connected physical locations within a shared framework of experiences related to food gathering, material resources, trade between clans and other coastal First Nations, events and practices, and the supernaturals that came before. Place names contained the information (knowledge) needed by those who lived and travelled within particular areas and regions.

Every part of these islands, have you know a lot of history you know and they have pre-history cause they have names even for some places that were - they had different names when they…before human times so there was other…and then the humans named them after. (Interview Kihl guulaans, June 29, 2012)\(^{125}\)

The way my ancestors camped had some meaning and it was done in a very methodical

\(^{125}\) The English translation of this name is “Voice of Gold.” As shared with by Kihl guulaans.
way so that you didn’t waste time cause time was very important because you were
gathering food...your life depended on doing these things right…it was a way of living.
(Interview Kii’iljuus, June 23, 2012).

It may seem obvious to state that place names contained information necessary to the
successful and safe return of voyagers, but there is a marked difference in how place names
are understood today. Knowing the relevance of a place name such as Vancouver is vastly
different then knowing the best time of year to gather herring roe, known as K’aawdang Kung
(April – herring roe on kelp month) (SHIP Orthography, 2013). Such resources determined
how your family would be fed...your place in the community...your ability to trade...how
you lived or died. Reality increases the relevance of this information beyond mere facts to that
of survival in the broadest sense of the word. The phrase, “The language comes from the
land,” (Guujaaw quoted in Gill, 2009, p. 128) takes on great significance in this way—the
land teaches what you must do to survive—defines the parameters and context of your
survival—defines the quality of survival for your family and community. As Kii’iljuus says,
“the phrases connect you to what’s happening—it connects you to the knowing—it’s the
connection that’s made between the ocean and the land by saying a phrase...I think that’s what
it is” (Interview, June 23, 2012). There is a profound relationship between place names and
the life ways of the Haida: kept in relationship one to the other through the Xaayda kil / Xaad
kil, hence the language connects everything.

Place names are the proverbial tip of the iceberg. Expanding these relationships and
connections through language to every place, every event, every person, every activity and
beyond that to the ancestors and supernaturals provides one with a much clearer picture of the
scale on which to understand the relevance of the language. The language of the Haida is the
collective map of their ancient and present day knowledge and ways of being and relating
with Haida Gwaii. To lose the language is to sever their tangible and intangible connections to
the land. In this way the language becomes the relationship, as it is this, which holds the
pieces together or in other words becomes the expressed identity of the Haida. As Collison (Interview, June 24, 2012) describes it, “there’s a real tie of course to it [the land] you know - it’s all connected…it’s not just the art, not just food gathering - it’s language.

The connection to the ancestors was something that I initially found difficult to identify with, a level of understanding made more difficult when one thinks of that relationship in terms of language. How does language connect you to your ancestors and beyond that to your future? Again, place names offer some insight,

If you know the Haida place names or landmarks…and the Haida word and a little bit about the place and the history [it] kind of connects you more that way to–not only to the physical place–the people from that place, but it connects you to the ancestors. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

If one thinks of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil as the strands of a rope that maintains the relationships and connections with the land and place, the connection with the ancestors through the language becomes clearer. This connection with the ancestors was made very clear when I was told of the recent passing of an Elder. “The day before he passed…he was seeing ancestors and they were talking to him in Haida - they didn’t know English so they talked to him in Haida. My auntie went to see him and all he spoke to her was in Haida - he didn’t want to talk to her in English” (Interview Aay Aay, May 31, 2012). Aay Aay continued, expressing his concern that the ancestors could not understand English,

How do we talk to our ancestors because they never knew English - it’s all Haida. When we pray and when we lay people to rest we talk to the ancestors and ask them to help them guide them through the process of going to the other world. [So in a sense it’s like they can’t hear you?] Yeah.

These connections and relationships within the language do not cease or end with the passing of elders and members of the community. Future generations are held within the same relationships as that of the past, “[the language], it’s our link to our past and link to the future
(Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012). “[The language is] the connection to the elders, the ancestors, the past…[it] ties the present or the people of today to their roots—that’s why it’s so terrifying that it might be lost.” (Interview Laurel, July 21, 2012). It falls to their youth and future generations to maintain these connections and relationships, “It’s really important that the younger ones learn their culture and learn who they are and learn the language—learn where they come from” (Interview Jixxa, June 15, 2012).

6.1.2 Unique Way of Expressing Self

As an expression of individual and collective identity, the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil touches every aspect of people’s lives. The connections and relationships that issue from the land and waters extend to that of their life ways and ancestors—past, present, and future. As Haida Gwaii is unique so too is the language unique and by extension it expresses a unique way of being in and knowing the world. These relationships and connections are so fully expressed by the language of the Haida, that the language itself becomes the relationship—an intangible expression of a tangible connection or relationship, hence the language is not understood as separate or a part of one’s identity—it is the identity. This sense of language identity (my phrasing) is more in keeping with the way in which the Haida express their connection to the land and ocean through their language. It is also in keeping with Wilson (2008) who suggests that relationality for indigenous peoples is to be the relationship rather than being in a relationship. Residents of Skidegate and Old Massett have many ways of expressing this unique connection or relationship with their language. Collison (Interview, June, 24, 2012) states, “you definitely feel a lot more closer to who you are…when you’re able to speak your language.” Others expressed this relationship to language through the supernaturals and the ancient myths,

Haida sprits were all conceived in Haida - the stories of the land, the stories of the supernatural beings, the stories of how this place came into being….all came out of Haida language. (Interview Wiid, June 24, 2012)
The Xaayda kil / Xaad kil is often referred to as being highly descriptive in ways that English is not. As a result, many people speak of the deep sense of humour within the language. Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding states that its just not possible to translate the humour of the Haida into English properly, that it’s just not as funny anymore (Interview, June 19, 2012). Xylang jaad xyla, explains that, “Haida is exact and it’s descriptive exact…that’s why it’s way more humorous…[the language] is always painting a picture–you hear it, but you kind of see it too” (Interview, June 22, 2012). People also spoke about how the language sounds when spoken. It may seem obvious that languages have different tones and inflections, but the meaning intended went beyond this. There was a sense, that the spoken words have a visceral and spiritual connection with the land and ancestors.

The second statement (below) by Nika is especially interesting as she is a song and dance leader in the community and quite accustomed to singing in public. Nika leads a very active community group, traveling with delegations around the world and sharing the music, drumming, and dances of the Haida.

Diane Brown says ‘our connection to the land when you hear it in Haida is much more direct and clear. You can understand the relationship better - Haida is more intimate.’ (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012)

When I try and sing English even if I love the song it sounds contrived...I go off key...I feel embarrassed–I could never sing in public...it’s really interesting - I’ve noticed that and I don’t know what that is. (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012)

There is acknowledgement that the use of English has muddled things somewhat; however, at its core the Haida, “still have a lot of the same worldview…way of seeing the world…very similar to the way our ancestors did it…that’s there, but knowing the language ah enhances it and builds it” (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012). The unique and myriad expressions within the

Xaayda kil / Xaad kil extend to other forms: people spoke of dance, drumming, carving, weaving as language,

[The language is] just as important as carving or just as important as fishing or hunting - all of it. It’s a big piece of the pie that I think if we lose - we lose a lot. (Interview Haana, June 24 2012)

So that the dancing and songs that’s our form of language I think it’s as important as our song and dance. (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012)

The power of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil within dance is palpable: the ornate masks, the strength of the men, and the soft movements of the ladies whose shape of hand indicates whether they are of the Eagle or Raven clan—remarkable to witness. An elder and weaver in the community states, “When I teach weaving, it’s not only the weaving I’m teaching, but the language as well” (G. Vandal, cited in Steedman & Collison, 2011). These rich and diverse expressions of non-verbal language are foundational to supporting relationships and connections within the community.

6.1.3 What is a Haida Without the Language

I heard this, or similar phrases, many times while in Haida Gwaii. The words immediately brought an affirmation of the great importance of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil or elicited a sense of hopelessness or failure on the part of others as expressed by the following excerpts,

“When we speak Haida then we know we are Haida.”

“How can you call yourself when you don’t speak Haida?”

The problem becomes significant, as the statements are seemingly divisive and self-defeating for those struggling to reclaim their language. The reality is that learning a second language is

127 Eagle women dance with their hands flipped backwards on their hips to represent wings. Raven women dance with their hands places facing inward on their hips.
not always possible and people’s life situations and reasons vary dramatically—some for deeply personal and traumatic reasons. However, given the fundamental relationships and connections expressed within the language, the statements are in and of themselves quite true. Something intrinsically fundamental to being Haida is lost in the absence of the language. The statements speak directly to issues of identity related to one’s ability and or inability to speak the language,

You lose quite a lot of your identity if you don’t speak your language. (Interview Collison, June 24, 2012)

It’s our identity - it’s what makes me Haida...makes me different from a Tshimishan person. Our language…it means I’m Haida. (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012)

People actively involved in learning the language spoke about it very positively; an activity that brings them great joy and a sense of well-being. Jiixa, an elder in the community, talked about her experience and involvement with SHIP as something that makes, “you feel so good, so important when you are trying to learn the language” and outside of that the excitement of being able to speak with her grandson, “every day we are discussing something about the language” (Interview, June 15, 2012). Several people, indicated that while they were not actively engaged in learning the language, the little language they knew offered a deep sense of identification with their ancestors and gave them a sense of where they came from. “Some of the phrases that I use when I’m doing public speaking…opening type phrases…this is who I am… I’m proud to be Haida” (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012). Even those who considered themselves basic or non-active learners understood the intrinsic value and worth of the language.

128 SHIP: Skidegate Haida Immersion Program.
I gotta keep reminding them [youth] 'you know when you get older it will help you...it will help you identify who you are and where you’re from’. You know you can’t have the culture without the language - the two of them fit together. (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012)

Regardless of the stage at which learners found themselves, individual and collective identity remains very closely connected with that of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil. The above statements serving as a rallying point to underscore the profound relevance of the language to the Haida. As shared by Nika, all Haida have a shared and common experience in the past 150 to 200 year history of colonisation and in terms of its impact on the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil there is no one who has not been affected (Interview, June 28, 2012). There is an inherent sense that the language serves as a point of balance in terms of the strength of the life ways of the Haida. Kii’iljuus (cited in Brown & Brown, 2009) speaks of balance as being linked to the universal truth of respect, that to the Haida, “these work hand in hand,” based on the belief that the actions of one thing affects all else (p. 7).129 This sense of maintaining respect and balance was expressed in several ways,

I think everything is linked whether its the language or the people, everything is tied together in some way and if you don’t have one or if something goes missing from the system then everything else is going to suffer. (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012)

I think you gotta balance them both...if you don’t have the land then everyone is going to separate and you won’t have the language right. And, if you don’t have the language how are you going to call this your land? It’s just like language and culture - there’s gotta be a balance or you can’t have either. (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012)

Linked to this was a sense of imbalance resulting from the inability to either express oneself fully in English or the disconnect created from the necessity of having to use English in

129 Refer to the discussion on page 12 of this thesis to review the noted universal and fundamental truths of the Coastal First Nations.
everyday life. While not everyone felt that English limited their ability to express themselves, others spoke of feeling left out or excluded in some ways from both communities…caught between two worlds,

Yea it does limit how I express myself...just from the phrases that I do know its - if I didn’t know those phrases I wouldn’t be able to express myself in that way. (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012)

When you speak English there is a disconnect–you’re not necessarily a part of this continuum. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

I don’t know...it’s how you express yourself with the words...sometimes you can express yourself as Haida better in English right. (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012)

The possibility of losing the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil is felt keenly within the community and those working to revitalize it acknowledge that with or without the language everyone is impacted. Many people I spoke to expressed this concern, as they know just how close they are to that reality,

I feel like it’s going to be lost some day…it probably affects the whole community…there’s not many other people who speak Haida. (Interview Aay Aay, May 31, 2012)

We’re not in a good place. It’s scary and to be honest it’s not looking good in terms of the progress we’re making…we lose people–we lost someone this week, so we don’t want to be the people who have to explain that it twenty years. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

I made the drive up to Old Massett with Aay Aay one day to speak with a number of people involved in tourism and language issues in the community. A gentleman I spoke to at the time was so passionate about the Xaad kil and spoke eloquently of his personal struggles to learn the language and involvement with the Haida Language Society. It was he, who helped me
get a better understanding of the sense of isolation this issue causes in the community and the challenges for those working to revitalize the language,

You definitely feel a lot closer to who you are when you’re able to speak your language. I think that can’t be lost—I mean some pretty emotional stuff gets said when people are talking about this issue—language—the loss of it. One of the most effective, devastating statements ever made was, ‘If you don’t know your language you’re not really Haida’…[said] in a way that was more a way of driving home that point of how important it is - how important it is to your life. This is an issue that we never had to think about 20 years ago. There’s a natural flow that’s missing out of our lives right now—a natural way of expressing ourselves in our own unique way that’s been taken away so now we’re finding all these different ways of trying to preserve that. It’s no different than efforts that went into preserving the arts—efforts that have been put into preserve all of these different places [or] food gathering. But, this is a lot more personal because her issue, is my issue, is Aay Aay’s issue. We all have a stake in it you know and [when] it comes right down to it, there’s nobody else to look to—we’re it. (Interview Collison, June 24, 2012)

There are very few fluent speakers remaining and responsibility for revitalising the language has fallen to a relatively small group of language advocates in the community. Collison (Interview, June 24, 2012) notes that the state of the language was not something the community talked about 20 years ago. However, the roots of language loss began long before that and understanding the impact of historic events on the language lends insight into how and where the language is used today.

6.2 I Learned Haida from my Nanaay: Historic Impacts on Language Use

To gain a deeper understanding of language use in the Haida community today, one has to understand the historic progression of language loss since contact with Europeans. The history of colonization and assimilation in Canada has had a ruinous affect on the ability of the aboriginal peoples to transfer knowledge of their life ways to their youth and future
generations. While a discussion of assimilationist policies falls outside the scope of this thesis, a few statements here will provide some context to the following discussion. The purpose of assimilation in Canada was, a one-way process of absorption—either deliberate or unconscious…formal and informal in structure and function whereby the dominant sector imposes it’s culture, authority, values, and institutions on the subdominant sector (Gordon, cited in Fleras & Elliott, 1992).130 Two goals of assimilation were to (a) undermine the “cultural basis of the subdominant society” and (b) “absorb dominant norms as normal and acceptable while implying subdominant norms as inferior or irrelevant” (Fleras & Elliott, 1992, p. 13). Fleras and Elliott (1992) posit that while the more blatant and explicit practices of assimilation have given way to more positive forms of diversity within Canada, “assimilation as a process continues to play a prominent role in shaping subdominant experiences” (p. 15).

Should one discount all other negative historic impacts, one is left with the legacy of the residential school system as having had the most significant impact on the loss of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil. The removal of children from their homes, “was aimed at their forced assimilation into non-aboriginal society through creation of a distinct underclass of labourers…and entailed the destruction of aboriginal language and culture, [and]…aboriginal spirituality” (Fleras & Elliott, 1992).131 132 The language was targeted specifically because it was felt this would speed the process of assimilation (Krauss, 1998; Long & Dickason, 1996, 2000; Tennant, 1990).133 There are two central reasons for the steady progression of language

130 1) Original source not obtained. 2) The argument is that colonisation and assimilation are interchangeable terms.
131 During the residential school era (1880s to1980s), authorities in Canada removed between 100,000 and 125,000 aboriginal children from their homes. Permission from parents was not required, but many sent their children thinking it would help them—some encouraged the use of the school system. (Fleras & Elliott, 1992.)
132 Refer to Chapter 4, Sec. 4.2 for a discussion on the historical events surrounding the development of the residential school system in Canada.
133 Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1989) state that one of the, “main features of imperial aggression is control over language,” as a means of establishing hegemonic power and hierarchical structures that create privilege. Those outside of privileged structures desire to achieve that standard, encouraging them to, “immerse themselves in the imported culture” (p. 3–4). Further, that the colonial education systems reinforced this with English in readers, texts, and instruction (p. 18). Tuhiwai Smith (2012) and Ka’ai (2009) note that shortly after the signing
loss in Haida Gwaii, (a) the historic and continuing assimilation of indigenous peoples within dominant groups and (b) the legacy of the residential school system.

6.2.1 The Language was Always Present

It may appear obvious to say that the language was used all the time in the past; however, to understand present day uses of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil in the community it is necessary to consider this in more detail. Understanding the context and relational use of language in recent history and even as language loss progressed is critical to understanding the relevance of certain aspects of language use within today’s contexts and in particular its use within community-based tourism initiatives. The following narratives provide some insight into this, focusing on the relationships inherent within the collective rememberings of those in the community with whom I spoke. The parents and grand parents of today’s Chinaays and Nanaays would likely have spoken with John Swanton at the turn of the 20th century. Some of those with whom he spoke potentially born between 1820 and 1840, a mere 30 to 60 years following the arrival of Captain George Dixon in 1785. Having this very general timeframe, although linear, helps to place the following narratives in context to external factors occurring outside that of the Haida community.

The following vignette is that of two sisters, Sgaaana Jaads K’yaa Ga Xiigangs and Jiixa, whose stories reflect the complex historic patterns of language loss in Haida Gwaii,

**Skidegate Sisters**

Sgaaana Jaads K’yaa Ga Xiigangs lives in the lower part of Skidegate and has been–a teacher for 35 years and still visits the schools regularly to share the language. Jiixa lives right across the street and they keep an eye out for each other. Although sisters, they had very different experiences with the Xaayda kil growing up. Sgaaana Jaads K’yaa Ga Xiigangs, the eldest, recalls that when she was growing up, “They never spoke English...if they did it was broken English...that’s how I learned the language...I was of the Treaty of Waitangi, English quickly became the language of instruction in education for the purpose of assimilation.
always with my grandmother...wherever she went whatever she did I was always with her. And, there were two grannies, Nanaay [name] and Nanaay [name] and a friend of theirs that lived next door to my grandma, Auntie [Name] and they never spoke English...I was always with them.” In speaking of her mom and dad, SGaana Jaads K’yaa Ga Xiigangs states that they too only spoke to her in Haida, “Ya, my mom hardly ever spoke English...she always spoke Haida. Once in a while my dad would speak English, but if he spoke to my mom it was always Haida.” Of her Chinaay she recalls, “My grandfather always told the stories. When I was a little girl I wanted so badly to listen to the stories–there were lots. My Chinaay used to be such a great singer and all the elderly ladies used to go to his house to dance up a storm to his singing...I used to think that was so great...he knew all the songs...some of them he composed himself. I used to have lots of fun with my dad too cause whatever he did he always taught too.”

When I asked if she is able to use the language as much today, her simple response was, “No.”, but she went on to explain, “Once in a while me and my sister talk to one another. I don’t know why she didn’t learn the language cause she was only five years younger than me and yet I learned the language and she didn’t...she never talks about it, she was never...you know how little ones are...they usually follow their sisters around, but she was never with us cause I was always with my grandmother.”

Jiixa is an expert weaver, working in spruce root and cedar bark to create hats, mats, dolls, and frog pins. Her business card reads, “I am a weaver and come from an unbroken line of Haida people and cultural tradition. I respect the cedar tree as a gift from the Creator and I give thanks before gathering the bark. I collect only what I need and take only about a hand width strip so as not to harm the tree.” Jiixa, showed me some of her work, which was amazing and I could not help but purchase a pair of very small cedar hat earrings, a popular item she sells privately or through the local art galleries. I had a hard time pronouncing Jiixa’s name, but she let me off the hook, explaining that traditionally those who make such a mistake are expected to pay to which there was much laughter as I would have had to pay dearly. A recent mistake, on the part of a friend, resulted in a gift of “blue back” [Sockeye Salmon], for which, “he made a really good speech at my door saying he was sorry. [He also] thanked me for telling a story at Haida Child and Family cause I worked with those kids...sometimes I go to the Charlotte Secondary [school] and teach some weaving.”

Jiixa says the language is not used much in the community anymore and as she didn’t learn the language as a child, it wasn’t until she was in her early sixties that she began
learning the language in earnest when at SHIP. “My uncle was one of the ones that was there too and well two of our uncles...and if I stayed home my phone would ring...he would always check on me to find out why I wasn’t there.” In recalling her experiences of the Xaayda kil in her childhood Jiixa says, “Oh, Nanaay and Chinaay were great singers and our Chinaay was a great story teller...great historian. It was so great when he’d come and sit by the stove and go on and on and on in Haida and sing in Haida.” Jiixa shares that she and her brother were not taught much Haida when they were growing up...[we] only knew some of the words, “I don’t know why that is, but my sister and my mom before [she] passed away...was trying to teach me as much as she could. I have lots of recordings of her...I have one recording of my Chinaay praying. I don’t know why, but it seems there was a lot more people speaking Haida then.

In recalling the residential schools, Jiixa is unsure now if her Chinaay attended or not, “I don’t know, some people learned quite a bit going there but then it sounded like it wasn’t a good place to go. Our dad was really strict with us [and] he never allowed us to go off island or to school or work.” Jiixa shares that her Chinaay often joins her while she is weaving, as do some of her ancestors. “I feel like some of our ancestors are just giving me words...a lot of times I go to SHIP and brought up a lot of new words...[today] a lot of our clan members come to us and ask us for names—they never know how to spell their names. At SHIP, I was fortunate at that time that [my sister] was our teacher...I forget how many of us there were...even people came from Massett...and she was a good teacher...she’s got this real stern [laughter] we just about had to learn right away...I’m quite sure that’s how the children have been learning.” (Interviews, June 7 & 15, 2012)

Sḵáana Jaads K’yaa Ga Xiiigangs and Jiixa highlight the result of historic impacts on language use in the early 1930s and 1940s. Their Chinaay and Nanaay spoke only Xaayda kil, but within their words are hints that while their parents most often spoke Xaayda kil, their mother and father increasingly used English words in their conversations and their father in his singing and music. The sisters are a perfect example of how even within a single home, regardless of the number of years between siblings, one child understood and spoke the language while the other could possibly understand, but was unable to speak the language. A critical component in learning the language for Sḵáana Jaads K’yaa Ga Xiiigangs was her
relationship with elder women in her life. The situation reversed for Jiixa who, as she was younger, remained at home and outside the greater language influence of her great Nanaays and their friend.

The childhood memories of these respected Elders also speak to the deep relationships held within the language. For example, their Chinaay who told such wonderful stories and was a singer and composer of songs to which many people in the community came to their home to dance and enjoy. However, it was more than just singing and song writing, their Chinaay was also a great historian and having been born sometime in the early part of the 20th century his collective memories would have incorporated those who experienced life in the mid-1800s. The memory of the wonderful stories and songs remains very strong. The power of these stories still resides in their lives and Jiixa now tells stories to children and youth in the community. The speech on the part of the friend who was “making it right” for calling Jiixa (Interview, June 15, 2012) the wrong name draws on another layer of relationships within the community, that of “making it right” which remains central to the spiritual knowings and beliefs of the Haida. So too, speech making remains central to the life ways of the Haida as part of their oral legacy of the Xaayda kil.

Neither sister thinks the language is used much in the community anymore and outside of SHIP they have relatively few people with whom they are able to converse fully. Their mutual involvement with SHIP has been a huge part of their lives providing opportunities to share their knowledge of the language with others. Another layer of relationships within the language are that of prayer and the presence of the ancestor who continues to share insights into the language with Jiixa. Her last statement, “I don’t know why, but it seems there was a lot more people speaking Haida then” highlights the greater presence of the language in these earlier years (Interview, June 15, 2012). The fact that she is unsure why is insightful as the loss of the language progressed so methodically that quite simply no one really noticed. Jiixa’s observation that so many of their clan do not know how to spell their Haida names
speaks to a critical disconnect with individual and group identity in relation to the language resulting from the use of non-Haida names by many people in the community.

6.2.3 Language Always Played a Role

Statements from other members of the community support the experiences of SGaana Jaads K’yaa Ga Xiigangs and Jiixa, that the language has always played a role in the community, “I was watching old video tapes days ago and there’s my great grandmother sitting in a chair speaking Haida and telling stories….so it [language] was always kind of there” (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012). Many are aware that the ability to speak the language is closely linked to the amount of time children and youth were able to spend with their elders, “you know sitting around the dinner table…they’d tell us their stories…and you’ve got the generation where that didn’t happen anymore” (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012). People in the community refer to this as the skipped generation, which occurred for a variety of reasons, mainly due to residential school but social situations also caused a break in the transmission of Xaayda kil / Xaad kil.

The impact of this skipped generation on those unable to converse with their parents or elders in the Xaayda kil affected people in a variety of ways. Several talked about the language being used as a means of keeping secrets from younger children or those who were curious being told that, “we can’t explain it.” This was the memory of a young woman who today considers herself a language learner, “I remember growing up …and they’d be just laughing and speaking the language and I’d be sitting there…’what did you guys just say’ and they’d be like ‘we can’t explain it” (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012). Many speak of not being able to spend time with their Chinaay or Nanaay as they were too young or they had already passed. “I always wished I had a Nanaay on my mother’s side, but she died before I was born I guess…I came quite later…my sisters were 18 and 19 when I was born” (Interview KwiiGa, July 6, 2012).
You know there’s that generation gap where some of them missed it but they’re picking it up now because it’s being used so much you know within the communities...at the functions or seeing it on the internet now. (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012)

I guess maybe it skipped a couple of generations or it’s just...yeah the two generations where you know you’re not connected to your elders like you were. (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012)

The progressive decline of the language is attributable to the cumulative effect of many historic events. Most notably, the great loss of life through the small pox and other epidemics effectively erased entire dialects and histories from their collective knowledge. The magnitude of this on the Haida cannot be understated. So complete was the devastation that entire villages were lost or forced to relocate or regroup in order to survive, impacting and shifting fundamental relationships within communities locally and regionally. The loss of approximately 95% of their population by the turn of the 20th century served only to exacerbate the impact of other events on the language.134 The arrival of missionaries and settlers to the islands also increased their exposure to English. One of the earliest arrivals was that of Reverend William Duncan, who was instrumental in starting the first mission in 1876 and in short order the banning of the potlatch in 1884 (Henderson, 1972).

Related to the increasing presence of the church and subsequent banning of the potlatch, was the declining use of specialized terms: words or phrases that could only be used appropriately on certain occasions. This led to their diminished use and eventual loss as people went underground where this knowledge could not be shared broadly—people’s memories would fade and the language lost to them (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012).135 Following the potlatch ban came the implementation of the residential schools or industrial schools, as they were first known (Long & Dickason (1996, 2000). All those who spoke with

134 Based on: estimated population of 15,000 (mid 1800s) and a low of 600 at the turn of the 20th century.
135 Communities continued to practice these traditions underground, although frequency would have been sporadic and attendance affected by distance, concern for legal consequences, and religious reasons amongst others.
me knew someone or had a close family member who had attended one of the residential
schools. Often those who attended the schools are called Silent Speakers, as they know the
language but are unable or unwilling to speak it. Kihl guulaans spoke of his father,

I think he’s 76 around there…he understands it, he’s in that generation I know
understands it, but they were just that generation that didn’t speak it cause of the
residential school. Yah, there are many elders in the community who have grown
children who lived with them and….they don’t speak the language and don’t make an
attempt to speak it. (Interview, June 29, 2012)

The trauma caused by this means of assimilation and resulting language loss is felt deeply
within the community. I was moved by these stories and the overwhelming sadness it has
caused. One young woman who is an incredibly energetic and active volunteer in the
community wept at a memory of hearing her Chinaay speak Haida for the first time on the
occasion of his sister’s passing. “So now I’ve learned that he never spoke Haida before
because he was taught not to in residential school” (Interview GaahnGaahl, June 20, 2012).
Today this young woman is a language learner and vocal language advocate in the
community.

Residential school stopped it [language] and also at the same time that was happening…
there was the potlatch ban. So there wasn’t formal settings for people to learn the
importance of the language. That would have been one of the venues where it was
important in a formal context to speak your language and make speeches and tell stories
in the language. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

The cumulative effective of these colonial and assimilationist legacies led to a deep shame in
speaking the language that is still felt by people in the community today–even those who did
not attend the residential schools. “I do feel embarrassed talking my own language. Maybe I
get that effect from those who are embarrassed to speak their language when it wasn’t
allowed–for some reason I subconsciously think that” (Interview K’iiwaay, June 2012).
Reflecting on comments heard over the years, one person shared, “They felt they were embarrassed to talk their own language so they just [spoke] in English…I remember someone saying they were embarrassed to speak their own language because of the missionaries, the potlatch ban, and the residential schools” (Interview Aay Aay, May 31, 2012). Other related comments, which will remain anonymous,

What they did was bring more shame. The big part of it was shame right. That’s what residential schools were…people started to feel ashamed about their own culture and their language.

I’m kinda really shy about this…just trying to learn it now…the language and knowledge… I feel like a new born…trying to ask people about things I should have already known.

Where once the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil was fully part of the life ways of the Haida, the use of the language slowly diminished to where people spoke of knowing a few words or phrases or having knowledge of a particular area such as food gathering or the words that were used for the different medicines. “My Auntie [speaks it] sometimes, but it’s just the simple ones like ‘Are you cold?’ or ‘How are you?’, just the basic questions” (Interview Aay Aay, May 31, 2012). Others spoke of their parents who would, “Throw in the odd Haida word…for some kind of seafood or a body part. They didn’t really speak…I never really heard them speak in phrases…my dad did use the odd word…it was more in general conversation” (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012).

There is also an enormous amount of pressure felt by language learners, as they are often unable to say the words correctly. It is a difficult situation to address, as learners often feel chastised or embarrassed by the Elders who continue to correct them. It is a question of quality control for those teaching and learning, but the well-intentioned corrections are difficult for some to receive positively and many will avoid speaking the language as a result. Two quotes make the point clearly,
If you want to learn the Haida language, you have to say it right [punctuates each word]. It made it very difficult for me. [So you don’t ask.] Yes. (Interview Aay Aay, May 31, 2012)

They kind of dwell too much on the mistakes rather than the attempt you know...it seems like more of a discouragement than an encouragement...so they don’t even attempt to do it. So, I’d rather see people be praised for their attempts rather than be penalized for their attempts. (Interview Kihl guulaans, June 29, 2012)

The loss of the Haida language rests within a complex historic and cultural context that reflects the devastating consequences on individuals, families, and the broader community. Yet, within these contexts, the language is central to relationships and continues to express itself in myriad ways. The following section looks closely at how the present day cultural context has expanded to provide new opportunities for language use.

6.2.3 How is the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil Used Today?

So, what has changed exactly? Has the context and the relational use of the language changed and if so how? And, following this how does the use of language then rest within community-based tourism initiatives? Despite the legacy of colonization and the continuing processes of assimilation, people in the communities continue to use the language in many of the same contexts as they always have. The relationality of the language is most affected by the progression of language loss as fluent speakers pass and the knowings that they hold fade. When speaking with members of the community about how they use the language today the only thing that has essentially changed are the number of speakers and the frequency in which people are able to engage with the language in tangible and intangible ways. Critical factors in language decline, yet the roots and purpose of the language remains: to maintain the Haida’s connection with the land, the ocean, and with each other. The following discussion is framed within these holistic and foundational concepts (a) the relationality of the language (presence of the language), (b) the purpose of the language (why the language is being used), (c) the
context of language use (how language is being used). In speaking with community members, those areas in which the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil remains entrenched and in use today are,

- the diverse and rich artistic heritages of the Haida;
- through ceremonies and events;
- gathering, preparation, and sharing of food; and,
- relationships of home and community.

The following ‘sections express participant understandings of the use of language within the above contexts. The discussion and examples support the claim that the language extends itself from historical Haida contexts to that of present day Haida contexts.

**Artistic Heritages of the Haida**

While some of the knowledge as to why a carver used a certain pattern or clan animal has been lost, the tangible and intangible connections with the land and ancestors through the various art forms remain. Today, Jiixa (Interview, June 15, 2012) honours the cedar tree and the land weaving cedar bark into items for use and trade; she teaches this ancient art form to others, and understands the presence of the creator, the ancestors, and the language within her work. So too within the songs and dances of the Haida are these connections retained, incorporating the myths and stories of the supernaturals and the modern and ancient histories of the Haida. The tangible and intangible presence of the language within the diverse art forms of the Haida is unmistakable. While this relationality is not always immediately perceived as *language*, there is awareness that these expressions of belonging maintain the very same connections. In this way, the purpose of the artistic heritages of the Haida and that of language are one and the same, to maintain their connection with the land and ocean and each another.

In present day contexts, this heritage has expanded to incorporate a variety of modern design forms and methods of production. Nika and others carry on the traditions of the
ancestors and Elders in teaching Haida dances and songs to people in the community. “One of the places I started [learning the language] was going through old songs. Sure we know how to sing them, but do we necessarily know what the words are or how the words change when you sing them” (Interview GaanhlGahl, June 20, 2012).¹³⁶ Elders have long played a critical role in maintaining individual and group connections within a range of language contexts,

[Chinaay] had well over 50 of us all under the age of 18 in his living room every Monday night at 7:00...every Monday night we’d have to have super a half hour earlier and rush eating to clear out a space for everybody. We’d make all the juice and get the cakes out and whatever. [How many years did he do that for?] He passed way in 1990 so a good 15 years...anybody in the village under the age of 40 was probably a part of it. It gave me a sense of belonging, a sense of confidence. It gave me a connection to something nobody else had. (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012)

Present day contexts also include the use of recordings, which many in the community listen to daily in their effort to learn and share the language. “In my vehicle I have downloaded all the Haida songs onto my hard drive...I just play the songs so my kids are always hearing Haida over and over again” (Interview GaanhlGahl, June 20, 2012). In summary, the relationality (presence) and purpose (why used) of the language within the artistic heritages of the Haida is very strong. In more recent or modern contexts, the tangible and intangible expressions of belonging through language are also strong, with tangible forms affected only by the low number of knowledgeable speakers. The only significant change is the venue and the means of sharing the language through expanding forms of relationality.

Through Ceremony and Events

While the banning of the potlatch had a significant and negative impact, ceremonies and events (formal and informal) continue to play a critical role. Similar to their artistic heritages,

¹³⁶ The right to use the music or words associated with a song belongs with the individual or clan and permissions to use them obtained from all parties; however, songs can also be gifted to another. Further, songs have particular uses and purposes and used only on very specific occasions, which applies broadly to dances and other art forms.
the relationality or presence of intangible forms of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil within ceremonies and events is strongly maintained. As done in the past, today’s potlatches are a focal point of many social activities in the community where people come together to celebrate great events, the adoption of people into the clan, bestowing new names on people, and in the honour given new chiefs and leaders. Not only do these occasions incorporate the dances and songs of the Haida, clan members wear the woven robes, carved masks, and head dresses of their ancestors,

At potlatches yes it [the language] would be used more there…people would say their opening speeches or greetings…or at the feast they would do a prayer. They could give some people names that haven’t had a Haida name yet. And say there are some people who aren’t adopted, but who are Haida but still don’t have a Haida name; they’d be given a vest and they’d have to dance. (Interview Skaanas, June 13, 2012)

Within the greetings, prayers, opening phrases of speeches, and the giving of Haida names, the purpose in using the language remains the same, that is, to confirm and express their relationship with the land, ocean, and each other. New or semi-speakers have an opportunity to use the language in these formal and informal gatherings (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012). Figure 5 depicts two young dancers in their regalia. The relevance of these images is to note the complexity of dance, carving, and weaving and the intangible use of language within these art forms. For example, the Eagle mask (left) and that of the Frog mask (right) depict the ancient language of the Haida, expressing relationships between clan animals / birds and the spirit-world (Field journal, 2012). These elements express deep and complex spiritual, cultural values and myriad meanings within Haida life ways.
In present day contexts, ceremonies and events have expanded to re-establish or incorporate a variety of modern day gatherings. For example, the raising of new totem poles, the celebration of students in recognition of educational achievements, council meetings, and conference delegations (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012). The use of the language within these contexts has also shifted to include, “non-status people [who] are using it up in Charlotte too when they start some of their meetings” (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012). In summary, the relationality (presence) of intangible aspects of the language remains very strong within ceremonies and events. Less so in the tangible presence of the language in the spoken prayers, words, phrases, and songs that should form a full and intrinsic part of these experiences. While the purpose (why used) of the language remains, the spoken or tangible expressions of belonging through language are those most affected by the historic impacts on the language, “I’d like to say it’s used frequently, but it’s not really. More or less just for

\[137\] For example, those who travelled across Canada in 2010 to celebrate the Gwaii Haanas National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site. (See: http://www.pc.gc.ca/)

\[138\] The first totem pole to be raised in Skidegate in over a100 years was carved by Bill Reid and erected in front of the SHIP building in 1979. (See: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9p64LW85fA)
formal gatherings or something like that” (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012).

**Gathering, Preparation and Sharing of Food**

The gathering, preparation, and sharing of food remains an intrinsic part of Haida life ways, not only as a necessary means of survival, but in nurturing and sustaining intrinsic relationships in the community. As part of the feasting at potlatches, food plays a central role in all community events and ceremonies. Yet, food is also a central theme within the artistic heritages of Haida; the salmon, herring, and other food sources (e.g. berries) figure prominently in ancient and modern art forms and design. Food also remains closely linked to the use of place names and in maintaining tangible and intangible connections with the land and oceans.

And like food obviously...the most important thing in our community so I know all the Haida that goes with the food. (Interview Gaanhlahl, June 20, 2012)

The food is one way that the language is tied in and that’s kind of the answer to your question. (Interview Diang, June 29, 2012)

The relationality or presence of the language within the various traditions and practices related to food are very much a part of community life. So too, the purpose (why used) of the language in maintaining connections between individuals and families is done quite simply through the traditional sharing of food with Elders and others in the community. One young man indicated that he could not imagine going fishing and not sharing the catch with his Nanaay or Chinaay (Field journal, June, 2012). Almost everyone I spoke to knew and used Haida words for food. A good example of this is a traditional dish called k’aaw (herring roe on kelp), which is eaten dried, fried, or boiled. (I prefer it dried.) Outside newer and modern ways of preparing and storing food, many traditional practices are still in use today and some
in the community are working to return to these healthier ways of gathering and preparing foods (Interview Diang, June 29, 2012).

**Relationships Within the Home and Community**

The most devastating impact of historic events on the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil has been on individuals and families. Collectively, people have taken strength and encouragement from the artistic heritages of their ancestors and within formal and informal gatherings where the relationality and purpose of the language remains clearer. When talking about how the language is used in homes and families today, many indicated that they struggle to use the language,

I grew up with people saying things and then learning by other people saying things - word of mouth I guess. (Interview GidGang xaal, June 11, 2012)

My mother would use it [the language] sometimes. Like when we were about to eat she’d say a prayer in Haida or tell us to come and eat in Haida so she’d say ‘haala ga taa,’ (come eat). (Interview Skaanas, June 13, 2012)

My two older brothers and younger sister; they’re not really into the language. Or I guess my youngest, [the] oldest brother - he’s…working at SHIP right now…he’s kind of getting it by just being there. (Interview Skaanas, June 13, 2012)

Broadly stated, the relationality (presence) of the language within the home is not as clear as it is within the artistic heritages and ceremonies, and events. The purpose (why used) of the language seems to remain more closely connected to expressions of the language used outside the home,

Well it’s just words thrown in every now and then or she’ll ask me questions to see if I understand what she said...my usual answer is “no” [laughter]. (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012)
I guess with kids you try to use it a bit more if you can. My nephews - if they are saying it in English you’ll tell them in Haida. They know almost as much as you do at this point as they learn more at a younger age. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

In present day contexts, the use of the language within the home and family has expanded to incorporate young learners, who are coming home from school or outdoor adventure camps with new words and phrases they are sharing with older members of the family,

We’re moving in the direction of having the language used in our homes because our children are learning to speak it and coming home and telling us the Haida for things. (Interview GaanhlGahl, June 20, 2012)

Yet this too can lead to complications, as some are not able to participate fully, “It gets complicated cause there’s not enough of the parents generations that are able to keep it going once the kids come back and they’re all enthusiastic and speaking it…harder to keep it going–retain it” (Interview Collison, June 24, 2012). Although there are many challenges to increasing the presence and purpose of the language within the home and community, many continue in the attempt to maintain their connections to each other by sharing and encouraging the use of the language especially with young learners.

6.2.4 Expanding Language Use in the Community

Expanding language use to newer or emergent ways of knowing and belonging relationally within the language, the Haida have or are working to increase language use through education, technology, signage, that is, place names, employment, preservation, conservation, and the sharing of the language with people outside the immediate community. In this, the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program and the Haida Language Society (Old Massett) have been instrumental. These organizations have facilitated the recording and documentation of the language, provided translations for use in the community, and produced innumerable projects and publications. Examples include the Haida orthography, children’s
books, place name restoration, the production of compact audio disks for language learners, and twice yearly language conferences. In Old Massett, Saturday night gatherings provide new and advancing learners with opportunities to use the language.\textsuperscript{139} Another major project involved the production of local signage for streets and places of significance (local parks and trails) using the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil, which are now used by some teachers as learning tools,

Yeah some of them [the signs] are hard to read and at the beginning of every year, I teach the kids about all the place names that are located throughout Charlotte and Skidegate. (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012)

Other examples include the use of signage in schools where Haida words are used to mark bathrooms and, “they have things [signs] up...all the different names of classrooms are right above the doorways” (Interview SGaana Jaads K’yaa Ga Xiigangs, June 7, 2012). Some people in the community are using web based language applications available through iTunes in addition to other social media,

I found that the SHIP Haida kil application for the iPhone was pretty awesome, so I got a lot of my teachers to download it on our iPhones so they can get familiar with it. (Interview SGid Gang.xaal, June 11, 2012)

You see a lot more younger teens using it on the internet...a lot of them use it on their status…about three students from high school do a whole conversation in Haida on facebook…it’s just kind of connecting them and you’ve got the young kids showing the Elders how to use that stuff. (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012)

Other unique ways of incorporating the language into families include, Baby Talk, which is a book included in a package given to new parents (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012). Increasingly, the language is used in local papers, advertisements, and local business names, “like Gwalganaay or Towni…it seems that more and more businesses are taking on Haida

\textsuperscript{139} A similar group was started in Skidegate, but is no longer being held. “We had a group of like six of us pretty steady every Tuesday meeting here...learning pronunciation, which is so important and learning counting and playing cards and practicing phrases” (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012).
names” (Interview Wiid, June 24, 2012). Many indicated that they use the language the most in conjunction with their involvement with the language programs (SHIP or HLS) or at work where the language is relevant to tourism, for example, the Haida Heritage Centre, the Haida Gwaii Museum, and the Haida Gwaii Watchmen Program.

Summary

The early and progressive loss of language in Haida Gwaii resulted directly from colonization and the continuing processes of assimilation, exacerbated by the massive decline in population and the use of residential schools to educate children and youth. The collective memories of those who experienced these events highlight a number of relational connections expressed by the language; namely relationality (presence of the language), purpose (why the language is used), and context (how the language is used). Earlier in their recent history (100 to 150 years) of language loss, the relationality, purpose, and context of language use within the community remained very clear. However, as language loss progressed, the relational connections expressed by the language became less clear and those most affected were the individuals and family members who increasingly had less access to elders, parents, and friends who spoke the language fluently. Put another way, aspects of the Haida’s artistic heritages, ceremonies and events, and gathering, preparing, and sharing of food, found a relational balance that was more readily maintained as the pieces were still there: this was not the case within the home and community as people were systematically removed.

Today, despite the advances, most recognize that the language is not used much and the use of the spoken word is often limited to basic greetings and phrases and many youth do not seem interested in learning. There is concern that use of basic greetings and words limits the ability of speakers to improve their fluency with the language. Increasingly, there is a willingness to share the language with people outside the immediate community. Very few non-Haida speak the language fluently as many in the community felt it was inappropriate to
teach the language to non-Haida. However, there are now so few fluent Haida speakers these speakers are increasingly recognized as making a major contribution. “Now everybody that comes is trying to learn the Haida…it’s important to teach everybody not just our people” (Interview GaanhlGahl, June 20, 2012). This acknowledgement provides some space in which to further broaden and expand present day language contexts, such that the relationality and purpose of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil remains entrenched within their artistic heritages, ceremonies and events, the gathering, preparation, and sharing of food, and especially in ways that encourage greater language use within the home and community.
7. **Haida Language for Everyone in Respect**

This chapter examines the Haida’s approach and efforts to strengthen and enhance the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil within community-based tourism and tourism related contexts. The discussion considers (a) the correlations within language use and tourism, (b) the cultural stewardship of language through tourism, and (c) the challenges to supporting language development within community tourism initiatives.

### 7.1 Correlating Language Use Within Tourism Initiatives

Moving forward from a foundational understanding of the relevance of the language and the impact of historic events on the progression of language loss in Haida Gwaii, there remain cautionary narratives deeply rooted within the experiences of the Haida. These cautionary narratives are critical to re-positioning the use of Xaayda kil / Xaad kil appropriately within community-based tourism initiatives. Namely, that a) the language can be shared, but only within a relationship of respect (yahguudang), b) that sharing (gudgígid) be the basis of all interactions with people from outside the community, and c) that the goal be to maintain and transfer knowledge (gwii hl'Gang.gul'xa) of the language within the community.

Given the experiences of the Haida around the progressive loss of their language and life ways, the hesitancy felt in sharing further such an intrinsic part of who they are as a people is well founded. This is especially true within an industry seen by some in the community as a continuation of colonization, but not necessarily a dead end. “Sure it is [colonization]…you come back and you mine the mine…but how about giving back…tourism is another scraping of a layer off and taking it away…what do we do to turn that…so that that there is…something coming back ya know” (Interview Kii’iljuus, June 23, 2012).
Yahguudang (Respect)

The consideration of respect as central to community-based tourism development is fundamental to Haida life ways (Brown & Brown, 2009). Many in the community were very clear that sharing the language had to be maintained within a context of respect, “I think if we’re going to use it, it has to be done in the right context and done respectfully“ (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012). This is very closely linked to issues of authenticity, but only in the sense of maintaining cultural integrity within the purposes of the Haida and not that of an externally based need or a judgment of performance. The word *authenticity* actually brings a sense of frustration to any conversation as it is perceived as conveying a sense of falsity or *objectness* for that which cannot be fully appreciated by those outside the Haida community.

I know that we keep our culture in mind when we’re doing this...to ensure that we’re still maintaining the integrity of our culture and we’re not...we’re not putting something there that will harm the culture–not selling ourselves out. (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012)

What I like about it is that the [language] resources are made for the community, but we’re sharing it with people who come up so it’s not on stage...it’s not like, ‘Oh my gawd we have to learn the Haida because the tourists are coming!’ I know [name] is not doing that–he’s like come on you guys, learn your Haida–this is where Haida ...where are your Haida name tags. (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012)

Overcoming this imbalance is to be found within respect (*yahguudang*). “Ya, well I think if we’re going to use it [language], it has to be in the right context and done respectfully so that it [the language] is not viewed in a way that any language that you don’t speak is going to be understood” (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012). Initiatives that come from within the community and supported by the community, are seen as meeting this criteria and issues of authenticity fade (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012). Collison (June 24, 2012) notes that the sharing of the language has to be managed well and suggested that related
proceeds from tourist dollars be used to support the language programs as another way maintaining balance.

**Gudgígid (Sharing)**

From the perspective of the Haida, there is a marked difference in sharing (gudgígid) with people who come to Haida Gwaii and that of performing on command for an audience, “there’s a fine line between...sharing the culture...[and] a feeling of being taken advantage of” (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012). Overcoming this imbalance is to be found in the genuine sharing of the Haida culture with visitors and guests. I witnessed many impromptu cultural displays in which visitors were included or able to participate. For example, the local dance and song groups often practice at the Haida Heritage Centre to which guests are free to attend. I also had the joy of watching a 30-minute museum tour turn into an unexpected hour-long lesson in Haida dance, in which a large group of visitors were able to take part. Most remarkable, was that members of the community took part spontaneously. Figure 6 shows a photograph of two women from the community demonstrating how to do one of the dances with a group of visitors.

*Figure 6. Impromptu Haida traditional dance lesson at Haida Heritage Centre. Source: Author, July 26, 2013.*
Gwii hlGang-gulxa (Teaching)

The goal (gwii hlGang-gulxa) of re-positioning language appropriately within community-based tourism initiatives is that of teaching (tl’l sk’aadGa dii) and the transference of knowledge (k’aadang.ah) to people within the community. The focus is not on teaching visitors and guests, although a valuable outcome for cross-cultural awareness, rather the focus is on building awareness and providing learning opportunities for people in the community to experience and use the language.

We’re always just trying to educate people when we’re doing activities. We’re always trying to use the Haida or teach people about what we’re doing and why we’re doing it and how we’re doing it…the language CDs and prayers, and songs and the glossary and our staff try to use the Haida as much as possible. (Interview GaahnGlahl, June 20, 2012)

The Heritage Centre has…well right here this summer…the Haida word of the day at the front and the focus groups that you’re [reference to author] involved with, the summer staff in the afternoons…so all of these things are…they’re not necessarily increasing the ability to speak Haida, but they’re certainly raising the awareness of the Haida language that wasn’t there say 5 years ago. (Interview Wiid, June 24, 2012)

The goal of teaching, raising awareness, and transferring knowledge of the language is reflected within the universal truths of the Haida, that of “adapting to change.” Having established a foundation for re-positioning language appropriately within community-based tourism initiatives, the following sections look at how the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil correlates or connects within tourism initiatives and what more could be done to incorporate language appropriately.

\footnote{The closest translation is “wise”. (SHIP Orthography, n.d.)}
7.1.1 Correlating Language Use in Community-Based Tourism Initiatives

Whether speaking with elders, tourism business operators, parks management, or others in the community most people felt that that the language is not used much with visitors. Sharing the language with visitors is not overt or obvious and the general perception is that visitors do not have much opportunity to hear the language (Interview Laurel, July 21, 2012). The reasons for this vary, embedded in negative experiences of the past, the low numbers of speakers, and a reliance on the use of basic words and greetings. “Our people were very reserved about people who were visiting...because so many people have come here and taken things from our community” (Interview Gaahl, June 20, 2012). In terms of tourism experiences, “It is all just incidental—[the visitor] just happens to be in the right place—you might get an amazing experience” (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012). Another facet of this narrative is that the Haida themselves sometimes do not necessarily see or hear the nuances of language use within the community. In regard to the use of language at the Haida Heritage Centre and the Haida Gwaii Museum,


I never really noticed...I’m just kind of used to everything here...maybe if I was new I would expect it, but I just grew up with all this stuff. (Interview SGid Gang.xaal, June 11, 2012)

Overall, sharing the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil with visitors is not really seen as a priority. There is limited capacity in the community to create standardized experiences for visitors and the priority of recording, documenting, and learning the language takes precedence, “I don’t think there’s an appetite in the community to do stuff just for that reason [tourism]” (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012). However, over time, the community has slowly adjusted to the ways and means of welcoming people into the community and while sharing the language with
visitors is not a priority, the development of community-based tourism initiatives has resulted in a shift in thinking.

So, if the community is not really sharing the language with visitors and it is not seen as a priority within these settings for that purpose why look more closely at tourism as a tool to support language development and language revitalization? To understand this, one must look at how the language is shared within community-based tourism initiatives. A small tourism business in Old Massett provides a wonderful example,

**Sharing Xaad kil in Old Massett**

*Kihl guulaans*

Kihl guulaans is a master carver who works out of the family home, built by his Chinee (grandfather) back in the 1930s.¹⁴¹ He grew up in this house along with five siblings. Kihl guulaans 'father was a fisherman, but shifted to carving as the fishing industry died off and he had to look for other ways to support his family. “He carved in argillite, silver, gold, and wood and started to teach and make canoes...[and] totally immersed back into the Haida culture. He grew up knowing the language, but it wasn’t really used–just the elders spoke it even during the all the time I was growing up and it was you know...I went all the way through school and never learned anything about the Haida. I started carving during grade 8 and 9 so I carved kind of through high school—that was my part of learning the culture was carving and then watching the dancing. So the language never really was too important except for the stories really.” Kihl guulaans is a leader of his community and considers himself a 'language proficient'. In speaking about community language resources, Kihl guulaans feels more needs to be done and that while there have been workshops and classes there has to be people to facilitate classes and support and encourage learners–something that doesn’t always happen. “I think a lot of people get discouraged...cause the classes kind of drift off course...people need to hear themselves being recorded. We have to hear ourselves talk...to practice and hear your own voice I think that would be a good thing.”

*When taking visitors on tours Kihl guulaans shares, “I have my own longhouse and carving shed, which has...and part of the longhouse are several totem poles and I talk*

¹⁴¹ Chinee is the word for grandfather in the Xaad kil (Old Massett dialect).
about the totem poles. I tell which figures they are and I tell them what those figures are in Haida. I don’t really tell them too much about the story poles—sometimes, on occasion if there’s nice weather. I’ll take them to the carving shed where I have canoes and I tell them the names of canoes: humans, killer whales, ravens, eagles, and frogs so I do that. Then I take them to my longhouse and show them artwork that’s finished in there and explain about that for them and tell them stories. What I mostly do is share the Haida names for the different animals really I guess…the crests I guess you’d call it. Another thing I do is usually for a finale; I sing them a couple of songs every time I do a tour. It’s never the same cause—so many stories I tell them and so many songs that I use with them…so that’s the way I do it.”

“So it’s a good way for me to practice on them (laughter) and what I do sometimes is also…I do an introduction in Haida.” Kihl guulaans also talks about his work as a master carver and the endless inspiration he finds within the myths, “It’s very endless inspiration the stories and the Haida language…to find the deeper meaning of the stories through the language.” When I asked if this helps him to strengthen his language skills, “Yes, that is one of my goals…to become more than just proficient in the language, but to be fluent and to think in the language.” His work also brings him into contact with other carvers who ask him about what to call certain pieces, “Yah, well as an artist you know…a lot of times a name will come to me for a piece…more lately its just been Haida. Even other artists have called me and asked me how to say this…if somebody called me and asked now I’d say ‘well I guess you gotta learn some Haida’ (laughter).” As an artist, Kihl guulaans understands the tangible and intangible forms of language within the performance of song, dance, and storytelling. “Ours was an unwritten language so these totem poles—these carvings served as a reminder of the stories and they would be used almost like in a power point presentation to young people as they were growing up to learn the stories word for word. They were like a visual communication device.” (Interview, June 29, 2012)

For Kihl guulaans, carving has been a gateway to learning the language and immersing himself, his family, and community within the life ways of the Haida. There are a number of phrases in this narrative that are critical to understanding the correlation or relationships within how the language was used in the past and how the language is presently shared within
community-based tourism initiatives. Table 9 uses excerpts from the narrative to re-position language within the relationality, purpose, and context of language use.

Table 9

Repositioning Language within Tourism Initiatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excerpts from Narrative</th>
<th>Relationality (Presence)</th>
<th>Purpose (Why Used)</th>
<th>Context (How Used)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• my father was a fisherman, but shifted to carving; started to teach and make canoes</td>
<td></td>
<td>-food gathering / home and community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• my part of learning the culture was carving and then watching the dancing</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ceremony and events</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• we have to hear ourselves talk...to practice and hear your own voice</td>
<td></td>
<td>-home and community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• talk about the totem poles…tell which figures they are and what those figures are in Haida</td>
<td></td>
<td>-artistic heritages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• tell them the names of canoes: humans, killer whales, ravens, eagles, and frogs…tell them stories</td>
<td></td>
<td>-artistic heritages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• it’s never the same…sharing some of the language and the songs and stories…an introduction in Haida</td>
<td></td>
<td>-artistic heritages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• inspiration in the stories and the language…to find the deeper meaning through language</td>
<td></td>
<td>-home and community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• a name will come to me for a piece…uh more lately its just been Haida</td>
<td></td>
<td>-artistic heritages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• artists have called me and asked me how to say this</td>
<td></td>
<td>-home and community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• the carvings served as a reminder of the stories…like in a power point presentation to young people as they were growing up to learn the stories word for word</td>
<td></td>
<td>-home and community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Community participant and author.

The excerpts show that not only is the language being shared with visitors it is being shared in a manner and context that is deeply entrenched within the life ways of the Haida. In this way the re-positioning of the language is grounded in respect (yahguudang), genuine sharing
(gudgígid), and the goal (gwii hlGang.gulxa) of maintaining and transferring knowledge within the community. The noted designations on the basis of relationality, purpose, and context are not intended to imply linearity; rather it is to show how key aspects, of how the language was used in the past, remain deeply connected within present day tourism contexts.

If one had to identify a single rationale or justification for re-positioning language use within community-based tourism initiatives, Kihl guulaans makes a profound observation, *we have to hear ourselves talk...to practice and hear our own voice.* It is an observation made by many in the community as they discussed language and tourism issues and some of the benefits and non-benefits thereof. His words go well beyond the immediacy of interactions with visitors, but speak to deep issues of accessibility and visibility of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil within the community.

### 7.1.2 Sharing the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil with Visitors

How does the community share the language with visitors? A question initially met with variations of ‘it’s not shared that much’ or ‘mainly when speaking with Haida people.’ However, these immediate observations usually led to deeper expressions of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil within a number of tourism settings. The following photo-log (Table 10) provides a record of those expressions of language to which visitors have ready access within the community. Following this is a discussion of the intangible expressions of language to which the visitor may have access, but for which building awareness within the community becomes a necessity.
### Table 10

**Photo-log: Expressions of Language Within Tourism Initiatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photo</th>
<th>Description &amp; Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Photo #1" /></td>
<td><strong>Photo #1:</strong> Language Exhibit Haida Gwaii Museum (HGM): Panel depicting relevance of language to the Haida. The museum houses an exhibit on the language Correlation made with origin of language to how language is used today.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Photo #2" /></td>
<td><strong>Photo #2:</strong> Language Exhibit HGM: Panel depicting relevance of weaving to projects initiated by SHIP. Correlations made with artistic heritages (weaving) and food gathering; elders and broader community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Photo #3" /></td>
<td><strong>Photo #3:</strong> Detail Totem Pole / Main Exhibit Hall HGM: The frog is one of many crest animals used in Haida art. The frog is sacred as it lives / crosses between worlds, i.e., land and the water. Carving a frog on a house post would help to ensure the house did not fall over. There are myths as to why there are now no frogs in Haida Gwaii (Smyly &amp; Smyly, 1994). There are many examples of totem poles throughout Haida Gwaii. Correlations made with artistic heritages (carving).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Photo #4" /></td>
<td><strong>Photo #4:</strong> Interpretive story panel in HGM. Depicts the story of Ice Woman in mixed Xaayda kil and English. Other panels are in full Xaayda kil. Correlations made with artistic heritages (myths).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo #5:</td>
<td>Interpretive panel in HGM, Natural Sciences. Haida phrase followed by English translation and explanation, “Everything depends on everything else.” Depicts Haida relationship with the lands and oceans as “indivisible from the human world, animal world and supernatural world…” Correlations made to creation, land, ocean, and place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo #6:</td>
<td>Interpretive story Panel (1 of 3), Parks British Columbia, Tow Hill, Haida Gwaii. Depicts the Story of Tow Hill in Xaayda kil with the English translation below. Popular place for visitors and residents. Correlations made with artistic heritages (story telling); home and community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo #7:</td>
<td>Haida Eagle mask used in ceremonial dance: celebration held at Haida Heritage Centre. Correlations made with artistic heritages (dance, myths, story telling, song); home and community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo #8:</td>
<td>Local street signs in Old Massett. No English translation as in Skidegate. The signs are popular stops of interest on tours. Used as a tool for teaching students. Signs on community buildings and facilities often incorporate the language. Correlations made with artistic heritages; home and community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Photo #9:
Full interpretive panels in Xaayda kil, English, and French. Main entrance in Haida Heritage Centre.
Correlation with artistic heritages; home and community; past and present.

Photo #10:
Word of the day plaque, placed at the front counter at the HHC for staff, residents, and visitors. Changed daily and posted on the website and Facebook.
Correlations vary depending on topic, but this is relational to the gathering and preparation of food.

Photo #11:
The Haida Watchmen Program, stationed at one of six sites over the summer visitor months. This village is in SGang Gwaay, UNESCO World Heritage Site. Visitors interact with Haida guides.
Correlations draw on artistic heritages (carving, myths), food gathering, and home and community.

Photo #12:
Group of visitors on Carvers Tour from the Haida Heritage Centre. Guides use an introduction and words in Xaayda kil if they are able.
Correlations draw on artistic heritages (carving, myths and stories).
Photo #13:
Celebration held at the Haida Heritage Centre; most ceremonies and events are open to the visiting public including potlatches.
Correlations draw on artistic heritages (weaving, song, dance, and oratory tradition.).

Photo #14:
Haida Language Class held for evening visitors to the Haida Heritage Centre (once per week-seasonal).
Correlations draw on home and community.

Photo #15:
Series of children’s books in Xaayda kil, available at the Haida Gwaii Museum Gift Store. The books come with a compact audio disk to use at home with children and youth. Other books incorporating aspects of the language are also available. Other items include weaving, jewellery, artwork, carvings etc.
Correlations draw on artistic heritages, food gathering, and home and community.


These expressions of language use within tourism settings are diverse and can be framed as the *front of house* ways in which the community shares the language with visitors.142 There are many other examples of language use in the community. The Haida Heritage Centre routinely plays selections of music produced by local artists in the main entrance to the

142 Front/Back of House: These terms typically refer to services and experiences visitors see as opposed to what goes on behind the scenes. MacCannell (1973) drew on Goffman (1959) to explore these terms in the sense of authentic/inauthentic presentations of visitor experiences. However, I do not use these terms in that context. Rather, I found the expression of language within tourism as one that readily transitions as multi-dimensional relationship within the community. It is an expression of authenticity not that of inauthenticity. This is discussed further in chapter nine.
facility, staff are encouraged to answer the phone and greet visitors using the language, and there are reference materials available through the museum gift shop and library. In the local art galleries, while expression of language are often intangible, increasingly posters are available that incorporate words in Xaayda kil / Xaad kil; one in particular that depicts the ancient place names.  

7.1.3 Tourism and Community Language Resources (Role of Community)

Behind the scenes back of house, there is a developing network of community-based language resources to support language learners in ways that can be applied within tourism contexts. Elders from SHIP play a central role in providing the translations used at the Haida Gwaii Museum, the Haida Heritage Centre, sites in the national and provincial parks, place name projects, reference materials, brochures, visitor maps, pamphlets etc. SHIP also produces compact audio disks and materials for Watchmen stationed at one of six Haida Watchmen sites. Some of the elders also take time to offer weekly workshops on the language to staff at the Gwaii Haanas offices and the Haida Heritage Centre (Figure 7). Workshops are also held with elders at the Haida Heritage Centre, to assist new guides develop their introductions and conclusions used with visitors to the centre (Figure 8).

143 Parks include: Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area and Reserve and Haida Heritage Site; Naikoon Provincial Park, Tow Hill Provincial Park, Duu Guusd Heritage site/Conservancy and others.
144 1) K’uuna Llnagaay (Skedans), 2) Taanuu Llnagaay (Taru), 3) Hlk’yah GaawGa (Windy Bay, (d) Gandll K’in Gwaayayy (Hotsprings Island), 5) SGang Gwaay Llnagaay (Anthony Island), and 6) Kiusta Village Graham Island.
Figure 7. Elder playing cards with a staff member in Xaayda kil at the Haida Heritage Centre. Source: Author, July 12, 2012

Figure 8. Workshop with Elders from SHIP to help tour guides develop introductions and conclusions in the Xaayda kil. Source: Author, June 30, 2012.
One of the main developments involving language at the Haida Heritage Centre has been the *Haida Language Break*. Staff and tour guides are provided with paid time once per week to engage in a variety of learning activities focused on developing their language skills. Figure 7 is an example of playing card games aimed at helping learners become accustomed to counting and pronouncing the sounds and words. It is fun and the player with the highest score wins a prize. Figure 9 is a photo of staff reviewing and working on their tour introductions with the manager. The final introductions and conclusions produced are included in Appendix J.

![Figure 9. Haida Language Break, Haida Heritage Centre. Source: Author, May 31, 2012.](image)

New technologies have been incorporated into the learning process and a Smart Board is used to develop interactive activities and lessons in the language. This interactive computer system is used to engage visitors interested in the language, making it fun and engaging for a variety of age groups and interest levels. Other developments include the use of volunteers (such as the author), who assist with organizing language sessions, reproduce language resources, and materials online making them accessible to staff.
Community Language Resources

When discussing the use of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil in the community and the resources available to those wanting learn or improve their language skills, the two language programs, the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program and the Haida Language Society, are central to the conversation. The level of involvement of these organizations in the community is astounding considering the age of the majority of its membership, but they are highly respected in the community and they gain a lot of energy from their work,

Every year the students are welcomed into that room and through activities like diigwaay (bingo) they learn some Haida words…and all of the elders seem very excited about sharing with these new young faces. (Interview Laurel, July 21, 2012)

All these elders started going to SHIP and it’s not just the language, but it's the - you see–I believe these elders are living years longer than they would if they didn’t have SHIP. I don’t believe that; I know that. (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012)

The work of the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program and the Haida Language Society extends well beyond the major focus of their work, which is to preserve and conserve the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil.145 In addition to a language conference held twice per year, they respond to private requests for information and translations from in and outside the community. For example, by end of June 2012, SHIP had received over 80 requests for names, sentences, and words (Interview Xamxuulang, June 25, 2012). When speaking about where they personally use the language, most people noted their affiliation or work with one of these organizations. Other places and situations where people are able to access and use the language in present day contexts include:

145 While the two programs are similar, they perform different functions depending on the level of funding, number of volunteers etc. The Haida Language Society is also active in preserving the Xaad kil, working with elders to produce recordings of the language, transcribe the work of elders done in the past, and training new speakers as they are able.
While language use in relation to any one option or individual varies according to their skill level and the context of the engagement, it is striking to note that the places where people are actually using the language have either a direct or an indirect link within tourism settings and initiatives. Again, while highly situational, accessibility and visibility of the language is often very much a part of the community’s involvement with tourism initiatives for the fact that the language is such a deeply relevant and intrinsic expression of everything that is Haida Gwaii.

To examine the “with visitors” scenario one of the local entrepreneurs hosts dinners for visitors that features traditional and locally prepared foods. As part of the evening, guests are told what the traditional names for the foods are, how the food is gathered and prepared, and at the end of the evening the servers share a traditional song. One of the young women who worked at this restaurant credits this experience as one of the key ways in which she was able to access and use the language (Interview S̱Gid Gana.xaal, 2012). Although people may have someone at home with whom they can speak the language, this is not always the case, one elder who recently joined SHIP shared with me that this is the only place she is able to use the language regularly because her partner at home does not speak the language (Interview Kwii Ga, July 6, 2012). Other participants noted that they most often used the language when speaking with community members and still others that they most often engaged when their children or grandchildren came home from school. “The kids you
know…[name] one day he came in and he said...he had to do something and said it in Haida! I said, ‘What! You know and I couldn’t believe that he knew it’ (Interview KwiiGa, July 6, 2012). Gwaii Haanas also provides opportunities to learn the language through the Haida Watchmen Program, and while staff and participants do not always take advantage of this opportunity the resources and materials are available.

Many of today’s Watchmen began going to the ancient village sites when they were very young, accompanying either a Nanaay or Chinaay or other adult, which provided them with opportunities to learn the language and other skills. Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, is a great example of this as he learned some of the language as a child from his Nanaay at that time, “Nanaay, she’d teach me the odd thing here and there - mostly me just running around in the forest and stuff” (Interview, June 19, 2012). Engagements with visitors have led to a number of learning opportunities,

Yes, I would. I always got the random questions like ‘How do you say this in Haida?’ I’d either have to think of it or I’d have to refer to my glossary. (Interview Aay Aay, May 31, 2012)

The Skippers on the sailboats would ask me how to say a certain phrase and I’ll tell them. And, whoever comes to Hot Springs with me I always teach some of the language. (Interview Sgaana Jaads K’ya Ga Xigangs, June 7, 2012)

Language learning for those involved in personal projects often relate directly to community-based tourism initiatives, for example, learning the words of the old songs and translating their meanings. Those working at the Haida Heritage Centre noted the use of the language within that context, “Mostly at work–especially the Haida Language Break playing cards in Haida and stuff like that” (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012). Here too though, the use of the language was minimal in comparison to the extent in which the guides conversed in English.
7.2 Stewardship (Tllxanda): To Care for the Xaayda Kil / Xaad Kil

It is one thing to understand the relevance of the language, the impact of historic events on the language, and the ways in which language can be appropriately re-positioned within present day tourism contexts. However, it is another thing entirely to understand whether knowing these things makes a difference. The following discussion outlines the Haida’s perspectives on the stewardship (tllxanda) of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil through community-based tourism initiatives.

7.2.1 Community Empowerment Through Language Use

As the stewardship of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil ultimately rests, individually and collectively, within the community it is critical to look closely at how the community perceives itself in terms of the effect of language use in present day tourism contexts. One of the things I found striking was how often individuals spoke not of themselves, but rather expressed their perspectives on language use in tourism contexts in terms of its effect on the community. Their words were oriented to that of the community and in this sense underlined the relationality and purpose inherent within the context of language use in tourism initiatives. There was a sense of collective empowerment experienced in hearing the language spoken for any purpose not just tourism, however, layered on this was the perception that using the language in tourism contexts fostered respect for the language on the part of visitors. Although faced with the usual dilemmas and frustrations of living in a remote rural area, the people take great strength and encouragement from one another, even small things understood on one level as the success of the collective. Taking encouragement from those who are attempting to use the language is empowering—a source of inspiration and encouragement,

I think that the more people…more people are trying to speak because they hear more people speaking. (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012)
It’s empowerment in the sense that it [the language] is in the written exhibits and…part of the videos and reminders. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

I think it’s empowering…it’s really a strengthening thing to do, to be able to share your culture and knowledge in that way with tourists. (Interview Laurel, July 21, 2012)

Yet, empowerment through the use of the language, even within tourism contexts, was linked to issues of self-determination and the community’s efforts to individually and collectively fight against the historic impact of the residential schools on the language. “The only way I can describe it is reverse colonialism - they took away the language and now we’re trying to take it back” (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012). Stewardship then is deeply rooted within the success of youth and new learners and providing opportunities for them to experience and use the language goes to the heart of language issues in the community. Any success is perceived positively; especially when those opportunities are linked to speaking in public as this is directly linked to aspects of ceremonies and events,

Any time you’re forced to speak especially in front of larger groups of people or - part of our culture is speaking in front of large groups of people...so I think that’s a great tool. (Interview Gaanhlghahl, June 20, 2012)

There is also an outreach aspect to sharing the language within tourism contexts, as young children on fieldtrips from the schools are able to experience language learners making the effort to use the language. This is seen as doubly motivational as it creates positive role models within the community, but it is also empowering for the speakers themselves. Several of the tour guides at the Haida Heritage Centre understood that they were looked up to by youth in the community and that their own use of the language might encourage them to not be shy or embarrassed about speaking the language.

When asked, what visitors think about the use of the Haida language in tourism contexts, the general consensus was that it served to increase awareness in the community
about the importance of the language–of seeing the language, hearing the language, and using the language; concepts expressed within this thesis as the visibility and accessibility of the language. Using the language is a way to let visitors know who the Haida are, that the Haida are strong in their culture, and that this was something people could come and see for themselves. “[It’s] one way to kind of let people know that what they’re doing–is that they’re not coming to see a dead culture, they’re coming to see a culture that is still alive and vibrant” (Interview Collison, June 24, 2012). The purpose (why used) in speaking the language was also served,

If we’re improving the amount of Haida that’s spoken in our community…we’re creating a strong Haida culture for people to come witness. (Interview GaanhlGahl, June 20, 2012)

It [language] would identify them [as Haida] - let the tourists see…who we really are…every little bit that you do says something about who they are. (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012)

There was also a profound understanding that using the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil within culturally appropriate tourism contexts fosters and encourages greater respect for the language on the part of the community. This goes beyond tangible and intangible uses of the language; rather people spoke to those aspects of language use that connects them relationally to the purpose of the language,

I think that they [tour guides] respect the language more because they want to - cause they’re going to be using the language as well…our bottom philosophy about respect, respecting the language…if you see it somewhere you can’t help but respect it cause it’s there. (Interview GaanhlGahl, June 20, 2012)

Using the language orients the community within the relational bonds of, “mutual respect, cooperation, and understanding…that’s what we strive for and if we treat that with the language too…it’s going to make them open…” (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012). While Nika
spoke of this in regard to her perception of what visitors take away from these experiences, one can readily turn that same lens around to acknowledge that it does the same for the Haida: opens the community to maintaining the relational presence and purpose of the language. Although the use of the language overall is minimal, people made the point that even this increases awareness. “I can’t say that [this is] helping people to speak [proficiently], but perhaps those things that we are doing are keeping the awareness of the Haida language up there so that the actual learning of it—it encourages more learners” (Interview Wiid, June 24, 2012).

On a very practical level, this draws on the community’s perspectives in regard to how much speaking the language within tourism contexts actually supports the stewardship of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil. Broadly, people spoke of the opportunity provided within tourism initiatives to actually use the language more often, that this in turn helps bring the language back, that is, sustainability, and further that this feeds back into the community to help families. One Elder who has just begun to attend the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program to learn the language, felt that tourism created opportunities to use the language that otherwise might not be there,

Like our youth run our totem tours and you know and lets say they’re talking about a totem pole and they know the story–maybe they can say the story in Haida and then they actually have to learn it–whereas they wouldn’t have if they weren’t giving the tours. (Interview Kwiiɡa, July 6, 2012)

So us using the Haida language–sort of probably 10 fold, but two main things if we’re using it within tourism it’s going to increase our use of the language as a nation overall. (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012)

Although some people remain hesitant about sharing the language with people from outside the community, there was awareness that people were using the language more because of the tourists. As discussed in previous sections, the relationality (presence) of the language has
always been part of the community. So too within tourism contexts there is a long history of this in the community so in a sense there is nothing new about doing so as pointed out by Kihl guulaans,

It’s something that’s always been here…we’ve been catering to tourists for almost 200 years now - we had tourist products developed 200 years ago and a lot of these were things like argillite carvings and other things such as masks and things that were made for sale. And, you know of course there were things made for ceremonial use too. So we–even now, we have pieces that are used for ceremony use and tourism, but I think we have to go big on language…and you know if people come to the islands…they should leave with a bit of Haida language. (Interview, June 29, 2012)

Creating opportunities keeps the language alive, “It’s one more opportunity out of the day that usually is very busy…but that’s one more opportunity you have to learn it–you take as many as you can during the day” (interview Collison, June 24, 2012). Most people in the community felt that any use of the language, including tourism, helped to keep the language alive: that the Haida community would be helped, “because they would start picking it up as well and get an interest in it…learn a few words or something (Interview Skaanas, June 13, 2012). In the face of potentially losing the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil, using and learning the language within the context of tourism initiatives is not seen as detrimental to the community. On the contrary, the opportunity to use the language is seen as increasing the potential for the language to come back,

I don’t think it’s a detriment…and if there was more of it available it would help the language come back more than it is and it would probably help the Haida politically as well if people were using the language. (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012)

In the long term like an employee change…maybe one employee doesn’t go back but they still have that in them to learn the language…so we’re expanding the pool of people who are potential learners. (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012)
The people who work [HHC]…will hopefully get a spark to learn it—to be fluent…it’s not like we’re expecting you to learn and become fluent while you’re here, but it should create a spark so if that’s what you want to do then you get a chance to get comfortable. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

This spark creates a further opportunity that feeds back into the broader collective community. Jason Alsop explained that the loss of the Elders and the knowledge they hold is felt deeply within the community and that those actively engaged in helping to conserve the language have given so much of themselves. When new learners and semi-speakers are known to be using the language it is a great encouragement to them,

I think it makes them feel good that someone cares enough to at least try to learn and that helps them care and want to keep doing it as well. You are learning from them, they are passing something on to you. That’s my point...if I care they continue to care—if I don’t care to learn then they aren’t going to care to teach and it ends. So there’s obviously a connection because you’re communicating. If you’re that person that holds that knowledge you can get just as discouraged as everybody else if people aren’t learning and sharing with other people. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

In speaking with people in the communities about the stewardship of the language through tourism initiatives, it was very clear that sharing the language in this way was not about meeting the needs of the visitors. Rather, sharing the language was about community empowerment and supporting the myriad relationships that bind the community together. “In terms of tourism—to the community and to the Elders, it means that there is somebody else that is learning something…and remembered that enough to share it with somebody else or share with each other or add to the collective memory or collective learning” (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012).

Community empowerment through language use is based on the encouragement found in hearing and seeing others in the community speak the language and continue in their efforts to use and learn the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil. Youth in the community empower those younger
than themselves and Elders are encouraged to continue their own efforts to conserve the language. Even the smallest effort filters out into the broader community and this is felt to foster respect for the language. Speaking the language identifies the Haida as strong in their culture and life ways,

So we’re more knowledgeable and in tact with our culture and we kind of look stronger as a nation - so if we’re starting to use our language again it separates us from another nation that doesn’t use the language that often. (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012)

There was a time when that was not something you were proud of…now I think the opposite is true showing that it’s something to be proud of…people want to come and see Haida culture and Haida art…that’s kind of raising the comfort level…people aren’t ashamed of their past history. (Interview Xaawdiyiyaay, June 24, 2012)

On one level, it does not really matter what visitors think or take away from their experience in hearing or seeing visible displays of the language in Haida Gwaii. An Elder shared, that even though she doesn’t really tend to share the language with visitors unless they ask, her response to being asked was, “It thrills the heck out of me when visitors are asking me different things and they are trying to remember before they leave” (Interview Sgaana Jaads K’yaay Ga Xigangs, June 7, 2012). While it is not likely that the visitor remembers the words or the exchange in detail, what matters is that Sgaana Jaads K’yaay Ga Xigangs still remembers it. It is this that makes the visitor experience important, because it can affect the Haida’s own experience of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil facilitated within community-based tourism contexts.

7.2.2 Sharing the Language with Visitors

A long-term and respected language activist in the community believes that the language is the pillar of the culture and that people come to see that culture, and that it is only right that the language be part of that experience. Drawing on an example from the prestige of
Haida art, which is world renowned for its quality and beauty, he suggests, “If people came here and that wasn’t here [art] it would be odd right? It would be odd just to see the dance…and not having the language it wouldn’t be right” (Interview Xamxuulang, June 25, 2012). Another long time resident of the community operates a small tour business and notes that his guests are very receptive to the language,

They love the signs and people say, ‘can we stop and take a picture of the signs’ just because the ones in Massett are done on these beautiful canoe shapes and the ones in Skidegate are done in these copper shield shapes. So very unique to place as well–so they love that fact. (Interview Xaawdiyaay, June 24, 2012)

Broadly, the perception is that the language is well received within tourism contexts. Most often individuals in the community felt visitors were happy to learn even some of the basic words and to pronounce the more difficult sounding underlined consonants. People also felt, that increasing the amount of language used within tourism contexts would be well received,

They [visitors] like learning Haida words–they can’t leave without knowing “haaw’a” like you know they should learn that. (Interview Xaawdiyaay, June 24, 2012)

I think it [more language] would be an enhanced experience for the visitors…who come here come to learn or experience the physical place, but also the Haida culture. (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012)

While there is confidence and individual empowerment that comes of these positive experiences, it is important to understand that the pressure on speakers is greatly reduced because “the tourists don’t know anything.” The pressure felt by some when speaking in public was greatly reduced for this fact, “The thing I think about is, ‘Am I saying it right?’ and then I think well these are tourists they don’t know–I could be rambling on in Haida [about anything] and they would never know (laughter)” (Interview Aay Aay, May 31, 2012). Learning the language within tourism contexts is a safe environment for language learners
and semi-speakers. There is the constant pressure of “saying it right,” for example, at official ceremonies and events, which is especially stressful for language learners,

Elders are wonderful people but sometimes they’re not that supportive in how they’re teaching you to speak and you get quite shamed for trying to speak Haida and I just never let that stop me from speaking Haida. I didn’t care. (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012)

A lot of people are afraid to try something...they’re going to get it wrong, which is a real barrier to learning any language right cause you want to speak it. So I think it [tourism] is a very safe environment for those guides to practice it because myself or anybody else on the tour are going to have a clue if they’re saying it right or not. (Interview Xaawdiyaay, June 24, 2012)

In speaking about their individual experiences as tour guides at the Haida Heritage Centre and the Haida Gwaii Museum or as part of the Haida Gwaii Watchmen Program, the use of the language fosters a sense of pride, “It made me feel really really proud. When I was a teenager I didn’t know anything…but when I went down there (village sites) and people started asking me about the language I was so so proud that I knew an answer other than ‘I don’t know’” (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012). Reflecting on her own perspectives on the use of the language by tour guides, Nika comments, “I think that they get proud you know...people get proud when they hear the young ones speaking Haida” (Interview Nika, June 28, 2012). Using the language is seen as helping with the actual speaking of the language. It is not easy to get the pronunciations correct and opportunities to use the language with visitors provide much needed practice,

The practicing and just hearing it [language] and for the people themselves that are doing it I see those as being the biggest benefits to it. (Interview Xaawdiyaay, June 24, 2012)

You don’t really learn stuff just by reading it...you kind of have to re-say things and if you are re-stating everything to billions of people you are just going to be developing
it in your brain more…I think of it that way…it kind of develops the tongue better I guess. (Interview SGid Gang.xaal, June 11, 2012)

The implications of this are twofold; on one hand, it is incredibly valuable to have a stress free setting in which to practice language skills, while on the other it is important to establish standards and challenges to safeguard the integrity of the language. A concern of some people was that more could be done to expand the amount of the language used by tour guides, as they would personally like to hear the language spoken more. Linked to this was a need to possibly increase the way the language is learned as the back of house group, as it was felt the minimal exposure to the language through tour guiding was not sufficiently challenging. More advanced learners, could perhaps benefit by incorporating teaching or other types of learning experiences to strengthen their language skills (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012). These individual experiences highlight the value of providing additional support and encouragement for those working and engaging with visitors: it provides positive experiences for those working to learn and use the language and creates an energy of success that feeds back into the broader community. Combined, these individual and collective experiences are foundational to the stewardship of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil within tourism contexts.

### 7.2.3 Sharing the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil Connects us to Our Culture

In exploring their thoughts and perspectives on sharing the language with visitors people spoke broadly of two things, 1) that doing so connects them to their culture and 2) that the language is a gift that should be known. Within these broad concepts rests several interrelated issues of identity and connection to place and the creation of opportunities, accessibility, and visibility. Sharing the language with visitors is quite simply an extension of who the Haida are as a people; the use of the language reaffirming their identity, connection to place, and life ways. As part of our conversations, Aay Aay (Interview May 31, 2012) and I
discussed why it was important to share the language as a community…as a nation and his response, [the language] defines us—who we are. Defines who we are and the language lives.”

To Aay Aay, the language is inseparable from life or being. Others shared,

It’s what makes us unique to the world. I mean it is who we are and there’s nothing else you can say about it. I’d rather be speaking Haida here right now than English. (Interview Collison, June 24, 2012)

Just being our sense of identity. Like, um, sharing our language is sharing our identity. (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012)

It is at the point of language identity that the purpose in sharing of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil with the world potentially divides. Sharing further in the face of historic oppression is seemly contradictory as the following statements by the same individual illustrate. In the first statement, “language is meant to be spoken…meant to be shared,” speaks to the relationality of the spoken word,

Well I think it’s so important because you know a language is meant to be spoken– it’s meant to be shared. Just like when the first visitors ever came here to the islands it was the (inaudible) the town master that would exchange the name with the captain of the ship and in a way he made alliance with the captain you know for trade and…it brought about a speech. I guess it was something that was very important even back then and it is [important] now to show the visitors to Haida Gwaii that we are proud of our culture and language–there’s many of us that are very dedicated to preserving our culture and carrying on our culture into the future. (Interview Kihl guulaans, June 29, 2012)

In the second statement, “not so much tourism, but I would say on our own people,” speaks to the fundamental purpose of the language; that the language cannot be claimed by any other,

For me I wouldn’t you know–I think it’s [tourism] okay, I would say it’s okay but for me I would have a different channelling thought on that–not so much tourism, but I would say on our own people. And, I have real desire to encourage and open up more
of our own people’s eyes…cause I know a lot more of the people know the dire
straights we’re in with our language. And, there’s got to be some eye opener for a lot
more people to—they’re aware…but need to become proactive and there’s got to be a
way to encourage it. (Interview Kihl guulaans, June 29, 2012)

Others expressed similar sentiments, but framed this in terms of where the priority in
revitalizing the language lay, that is, stewardship of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil for the people
of Haida Gwaii. While tourism may not be seen as a priority, due to the advanced state of
language endangerment, the potential to use tourism as a tool to increase culturally relevant
visibility and accessibility to the language within culturally appropriate contexts is
acknowledged.

Because it’s a language that everyone should know about and should not let die. That
would be my…I like to share—we’re Haidas we like to share, but really right now for
me it’s that this language should not die—it would be a crime. (Interview Nika, June
28, 2012)

From the community I think the fact that people are sharing their culture and whatnot
in that way encourages it to be sustained. (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18,
2012)

Creating opportunities to use and learn the language is central to re-positioning the language
appropriately within tourism contexts and within that environment, any means of doing so
fosters greater stewardship of the language,

Again, [its] that positive reinforcement…oh they like us when we speak Haida. We’re
not going do it just because of that, but we really want our nation to speak Haida. So
how do we make it a requirement—not a blood bath sort of requirement (laughter), but
really make it so ‘you gotta be able to do this’…and who cares if it’s in a setting like
this…this is a Heritage Centre and we should be learning our language. (Interview
Nika, June 28, 2012)

The use of the language in tourism ventures makes it accessible...makes it a very easy
focal point for people to get more involved with the language…that accessible first step… there’s lot of opportunities to use little things that can be very accessible for first speakers. It’s just a start. (Interview Xaawdiyaay, June 24, 2012)

The stewardship of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil within community-based tourism initiatives is most closely linked to that of supporting the relationality (presence), purpose (why used), and the context (how used). The opportunity to share the language with visitors creates culturally appropriate opportunities. Layered on this was the perspective that using the language would make it easier for visitors to “get it” to understand in some way all that is Haida Gwaii; that the language was able to convey a deeper understanding and appreciation for place.

I think for visitors they’ll have a much deeper understanding and appreciation for Haida Gwaii if they get exposed to some of the language…they’ll understand the culture, how everything is connected and that they’ll have a better appreciation for the very thing they’re coming to experience. (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012)

7.3 Vision and Challenges: Language Development in Tourism Initiatives

“I don’t want to have to be the one to tell our grandchildren that we let the language go.”

Jason Alsop, Manager of the Haida Heritage Centre, spoke these words and it reflects the sense of responsibility felt by those in the community working to ensure future generations are able to speak the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil. The decisions made by the community today are foundational to the outcome of decisions set in motion over the past 200 years. The task of leadership on an issue of such complexity and importance requires guidance and the support. The following vignette, shared part of Jason’s story as his work and commitment to the revitalization of the language is a personal challenge and part of his professional responsibilities,
What of the Future Generations

Jason

Jason is a language learner and resident of Skidegate. I have watched him balance the challenges of managing a world-class heritage centre and somehow make it fun for the staff. Yet, I have watched him struggle with the very real challenges of learning the language when one’s life is filled with friends, family, responsibilities, educational pursuits, business interests, and the sheer effort it takes to learn any new skill no matter how important. Jason and others in the community feel, that given the critical state of language endangerment, regaining a toe hold for the language will require the fulltime employment of language learners mentored one on one with elders who are fluent speakers. It does not matter where the funding comes from and there is no small amount of frustration with the lack of support from the government’s official language policies on bilingualism, i.e., French and English. The immediate goal is to create a younger generation of speakers to buy them time to build in a network of supports including those within tourism initiatives that will encourage greater use of the language. This level of planning requires time, of which they have little.

(Interview, June 1, 2012)

Speaking with people in the community about what they feel would be the ideal in supporting language development and revitalization through tourism initiatives draws on a complex history of community development. As with any community there are successes and challenges inherent in planning and many of the issues transfer over no matter the issues involved. The community came up with a number of suggestions and ideas about what more could be done to support the language within tourism initiatives. As the ultimate vision of the community is to increase the visibility and accessibility of the language, the following discussion looks first at the challenges of doing so within tourism contexts, second at the supports needed, and lastly at the ideas generated by the community.

7.3.1 Challenges and Community Supports Needed

In regard to challenges related specifically to community support for language development and revitalisation within tourism contexts, two central, yet related issues were...
raised (a) whether and how to let the language shift and (b) whether and how to shift limited human and other resources to tourism. Broadly, language shift is a massive topic in its own right and the scope of this thesis does not permit a detailed examination so the discussion herein will be limited to that expressed by the community.\footnote{Language shift is the voluntary or involuntary process of increasingly using the language of the dominant society (Hinton, 2001).} In Haida Gwaii, the issue is one of reversing language shift (Fishman, 1990) or limiting further erosion of the \textit{Xaayda kil / Xaad kil}. People understand that all languages change over time and the \textit{Xaayda kil / Xaad kil} is no different. Aay Aay shared that the word he knows for “car” is Tshik-tshik (chic-chic various spellings), which is a borrowed word from the Namgis Nation meaning wagon or wheeled vehicle (Field journal, 2012). However, letting the language shift is difficult for many of the Elders who consider it a sacred responsibility,

\begin{quote}
[How big a challenge do you think that is...to get past that hurdle of...it has to be the old way or the perfect way?] I think it’s huge—I don’t think the Elders are willing...and that’s part of how they were raised to not let that stuff go right—that’s their job to hold onto their clan’s particular nuances and stuff. So to ask them to forget about that and let’s move on...I don’t know who’s going to ask that or request that. The point being that you could come up…with basic Haida language and it could grow and create its own evolution into something different. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)
\end{quote}

However, there is an awareness that the language has already shifted and will continue to shift, “because our tongues have become lazy...the language will change after the last of our Elders passes away…we’ll be the Elders to do it…so no one will be around to say that we’re saying it wrong” (Interview Kihl guulaans, June 29, 2012). In balancing the diverse needs of the language community, the approach thus far has been to understand that in the end they must face the reality that there is no realistic way to maintain the ancient language as it once was,

\begin{flushright}
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What we have is what we have and we have to simplify it…make it a Haida language that’s going to work for us. Still based on the old stuff…but we’re going to spend a lot of time and energy trying to get all the dialects and figure out the complexities between these things…I think we are going to have to simplify parts of it to make it accessible to everybody in a faster way. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

One of the challenges of balancing issues of language shift is that it draws away much needed resources. Given the advanced state of language loss the question becomes whether funds and other resources currently used to support language conservation could be used more effectively to support speakers. “I think it’s more important for people to learn it and speak it than to worry…especially when you’re using an alphabet that was never intended for this” (Interview nang Kaa Klaagangs, June 18, 2012). Jason Alsop addresses this concern as well stating, “we put a little bit into the school, a little bit here, and a little bit there…everybody can have a little bit and we can enjoy that little bit and it [the language] will be sleeping” (Interview, June 1, 2012). The point he raises is critical, does what they are currently doing work? Generally, those I spoke with felt very strongly that not enough was being done to make any significant progress in slowing language shift and language loss. Table 11 summarizes some of the challenges expressed by participants.
### Summary of Challenges to Supporting Language in Tourism Contexts.

| **1. Money / Busy / Working / Not interested** | - people have busy lives full of responsibilities that make it difficult to find the time to dedicate themselves to learning the language; you gotta pay the bills, nobody wants to learn it that much…reluctant to learn  
- finding time and even the transportation to get to the Haida Heritage Centre to take a course would be difficult for young families |
| **2. Elders at SHIP over burdened.** | - SHIP is pretty much the only one that does any translations. Hard for them to fill all the requests but they usually do. |
| **3. Not interested in tourism** | - the Haida don’t have any interest in tourism…just the people that work down there |
| **4. Lack of unity within the community / politics** | - need to find unity within our own community to work with one another better  
- the communities are different…what might work in one community might not work in our community for us |
| **5. Council should take the lead** | - everybody should be learning the language, especially our band council; people are not using the language at meetings…just a phrase or word here and there  
- the CHN and Band Council have to put more money into the language  
- the Band Council and the CHN passed a resolution to incorporate more language into our daily lives and it hasn’t happened  
- offered leadership in the Haida language program so all the leaders could learn how to give a speech and almost no one showed up |

Source: Excerpts from participant interviews.

Note: In 2013, the CHN identified funding to support mentor/apprentice language teams.

In terms of overcoming the challenges of developing effective community support, the need for strong leadership and setting a strong example is critical; however, decisions affecting economic development have also become a significant challenge. Kihl guulaans (Interview, June 29, 2012) states, “It seems like culture always gets left behind–arts and culture and language it kinda gets left behind…they would call it economic development.” One final challenge that is the most difficult to overcome is the challenge of “I’m just used to it being that way.” A statement phrased in a number of ways, but the statements speak to the critical need to increase the visibility and accessibility of the language in any number of contexts including tourism. Speaking with one Elder who owns a small business, I asked if they
answer the phone in Haida or use the language on the menus and the response was that they had not really thought of it. Another participant noted,

I don’t know I never really noticed that [other places to use language] cause I’m just kinda used to everything here...maybe if I was new I would expect it, but I just grew up with all this stuff so I’m just used to it. (Interview Sgid Gang.xaal, June 11, 2012)

In terms of the types of community supports needed, this issue goes to the heart of the purpose to which the Haida have engaged with tourism, i.e., raising the profile of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil within tourism contexts. Table 12 outlines the interconnected cultural relationships identified and links to the appropriate use of tourism to support language development and revitalization.147

Table 12

Tourism and Cultural Relationships Identified

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why</th>
<th>How</th>
<th>What</th>
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<tr>
<td>Relationality (presence)</td>
<td>Respect (Yahguudang)</td>
<td>Visibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose (why used)</td>
<td>Sharing (gudgígid)</td>
<td>Accessibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context (how used)</td>
<td>Goal (gwii hlGang.gulxa)</td>
<td>Opportunities</td>
</tr>
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Source: Community Participants and Author

The break in awareness of the language, as represented within the above quote by Sgid Gang.xaal, can be directly linked to the diminishing (visibility / accessibility / opportunity) thereby affecting the (relationality / purpose / context) and (respect / sharing / goal) in a cyclical pattern. This might apply outside tourism contexts; however, community-based tourism initiatives do provide a culturally relevant means of rebuilding these connections. The following section takes a closer look at issues of visibility and accessibility of the language as raised by the community.

147 The presentation of this information is provided in a culturally appropriate format in Figure 11.
7.3.2 Visibility and Accessibility

Within tourism contexts, finding ways to improve visibility and accessibility to the language was central to the ideas people shared: for example, increasing the amount of signage was seen as a viable and relatively easy option. Although, some of the ideas were not directly related to tourism the underlying rationale was the same. For example, having food and items in the local grocery store routinely labelled in the Haida language. In some respects it came down to getting people, residents and visitors, more comfortable in seeing the language and encouraging its use. This “normalizing” of the language is critical to reversing language shift.\textsuperscript{148}

You go to the Chinese or Vietnamese part of Vancouver and you see in the forefront their language on the signs and small print in English so maybe the same idea here; so more signage…move away from putting English on signs. Producing more materials with Haida language…playing cards, Haida book marks–stuff like that. (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012)

The perception is that there is currently an imbalance in the visibility of English and that of the visibility of the Haida language throughout the islands and communities. While anecdotal, the perception is that currently the visibility of Haida language on signage is 20/80 versus a suggested balance of 40/60 in favour of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil (Interview Laurel, July 21, 2012). Increasing the visibility of the language via community-based tourism initiatives was seen as a culturally appropriate opportunity to alter this imbalance. Even at the Heritage Centre some felt that more language could be incorporated into the facilities’ signage and interpretive panels (Interview Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding, June 19, 2012).

Another key area discussed within the community relates to aspects of accessibility to language within tourism contexts and in which learning and using the language incorporated

\textsuperscript{148} This issue is discussed further in Chapter 8, as part of the findings from Aotearoa and Haida Gwaii.
further training initiatives. The creation of employment opportunities through tourism (e.g. Haida Heritage Centre or West Coast Resorts) seen as an ideal way to encourage and develop language use in the community and for which additional community support can be provided.

Training of Haida people to speak Haida to fulfil all those roles within the employment sectors here whether it’s in the forestry office, or the fisheries office, or Gwaii Haanas, or the Museum…they want to get jobs and if those institutions supported the restoration of the Haida language…. We all benefit from it–tourists benefit from it–all our kids benefit. So training and then the visibility–the visibility should be like right out there big. (Interview Xamxuulang, June 25, 2012)

In my perfect world, I would have the language built right in with the training. We ask people to do a one-year certificate for hospitality management, but as being part of that program, we ask them to come and do language every Monday night. Build it right in…so we have cultural learning at the same time. (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012)

The relevant point is that the community could be supporting and building broader awareness that the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil can be an important part of employment within tourism contexts (Interview Xylang jaad xyla, June 22, 2012). As noted by one of the local teachers who had one of their students include their ability to speak the language on their resume. “[The] non-Haida person who I taught and her Dad just let me know this year that she uses Haida language on her resume down in Vancouver and it helped [name] get jobs at the Suspension Bridge and at art shops in Whistler and in Vancouver” (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012).

Linking the visibility and accessibility of the language with economic incentives is critical within the context of developing culturally appropriate opportunities within community-based tourism initiatives. Yet, it is difficult to do this definitively with an intangible such as language. Even when doing my Masters in in 2010, my general impression at the time was, “that while there may be no economic value in it [language], [tourism] was a critical piece in language development” (Whitney-Squire, 2011). This issue is considered
further in the discussion section and later in relation to the experiences of the Hawaiian and Māori peoples, but the challenge remains,

There could be if there is a clear economic incentive for it—I don’t think there’s any—realistically any other reason why you’d want to do that. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

If there’s an economic incentive to know and use your language…whether…you’re employed with your Band Council or the CHN and maybe your job is to translate everything into Haida. (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012)

The potential to build related language opportunities for youth within tourism contexts is seen as critical and one in which the community can play a central role. The needs of youth in the community outside of regular school hours is considered a missed opportunity in terms of increasing their accessibility to the language through programming or the provision of training or exchange opportunities within tourism. The inherent challenges to providing effective support reflect

- a lack of interest in learning the language,
- the need to engage youth on their terms, and
- the means to popularize the language.

Both Old Massett and Skidegate have youth centres and plans are underway to use the centre in Old Massett as a tourism hub. The plan is to involve youth in tourism because the totem pole repatriated from Jasper, BC in 2010 is housed in this facility.

It’s not a big place…we’ve got the Jasper Pole that was repatriated there—they gave me like peanuts to build this building…[and] the youth are the stewards of this pole…. It’s the oldest pole in the community…and the money they raise goes into running their programs. [Is there any plan to build language components into the programs at this point?] Two years in a row now, I’ve hired students to put tours together so this year we’re actually hoping to launch it so we’ll see. (Interview Haana, June 24, 2012)
The two centres are key to engaging youth in maintaining language skills learned in school, but at the time of writing the programs are not in place. Programming takes time and as noted in the above quote even two years on it is a challenge to get the youth tours up and running. The central point is that tourism is being incorporated into the youth centre as a means of providing an economic incentive to support and run related programming. Building language components into these programs presents challenges, but there is potential to network with other organizations in the community to encourage language learning.

I think it would be just, umm...encourage all the young ones to be enthusiastic about learning it—you know they could see that it is being used and it is going somewhere—it’s not just going to stay in elementary or stay in high school or in SHIP if you are there. (Interview Ngaasda, June 11, 2012)

Drawing on the need to network with other local organizations, for example, the Swan Bay Rediscovery (youth) Program, Kihl guulaans was open to the idea of incorporating more modern means of language use into the youth programs. While speaking in terms of allowing the language shift he states,

I think we have to just get past that cause we see languages flourishing in the modern rap type of music that has words that I don’t understand but.... I’m not sure where a lot of the words come from but they are modern words and the young people seem to understand it...so it’s being used. (Interview, June 29, 2012)

The potential to link these new approaches in ways that will engage youth on their own terms, Ngaasda makes a critical observation: the need to give the language relevance within present day contexts (Interview, June 11, 2012). This point draws on aspects of employment opportunities, training, creative and artistic outlets such as music, or even cross-cultural exchanges organized through SHIP, the Haida Heritage Centre, the Haida Gwaii Museum, or the Haida Gwaii Higher Education Society. While the link to tourism may be indirect,
incorporating or using tourism contexts to support and encourage language use is potentially a highly effective tool in fostering the interest of youth.

The Haida language is increasingly integrated into the elementary and high schools here, but I could see language studies as a viable post-secondary program as well. It would be so exciting if youth would be interested and encouraged to pursue studies that link back to their own culture. (Interview Laurel, July 21, 2012)

Our current focus is natural resources studies, but I could see more programs down the line related to cultural and museum studies. There could be an international or intercultural exchange ambassador. It would be powerful. (Interview Laurel, July 21, 2012)

This approach could be linked to the sponsorship of students, youth, and new learners. Jason Alsop (Interview, June 1, 2012) believes that one on one mentoring is the best way to increase the number of fluent speakers in the short term. Jason’s vision is to have various organizations in the community sponsor individuals to learn the Haida language. Potentially the Band Council or Gwaii Haanas and in this instance relating the experience to cultural programming they would become, “the resident expert or historian and they would be a knowledge holder...just by learning the language they get a lot of extra knowledge as a by-product of it” (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012).

Increasing visibility and accessibility is critical to encouraging language use in the community. Normalizing the use of the language even in simple ways has the potential to slow language shift. The use of tourism for this purpose is seen as beneficial to the speaking and non-speaking community; taking advantage of all the opportunities available seen as practical and potentially effective.

**Summary**

This chapter outlined the foundation on which language can be repositioned appropriately within community-based tourism contexts, that is, within the cultural context of
respect (yahguudang), genuine sharing (gudgígid), and that the goal be to transfer knowledge (gwii hlgang.gulxa) within the community. Broadly, the community is unaware of the extent to which the language is shared with visitors. The example of Kihl gulaans and his family’s carving/tourism business demonstrates that the use of the language remains deeply entrenched within the life ways of the Haida, expressed within present day contexts through their artistic heritages; ceremonies and events; in the gathering, preparation, and sharing of food; and in the home and community.

Behind the scenes, there are a number of community language resources related to tourism, for example, the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program and Haida Language Society. These organizations provide a wide range of support related to tourism and other initiatives. The Skidegate Haida Immersion Program directly supports the work of the Haida Heritage Centre and Haida Gwaii Museum; ensuring the accurate translation of interpretive and other materials for exhibitions and assists tour guides with the development of their introductions and conclusions to the tours. The stewardship of the language within tourism contexts stems from the language itself, as the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil is the expression of relationships within Haida Gwaii. The Haida hold their language as sacred and sharing it with visitors fosters respect for the language and the Haida. Creating opportunities to use the language is deeply empowering and a source of encouragement for speakers. In speaking the language, the Haida view their culture as “alive and vibrant.”

The following chapter expands the discussion of language and tourism issues to consider the shared experiences and key insights of those who spoke with me in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa. These shared experiences will be used to establish correlations between the three sites and the key insights used to reflect back on the efforts of the Haida to expand language use in culturally appropriate ways within community-based and tourism initiatives.
8. Hawaiian and Māori Perspectives: Reflections on Haida Gwaii

The Haida’s interest in exploring these issues outside their own community, stemmed from a desire to develop new ways in which to enhance their use of language within tourism initiatives. The decision to seek out the perspectives of the Native Hawaiian and Māori communities was based on their unique experiences within the tourism industry and their shared, yet different, experiences of language development within those contexts. While the development of indigenous tourism in Canada is growing, Haida Gwaii is a leader in community-based tourism development. While other examples exist within Canada, they offer similar historic contexts within tourism settings to that of Haida Gwaii: stepping outside the historic and geographical context of Canada provided an opportunity to contrast linked cultural experiences affecting language issues in tourism.

From the perspective of the Haida, Māori are seen as leaders in the field of language revitalization having spearheaded the language nest movement in the 1970s (Ka‘ai, 2009). Similarly, Hawai‘i is seen as exemplary for its revitalization of the Native Hawaiian language from a low in 1982 when no children were first language speakers outside the island of Ni‘ihau (No‘eau Warner, 2001). Regarding tourism, Native Hawaiians are seen as being in the process of claiming a greater voice within the industry (Sheldon, Knox, & Lowry, 2005; Taum, 2010), while some Māori iwi (tribes) are seen as having made significant and successful inroads into the industry (Curtain, 2003). These diverse contexts offered powerful and culturally relevant insights into issues and approaches to support the efforts of the Haida.

This chapter is comprised of three sections (a) a brief introduction to the peoples of Hawai‘i and Aotearoa New Zealand and significant tourism issues, (b) a review of the historic impacts and relevance of their languages, and (c) an examination of the key findings in relation to stewardship, resources, and the vision and challenges of supporting language within tourism contexts.149

149 Stewardship: kaitiakitanga (guardianship) in Aotearoa and Mālama aina (care for the land) in Hawai‘i.
8.1 Peoples of Hawai‘i and Significant Tourism Issues

The Kānaka Maoli (native people) are the original peoples of the Islands of Hawai‘i and broadly trace their origins to the peoples of Polynesia (Kirch & Green, 2001). Their traditions and practices reflect the intrinsic nature of their relationship with the lands and oceans of Hawai‘i (Meyers, 2008). The values of the Kānaka Maoli are grounded within the place and diverse landscapes of Hawai‘i. Nāea Chun (2011) states that, “cultural revival and identification have gone beyond academic and intellectual arguments” to one wherein people are seeking to understand how they are connected…what their relationships are…what their values are (p. xxiiiv). Drawing on the works of the late Dr. George Kanahele and Rev. Dr. Martin Brokenleg, amongst others Nāea Chun (2011) describes the holistic and interconnectedness of Hawaiian values, in which relationships and belonging underpin their life ways. Those most closely related to this study include

- **Pono** (the way to live): “demonstrating the interrelatedness and interdependencies of belonging, mastery, independence and generosity” (p. 13).
- **Aloha** (love and affection): “aloha is special because it upholds, reaffirms, and binds relationships” (p. 45).
- **Welina** (traditional and contemporary hospitality): “the importance of establishing and maintaining relationships with others” and place through genealogy (p. 58).
- **Kākāʻōlelo** (traditions of oratory and speech making): “in which the word is life and in the word is death…it should instil the sacredness of the word” (p. 226, 251).
- **Hoʻonohonohono** (traditional way of cultural management): “the way we choose to manage [our culture] should reflect the culture we use to make our decisions” (p. 252).

While Nāea Chun (2011) conveys the historic and present day contexts of these values to the lived experience of Native Hawaiian peoples, the centrality of relationships is clear. In bridging values of hoʻonohonohono within present day cultural and business contexts the practice or pono must reflect the cultural values of the people or it is no longer pono. In
regard to the tourism industry, Ramsay Taum (2010) questions the historic and prevalent custom of visitor entitlement wherein service at any cost is the norm—even to the point of personal degradation. In response to the tourism industry, Taum suggests the need to return to the centrality of “aloha” as a means of reflecting the values of the community for the purpose of re-defining involvement in the industry.

Tourism is a contested space in Hawai‘i, having developed within the confines of the historic occupation and annexation of the islands in 1898 to the United States of America for naval, economic, and other reasons (Bacchilega, 2007). While outside the scope of this thesis to consider the complex political and sovereignty issues at stake, language is a central issue not only in terms of cultural identity, but is central to the resurgence of cultural traditions and practices in Hawai‘i. Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, a noted scholar and professor of history at the University of Hawai‘i, writes,

The resurgence of Hawaiian language has produced an outpouring of cultural productivity…consider contemporary fashions—even if they are mostly t-shirts—that articulate Hawaiian words that would have been unintelligible to the greater public a few decades ago. The word aloha will no longer suffice to represent an island identity. (Osorio, 2010)

The continued reliance on tourism to support the state economy, a central and long term facet of cultural re-presentation and appropriation, is seen as a continuation of historic injustices against the Kānaka Maoli (native born) peoples. An incontestable fact in the face of writers and political advocates such as Haunani-Kay Trask (1999, 2000a) who challenge the multi-national corporations, land developers, and governments who continue to advance development in the face of legal action and protests by Native Hawaiian peoples. The animosity felt toward the tourism industry in general is long standing. However, with the continued and advancing reliance on tourism some in the Native Hawaiian community are asking if there is a better way to work within the industry for the betterment of Kānaka Maoli.
The representation of Hawai‘i for the purpose of attracting tourists began early with the first images of hula girls produced around 1915: images of hula dancers remain one of the most iconic examples of visual-place known around the world today (Bacchilega, 2007).

Tourism started relatively inauspiciously in the late 1860s as steamship travel increased from the mainland USA, with the first hotel opening its doors in 1872 in Honolulu (Wisniewski, 1979). The hotel and other initiatives at the time, the work of King Kamehameha V, who wanted to welcome visiting dignitaries and guests to the islands of Hawai‘i (Wisniewski, 1979). The tourism industry has long been a driving economic force in the state encouraging the early expansion of transportation systems via railway, motor transport, airlines, ships, and sailing vessels. In 1903, the first tourism association was established, which promoted the islands as a place of rest and relaxation (Hawai‘i Visitors & Convention Bureau [HVCB], 2012). The Hawai‘i Tourist Bureau took over in 1919 and by 1941, there were 31,846 visitors arriving annually (HVCB, 2012).

Despite setbacks resulting from world events, the Hawai‘i Tourism Authority reported 2012 as a, “record-breaking year for tourism in Hawaii” (Hawai‘i Tourism Authority [HTA] E-Bulletin, 2013).Visitor statistics indicate expenditures of 14.3 billion and the number of arrivals at 7.99 million (HTA E-Bulletin, 2013). Today, a number of key issues remain at the forefront of the challenges facing the Native Hawaiian community, central to which are sustainability and the socio-cultural impacts of mass tourism development (Agrusa et al., 2010). Issues related to sustainability include, tourism levels, infrastructure capacity, protection of fragile ecosystems, and land use planning (NHHA, Huki Like ‘Ana, 2007). Issues related to socio-cultural impacts include, minimal benefits to Native Hawaiians, endangerment of the host culture, and the need to ensure appropriate representation of Hawaiian culture within the industry (NHHA, Huki Like ‘Ana, 2007).

150 Examples of major world events negatively affecting visitor numbers include, World War I and II, the 9/11 attack on New York City, the economic downturn in 2008/2009, and the H1N1 flu pandemic in 2009 (Taum, 2010). These events had a global impact on travel patterns.
Of note is the need “to embrace and represent values of the host culture and local population” and the need, to create innovative approaches to tourism where visitors…are exposed to new experiences that enhance their appreciation of Hawaiian culture, values, and products” (p. 4). Taum (2010) states that much of the success of the industry is attributable to the history, traditions, practices, and presence of the Kānaka Maoli (native born) and their rich island culture (p. 33). It is the *aloha* (unconditional generosity/kindness) and the *mana* (energy/devine power) of the land that draws visitors to the islands, “Hawaiian culture and language differentiates Hawai‘i from any other place in the world” (NHHA, Huki Like ‘Ana, 2007). A survey conducted by Market Trends Pacific (2005) noted that 70% of all residents considered tourism a threat to the preservation of the Native Hawaiian culture and the same survey in 2006, noted 62% of residents feel tourism operates at the expense of the local people. Regarding the misrepresentation of culture, Haunani-Kay Trask, states, “the commercialization of Hawaiian culture proceeds with calls for more sensitive marketing…the hula, our dance; our generosity, or aloha…the selling of these talents…the function of tourism…is to convert these attributes into profit” (2000b, para. 10).

Tourism, however, is unlikely to disappear from the Hawaiian economy and inroads are being made to support Native Hawaiian participation in the industry. For example, the Hawaiian Cultural Initiative (2005), the Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association, the Pasifika Foundation, and the Ka Welina Network are working to connect the Hawaiian community and the visitor industry.\(^\text{151}\) The Hawaiian Culture Initiative Action Plan (2007) underscores two premises of this thesis in terms of the industry, “A healthy host Hawaiian culture contributes to a healthy visitor industry,” and “Tourism can help perpetuate the Hawaiian culture or help dilute it” (p. 1). Writing as a cultural advocate, Taum (2010) notes that, “our economic well-
being may depend on our spiritual well being,” hence the need invest in the, “social, cultural, environmental, and spiritual banks of Hawai‘i” (p. 38). Despite the challenges, established and newer maoli (native) businesses are present, for example, Smith’s Fern Grotto in Wailua, and Kalapana Cultural Tours on the Big Island.

8.2 Peoples of Aotearoa and Significant Tourism Issues

The Māori are the original peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand—the islands known as Te Ika a Māui (Fish of Māui or North Island) and Te Wai Pounamu (Place of Greenstone or South Island) (Bateman, 2008). Their origins are broadly traced to the peoples of Polynesia, however, in Māori myth and tradition they trace their origins to Hawaiki; and the place to which they return upon their death (Bateman, 2008; Williams, 2009). Central to Māori life ways is their whakapapa, which is a holistic means of linking the physical and spiritual world through their genealogies (Ka’ai & Higgins, 2009; Metge, 2004). Whakapapa is a cultural means for people to understand how they are related to each other, to the land, and to the atua (ancestor of ongoing influence) (Ka’ai & Higgins, 2009; Williams, 2009). The Māori relationship with the land is expressed as tangata whenua or people of the land (Carr, 2004; M. Hall, 1993). This relationship is highly diverse, value laden, and intrinsically linked with place, their life ways grounded within the unique landscapes of their ancestors (Carr, 2004).

While it is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail, the Treaty of Waitangi (signed in 1840) is a distinctive feature of the Māori peoples historic and present day relationship with the Crown and has significant implications on tourism development.152 Although I will sidestep a discussion of the historic details, M. Hall, Mitchell, and Keelan (1993) note that the principles of the Treaty regarding heritage and cultural management affect Māori (a) decision-making authority, (b) resource management, (c) protection of their

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interests, and (d) the greater national interest (p. 321). These principles reflect cultural values linked with resources (lands) and heritages (cultural) management. (M. Hall, et al. 1993) make the relationship between these principles (cultural values), the language, and tourism explicit in reference to the statements of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment during the Waitangi Tribunal hearing on the Te Reo Māori claim,

Environmental management is the management of human activity within ecosystems. The way that human beings behave is a reflection of their cultural background, and their culture is transmitted to them via their language. A threat to Māori language is a threat to the integrity of a unique indigenous part of the New Zealand environment. (1988, p. 75)

Māori tourism cannot function rightly outside this relationship as these relationships are integral to being Māori (McIntosh et al., 2007). Within these historic and present day contexts, tourism in Aotearoa is a contested space, one in which Māori have struggled yet advanced their understanding of how the tourism industry can adapt itself to working within their cultural contexts. McIntosh, et al. (2007) describe those Māori-centred values that express their cultural perspective within tourism. Those most closely related to this study include

- **Wairuatanga** (state of being spiritual): “expressing the spiritual element in the product.”
- **Whanaungatanga** (relationship or kinship): “making a contribution to Māori self-determined tourism development.”
- **Ngamatatini Māori** (diversity): “representing the diversity of Māori culture…tourism development is tribally and regionally specific”
- **Kaitiakitanga** (guardianship): “carrying out responsibilities of…guardianship and wise care of the environment.”
- **Manaakitanga** (warm hospitality): “fostering sharing of knowledge and beliefs…being hospitable with tourists.”
• **Tino rangatiratanga** (self determination): “controlling the process of tourism development…controlling representation of Māori culture in tourism…asserting Treaty of Waitangi rights for ownership and resources for tourism development.”

Foundational to Māori understandings of their relationship within the tourism industry is their relationship with each other and the landscapes of Aotearoa. In this, the centrality of relationships within Māori life ways is clear. Similar to Hawai‘i, McClure (2004) notes the contested space early in the history of tourism, as development initiatives were largely held within government control and established Māori culture as a showpiece to attract visitors (McClure, 2004).

Some of the earliest visitors to New Zealand came to see the famed Pink and White Terraces on Lake Tarawera, led by Guide Sophia (Te Paea Hinerangi), who was the principal guide there until the destruction of the terraces in 1886 from a volcanic eruption (Field journal, 2012; McClure, 2004). The Māori culture has always been one of the key reasons visitors undertook the journey to get to Aotearoa, but the thermal baths and spas in nearby Rotorua and images and tales of adventures by rail in the 1920s drew many to the islands (McClure, 2004; NZ History, 2005). Similar to Hawai‘i, world events would curtail visitor arrivals, however, by 1938, an estimated 20,000 overseas visitors were arriving annually (Tourist & Publicity Department, 1977; Te Ara, 2013). Historically, government controls and restrictions made it difficult for Māori peoples to develop their own businesses, but guiding continued to play a role within the industry (Te Ara, 2013).

In 2006, the international tourism market contributed 8.3 billion NZD to the economy annually with the estimated 2.4 million visitors doubling since 1993: domestic tourism contributed an additional 10.3 billion NZD to the national economy (NZ Tourism Strategy, 2015, p. 8). The 2013 forecast, estimates 3.2 million international arrivals, contributing 19.6 billion to the national economy (NZ Tourism Strategy, 2015). Māori involvement in the industry was slow to develop for historic and other reasons and the Maori Tourism Task
Force Report (Butterworth & Smith, 1986) noted barriers to development related to the maturity of the industry, fears of land loss, and the need to develop capacity, amongst others. One of the strategies listed was the need to ensure that the use of Māori culture in the tourism industry remained in the hands of Māori peoples. A report prepared on Māori involvement in the industry in 2000, noted the significant barriers to participation as availability of reliable tourism products, access to funding, inadequate support, and the lack of representation at the government level amongst others (Stafford Group, 2000).

Despite the barriers, Māori involvement in tourism has continued to evolve and grow and their successes have brought international acclaim and recognition. Examples include Māori Tours Kaikoura, Tamaki Māori Village Tours, Taia mai Tours Heritage Journeys, and Footprints Waipoua amongst others. Acknowledgement of the increasing demand for cultural tourism experiences began early in the 1990s when the appeal of Māori culture as a major draw for international visitors was recognized (Carr, 2004; M. Hall, 1996). More recently, Māori tourism has developed to consider culturally appropriate frameworks for their participation in the tourism industry. The study conducted by McIntosh et al. (2007) sought to clarify the meaning of “Māori tourism,” questioning the difference between Māori involvement in the industry and the development of a valued practices that offered an approach to tourism culturally acceptable to the Māori (p. 331). The most significant tourism issues from the Māori perspective relate to the protection of cultural values and, “sustainable Māori self-determined tourism development” (McIntosh et al., 2007, p. 331).

Initiatives aimed at supporting Māori involvement include the New Zealand Māori Tourism Council, the national organization tasked with representing over 200 Māori businesses (www.maoritourism.co.nz). While funded through the Ministry for Māori Development (Te Puni Kōkiri), the focus of the Māori Tourism Strategy (2010 – 2015) is to

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153 Māori tourism in New Zealand is organized around 13 Māori Regional Tourism Organizations (MRTOs), headed by the New Zealand Māori Tourism Council (NZMTC), established in 2004 (Pārona Fact Sheet: 26). The NZMTC is currently supported by Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry for Māori Development). (See www.maoritourism.co.nz)
increase the value of Māori tourism, develop leadership, and coordinate support and resources (2010). The focus of Māori Regional Tourism Associations is to support regional initiatives, however, they are not well funded and challenged in the development of regional and inter-regional tourism products and services (Interview Barrett, January 1, 2013; Interview Nathan, December 31, 2012).

8.3 Shared Experience and Key Insights: Findings

The following sections reflect the (a) shared experiences and (b) key insights for each of the major themes. The sections structured by considering first the shared experiences, followed by a discussion of the key insights. While the shared experiences are brought together in places for the purpose of brevity, in reality they represent the unique and diverse experiences of these peoples. Broadly, the shared experiences are presented as high-level backgrounders that highlight the correlations between the three sites. These shared experiences are foundational to supporting the rationale that the key insights offered provide culturally relevant approaches to supporting the efforts of the Haida. Great attention is given to reflecting the diversity of these peoples within the discussion of key insights, as these relate directly to the objectives of this thesis. The key insights reflect the findings to emerge from Phase II of this research. Emphasis is placed on issues of stewardship, tourism and language resources, and the vision and challenges of supporting language use within community-based and tourism related contexts (Sec. 8.4).

8.3.1 Historic Impacts and Relevance of the Language

Shared Experiences: Historic Impacts

Although the details differ, the historic repercussions of colonization acting upon the language have largely been the same. While never legally banned in Canada, it became illegal to speak the language on school grounds in Aotearoa and Hawaiʻi, in 1867 and 1896
respectively.154 As in Haida Gwaii, those who did not comply were punished; events now seen as a turning point for Hawaiian and Māori culture; nurturing a false sense of shame in speaking the language still felt today. It was not until 1978 in Hawai‘i and 1987 in Aotearoa, that these languages would receive official recognition. Some families tried to embrace the changing times; encouraging children to learn English under the impression that it would help them advance socially and economically. The loss of language within the younger generations ultimately led to the inability to transfer the language to the coming generations, a situation worsened in Aotearoa by the movement of people from rural communities (Doherty, January 3, 2013). The shift to urban areas exacerbated language loss as there were no whanaungatanga (kinship network) relationships in place, “Māori learned from the rural environment…the urban thing dislocated [people]…there were no support structures…only time you’d get together would be…informal social gathers” (Interview Hakiwai, January 11, 2013). In Aotearoa, the impact of progressive language loss today impedes the ability of younger generations to access the language, “a lot of my generation, we don’t speak Māori to each other like how you do every day speaking,” Some tend to not speak the language as they do not want to be corrected by the elders (Interview, Tiotio, January 4, 2013).

For some, the generation immediately before them were unable to speak the language including their parents and yet the presence of an uncle or auntie with the language was the source of inspiration. Kimura shared, “My uncle is a progressive thinker, he’s the one who really inspired me to learn the Hawaiian language.” For a young Silva, “I remember as a kid, my grandmother…she didn’t speak the language to me then, [but] when I was eleven I think, I remember…asking if she would speak to me in Hawaiian so I could learn” (Interview, September 22, 2012). There is often a sense of marginalization at not taking part fully in activities with those who speak the language fluently. Keli‘i Wilson, Director of Hawaiian Cultural Affairs, Hawai‘i Tourism states that one of the present day effects of language loss is

that those unable to speak the ‘ōlelo can find it difficult to understand themselves within the context of their own cultural values. K. Wilson explains,

[English] doesn’t really have a lot of the values…things indigenous people value…they understand…the history of what happened to them, but they don’t quite know how to internalize it using their own sort of value system. So they essentially—what happens they become what they hate…. We have a lot of native Hawaiians that…you know they protest or they do things that aren’t very Hawaiian. I mean that’s a shame and that’s a really deep sort of issue and really the problem is identity—when you don’t have your language...you’re lost and you fall into these problems that a lot of indigenous people fall into. I think it is a lack of identity. (Interview, October 17, 2012)

Although greatly simplified, the above concepts touch on the central historic impacts affecting present day language use in Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa—impacts raised in Haida Gwaii. Broadly, these shared experiences reflect the historic and continuing processes of colonization, land loss, pressure to assimilate to the dominant society, and conflicts over language and identity. These shared experiences are foundational to the following key insights as they inform language use in tourism contexts.

**Key Insights: Historic Impacts on the Language**

In discussing the effect of historic events on language use, participants identified three central areas related to language use within present day tourism contexts. These insights reflected (a) an emerging awareness of the value of the language within tourism, (b) the level of difficulty in articulating the importance of language from within the country, and (c) the affect of non-speakers and second language learners on governance and leadership.

Generally, Native Hawaiians perceive the tourism industry in Hawaiʻi negatively. One individual sharing that until quite recently those who engaged in tourism were felt to be supporting the “other side” (Journal notes, October, 2012). Broadly, tourism is not seen as something that can help overcome the social and other disparities which are reflected within
the industry, for example, being made to feel as though you have to behave in a particular manner in order to meet employer and visitor expectations. Although changing, the facade presented by the industry is still not open to being Hawaiian. As Silva notes,

The majority of people hired…are our own local people…[but] in some ways it’s an out of body experience…you are expected to act a certain way, to speak a certain way because if you don’t you know—you’ll be perceived as different. (Interview, September 22, 2012)

Visitor perceptions of Hawaiian peoples were created and sensationalized by promoters and speculators as a means of generating economic gain, but at the expense of the culture (Interview Kimura, September 11, 2012). While the impact is indirect, the sheer number of visitors requiring services increased the presence and dominance of English; the culture itself fabricated for the entertainment of visitors to such an extent that tourism experiences became Hollywood productions. However, changes within the industry are being noticed, due in part of a growing awareness that other destinations were becoming more attractive and Hawai‘i was no longer so unique. In reference to Waikīkī, Diamond states,

That’s why we’ve had these iconic projects like Keep it Hawai‘i…the name of a big project to revitalize Waikīkī …because it had become so un-Hawai‘i that we had to go back and just…do some remedial branding. (Interview, October 22, 2012)

Pushed by cultural advocates and activists, the industry has begun to ask, “how do we really be most authentic (Interview Kimura, August 11, 2012.” Some of the changes, while minimal, suggest a deeper questioning of what, “the tourist industry can do…in terms of supporting Hawaiian language and culture…[it] is emerging, but it’s still very small” (Interview Silva, September 22, 2012). A key insight from Aotearoa is the level of difficulty in articulating the importance of te reo from within New Zealand. Hanna O’Regan spoke to this, stating that outside of New Zealand there is a level of support for the Māori culture and language not necessarily found from within the country (Interview, March 15, 2013). The concern is that
Apathy toward the language leads people to misinterpret opportunities associated with tourism as they underestimate the great interest expressed by those outside the country, “You go overseas and you don’t have those same kind of barriers—you don’t have the same kinds of things holding you back” (Interview O’Regan, March 15, 2013). A contributing factor is the false sense of surety that the language will always be there—something far from certain. A tour guide from the North Island shared, “Look, it’s always going to be around…we’ll always have it—as long as you’ve got your marae you’ve always got it [language]” (Interview Taima, December 17, 2012).

Linked to this and the historic progression of language loss is the effect it has had on governance and leadership within Hawaiian communities. In Hawai‘i, the teaching of the ‘ōlelo within the various levels of education and academia has advanced successfully, however, there are now those who have learned the language in the absence of culture (Interview Silva, September 22, 2013). The warning is to be aware of those who speak the language with a Western mind-set, as they often fight against the needs of the kama‘āina (native born) without knowledge. This is a warning that resonates in Aotearoa as those in positions of leadership may not be able to appreciate the value of the language fully; a consequence of generational dislocation from the language and culture. O’Regan notes that it becomes increasingly difficult for people to understand the importance of the language, “when in their living memory that hasn’t been a part of who they are” (Interview, March 15, 2013). These issues can make it exponentially more difficult to garner support for making the decisions necessary to support language use within tourism contexts.

**Shared Experiences: Relevance of the Language**

While uniquely place-based, participants spoke similarly of the relevance of the language in terms of their relationship with the land, with one another, and with their ancestors. In Hawai‘i, these relationships reflected a way of looking at the world; that the language provided the lens through which one is able to understand the world around them
Phrases expressing their relationship to place included, “I am my place…I am Hawai‘i.” and “It is a culture of belonging.” Similar to Haida Gwaii, language is understood as central to identity and inclusive of relationships across time, “language is the fibre or the cord that binds us to our identity” (Interview Kimura, September 11, 2012). Those who spoke of the potential loss of the language understood the consequences of such an eventuality; that you would lose the essence of what it means to be Hawaiian and that the culture itself would be lost as this would affect things such as the hula and music. The language infuses the life ways of the Hawaiian peoples, “you can’t capture the real culture without it—if you’re trying to teach the culture, everything ties into it…it is no longer just a tree, it has a connection value of bringing things together” (Interview Kimura, September 11, 2012).

In Aotearoa, whakapapa connects Māori to the land through their genealogies, “the [language] connects who we are, it connects our identity to the land, to our gods and to our atua (gods), and to our ancestors, to our history” (Interview Hakiwai, January 11, 2013). The relevance of the language holds similar values and meaning to that of the Haida, Hakiwai asks, “Who are we without knowledge of our Māori language,” the very words echoed in Haida Gwaii. Similar to Haida Gwaii, the language expresses layers of knowledge embedded within the stories and myths. Other relationships wherein knowledge is held, extend to that of the traditional carvings, waiata (songs), moko (facial / body tattooing), and even within the genealogies and stories tattooed on the body. One person expressed his amazement to claims that the Māori never had a written language, “I say no, we carved it in wood, and stone, and on our bodies–our stories were never lost” (Interview Teoteo, February 5, 2013). “The language is the key to the culture, the core of our identity…the language is what identifies Māori people as Māori people” (Barrett, January 1, 2013). To lose the language is to lose “the essence of what it means to be Māori” (Interview Manawatu, January 13, 2013).
Key Insights: Relevance of the Language

Understanding the complexity of the relationships expressed within the Hawaiian ʻōlelo and Māori te reo is critical to comprehending the vulnerability of cultural identity, traditions, and practices to language loss. The key insights reflect underlying views of just how difficult it is to retain language in the face of dominant western knowledge systems, that the language is a tool of future survival, and that language is the strongest tool available for cultural revitalization.

While in Hilo, the Executive Director of the Imiloa Astronomy Center, shared that when they (planners) were building the centre the people who worked there, cultural experts and scientists alike, had to come to grips with the fact that they were asking very different questions (Interview Kimura, September 11, 2012). The community and cultural experts asking “how are we related, how are we connected, what are our histories that bring us together,” while the scientists were asking what are we made of…[they] want to break you down…understand how all of that functions together.” She pointed out that while neither knowledge system is subservient to the other, the cultural story is often set aside because it cannot be proven in the same way. Her point was to note the very real struggle it is, “to retain your own way of thinking in the face of scientific knowledge” and a reminder that the oral knowledge and histories passed down over so many generations, were extraordinary and the ancestors equally, if not more meticulous, in how they managed their knowledge systems.

A further insight from Hawaiʻi was that the language constitutes a tool of survival for the future, based on an understanding that the way Hawaiians live presently will change. This was expanded upon by a number of people in Hawaiʻi who understand that the way things are presently will not always be the way things are. The point was that if Native Hawaiian people fully adopt the ways and knowledges of the West, they will not have the knowledge needed when the world and the environment changes as it must. Taum (October 22, 2012) spoke to this stating, “The western cultural that we have now adopted is not the culture that is going to
help us survive on an island in the absence of western influence.” As Taum (Interview October 22, 2012) points out, a can opener is a modern cultural tool with no relevance in the absence of cans, whereas the knowledge held within the language will always be relevant.

The key insights offered by the Māori, expand the discussion on the relevance of the language to consider the effect of language loss on their values and that the language is the key to retaining the land and tikanga (correct procedures, customs). While closely linked, these insights underpin a fundamental understanding that te reo Māori is the strongest tool available for cultural revitalization.

The easiest way to maintain say the uh traditions or the tikanga of the marae and other things is through the language. If you don’t have the knowledge in the content of the language how can you do that? Language is the heart…without the language we wouldn’t be able to hold onto our customs, traditions, or it would be very hard to maintain those things. (Interview Hakiwai, January 11, 2013)

Hanna O‘Regan (Interview, March 15, 2013), a Ngāi Tahu tribe member, states that it is not possible to do the rituals and ceremonies in the absence of the language, stating that only 2% of Ngāi Tahu people are able to speak the language fluently, a situation very similar to that of the Haida. One of the concerns is that some of the elders no longer know the tikanga (customs) and it is difficult for elders to ask those younger than themselves the correct way, with the result that people begin to invent culture. The dissipation of cultural values due to language loss is seen as a legacy of colonialism, “the first thing you do is replace religion and the language because if the religion and language go…your intrinsic values disappear” and with them the connection with the land (Interview Teoteo, February 5, 2013). As a whole, te reo (language) is felt to be the strongest tool communities have to revitalize culture in the long term. One aspect of language expressed in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa was the power of the word, understood spiritually and physically as something connected deeply within the vibrations of the land. The words infused with power by virtue of being spoken, “once thought is expressed
it comes into the physical realm and has its own spirit, its own ability to evoke emotion” (Interview Doherty, January 3, 2013).

### 8.3.2 Stewardship, Language Resources, and Vision and Challenges

**Shared Experiences: Stewardship of Language**

Stewardship is central to understanding the rationale for using tourism as a means of supporting language development and language revitalization within community-based tourism initiatives. In Haida Gwaii issues of stewardship focused on increasing visibility and accessibility, the empowerment that comes of speaking one’s language with visitors and guests, and the connection maintained to culture and place. Foundationally, stewardship of the language flowed from the multidimensional relationships that went into supporting language use within tourism initiatives. The findings within Hawai‘i and Aotearoa were similar to that of Haida Gwaii with a few notable insights. Those experiences similar to that of the Haida expressed relationships with people, with community, and with place. In Hawai‘i, although there had been great changes, “socially, politically, culturally, and linguistically,” the spirit of aloha for the ancestors and place had not left them (Interview Silva, September 22, 2012). In Aotearoa, “Māori tourism is simply a reflection of Māoridom…we see New Zealand as a living landscape,” that ties everything back to the land through stories and whakapapa (Interview Nathan, December 31, 2012). Further, the role of the community is seen as critical to supporting language use within tourism initiatives, seeking the approval of the kaumātua (elders) and iwi (kinship group) to share elements of their history and culture (Interview Carmen, December 25, 2012). Only with the support of the elders, does it then become possible to establish policies and practices around language use on which to foster greater stewardship.

Almost word for word, those who shared with me in Haida Gwaii, Hawai‘i, and Aotearoa spoke of the importance that community-based tourism initiatives fit with their
values and vision and not the other way around. Even then, communities are vulnerable to internal and external issues that can alter the dynamics, for example, changes in leadership or political direction. Affecting planned and positive changes within the communities around the use of language within tourism initiatives requires cohesive leadership and a shared vision (Nathan, December 31, 2012). Outside of this level of support from within the community, long-term stewardship is simply not possible. Ultimately, these issues relate to how the community chooses to share their language and culture with others. From the Waipā Foundation in Kauaʻi, Sproat-Beck states,

We are going to do what feels good to us because it’s who we are and what we do and then we’ll see how we share it with you…so it makes us feel okay to share it. We’re certainly not going to do anything…that we don’t already do for us—that’s what feeds us…the money, there is a benefit that comes from it, but it’s not the core of what makes us feel good and makes us who we are. (Interview, October 3, 2012)

The statement, “we’re certainly not going to do anything…that we don’t already do for us” goes to the heart of stewardship of the language and underpins the necessity that the use of indigenous languages within tourism initiatives, serve the needs and aspirations of the community first. The focus then is on the needs of the community and not that of the visitor. In this way, the exchange is no longer a zero sum game…it meets the standard of genuine sharing as expressed in Haida Gwaii. From Aotearoa, “finding the right balance” will be unique to each community as they determine what and how to share, but ideally be one they can benefit from economically. Visitor experiences involving language will be those that fit the people and place: the expression of their living landscape,

Our treasures aren’t wooden artefacts dislocated in time...they are actually living...they represent our ancestors, their lives, their history...people who are connected with them talk about them in Māori language and to me that’s about making language live—it provides meaning to what we do…about authority and mana. (Interview Hakiwai, January 11, 2013)
Key Insights: Stewardship of the Language

Participants identified three critical areas affecting the stewardship of language within tourism contexts. These key insights include (a) the need to use the knowledge we have in the settings we have available, (b) supports families who choose to speak the language at home, and (c) language creates direct and indirect economic opportunities.

In terms of stewarding the language, this first insight goes to the core of every idea shared with me in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa. Further, it expands on the issues in Haida Gwaii to consider the present day contexts in which communities operate within; offering encouragement to take advantage of the opportunities presented. While the remainder of this section will review other aspects of language stewardship, each draws back to this core insight. My understanding of the importance of this core insight came about from two very different perspectives on tourism development. The first, the perspective of a cultural advocate involved in a proposed rail project in Honolulu and the second, the perspective of a cultural advocate operating a growing tourism business in the Bay of Islands. The following vignette provide clarification,

Use What We Have

Hinaleimoana Wong-Kalu

Hina is the Director of Culture at the Hālau Lōkahi Public Charter School (grades K-12) in Honolulu. She also serves on the Burial Council and involved in the proposed Honolulu Rail Transit project as a cultural consultant (www.honolulutransit.org). Her role is to advise on those sacred burial and cultural sites that will be disturbed throughout the construction of this high-capacity transit corridor. I met Hina through the Curator of the ‘Iolani Palace who had spoken to me about language issues at the palace and museum. Hina was kind enough to take me to a number of sites in and around Honolulu, one being the Nu‘uanu Pali Lookout, which is the site of a great battle where Kamehameha I defeated the warriors of O‘ahu and won the rule of the island (Author Photo #004). This is likely one of the most iconic historical places in Hawai‘i and yet other than the names of individuals and a few place names, the
interpretive panels contain none of the Hawaiian ʻōlelo. The following images show two interpretive panels found at the lookout. (Interview, October 27, 2012)

Figure 10, Interpretive Panels at Nuʻuanu Pali Lookout, Honolulu, October 19, 2012. Source: Author.

The interpretive panels were clearly designed with the needs of the visitor in mind and not that of the Native Hawaiian community: a community who also visits this historic cultural site as part of school groups, families, and those traveling from neighbouring
islands. As Hina sees it, “The language of the people is not there at all.” However, as part of the cultural planning around the Honolulu Rail Transit, Hina is advocating for the use of the Hawaiian ʻōlelo, (full translations) at the various station stops as it provides an opportunity to use and share the language of the people, “I want the rail project to...speak Hawaiian. The overhead speakers... smart phone applications... there has been so much research that continues to go into... the traditional, property cultural studies that are part of the social and humanities component of this project. It is an absolute waste if they do not make all that knowledge available. It’s an absolute waste. If you develop a corridor, ...some kind of space for the stories to exist...it would support our local people...locals and Hawaiians.”

I will return to this issue; however, as the second vignette makes a critical contribution to that of Hina’s regarding the settings in which te reo can be used to support the transfer of knowledge to youth and the broader community,

Knowledge & Youth

Hone Mihaka

I had been on many tours, but no one came even close to using the language as Hone did. For a full five minutes, he described what he did, referred to the tattoos on his legs and arms and laughed well and often. When he finished, he repeated his journey in English. Hone shared his whakapapa and his connection to that place. Hone started the business about 12 years ago, now a successful cultural tour in the Bay of Islands. Hone knows te reo as, “the source, the centre of everything...our language is...it’s our taonga (treasure).”

As was shared in Haida Gwaii, Hone’s father taught him, “All Māori can speak Māori, when you are born a Māori you can speak Māori.” Speaking the language to Hone is simply something one does whether they know a little or they know a lot, “Those few words are like green stone...[they] are precious. So don’t be ashamed [te reo phrase]...don’t be afraid to speak the language of the gods. Never be afraid...always speak the words you know. His confidence and enthusiasm is infectious. In terms of the relationality of the language, the connection to place is within the language, “te reo...its genealogies comes from the heavens...from the
heavenly realms...when I speak those places they are different realms... The language is the trees, the language is the sea, the language is the land.... The language that I speak comes from the gods.”

Hone readily admits that tourism has allowed him to remain more fully connected to his culture and place than might otherwise have been the case, “Well for me, um um I guess if it wasn’t for tourism–tourism has um has provided me with a way of... transferring the knowledge from myself to my grandson...through our language... If it wasn’t for tourism...I wouldn’t have that much of a commitment or that kind of devotion to his um.... indigenous understanding of te reo and the stories.” Hone shares that in the past, the knowledge of the elders was passed down to youth who would be taken away to live with them for weeks at a time. Youth were immersed in the learning and were often told stories late into the night, as their minds would be open in that “half awake half asleep” state. “They called them wānanga that’s the higher learning, the higher teaching.” Part of the challenge for Hone was how to recreate this kind of environment in the face of the distractions of life. “So how do we pass on that knowledge that we have and for me...tourism is that bridge because it put me and my grandson and all of my family around me in an atmosphere where I could convey the knowledge of the past. So that’s what tourism has enabled me to do...its enabled me to...it’s deepened my knowledge of my own culture.”

Regarding those who work with him Hone shares, “I have young guys now who come along who’ve been with me who never used to speak te reo. Now they get up and they’re doing their welcoming and they’re in an environment where they are not being judged. When you put yourself in an environment where you are sharing aspects of your culture...and you’re speaking those words and then explaining those words to the visitor you have to go back to your own past...connect that word to that event...it provides the pathway, the map to the past and the future. It does. Of course it does. I think that tourism can play a pivotal role in the development of language and the growth of language in communities. I am absolutely a supporter of that. I don’t know whether it’s a legitimate role, but I know it [tourism] can play a substantial role—in the development not only of the language, but also the understanding of the language at a much deeper level.” (Interview, December 18, 2012)

Hone’s choice of words, “I don’t know whether it’s a legitimate role, but I know it [tourism] can play a substantial role,” are insightful. His words acknowledge that tourism is not the
ideal, yet at the same time recognizes the value in using the tools available to him to explore
his own history and culture and to share that knowledge with his grandson, extended family,
and community. To Hone, the daily and repeated exposure to the language and culture has
become a modern day wānanga (Māori learning). While not the ideal, this tourism business
has provided sufficient opportunities to transfer knowledge to his grandson whose first
language is te reo and knowledgeable of his culture and history. These two diverse
experiences of language use have one thing in common: the need to use the knowledge they
have in the settings they have available. Speaking from Hawai‘i, to do otherwise in Hina’s
experience is a complete waste and where this knowledge remains invisible and inaccessible
it remains silent and forgotten—opportunities lost.

Sproat-Beck states, “One thing I learned…was that when there isn’t a venue people
don’t speak…now we have the venue” (Interview, October 3, 2012). The words of
encouragement offered to the Haida were to speak the language wherever and whenever you
can. If tourism is the setting, then use that setting to steward the language as, “It’s not about
the tourist, it’s about us…and when I come out the other end of it there’s a pay cheque…an
economic benefit for being in that space where I am Hone” (Interview Mihaka, December 18,
2012). In Hone’s experience, tourism provides a powerful setting in which to speak, the fact
that it takes place within a tourism context in no way diminishes the mana (power or prestige)
of the language or that of the speaker.

While it is important to understand that the use of language within tourism initiatives
is not really for the benefit of the visitor, as many leave and soon forget, what is most relevant
is to understand who the audience truly is: the audience that remains. For Ka‘iu Kimura, one
of the biggest rewards of pushing for the use of the ‘ōlelo at the ‘Imiloa Astronomy Center
was that the Native Hawaiian community was being engaged by the presentation and use of
the ‘ōlelo at this community venue. While it was important that visitors had a positive
experience, what was more exciting for Ka‘iu was,
To see our local people who aren’t fluent Hawaiian speakers, but they recognize words so to start hearing them comment and start to have discussions around that…and then for our families that do speak Hawaiian language…it’s a place outside the immersion schools that supports their family’s choice to have a Hawaiian speaking family. (Interview Kimura, September 22, 2012)

The positive response from the Native Hawaiian community reinforces the fact that the use of language within community-based tourism initiatives engages the broader community and supporting these language relationships is critical to stewarding language in tourism initiatives. These perspectives were shared by Arapata Hakiwai, Kaihautū, at Te Papa Tongarewa who states that the audience for language is mainly Māori speaking people, “that those people will come and look for evidence of their language,” within cultural exhibits (Interview, January 11, 2013). In this instance, working closely with the local communities is critical to extending language use beyond the doors of the museum and therein lays the power to stewarding language.

While there are a number of outstanding examples of language use in museums and cultural centres, others are unable to support the language fully. For example, the Kauaʻi Museum has amazing exhibits on the history of island, an art gallery, and an interesting collection of artefacts. However, the use of the ‘ōlelo on interpretive panels is limited to the names of places and individuals. The guide who spoke to me is herself 80 year old and volunteers regularly at the museum as a cultural educator. While she does not speak the language fluently, she is disappointed that there is not more ‘ōlelo in the museum. However, while the use of the language in the displays may be minimal, the museum offers educational classes and hula instruction.

There is also a wide selection of ‘ōlelo books and music (traditional and modern) and two language games popular with the local community (Field journal, 2013). There were similar examples of regional and local museums in many of the communities I visited in
Hawai‘i and Aotearoa. Figure 11 depicts the two language games. The products and services offered at the museum, directly and indirectly support language use in the broader community.

Figure 11. Kaua‘i Museum, Lihue, Hawai‘i. Source: Author.

A final key insight regarding the stewardship of language relates to that of economic benefits. One of the things I learned while doing my fieldwork was that the economics of tourism and language are not always what they seem. The findings in Haida Gwaii would suggest that there is little connection between language and economic benefit: that the benefit is indirect at best. The logic states: people do not buy language; therefore, there is no economic benefit. Yet, people do buy language and there are many examples of this in relation to tourism products and services in Hawaii and Aotearoa. For example, traditional and modern forms of music, language guide books, language games, affirmation statements, calendars, pictures, spices, cook books, hula practice, prayer books, posters, clothing, food, knowledge, education, and medicine amongst others. These are but a few of the tangible examples I came
across. There are many more examples related to intangible economic benefits not as easily recognized in terms of their monetary value. For example, language use at cultural festivals and events, youth outreach programs, school immersion groups, cultural performance and competitions, museums and cultural centres, signage, promotional materials, and immersion experiences amongst others.

In addition to the direct sale of items such as those noted above, one of the best examples of tourism indirectly funding language initiatives was in Hilo, Hawai‘i. Aloha Grown is a locally owned and operated business that donates 2% of its revenues to support local immersion school programs and other community initiatives. Similarly, KTA Super Stores on the Big Island run the Kōkua I Nā Kula program, which allows patrons to donate their grocery points to the school of their choice at the check out (Interview Silva, September 22, 2012). There are a number of examples of tourism being used to support language and cultural learning programs and initiatives. In O‘ahu, the Mākaha Valley Cultural Learning Centre uses revenues from the Mākaha Valley Riding Stables to fund their youth outreach programs; catering to guests from nearby hotels and resorts. This non-profit charity organization runs programs for children and youth at no charge, providing cultural education opportunities to approximately 6,000 students from across O‘ahu annually. Instruction and engagement in the ‘ōlelo is a growing part of the learning experiences offered and they rely on kupuna to help with instruction in hula, paniolo (Hawaiian style horsemanship), weaving, planting taro et cetera.

In Aotearoa, the Ngāi Tahu Mahaanui Kurataioa Limited (advisory company for the six rūnanga (iwi) of the Ngāi Tahu tribe) uses general revenues to support te reo initiatives. As part of the holdings, Ngāi Tahu Tourism owns and operates a number of well-known tourism enterprises, including Dart River Tours, Kaikoura Whale Watch, and Hollyford Tracks amongst others, which incorporate cultural elements and interpretation (Ngāi Tahu Holdings, n.d.). As te reo Kai Tahu (southern dialect) is critically endangered, strategic
planning to develop speakers is funded as part of initiatives working to support culture, language, identity, and heritage (Interview Pitoitoi, March 14, 2013). Initiatives targeted at language development include four staff dedicated to implementation of the Kotahi Mano Kāika (Language Strategy). This strategy has supported the development of online resources, coffee shop immersion groups, youth cultural outreach programs, annual kapa haka festivals and events, and te reo (language) scholarships (Interview O’Regan, March 15, 2013; Interview Pitoitoi, March 14, 2013). With the investment portfolio of Mahaanui Kurataioa Limited, funding has grown from approximately $400,000 (NZD) (various sources) ten years ago to just under one million (NZD) today (Interview Pitoitoi, March 14, 2013). Given the extent of investment, it is significant that in 2011 the Ngāi Tahu experienced the death of their last native speaker (Interview O’Regan, March 15, 2013). Despite this, the commitment of the Ngāi Tahu to support language is growing, rather than diminishing. It is notable that many of these initiatives generate further revenues within the tourism industry.

Shared Experiences: Language and Tourism Resources

One of the shared experiences between all three countries is that tour guides help to maintain the value of place. These individuals or cultural ambassadors represent the local history and peoples, “home grown tourism operations are really valuable as they preserve the history and the culture of that place–they stay connected to that place” (Interview Kimura, September 11, 2012). A related experience is the future planned development of cultural centres, seen as a culturally appropriate opportunity to share the history and culture of a region and a means of preserving the knowledge and traditions, of the local people. The purpose is the education of the Kānaka Maoli (native born) of their culture and language, while supporting the local community economically (Interview Marzo, September 12, 2012). The increased use of the language within these tourism settings, seen as a benefit to local

155 “Ngāi” is a prefix for some tribes. In the southern te reo dialect this word is “Kai.” So Ngāi Tahu and Kai Tahu refers to the same tribal group. (See “Ngāi Tahu: www.maoridictionary.co.nz.)
people who feel they are a part of the broader community, rather than outsiders. Similarly, two communities in Aotearoa shared their plans to develop cultural centres: one in a more remote area of the North Island where it is seen as an opportunity to protect the culture and the local knowledge…tourism creating support for such endeavours (Interview Carmen, December 25, 2012). The rationale for development at the second location was to create a place to, “reconnect our people with their culture and at the same time breathe that language or that spirit of the language within it” (Interview Hakiwai, January 11, 2013).

A number of people who spoke with me felt that the language in Aotearoa and Hawaiʻi was highly visible; mainly due to the extensive use of place names in Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa, which is a central feature of the landscape. In Hawaiʻi, place names are a visceral connection with the place, history, and peoples. A number of participants indicate that signs held great significance to them personally, but while the signage is a loved part of the scenery, others point out that many 1000s of the original place names have been lost, for example, the meaning of Kauaʻi or even Hawaiʻi is no longer known with any certainty. The following images (Figure 12) provide examples of signage in Aotearoa and Hawaiʻi; the example from Hawaiʻi, similar in style to those used in Haida Gwaii in the use of an iconic figure to represent a link between the place and the people; the following reflect uses related to tourism interpretation.
Other shared experiences reflect an awareness that a number of factors within tourism initiatives serve to support language use and language development at the community level. While this can be as simple as incorporating place-name on signage or incorporating the language into restaurant menus, it also reflects intrinsic and intangible uses of the language, for example, through ancient and modern forms of hula and music. In Aotearoa, the haka or pōwhiri (welcome dance) is central to many performances related to tourism, however, this is often a disputed use of the haka. One individual shared that youth are increasingly interested in traditional and modern forms of Hawaiian music and dance and are seen as gateway activities associated with tourism that can contribute to individuals taking the first steps to learning the language.

Key Insights: Language and Tourism Resources

Currently, there is a wide range of language resources available within community-based and tourism related contexts in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa. However, the disparate use of
the language in these settings belies the extent to which the language is incorporated into tourism products and services. In order to draw these uses into a coherent whole, participants identified (a) the need to develop language resource materials for the tourism industry. Further, in order to increase the need for additional language resources, it was necessary to (b) build awareness that it is increasingly detrimental to not speak the language in some tourism contexts, and (c) recognize the inherent value of cultural performance as a driver of language revitalization.

The following section considers the types of tourism language resources available in Aotearoa and Hawai‘i. Table 13 groups these resources into broad categories and highlights those shared experiences and insights in relation to specific and outstanding examples of language use within community-based and other tourism contexts. The table incorporates comments from participants, source brochures and promotional materials, websites, and photographs taken onsite by the author. The purpose of listing these resources is to demonstrate that the range of language use within tourism products and services is much more expansive than one might readily observe in any one setting. Many of these resources are grass roots initiatives similar to that found in Haida Gwaii; however, each of Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa have put their own unique spin on the integration of language within these settings. Many of these practices incorporate front of house and back of house approaches. For example, Te Papa fosters an on going relationship with iwi and whānau to support exhibits, which serve to increase visibility and accessibility within the broader language community. These examples highlight key issues, but also provide a basis for developing and integrating these practices elsewhere enhancing and expanding culturally appropriate opportunities to use the language. People shared amazing ideas yet raised equally as many issues and ways in which improvements might be made.
**Valued Practices and Tourism Language Resources: Aotearoa and Hawai‘i**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Initiatives</th>
<th>Focus of Tourism Initiative - A</th>
<th>Valued Practices - B</th>
<th>Tourism Language Resources - C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Museums / Cultural Centers</td>
<td>Women’s Tīkanga Reo at Te Papa Tongarewa Wellington</td>
<td>promoted by local community</td>
<td>self-reflection on practice (group)</td>
<td>language tourism (visitors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Museum/Heritage Centers</td>
<td>promote the local community</td>
<td>self-discovery (group)</td>
<td>language tourism (visitors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary Education Centers</td>
<td>promote the local community</td>
<td>self-reflection (group)</td>
<td>language tourism (visitors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ground Text</td>
<td>Media Text</td>
<td>media text and local</td>
<td>self-reflection (group)</td>
<td>language tourism (visitors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism Text</td>
<td>self-reflection (group)</td>
<td>language tourism (visitors)</td>
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Source: Author Journal, Photographic Record, Excerpts from interviews
One of the key highlights is that within these and many other tourism initiatives, the ʻōlelo and te reo are used extensively within certain settings. While not always the case, language is clearly being used within a complex network of relationships, which supports the culturally relevant use of language. A review of Table 13 reveals that the language resources within these initiatives reflect multi-dimensional relationships at work within and across a community of speakers focusing on:

- supporting relationships in and outside the community
- draw on community knowledge, expertise; permission / support of community
- education and training; dance and music, art forms
- visitors are the resource, reason to use language; outreach programs
- language networks extend outside the community, e.g., competitions, practices

As a visual guide to understanding these relationships, key elements are underlined across the first tourism context grouping, “Museums and Cultural Centres.” The focus of these tourism initiatives (Column A) is to work within multiple cultural contexts, provide opportunities to share cultural knowledge, draw on community knowledge to develop exhibits, and encourage the exploration of language. The valued practices (Column B) demonstrate the use of full translation, interactive and multi-media language exhibits, importance of traditional and modern creative arts, the sharing of cultural myths and histories, community education and outreach, and working with cultural groups to support initiatives. The tourism resources (Column C) shows that language draws on multiple contexts, for example, politics, historic events, cultural values and beliefs, traditions and practices, administrative policies, staff engagement, cultural experts, speakers and non-
speakers, and the normalization of language increasingly becomes its own resource.\footnote{Each statement is attributed to participants. While placement is subjective, considered within the context of the entire table, the argument that language use within tourism contexts rests within multiple relationships is supported. Further research could map out these relationships, but falls outside the scope of this research at this time.} These seeming diverse practices and resources demonstrate complex and multiple relationships; drawing on people, places, histories, associations, activities, expressions, and social interactions.

As a result of the emerging awareness of the purpose and value of increasing language use within community-based tourism and tourism related settings is a corresponding need to develop resource materials for the broader tourism industry. In keeping with the strategic planning initiatives noted in the literature review not only do language advocates struggle to understand how communities might take advantage of tourism, so too does the industry (Interview K. Wilson, 2013). Participants noted that little things cause a lot of confusion for visitors and frustration for speakers, for example, the use of the word “mahalo” on trash cans. The word means “thank you,” but can be understood by visitors as “trash,” thus leading to misunderstandings. When and how to include words appropriately is a difficult and ongoing challenge (Interview Diamond, 2012; Interview Taum, October 22, 2012). Other community-based initiatives expressed concern at how to incorporate more of the ‘ōlelo without feeling they are selling out the language for economic gain (Interview Sproat-Beck, October 3, 2012). The point made is that great care must be taken in developing language use within tourism contexts—balancing the need for simplicity against the need to convey the intrinsic values and concepts. It is difficult to accurately reflect values appropriately in a single word (Interview Wong-Kalu, October 27, 2013).

While in Kaua‘i, I volunteered at the Waipā Foundation, a Native Hawaiian learning and community centre. Their mission is to restore the ahupua‘a (estate) to a
healthy and sustainable land base for the community, one of very few intact tracts of land to remain undeveloped (www.waipafoundation.org). The estate is managed by a community-based, non-profit initiative that began in the 1980s. Similar to the Makaha Cultural Learning Centre on Oʻahu, the Waipā Foundation provides cultural learning opportunities to school groups from across the islands and even out of state. A growing number of these groups are from immersion schools and currently there is only one fluent speaker of the ‘ōlelo on staff. The manager considers herself a semi-speaker, but is very knowledgeable of the language.

Approximately 6000 students and adults arrive in Hanalei every year to help learn how to care for the ‘āina (land), the culture, traditions, and practices of this place; about 300 students are from the language immersion schools and some of these come on a regular monthly basis. It is within this growing area of educational tourism that Sproat-Beck (Interview, October 3, 2012) states it is becoming a disadvantage to not be able to speak the ‘ōlelo fluently: that being able to speak the language would be more empowering for the staff and students. The use of language on the part of those working there is limited, however, the Waipā Foundation has been working to develop other tourism initiatives that have a cultural learning component. For example, groups wanting to prepare their own imu (ground oven) or plan a lūʻau (feast), as this requires the participation of visitors and the community and provide opportunities for cross culture learning, which is seen as an appropriate use of language.

Tourism in Rotorua has long supported economic development in the region, but has also supported a number of long-standing community-based Māori tourism initiatives. A highlight of Māori tourism in Rotorua has been the development of cultural performances, which feature demonstrations of key cultural traditions. Today, these initiatives support a vibrant part of the regional and national tourism industry.
some (names withheld) have levelled charges of inauthenticity at these initiatives, others have suggested that tourism has been a determining factor in the retention and maintenance of the language, cultural traditions, and practices. John Barrett, an operator and leading expert in Māori tourism states,

I think what it really does for Te Arawa people around Rotorua over the 100 plus years of contact with international visitors-they have constantly focused on making sure that they have retained their Te Arawa taonga [treasure]. So they’ve retained their karakia [prayer, chants] and waiata [song] and developed new ones um...the language is strong in Rotorua amongst those sub-tribes of Rotorua…the pluses outweigh the minuses in terms of what its done and what the language has done for Rotorua. (Interview, January 1, 2013)

Speaking as the General Manager of Destination Rotorua Oscar Nathan states that the region has made a great effort to incorporate Māori aspirations and needs within the regional industry. In addition to other resources, a respected local cultural expert (rūnanga) assists with the development of initiatives involving the culture and language, for example, signage and interpretation (Interview, December 31, 2012). In terms of cultural performance offerings, Nathan suggests that they can be very powerful and foster the support of the local iwi and community when done well. In terms of “inauthenticity” he states,

[Mitai Māori Village] has been very good for Rotorua’s tourism…almost in one fell swoop [they] very much challenged and removed a lot of that sort of “plastic perception” around cultural performance. Now they perform night in and night out as an economic opportunity for them, but they also make up um the cultural group that is the New Zealand’s undisputed number one cultural group. (Interview, December 31, 2012)

157 The local cultural expert works with the council to advise on issues.
This statement relates directly to a critical aspect of Māori cultural tourism and the retention and maintenance of traditions and language through this and related settings. Namely, that behind the scenes cultural performance incorporates a large network of national and international competitions supported by local and regional community groups. Many of the performers at the Mitai Māori Village participate in these competitions and the retention and maintenance of cultural traditions and language strengthened as a result. The Mitai Māori Village, “is not just about their performance on stage it’s right through the revitalization of the culture...the language” (Interview Nathan, December 31, 2012). One of the most popular venues is Te Matatini Kapa Haka, a competition / festival held every two years. In another region of Aotearoa, Hakiwai shares, “our children love it…a fantastic way to sort of…lets grab that passion, lets develop it” (Interview Hakiwai, January 11, 2013). Similar competitions and events are very popular in Hawai‘i for hula, supporting and encouraging the attainment of the cultural knowledge required of the discipline. Several individuals shared that the hula and music of Hawai‘i encourages the use and exploration of the language through these and other art forms.

Cultural performance has driven the retention and revitalization of Māori culture and language in Rotorua for many years (Interview Barrett, January 1, 2013; Interview Nathan, December 31, 2012). As the approach supports a large network of community and language relationships, the use of traditions and language within these settings are only the front of house dimension to what goes in the back of house. Those involved suggest that even as a starting point, cultural performance has the potential to open other avenues to learning and provides opportunities to access the language. These and other practices seed out into the broader community and are critically valuable to expanding the use of language outside of community-based tourism and tourism related settings. It is
within the broadest possible network of language resources that te reo and the ‘ōlelo are being stewarded.

**Shared Experiences: Vision and Challenges**

Broadly the vision of speaking Māori te reo or Hawaiian ‘ōlelo within community-based tourism contexts is a reflection of the deepest values of the community–expressing their own choices around how to incorporate language and other aspects of their culture within tourism settings. Within cultural contexts, the use of the language affirms and respects the authority of the elders and those of knowledge and validates the efforts of those working to revitalize the language. The shared challenge of these diverse communities is that the value of language is not understood overly even within the community and that often the focus of tourism is so heavily slanted in favour of visitors needs, that the needs of the community are not considered (Interview Taum, October 22, 2012). A final similarity noted by participants in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa is the argument from within the industry that addressing language needs within tourism initiatives is too expensive, too time consuming, and problematic as new words must be created. The remainder of this discussion focuses on the vision and challenges within Hawai‘i and Aotearoa to shift present understandings of language use within community-based tourism initiatives to one wherein the community itself is the reason and impetus behind change.

**Key Insights: Vision and Challenges**

Regardless of how communities might choose to incorporate language within tourism settings and contexts, the vision and challenges of doing so are central to (a) normalizing the use of the language within and outside the community and (b) community led strategies and policies are critical to effective development. The vision of
those I spoke with in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa centred on the need to normalize language use within the lived experience including economic initiatives involving tourism. The impact of colonization and the lack of awareness within and outside the community making it difficult for some to comprehend the gravity of what is at stake. Kimura, states that her uncle was very much involved in developing language resources at the Imiloaha Astronomy Center, because he knew it would reach a broader audience. “He saw it as another step to normalizing or restoring our identity…he knew it would come to have an impact in the community and bring the Hawaiian identity to a different level” (Interview Kimura, August 11, 2012). A tour guide at a successful business near Hilo states,

> You could educate so many people…they don’t even realize how important that language was…so they speak it and it can make a change for people. You make both sides feel comfortable in a sense. You’d feel comfortable bringing out the language and speaking it, if other people are educated about what’s going on.

The importance of using the language within existing and developing settings is that it provides an opportunity to expand and normalize the language within contexts other than the immediate community of speakers. The concern is that when the focus of language use remains only within the community of speakers, it loses relevance within present day contexts and consequently spoken less frequently by younger generations. K. Wilson (Interview October 17, 2012) notes many Native Hawaiians do not understand the value of the language, “they don’t think of it as…part of my child’s identity and that’s part of the problem.” Her point is that people often think it more beneficial for their children to learn Mandarin for the opportunities provided.

Ultimately, the survival of the language is dependent upon the ability to normalize language within present day contexts, tourism being one (Interview Pitoitoi, March 14, 2013). The power of the tourism industry lies in its reach. Hanna O’Regan (Interview,
March 15, 2012) sees tourism as the perfect storm, “tourism culture and language um absolutely a brilliant mix to come up with--if done right--as a strategy for language retention, language growth, sense of cultural retention, [and] cultural growth in terms of identity.” Relating this to the need to develop awareness of indigenous languages outside the immediate community, tourism provides a venue in which to shift the focus away from the needs of the visitor to the needs of the community. For example, as long as the tourism industry can only think in terms of what the visitor wants and needs, they will tailor products and services to that purpose. However, this approach is self-defeating, as visitors’ are often not provided with an opportunity to engage and the issue remains self-propagating. K. Wilson (Interview, October 17, 2012) states that it is “absolutely critical for the tourism industry to understand their fixation with the visitor experience” as self-defeating, whereas it could be a win, win. Normalizing language becomes critical to creating awareness and demand for language within the tourism industry, which encourages and establishes greater relevance of language within the industry.

There are a number of challenges inherent to developing language-based tourism initiatives and each links back to the role of the community in holding such developments within culturally relevant and culturally appropriate contexts. One of the recurring themes was that tourism development has historically resulted in the emptying of the language. The curator of the ‘Iolani Palace explains,

One of the dangers of this is the emptying of the language. The language gets hollowed out...one of the big jokes is that tourists come here and they think that “kokua” means garbage because it’s on trash cans = please kokua = please help. Or…you get the whole ‘A-looooo-ha!’ thing that they do in tourism so there’s this emptying of language and filling it up with something foreign. (Interview Diamond, October 22, 2012)
A related problem is that the use of the language within the tourism industry can be conciliatory, a gesture of intent rather than a real concern that anyone intends to act upon to affect change. There may be policies in place and legislation acknowledging the official status of the ‘ōlelo, but when there is unequal representation on the ground, the policies and standards have no teeth (Interview Diamond, October 22, 2012). Adding to this, Taum (Interview, October 22, 2012) points out that it becomes easy to rely on these policies, standards, and intentions in such a way that allows indigenous peoples to hold others accountable for their own cultural principles rather than asking the hard questions about their own preferred condition. Central to this is the challenge of ensuring the impetus for development comes from and remains within the community. The concern from the experience of the Native Hawaiian community is that, “it has to come from the community, it cannot come from the tourist industry culture…no matter how strong it cannot” (Interview Silva, September 22, 2012). Similarly, Sproat-Beck (Interview, October 3, 2012) states that it is critical to develop a speaking population independent of the tourist industry, this can happen simultaneously, but the focus must remain on the development of speakers.

In Rotorua, participants raised the issue of developing community-based policies and strategies around the use of language within tourism initiatives. The concern is that when appropriate policies and strategies are not in place, initiatives can become driven by economic outcomes rather than cultural outcomes, the thing with some of the outcomes is that they can be so beneficial…that you end up becoming outcome driven and…the pathway to those outcomes can become compromised and if they become compromised it means that those customs and traditions and all of those other things that you are using while on that journey are also compromised. (Interview Mihaka, December 18, 2012)
The development of community-based language strategies and policies is critical to building effective and progressive initiatives. One of the key challenges is that issues internal and external to the community are in a constant state of flux, yet while this makes the task more difficult, it also makes it that much more important. While some of the major museums I visited had language policies in place (e.g. Te Papa Tongararewa, Wellington, New Zealand), this was the exception rather than the norm. I came across no communities that had established specific policies in place to guide the development of language use within tourism initiatives. In order to build meaningful experiences that generate further demand for language, one of the challenges is to help communities understand the need to expand their thinking around tourism, “you create some policy around…local government might set the policy around signage and interpretation and so forth and tourism would then…create some of the demand” (Interview Nathan, December 31, 2012).

Nathan notes that while communities are sometimes hesitant to change, however, when visitor demand results in the education and engagement of their own people, the argument for development can be made more easily (Interview, December 31, 2012). Flowing from the establishment of culturally appropriate policy lays the opportunity to further develop programs and initiatives that foster greater language use. Nathan (Interview, December 31, 2012) explains that once you have found some success you can go back to the local council and suggest further opportunities,

You might go to the local education institution or whatever and say, ‘Hey we want to bring more of our people through–can you put a program in place that takes our local kids from this school,” …and we’re training them in indigenous tourism and use us as an example so you start to get that flow through.
From a cultural perspective, it is possible to then thank those who supported the initiative and bring it full circle back to the kaumātua (male elder) or kuia (female elder) or elder group by thanking them and supporting other initiatives they support (Interview, Nathan, December 31, 2012). At the community level, the ideal is seen as policies and strategies that serve to support networks in and outside the immediate community, i.e., existing and developing language relationships. Nathan posits that it is planning with purpose, “where you are, trying to position yourself within a larger picture…get the local town hall to start adopting bi-cultural signage…and then you’re basically adding context versus just being a ship out at sea.” The use of community planning around these issues also ensures balance is maintained between protecting language and cultural heritages and maintaining standards of use within and outside the community. Taum (Interview, October 22, 2012) suggests that the means of balancing these things, is to use a precautionary approach, one with a caveat that allows you to withdraw, but you state this and then act. To fail to act gains one nothing: strategies and policies are the caveat.

**Summary**

While the progression and scale of tourism development in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa has been very different to that of Haida Gwaii, the core tourism issues in each community are similar, that is, how to maintain cultural values and a connection to place or belonging in the face of an economically and socially dominant industry. Key insights relate to the use of tourism to support language development, and broadly reflect the level of difficulty faced in overcoming the continuing oppression of culture and language. However, linked to this is a growing awareness of the need to take advantage of opportunities to incorporate newer and expanding forms of language use within these settings. Although there are few planned strategies in place to inform the progressive incorporation of
language within community-based and tourism related settings, the language continues to exert a presence within these diverse and unique communities.

Cultural performance and interpretation, in their many expressions, are a driving force for language maintenance, not only through production, but also for the language relationships and networks supported within the extended speaking and non-speaking community. The fact that not speaking the language is becoming detrimental to the development of educational tourism is indicative of a culturally appropriate opportunity to develop speakers. Similarly, there are innovative examples of stewardship strategies wrapped within cultural contexts: notable examples being the Mākaha Valley Cultural Learning Centre (O‘ahu), Aloha Grown (Hilo), Tiaamai Tours Heritage Journeys (Bay of Islands), and Mitai Māori Village (Rotorua) amongst others. The following chapter seeks to frame the findings to emerge from the three study sites within the current literature.
9. Language and Tourism: Balancing the Literature

This chapter begins with an overview of the relevant literature and the consideration of indigenous perspectives on language and tourism issues. The following section begins with a synopsis (Table 14) of the findings presented in the three previous chapters. These findings form the basis on which I argue that community-based initiatives provide a culturally relevant setting to support the development and revitalization of indigenous languages. Further, that these settings provide an opportunity to expand the use of indigenous languages appropriately within these and other related tourism settings. Within the broader context of the relevance of the language and historic impacts on the language, the discussion outlines (a) the integration of language into tourism products and services, (b) clarifies the role of the community in stewarding language within tourism initiatives, and (c) establishes a means of repositioning language appropriately within tourism contexts. The analysis of the findings draws on the shared experiences and key insights from Hawai‘i, Aotearoa, and the academic literature to address issues of language identity and language stewardship, as these are foundational to understanding why tourism has not yet been used effectively for this purpose.

9.1 Literature: Indigenous Perspectives, Language, and Tourism

Situating this work in the current literature presented some unique challenges as language is used foremost as a means of communication, that is, language itself remains secondary to a particular topic. This fundamentally shifts the perspective from which a topic is understood and presented. In attempting to understand indigenous perspectives of language applied within tourism settings, it became difficult to draw correlations within the broader tourism discourse. Indigenous peoples orient language very differently, not solely as a construct of communication or of intention; rather language is oriented
fundamentally within a construction of relationships. Battiste (2002), Gardner (2004), and Stewart-Harawira (2005) amongst others, argue that language is a relationship within an inter-connected whole. What I understand this to mean is that rather than language being separated objects of meaning or non-meaning as argued by poststructuralists (Belsey, 2006), words act upon and within relationships inclusive of their relationship with the land. Supporting this, Parker (2008) posits that the core relationship is with that of the land and Wilson (2008) that language is the pedagogy of place within which an intrinsic connection exists.

The role of language within the early tourism discourse was not well articulated; the dearth of related studies noted by Cohen and Cooper (1986). In the preface to the book, *Tourism–Passport to Development*, de Kadt (1979a) posits that much of the discourse at that time focused on, “the merits of economic development,” suggesting that further analysis of socio-cultural impacts of tourism was needed (p. xi). Although language was not addressed per se, the influence of mass media on local populations and the revival and transformation of local arts and crafts rooted in, “historical tradition and in present-day life” ascribed tangible and intangible meanings of language (de Kadt, 1979a, p. 15). In *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers*, (MacCannell, 1992) addressed issues of language in terms of its power to frame dualistic and binary constructs of difference and the attempt of “white culture” to reduce the value of “language into language” whereas non-white culture emphasises the meaning and value of language (p. 169).

Broadly, the interpretation of culture and heritage is one of the few places in which the express use of language within tourism products and services is articulated. Interpretation is a hallmark of understanding tourism experiences, defined by McArthur and Hall (1996) as, “communicating ideas and feelings…helps people enrich their
understanding and appreciation of the world and their role in it” (p. 90). Moscardo and Woods (1998) define it as, “the process of communicating or explaining to people the significance of the place they have come to see” (p. 307). As a tool of interpretation, various products and services avail themselves to the incorporation of language including the use of signage, tour guides, actors, audio guides, and the sale of books and printed guides for profit (Timothy, 2011; McArthur & Hall, 1996; Smith & Richards, 2013; Zeppel & Muloin, 2008). However, the focus placed on language as a means of communication in these contexts within the academic literature does not readily address or incorporate the perspectives or needs of indigenous peoples. The treatment of language remains largely of fixed orientation, i.e., written and understood from the perspective of the visitor. Supporting this stance, Ablett and Dyer (2007), argue that much interpretation remains cognitive in approach and does not reflect the holistic interpretation of natural, historic, and cultural heritage as articulated by Freeman Tilden; positing that the power of interpreting holistic meanings rests within language as story, as poetry; mediated through multiple cultural traditions (p. 210).  

The growth of indigenous tourism and the involvement of indigenous peoples in the industry brought new concerns to the forefront, wherein issues of sustainability, cultural integrity, and culture “as an active participant, rather than a passive one in the process of cultural representation” were increasingly heard (Walsh, 1996, p. 207). Boyd and Ward (1996) examined the role of aboriginals in managing their own heritage in Australia, and Wells (1996) articulated growing concern over the marketing of indigenous heritage for profit and issues of cultural and ecological sustainability. Arguably, these issues are linked to language, as definitions of indigenous heritage

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158 Freeman Tilden was the first to write of interpretation of natural heritage sites suggesting principles by which the meaning and relationships of place can be experientially shared with visitors (Hall & McArthur, 1996).
invariably include tangible and intangible expressions of language, i.e., oral histories, indigenous literature, story telling, performance arts, and various creative art forms (e.g. carving and weaving) amongst others (Dorfman, 2012; Hall & McArthur, 1996; Smith & Richard, 2013; Timothy, 2011; UNESCO, 2012). Aspects of interpreting place are a key component of many indigenous tourism initiatives. Gegeo (2001) argues that indigenous perspectives of place reflect physical location, genealogy, right of access, and social status. Carr (2004, 2007) argues that the interpretation of cultural spaces and landscapes increasingly reflects Māori perspectives and cultural values—incorporating stories and legends related to sites of cultural significance (see also Pfister, 2000; Clark, 2009; Thompson-Carr, 2013; Zeppel & Muloin, 2008).

These perspectives on the interpretation of place within tourism scholarship assume relationships intrinsic to the land and to kinship groups as expressed through language; however, these place-based language relationships are not well understood within the broader academic literature. The discussion of the findings herein attempts to build on indigenous perspectives and understandings of place and the expression of those relationships through language such that language is re-oriented as central to the function of indigenous tourism as opposed to being the means to convey ideas about tourism. If as Mita (2007) argues, language is necessary for revitalizing and sustaining culture, and Sheppard (2009), that it is language that maintains cultural integrity, it is reasonable to argue that language can only infuse those aspects of place-based and cultural tourism advocated by Amoamo (2008), Carr (2004, 2007, 2013), and McIntosh et al, (2002) with deeper purpose and meaning. In this way the community through indigenous tourism, and tourism more broadly, can benefit from increasing the use of language within tourism initiatives, understood fundamentally as multi-dimensional language relationships.
9.2 Synopsis of Key Findings: Table 14

Table 14 provides a visual representation of the key findings. Based on the five major themes identified in Haida Gwaii, the table outlines the key findings of this research regarding (a) the relevance of the language, (b) historic impact on language use, (c) language and tourism resources, (d) stewardship of the language, and (e) the vision and challenges of supporting language use. The outer edges of the table represent the cultural and historical context in which this study rests (chapter 6). The inner, highlighted area of the table, synthesizes the key findings into manageable statements around tourism, stewardship, and the vision of the Haida community (chapter 7). The response statements to the right represent those key insights and experiences from Hawai‘i and Aotearoa that contribute directly to the discussion occurring in Haida Gwaii (chapter 8). These response statements are supported by the themed assessment of participant interviews as demonstrated in Table 10 (chapter 5). The following discussions draw on these key statements to situate the findings within the broader context of the literature.
### Table 14

**Synopsis of Key Findings from Haida Gwaii, Hawai‘i and Aotearoa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase I: To identify the ways in which language is being integrated into products and services and clarify the role of the community in supporting language use within tourism initiatives.</th>
<th>Phase II: To identify shared experiences and insights into language use and tourism issues and those valued practices that support culturally appropriate language use from Haida Gwaii and Aotearoa.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sec. 9.4 (Why) Integrating language into tourism products and services</td>
<td>TOURISM  RELEVANCE OF THE LANGUAGE USE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.1 The presence of the language is felt within the daily life of the people and integrated in everyday ways within tourism products and services. The language is both tangible and intangible and has no boundaries in its use or expression.</td>
<td>a) Need for language resources materials for tourism industry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.2 There is continuity in the indigeneity of the language within tourism products and services that crosses time and cultural contexts, as the historic reference of the language remains similar to that of its use within present-day cultural contexts.</td>
<td>b) There is a growing need for speakers within educational tourism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.3 The potential for the revitalisation of language through community-based tourism initiatives, lies in understanding the multi-dimensional nature of language in a network of relationships within the community.</td>
<td>c) Cultural performance drives culture and language revitalisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Maintaining the cultural context of language within tourism products and services serve to maintain relationships in the community, thereby, diminishing the sense of inauthenticity usually present in the representation of language within tourism contexts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. 9.5 (How) Clarifying the Role of the Community</td>
<td>TOURISM  RELEVANCE OF THE LANGUAGE USE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5.1 The relationship of the community to the language is one of appreciation and respect for the language and its speakers in the tourism industry.</td>
<td>a) Need to use language resources materials for tourism industry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5.2 The tourism industry provides a venue to celebrate the language, its speakers, and the culture they represent.</td>
<td>b) Supports families who choose to speak the language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Increasing the visibility and accessibility of the language within community-based tourism contexts empowers the language, i.e., increase the recognisability (resonance) of the language.</td>
<td>c) Language creates direct and indirect economic opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec. 9.6 (What) Reorienting language appropriately within tourism contexts</td>
<td>TOURISM  VISION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6.1 Why: Supporting language use within cultural contexts serves the purpose of the language, which is to maintain the language, i.e., sustainability, or connection with place.</td>
<td>a) Normalize use of language within and outside the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6.2 How: Respect maintains the cultural context (goal) of sharing the language appropriately, balance is maintained through the genuine sharing and the goal of transmission of knowledge within the community.</td>
<td>b) Community-led strategies and policies are critical to development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6.3 What: Community-based tourism initiatives provide culturally appropriate opportunities to develop culturally relevant visibility and accessibility to the language.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Study Participants and Author. Note: The tabular format of this information belies the interconnectedness of the concepts presented.
9.3 Relevance of the Language and Historic Impacts

The findings of this study are grounded in the relationality of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil to the land and oceans and by extension to the life ways and ancestors of the Haida. The relationality of the language creates and informs within itself a unique way of expressing their way of being in and knowing the world. Although created within their own unique, place-based contexts the relationships and identities expressed through language in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa are similar to that of the Haida. Scholars acknowledge the centrality of indigenous language to cultural identity and fundamental to expressing a worldview that reflects the interconnectedness of all creation (Gardner, 2004; Royal, 2002; Weber-Pillwax, 2001b; McIvor, 2009).

One of the shared insights raised by participants in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa was the great difficulty in maintaining their languages in the face of dominant knowledge systems influenced by systemic governance and institutional structures. In similar circumstance, Kuzmin (2008) notes the experience of ethnic minorities in Russia who come to regard their own languages as having less value (p. 37). The seeming veracity of scientific knowledge can make it difficult to maintain a balance in how information is valued and the presentation of cultural knowledge within tourism contexts. These imbalances reflect the continuing progression of colonization and assimilation and remains a force that informs and shapes the struggles of indigenous peoples as argued by Hingangaroa Smith (2000), Tuhiwai Smith (2012), and Yazzie (2000) amongst others.

Another consideration was an underlying awareness in Hawai‘i that the societal conditions known today will, of necessity, change and within the context of an unknowable future the language is the key to survival as it contains the knowledge of the ancestors. Linked closely to one of the universal truths of the Haida; that of the need to adapt and change for the purpose of survival (Brown & Brown, 2009), it underpins and
informs a visceral need to maintain as much of the language as possible and although I was unable to find corroborating literature, this was the perspective held. Related to this was the understanding on the part of some participants, that the language was the strongest tool available for cultural revitalization, intimating that maintaining traditions and practices are well and good, but that in the absence of language those traditions and practices will of necessity diminish over time.

While the impact of historic events on the language in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa are similar to that of Haida Gwaii, their experiences regarding tourism development could not be more different. In Hawai‘i, a location long impacted by the advent of mass tourism (Taum, 2010; Trask, 1999), there is a small but growing awareness of the value of using language within community-based tourism and tourism related venues (Agrusa et al., 2010). As posited in Hawai‘i, if there is no setting in which to speak the language, the language will not be spoken and in Aotearoa, that even if that setting is within tourism the value of te reo is not diminished. In light of the Haida’s efforts, the message is that the use of the language in any context is of value and something to be pursued. While some may be under the impression that tourism has little to offer in terms of supporting language development, there are indications to suggest this is changing.

A critical issue raised by participants in Aotearoa, is the level of difficulty in articulating the importance of the Māori language from within New Zealand, despite the fact that the language has official status in the legislation (Interview O’Regan, March 15, 2013; Te Reo Mauriora, 2011). Krauss (1998) posits that this is due in part to a level of apathy and an unwillingness to recognize the ramifications of language loss and Cloete (2011) who states that the preferred value attributed to English continues unquestioned. The experience of O’Regan (Interview, March 15, 2013) and the point of Krauss (1998) is that communities will not see the imminent loss of their languages until it is too late.
By extension, this issue affects the role of the community in supporting language use within tourism settings, as the value of doing so may not be well understood. This has broad implications within the tourism industry as the level of apathy toward languages in general and the unquestioned privileging of English is not contained to indigenous communities (Cloete, 2011; Crystal, 2002; Harrison, 2007).

A final issue related to the impact of historic events raised in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa, comes in the form of a cautionary warning to the peoples of Haida Gwaii. Crystal (2002) and Pohe (2012) amongst others warning that there is a potential to rely overly on the educational system to provide language training. While education remains critically important as a tool of language maintenance and revitalization (Cajete, 1994; Goodfellow, 2009a; Gardner, 2004; Grenoble, 2013) the experience in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa is that some have learned their language outside a cultural context, that is, within relatively sterile institutions resulting in negative consequences for their communities (Interview Silva, September 22, 2012). The import of this is to recognize that the doors of the education system extend only so far into the community, meaning that language learned outside its historic and cultural context retains the worldview of the dominant language (Interview Silva, September 22, 2012; Interview Taum, October 22, 2012). Further, educational systems are organized around schedules and routines, which limits student exposure to language outside the school environment and hence impedes their ability to maintain language over time (Interview Taima, December 17, 2012). These themes and issues are developed further in the following sections.

9.4 Integrating Language into Tourism Products and Services

The Xaayda kil / Xaad kil is relational within tourism products and services for the fact that it is an inseparable part of being Haida. The language, expressed in any form,
is a reflection of the Haida’s connection with the land; understood within the cultural context of relationships. Moving beyond tourism products and services as part of the larger market industry for the purpose of development, this research orients the discussion to that of language for the purpose of the community. The following discussion explores the integration of the language in tourism products and services in terms of (a) having no boundaries in its use or expression, (b) rests within historic and present day cultural contexts, and (c) is multi-dimensional across a network of relationships within the community.

9.4.1 Tangible and Intangible Language has no Boundaries in Expression

Indigenous scholars argue that language is an intrinsic set of relationships bound to place (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 1999, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Wilson, 2008). Within the broader tourism literature, the value of tangible and intangible heritage, inclusive of oral literary traditions, performing arts, and social practices is well recognized (Dorfman, 2012; Glen; 1995; Kurin, 2007; UNESCO, 2003). The language is infused within the life ways of the Haida; its use within tourism products and services relational, as the deeper relevance and meaning of the language is only understood fully by the Haida. Place names provide one of the best examples of how tangible and intangible uses of the language informs and maintains the presence of relationships within the community.

While not considered in terms of their use within tourism contexts, Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) argue that place names express indigenous knowledge and move beyond the tangible to include intangible connections within language. Davis, O'Regan, and Wilson (1990) argue that Māori place names “emphasise the spiritual value of the land...the basis of tribal identity and sentiment” (cited in Thompson-Carr, 2012; see also Zeppel & Muloin, 2008).
In Hawai‘i, the use of place-names within the tourism industry in Hawai‘i is extensive, although, it is acknowledged that many of the ancient place-names have been lost (Interview Silva, September 22, 2012). On one level the use of Hawaiian place names on street signs serves the purpose of the tourism industry in creating an atmosphere of place, however, the place-names and signage is a visceral connection to place that holds great significance to Native Hawaiians. In Haida Gwaii, the uniquely designed street signs in Skidegate and Old Massett (Table 10, Photo #8), while of great interest to visitors, expresses relationships with their community, place, and ancestors. Equally relevant is the use of intangible language within creative and performing arts, wherein the mere placement of one’s hands indicates whether one is of the Raven or Eagle Clan. Te Punga Somerville (2011) argues that language easily transcends and expands the defined borders of the community. The reason for this according to Little Bear (2000) is that indigenous languages tend to describe events rather than objects; language transcends boundaries because events establish a relationship, whereas words as objects do not (p. 78).

The application and expansion of relationships expressed by language can take many forms within the tourism industry. In Aotearoa, the use of te reo at the Auckland Airport is an outstanding example of language within a tourism related setting, one to which the Haida hope to incorporate at two regional airports. UNESCO (2003) notes that intangible cultural heritage includes, “oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage” (Article 2.2). Further, that intangible language is at once traditional, contemporary, representative and community-based, such that it is created and re-created within communities (UNESCO, 2012). The

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159 The use of language at the Auckland Airport includes bilingual signage, place-names, and recorded greetings amongst others. One of the most unique displays of te reo is to find key words woven into the carpeting.
academic literature supports the findings of this research in that language transcends boundaries by holding the speaking community within relational cultural contexts. However, this present work expands on this to understand the purpose of language applied specifically within community-based tourism and tourism related settings. I would argue that because it is the language that maintains meaning and relationships within cultural contexts, it holds that taking up new uses and expressions of language does not alter the cultural context; rather it simply extends the scope of language engagement.

9.4.2 Language Remains Relevant within Present Day Cultural Contexts

Although the language was once fully present within the life ways of the Haida, meaning everyone spoke and understood the language fluently within similar cultural contexts, this is no longer the case. The diminished presence of the Hawaiian language noted by Kanahele (1994), who linked intangible elements of language, amongst others, to the lack of cultural ambience on Waikīkī Beach. My work with the Haida informed an understanding that although the presence of the language had diminished, the language continues to be used within similar historic and cultural contexts. Those historic and cultural contexts include their artistic heritages, ceremonies and events, the gathering, preparation, and sharing of food, and within the home and community; each being relational within community-based tourism contexts.

Rewi (2005) and Nāea Chun (2011) speak to the importance of language within these traditions and practices and Hinton (2001) the natural use of language in ceremonies and events. While it may appear obvious that the way the language was used in the past is similar to how it is used today; some participants in Haida Gwaii, Hawai‘i, and Aotearoa questioned the appropriateness of using their language within tourism settings. The
importance of this finding is to demonstrate that the expansion and integration of the language into tourism products and services simply extends historic uses of the language into culturally relevant present day applications.

Kihl guulaans exemplifies the inclusivity of language within historic and present day cultural contexts in tourism, as his use of the Haida language in his carvings or through the sharing of stories and place names with visitors remains deeply entrenched within the historic and present life ways of the Haida (Interview, June 29, 2012). When he draws on the knowledge of his ancestors to carve in a particular way, seeks out the words with which to name his carvings, or when friends call to ask him what to call their own artistic creations, the language draws on relationships that extend across time and cultural contexts. Indigenous scholars, arguing that the orality of language is relational within the continuum of past and present, as knowledge comes from the ancestors, support this observation (Carter, 2010; Weber-Pillwax, 2001a).

The study by Burusphat et al. (2010) incorporates the use of language vitality as a means of measuring cultural sustainability in the face of tourism development: the vitality of the language based on resident attitudes toward their language. The use of language for this purpose suggests that language reflects measurable cultural constructs within tourism settings (Burusphat et al., 2010). This present research would suggest that those measureable cultural constructs are possible within tourism settings because language remains culturally relevant within present day tourism contexts.

9.4.3 Multidimensional Nature of Language

MacCannell (1973) uses Goffman’s (1959) socialized divisions of front stage and back stage to consider the meaning of tourist experiences. MacCannell’s (2005) views centre on the production of experiences for visitors that provide degrees of staged authenticity, which is debated as a dualistic differentiation of, “real and authentic culture”
At issue are concerns of authenticity, something highly subjective and most often thought of in terms of visitor expectations (Shackley, 2001). Timothy (2011) argues that it is often a fabricated concept used to sell experiences and Urry (1995) that tourists are able to discern between authentic and inauthentic experiences. Bruner (2005) posits that it is the producer who decides what is, or is not authentic. However, Taum (2010) argues that within the dominant industry norm of visitor entitlement, it is difficult for communities to establish boundaries.

Framing tourist experiences as front stage and back stage as posited by MacCannell, of necessity forces an equal and opposite construct within the host community: in stating one construct you by default create or define the other construct. This dual construct places false expectations upon the community as they respond to visitor expectations, rather than their own. The danger, as pointed out by Hollinshead (2009), is that the community can come to understand authenticity, in this case language, within these ascribed contexts. The study by Beard-Moose (2004) provides an example of how these constructs effect communities negatively, wherein the Cherokee community feels the need to present a “tourism face” to visitors. My interpretation of this is that questions of authenticity are meaningless save for the false expectations it can place on indigenous peoples. In Haida Gwaii, this sense of falsity (and to some extent shyness of character) is expressed in the hesitancy to create or participate in performances for which they are paid. In contrast, genuine sharing, wherein guests pay a fee to visit the museum, during which they might witness an impromptu cultural demonstration, was considered appropriate. Participants in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa expressed similar views wherein acceptable interactions with visitors were incorporated into community activities or it was made clear that the fee paid excluded sacred cultural elements, which visitors may or may not experience.
This present study suggests that language within community-based tourism initiatives collapse front of house – back of house constructs as the language cannot be anything other than authentic, that is, there is no way to separate language into categories, its use in one context automatically establishes itself on multiple levels within the community. If one perceives of the language as the defining construct, pseudo constructs become irrelevant. It is within this context that I understand the multi-dimensional nature of language relationships in the community, not in terms of a separate presentation, rather as a means of maintaining existing relationships with place and each other. The study by Burusphat et al. (2010) supports this in their consideration of language vitality as a measurable determinant of cultural resistance. It is my belief that language creates a relationship that supersedes that of externally imposed constructs of authenticity.

The Xaayda kil / Xaad kil is not one-dimensional within tourism contexts, meaning that the language is not limited or constrained to visual expressions or representations. The one-dimensional integration of language would be to consider only the front of house application of language within tourism products and services. For example, brochures, gift items, signage, greetings, phrase books, guided tours, interpretive panels, amongst others. What makes the integration of language within tourism products and services relevant to the community within present day tourism contexts are the relationships supported, shared, or accessed as a result. These multi-dimensional relationships extend beyond the immediate tourism exchange to incorporate interactions within the home and community, organizations and associations, education and training, and public facilities and spaces. While there are fewer than 40 fluent speakers remaining in Haida Gwaii, the range of speakers involved in the tourism industry ranged from language proficients, in the case of Kihl guulaans in Old Massett, to those not actively engaged in learning the language, in the case of Xamxuulang in
Skidegate. Broadly, the majority of participants in Haida Gwaii consider themselves either language learners (10) or semi-speakers / language proficients (4), which underscores the importance of maintaining and creating multi-dimensional language relationships and networks within community as it increases accessibility to those with greater speaking capability.\textsuperscript{160}

For example, some of the cultural performances in Rotorua, Aotearoa, are not simple productions wherein visitors pay a fee to be entertained. Rather, the use of language draws relationally on a complex social network of cultural events wherein music and dance supports and encourages the use of the language. Similarly, in Hawai‘i, national and international hula competitions have become tourist attractions in their own right, encouraging relational uses of the language within the broader community.\textsuperscript{161} In Aotearoa, the National Kapa Haka Festival draws tens of 1000s of spectators, including tourists (Richards & Ryan, 2004).\textsuperscript{162} These scholars note the extensive use of te reo at these events including waiata (song/chorals) wherein performances lasted upwards of 30 minutes with participants being judged on diction, pronunciation, and content (Richards & Ryan, 2004). Educator, Paul Whitinui (2010) makes similar observations, stating that after the suppression of many cultural traditions, the kapa haka (performing group) emerged as a cultural activity used within the education system to engage Māori students in their culture and language (see also, Sakamoto, 2012). As part of a much larger expression of cultural pride, these cultural events are, “a critical learning intervention for the survival and retention of Māori culture, language, and tradition” (Whitinui, 2010, p. 160).

\textsuperscript{160} The level of speaking skill is subjective, as speakers may downplay their abilities and I am not a trained linguist. Further, the number/skill of speakers involved in the tourism industry is highly variable and subject to change.

\textsuperscript{161} For example, the Eo o Emalani i Alaka‘i Festival held annually in Kaua‘i draws hundreds of visitors to what is considered one of the most powerful cultural experiences in the state (www.kokee.org/festivals/the-emalani-festival/). The festival draws large numbers of cultural performance groups incorporating tangible and intangible forms of language in the celebration of Queen Emma (Field journal, October 2012).

\textsuperscript{162} The National Performing Arts Festival (Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa) is held every two years. (www.matatini.co.nz/tematatinifestival/#te-matatini-festival).
4). The link between tourism and language and cultural performance within these contexts, made by a number of participants who shared that music and dance were gateways to learning the language. Tourism simply provided a setting or venue in which to practice and importantly extended the learning experience outside that of the classroom to include all age groups and learners whether participants, extended family, community, or spectators. A related issue is the growing need for speakers within the tourism industry in relation to educational tourism wherein language immersion experiences form a part of educational curricula (Interview Sproat-Beck, October 3, 2012). This was the case in Hawai‘i, wherein program providers struggled to offer the level of language engagement required by students.

The studies by Greathouse-Amadour (2005a) and Snow (2004) posit that tourism has provided a means to facilitate and encourage the use of language, suggesting that tourism has affected or strengthened social and cultural structures in the community. Expanding on this, I would suggest that it was the increased use of the language, rather than that of tourism that strengthened the social and cultural structures within the community. Tourism simply facilitated the re-establishment of a network of existing relationships already present within the community. In each of Haida Gwaii, Aotearoa and Hawai‘i the use of language within community-based tourism initiatives extended well beyond the immediate tourism experience to support and encourage language use within multiple contexts. The importance of this finding is that the potential to use tourism as a means of supporting language development and language revitalization lies

in maintaining and strengthening these multi-dimensional language relationships. On this basis, it is possible to argue that dualistic constructs of authentic and inauthentic cannot exist.

9.5 Clarifying the Role of the Community

The following discussion explores the role of the community in supporting and stewarding the Haida language within community-based tourism initiatives. This discussion centres on the need to (a) build awareness of the presence of language within tourism contexts and (b) create opportunities to increase visibility and accessibility to the language.

9.5.1 Build Awareness of the Presence of Language in Tourism Contexts

It is critical for the collective community to become more aware of the potential for tourism to support culturally appropriate language development and language revitalisation. Tourism tends to have been dismissed as an appropriate setting, due in no small part to the misappropriation of language for use within the larger tourism industry as posited by indigenous scholars such as Trask (1999) and Taum (2010) amongst others. While the Haida know the importance of their language, it is difficult to equate something of such immense value to tourism. Some participants note that meeting the needs of visitors is not seen as a priority when the community faces other pressing social, economic, and political concerns. However, while some Haida are under the impression that the language is not used much in tourism, the evidence suggests that the opposite is in fact true. Participants describe the use of language in many cultural contexts and settings in addition to the empowerment that comes of visitor interest and the creation of opportunities to engage with the language. Further, while language development is
supported within other institutional and community settings, for example, education and preservation efforts, the reality is that these too offer limited potential to reverse the progressive loss of language (Grenoble, 2013; Pohe, 2012). In terms of the available options, tourism presents a viable and important alternative and contribution to language revitalization efforts.

One of the issues raised by linguists is that communities often do not see the signs of language loss until it is too late (Crystal, 2002), a point verified by Collison (Interview, June 24, 2012) who noted that the language was not something the Haida had to worry about twenty years ago. Crystal points out that it can often be difficult for linguists to help communities discover what is unique about their linguistic heritage (p. 109). While many people in Haida Gwaii are very much aware of the value of their language, not everyone saw tourism as hugely beneficial or an appropriate setting, a perspective shared by some in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa. The impact of colonization and the continued oppression of language is a factor here (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, 2013; McCarty, 2003; Sekhar, 2012) as the relevance and purpose of the language may be not be understood or taken for granted within the community—some even resistant toward efforts to revitalize the language (Crystal, 2002; Krauss, 1998; O’Regan, March 15, 2011).

The critical role of the community in supporting effective and culturally appropriate initiatives is recognized within linguistics and tourism. Within tourism, Butler and Hinch (2007) have noted the importance of community control, Colton and Harris (2007) and Colton and Whitney-Squire (2010) the benefits to be derived from community-based approaches, and Scheyvens (1999) the importance of equitable distribution of benefits as a factor in sustainability. Within linguistics Battiste (2000), Fishman (2001), Tuki (2009), and O’Regan (2011) amongst others, recognize the centrality of the community in retaining and revitalizing indigenous languages. The
studies by Burusphat et al. (2010) and Greathouse-Amadour (2005a) exemplify the role of the community in supporting language development in tourism contexts. Burusphat et al. (2010) valued the importance of the community by placing it at the centre of the research question and the use of language vitality as the basis for determining the sustainability of cultural tourism development. Greathouse-Amadour (2005a) acknowledges the critical role of women in the Cuetzalan community for having taken advantage of the opportunities presented within tourism to support language development. Support, referring to the affirmation of cultural identity and strengthened social structures and relationships, which encouraged the development of programs for visitors on Nahuat culture, customs, traditions, and language (Greathouse-Amadour, 2005b, p. 54)

One of the key insights to come out of Aotearoa and Hawai‘i was the need to consider these issues from the perspective of the speaking and non-speaking community. This represents a slight, but significant shift in thinking about who is affected when tourism initiatives provide increased visibility and accessibility to the language. It is difficult to make the decision to speak the language fully at home (Interview O’Regan, 2011; Interview Kimura, September 11, 2012), as outside the immediate family, there may be few public places where the language is available. Not addressed in the literature is that the use of language within tourism settings also supports non-speakers of the language. It is here that the relationality or presence of the language becomes vital within tourism contexts. The presence of the language serves to normalize its use within the immediate and extended community, something considered critical to the revitalization of language within linguistics (Crystal, 2002; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Golla, 2001). If the language is not present in the life ways of the community, it cannot hold people to the
relationships of which they are a part: a view supported by Cajete (1994), Sasakamoose and Waskewitch (2008), and Wilson (2008) amongst others.

While there is some hesitancy to understand community-based tourism as a reflection of Haida life ways, language advocates in the community understand the need to make people more aware of the language, “they’re aware…but we need to become proactive and there’s got to be a way to encourage it [the use of the language].” Based on the findings of this study, community-based tourism initiatives provide a culturally appropriate opportunity to support the relationality or presence of the language within the community. “We have to hear ourselves talk…to practice and hear your own voice” (Interview Kihl guulaans, June 29, 2012).

The relationality of the language binds people within relationships with the land and with each other (Carr, 2004, 2007; Parker, 2008; Pohe, 2012; Wilson, 2008); the presence of that relationship expressed fully within the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil as affirmed by many participants. Understanding the relationality of the language is foundational to understanding the network of language relationships at work within the community; and by extension, how the presence of language is manifest within tourism products and services. These relationships are foundational to the stewardship of the language as they support a network of language connections: youth and elders, language and community organizations, tourism and other businesses, parks and lands management, artisans and arts groups, educators and outreach programs, and governance amongst others. These are not linear relationships; they are multidimensional relationships and the relationality (presence) of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil is strengthened as the visibility and accessibility increases.
9.5.2 Creating Opportunities to Increase Visibility and Accessibility

Creating opportunities to increase the visibility and accessibility of the language within tourism contexts extends and expands the language relationships already present in the community. Further, it encourages and empowers all language learners in the community, even those not actively engaged in learning the language and it can serve to increase cross-cultural awareness outside the Haida community. The communities currently support a number of language relationships within tourism (valued practices); however, they have also identified additional resources that could be developed or expanded on to increase the visibility and accessibility of the language in tangible and intangible ways. In review, language initiatives currently supported by the community include the use of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil in museum exhibits, story panels depicting myths and history, business and local signage, intangible creative art forms, language training for staff and tour guides, production of reading materials, social media and promotional materials, and links within community language associations. The additional language resources identified broadly reflect the need to develop standards and policies to guide the use and production of language resources, the expanded use and production of reference materials, and community outreach in the form of workshops, recognition events, and building collaborative initiatives with industry partners. (See Table 15, Sec. 10.3). The role of the community is to support and expand on the language relationships created, hence supporting the development and revitalization of language. The means of doing this are multi-dimensional, that is, front of house and back of house, incorporating tangible and intangible expressions of the language within culturally appropriate tourism contexts. These are the valued practices at work in the Haida community.

164 Refer to Table 10 for detailed information.
The United Nations Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), recognizes the need to increase awareness of intangible cultural heritage (includes language) especially among youth and the role of indigenous communities, “in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and re-creation…” of intangible heritage (UNESCO, 2012). Kurin (2007) notes the endangerment of intangible heritage inclusive of language and posits that one of the key factors in retention is, “it must be viable [which] assumes its continued practice with and by the relevant cultural community” (p. 12). While not expressly stated, a correlation can be made with the need to build awareness of tangible indigenous heritages. None of the studies reviewed in chapter three directly explore the value of increasing the visibility and accessibility to the language within the context of community-based tourism initiatives. Beard-Moose (2004) alludes to it indirectly suggesting that the use of the Cherokee syllabary on coffee mugs and other items for sale has not improved language use in the community. Snow (2004) speaks to the empowerment that comes of the production and reproduction of language choice—arguably aspects of visibility and accessibility, and notes the positive impact of this on the language community. His work most closely supports the findings of this present study. Similarly, the study by Greathouse-Amadour (2005a) argues that tourism has provided a setting for the language, customs, culture, and traditions, implying increased visibility and accessibility to the language (p. 56).

One of the key aspects of this present study is that the historic impact of colonization and the continued oppression of language can be directly linked to the diminishing visibility and accessibility to language: an argument supported within the broader literature (Crystal, 2002; Coluzzi, 2011; Sekhar, 2012; Pietikainen, 2010). Community-based tourism initiatives provide culturally relevant opportunities to engage with the language. These issues relate directly to the use of tourism as a means of
stewarding the language. One of the key issues raised in the tourism literature is that sustainability, i.e., stewardship must be linked to benefits, specifically economic benefits (Colton & Harris, 2007; d’Entrement, 2001; Mitchell & Eagles, 2001; Sofield, 2002; Stone & Wall, 2009). Within linguistics, sustainability is linked to the ability to make the language relevant in present day social contexts (Battiste, 2000; Fishman, 2001; Goodfellow; 2009b; O’Regan, 2011; Tuki, 2009). These perspectives are complimentary and mutually supportive within community-based tourism initiatives. Speaking from the perspective of heritage management, McKercher and duCross (2002) argue that, “sustainability can only occur when the practice of trading off one set of values for another ceases and, instead, tourism and cultural heritage management interests work toward the achievement of common goals” (p. 2). O’Regan considers these components a perfect storm in terms of the level of support they could bring to indigenous languages (Interview, March 15, 2013).

Broadly, the studies by Zeppel (2002), Suraratdecha (2008), and Agrusa et al. (2010) provide evidence of visitor interest in language use within tourism initiatives. This literature is further supported by organizational studies advocating for the increased use of language within tourism. For example, the report Te Reo Māuriora (2011), links the value of the language to that of national identity of New Zealand, “as evidenced in our tourism and sporting industries” (p. 63). The report by the Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association (2007) expressly links language, culture, and tourism, advocating for increased signage to make the Hawaiian culture more accessible to visitors and residents. One of the key insights from Hawai‘i and Aotearoa is that language provides direct and indirect economic benefit. Within the heritage management of sacred sites, the tourism product is considered to be the experience itself and Shackley notes the substantial multiplier effect of this to related businesses with in the tourism industry (p. 11). Based
on the findings herein, I would argue that intangible aspects of language are similar in some respects to the tangible use of language within tourism products and services.

Relating this to Haida Gwaii, the scale of similar products and services available in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa would suggest that there is room and reason to expand the range of services and products available in Haida Gwaii. Of note were the playing cards and language games found in Hawai‘i. As depicted in Figure 13, the language-based playing cards and word games developed in Hawai‘i and sold at the Kaua‘i Museum are of interest to visitors, but frequently purchased by residents for personal use (Field journal, October, 2012). As the Haida community currently uses only regular playing cards (Figure 7), it is quite feasible to develop similar products for use in Haida Gwaii: something easily used by residents, but also sold to visitors for profit. The proceeds donated to local language associations thereby supporting long-term stewardship of the language. The potential for the community to use these and other valued practices as a means to expand visibility and accessibility to language is significant. The purpose in doing so is to empower the language—increasing the relationality or presence of the language.

9.6 Repositioning Language Appropriately in Tourism Contexts

Having established the relevance of language within tourism products and services, the deep network of language relationships supported, and the role of the community in supporting these relationships, the experiences and insights of the Haida provide a means of shifting language use appropriately within community-based tourism contexts. While this comes of the experience and traditional knowledge of the Haida, it is

165 The Kaua‘i Museum in Lihue sells approximately 50 of these games per month to visitors and residents (Field notes, October, 2012).
possible to expand this to other place-based contexts, as the approach is grounded within the language itself (Cajete, 1994; Te Punga Somerville, 2011; Wilson, 2008). The approach is a reflection of the life ways of the Haida and as such represents a community led perspective of how the language should be used appropriately. The understanding that initiatives must be community led is supported by the findings from Hawai‘i and Aotearoa, but go further to note the critical need to develop specific policies to guide the use of language within tourism contexts. From this, language resources and materials can be developed for the purpose of integrating language within the broader tourism industry. Policies afford a level of cultural protection to the community, by retaining greater control over use and context.\(^{166}\) Returning to the concerns expressed by Diamond (Interview, October 22, 2012) in the absence of community generated policies and resource materials there is a danger that language will remain disconnected or emptied of its cultural context, that is, the language loses its relationality with place.

The following sections conceptualize the effective re-positioning of language within community-based tourism contexts in terms of, (a) why the language should be used, (b) how the language should be shared, and (c) what must be done to share the language appropriately.

### 9.6.1 Why the Language Should be Used

The purpose of the language is to maintain the relevance, i.e., the relationality or connection to place—with the lands, the waters and the peoples of Haida Gwaii. The means of maintaining these connections are wholly set within a cultural context, that is, how the language is used within the life ways of the Haida. These cultural contexts

\(^{166}\) Butler and Hinch (2007) note the need for community control and empowerment in terms of tourism development, which can be extended to incorporate the use of language. Fishman (2001) raises a related issue, noting the preference for community policy as it provides a buffer when outside support is withdrawn for any number of reasons.
connect the past and present relationally within established and expanding forms of their (a) artistic heritages; (b) ceremonies and events; (c) the gathering, preparation, and sharing of food; and (d) within the home and community. Indigenous perspectives on the relationality of language posit that all relationships extend from their core relationship with the land (Cajete, 1994; Carr, 2007; Cruikshank, 1994; and Royal, 2002). Their relationship to the land held in place by their knowledge or experience of the land as expressed through the language (Battiste, 2000; Gardner, 2004; Little Bear, 2000; Sasakamoose and Waskewitch, 2008; Wilson, 2008).

The relationship of indigenous peoples with language is deeply rooted within their relationship with the land and to each other to such an extent that language is not understood as separate or a part of one’s identity, rather is it the identity. Crystal (2002) equates the relevance of identity and language to the fact that languages are unique and not interchangeable with any other. The link between language as culture and culture as language made by writers such as Glen (1995), who argues that living language is needed within the field of leisure to convey real stories and Hinton (2001) who notes that language must be learned in a cultural context in order to transfer knowledge of traditions and practices appropriately. For many scholars, educators, and language advocates, language loss results in the progressive loss of culture (Hale et al., 1992; Fishman, 2001; O’Regan, 2011; Reyhner & Lockhard, 2009). The purpose of the language in maintaining the connection to place within tourism contexts posited by Kanahele (1994), who linked a sense of Hawaiianness to the presence of language among other factors in relation to the re-development of Waikīkī Beach. Establishing expanded forms of language use within culturally appropriate tourism settings creates opportunities to strengthen and establish already existing relationships with place.
9.6.2 How the Language Should be Shared

How the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil should be shared appropriately rests within three interrelated facets (a) the language must be shared within a relationship of respect (yahguudang), (b) that genuine sharing (gudgígid) be the basis of all interactions with visitors, and (c) that the goal (gwii hlììx.a) be to transfer knowledge of the language within the community. Sharing the language within a relationship of respect is to maintain the purpose of the language balanced within a cultural context, that is, the life ways of the Haida. Respect as a universal truth linked to that of balance (tìl yahda, meaning making things right) in an environment where visitors and guests are unable to fully appreciate the relevance of the language. Maintaining respect is a means of overcoming the imbalances created. In the context of this study, this means establishing ways of giving back to the community that directly and indirectly support the development and revitalization of the language. A position supported by Taum (2010), who argues that it is imperative for the tourism industry to move away from the predominant view that privileges the needs of visitors above all else (p. 35). So too, guiding interactions with visitors through the cultural lens of genuine sharing removes the imbalances thought to be created in the staged performance of their life ways. The use of highly flexible and interactive engagements diminishing the sense of inauthenticity that comes of performance alone as the language holds within it the cultural values of the community; in effect, grounding the interaction within the fabric of the culture and community through language, rather than that of performance. This creates a shift in understanding the purpose of sharing language within tourism contexts, to one wherein the goal is to transfer knowledge of the language to the broader community.
9.6.3 What Must be Done: A Language-Based Tourism Framework

Community-based tourism and tourism related initiatives provide a culturally appropriate means of enhancing and normalizing language use within and outside the immediate speaking community.\(^{167}\) Creating opportunities to engage with the language outside formalized education serves three purposes (a) it supports and encourages expanding language relationships in the community (b) increases familiarity, comfort, and responsiveness to language use by speakers and non-speakers, and (c) leverages a greater proportion of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil to that of English.

In attempting to expand or normalize language use outside that of entrenched educational systems, sociolinguists and language advocates raise three supporting rationale; namely,

- the education system is too slow to be effective (Pohe, 2012),
- youth need more opportunities to speak the language (O’Regan, 2011; Tuki, 2009), and
- education can give a false sense of how well a language is doing Barrena et al. (2006).

As argued by Grenoble and Whaley (2006), the challenge of expanding language use in what are referred to as language domains is difficult in situations where a dominant language already serves the purpose.\(^{168}\) \(^{169}\) This is the case in Haida Gwaii; however,

\(^{167}\) Fishman (1990) articulated the need to normalize language use within the immediate and broader community of speakers as one of eight steps in the process of reversing language shift.

\(^{168}\) Language domains are described by Fishman (1972) as the use of language in a multi-lingual community of speakers in various socio-cultural and institutional settings, for example, education, family, religion, et cetera.

Grenoble (2013) acknowledges that given the general failure of revitalizing programs, other approaches are necessary. Bauman (1980), Cooper (1989), Graham (2005), Grenoble and Whaley (2006), Haynes, Stansfield, Gnyra, Schleif and Anderson (2010), and Sims (2008) note the critical need to advance approaches that incorporate approaches that reflect local cultural practices and traditions. Their statements directly support the findings of this research. Grenoble (2013) posits that although community-based approaches are atypical within language revitalization, suggests that they are “well placed to create social networks for language use because they directly involve the speakers themselves” (p. 805). Drawing on the interconnected cultural relationships identified by the community (Table 12) the following section describes a framework in which to support the vision of the Haida community.

9.7 A Language-Based Tourism Framework

There is currently no scholarly literature that explores a cultural framework in which language can be re-positioned appropriately within community-based tourism and tourism related initiatives. While the reports outlined in Section 3.4 highlight the use of cultural tourism to incorporate indigenous languages and make specific suggestions in terms of promotional materials, language content, training, language appreciation, use of place names, et cetera they offer no cultural framework in which communities might understand the values and principles that underpin their efforts. While valuable, these suggestions require a deeper theoretical framework on which to hang these activities, thereby improving the odds of developing effective language-based tourism programs.

It is also relevant to consider that the noted language activities take place within a complex social and cultural political context (Watson-Gegeo, 2004). The circumstances in Haida Gwaii immediately touching on issues of sovereignty, the maintenance of two
distinct dialects, the prioritization of limited financial and other resources, and the personal and collective challenges involved in learning a second language to name a few. The signage depicted in Table 10 (Figure 8) offers an example of local politics at work wherein Old Massett chose to exclude an English translation whereas Skidegate, using similar signage, chose to include an English translation. While other indigenous groups cannot claim the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii, tourism development brings its own politic: issues of identity and commodification (Trask, 2000b; McIntosh et al., 2002), authenticity (MacCannell, 2005; Walsh, 1996), and the advancement of alternatives within the industry (Taum, 2010), amongst others.

As argued above, understanding the underlying values and principles involved creates an opportunity to clarify language activities within tourism settings set within complex cultural and socio-political constructs. Herein, the focus remains on the interrelated relationships maintained and created as opposed to that of disconnected activities alone. Pfister (2000), writing from the perspective of cultural interpretation, warns that disconnecting oral traditions from their relationship of people and place “cuts the threads of [a] complex web of factors and conditions that contribute to its importance (p. 123). Using Haida art form, Figure 13 depicts a representation of the cultural framework at work in Haida Gwaii. The framework firmly places the use of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil firmly within its cultural and historical context, demonstrating the interconnected relationships at work.
Acknowledging the underlying political nature of language, Cooper (1989) posits that language planning must incorporate the historic and social context in which planning is undertaken. Gorman (1973) saw language planning as, “a set of deliberate activities systematically designed to organize and develop the language resources of the community” (cited in Cooper, 1989, p. 30). Fishman (2001) notes the importance of this stating, “threatened languages cannot afford functionally diffuse or free-floating efforts…[programs] must establish both (1) a priority of functions, and (2) a priority of linkages between functions in order to derive the maximal benefit…” (p. 14). Similarly, the study by Barrena et al. (2006) supported the development of community-based models as they build awareness of the language and are unique to each language community as an expression of their relationship with the land and place. Based on the above theoretical framework, the development of a language-based tourism program would fit this criteria—effectively shifting the theoretical discussion to that of an applied
planning strategy and serve to bridge the gap between tourism and linguistics in the development and revitalization of indigenous languages.

**Summary**

This chapter outlined the major findings of this study and framed the findings in relation to the current literature. The findings of this study are then situated within an understanding of the relevance of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil to the peoples of Haida Gwaii, which is in turn set within the context of major historic events impacting on the diminishing use of the language over time. The correlation is made to the continuing relationality (presence) of the language within the life ways of the Haida as exemplified through their artistic heritages, ceremonies and events, the gathering, preparation, and sharing of food, and within the home and community. It is this, that situates the integration of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil appropriately within tourism products and services and establishes the role of the community in supporting language relationships for the purpose of increasing culturally appropriate visibility and accessibility to the language. This is a holistic and cyclical approach whereby the increased use of the language increases the presence of the language, which in turn increases the relationality of the language. The development of a language-based tourism framework for the purpose of supporting purposeful language planning provides the theoretical foundation to support the findings of this research. As an applied planning strategy, the framework serves to bridge the gap between tourism and linguistics for the purpose of developing and revitalizing indigenous languages.
10. Conclusions

“Even getting the name Haida Gwaii back was amazing and that was done kind of very quietly over the last 30 years—people just kept saying it wasn’t called the Queen Charlotte Islands.”

The smallest of changes can have a profound affect in terms in re-establishing the presence of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil within the life ways of the Haida. The quote by Collison (Interview, June 24, 2012) speaks to many issues: place, identity, community, and the challenge of facilitating change. What strikes me in the statement is how long it took to reclaim their own name for the islands on which they have lived for thousands of years. The Haida do not have 30 years left in which to reclaim their language: at best they have five to ten (Interview, Alsop, June 1, 2012).

The aim of this thesis was to consider how community-based tourism initiatives could be used to support language development and language revitalization in Haida Gwaii, Canada. The means of doing this were to explore the role of the community in supporting language use and determine how language was currently being incorporated into tourism products and services. Beyond this, there was a desire to explore the shared experiences and key insights of people with knowledge of language and tourism issues in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa as a means of expanding the scope of the discussion. The immense value of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil is known to the Haida, but globally Crystal (2002) notes that there is a lingering belief that fewer languages would be better, replaced with a few dominant languages for reasons of economic benefit and ease of communication. Not so argues Belsey (2002),

Most of the time the language we speak is barely visible to us…. [yet] after food and shelter, which are necessary for survival, language and its symbolic analogues
exercise the most crucial determinations in our social relations, our thought processes, and our understanding of who and what we are (p. 6).

From the perspective of linguistics, Crystal (2002) supports two background arguments of this thesis. First, that local languages promote community cohesion and vitality, foster pride in culture, and give communities self-confidence (p. 31). Second, that, “just as language shift has been shown to result from economic factors so these same factors can be used to foster language maintenance” (p. 31). So too, the tourism literature clearly supports the argument that economic benefits can provide incentive to promote and protect cultural when grounded in the values, needs, and aspirations of the community (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Colton & Whitney-Squire, 2010; Mitchell & Eagles, 2001; Notzke, 2006; Scheyvens, 1999). While not explored fully, the current literature indicates an existing and growing interest on the part of visitors to engage with language (Phillips & Thomas, 2001; Zeppel, 2002). The studies of these scholars arguing that language is a cultural element enjoyed by visitors (Zeppel, 2002) and that language can be used on promotional and other materials to draw visitor interest (Phillips & Thomas, 2001).

Burusphat et al. (2008) make a strong contribution, arguing that the vitality of indigenous language is a determining factor in the success and sustainability of cultural tourism in Thailand (p. 94). Considering the economic benefit of preserving language (Creole French) within tourism contexts, d’Entrement (2001) argues the point on the basis that maintaining language, in turn preserved the cultural heritage of Cajuns in New Orleans to the benefit of the broader industry.

Beard-Moose (2004) raises the problem of ascribing identity based on one’s ability to speak the language. The position of Beard-Moose is that it seems cruel to link one’s sense of identity to something one cannot realistically hope to attain: a position empathetic to those affected by the loss of the Cherokee language. However, this view
ascribes limitations in the expression of language across and within multiple cultural contexts, including those expressed and expanded upon within present day tourism contexts. The danger of this lies in applying a one-dimensional lens, to what is a multi-dimensional issue and unintentionally relegates and constrains language to familiar, tangible forms of communication. The Haida too face this same crisis of identity; however, in the attempt to be empathetic and lessen the pain of the loss, one can unintentionally diminish the relevance of language, thereby minimizing the importance of revitalization. In the absence of the language, something of immense value is at risk: the relationship with the lands and oceans and with each other as people of a shared cultural heritage. Empathy opens a space in which the loss of language is acceptable and inevitable—an unacceptable position in my opinion when one considers what is at stake.

The Haida will lose something inextricably tied to their individual and collective identity with the loss of the language—a fact acknowledged by elders who tell those younger than themselves, that they cannot know what it is to be fully Haida in the absence of their language. There is an intuitive understanding that without the language their connection with the land will be lost: not in a physical sense, but spiritually and intangibly as their relationship with the land fades. This compels many in the community to action and reflects another of the universal truths, that of Adapting to Change—that it is essential to accept the need to change for the purpose of survival (Brown & Brown, 2009, p. xiv).

[We] are living in a world completely different from our old people [and] can no longer transfer knowledge in the traditional way, but must develop new ways of teaching that include not only our own people but also those who came later (p. 68).

The statement demonstrates an opportunity in which tourism is such an alternative: a means or setting whereby knowledge, through language, is transferred to future
generations. In Hawai‘i, knowledge of the language is seen as critical to survival, the words of the ancestors providing guidance to what is necessary for life (Interview, Taum, October 22, 2012). The role of tourism for this purpose, exemplified by Mihaka who utilizes the tools and settings available to share the language and knowledge of his ancestors with his grandson and extended family (Interview, December 18, 2012).

Returning to language theory, the findings of this present study would suggest that the theories of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf align in several ways to that of the Haida who state that the language comes from the land, that is, from their experience of the land. Sapir posited that language itself creates cultural variations in the worldview of speakers and Whorf that language use affected how groups of speakers were able to perceive their world (E. Hall, 1990). Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) make similar claims, positing that indigenous knowledge systems “include the thought processes embedded in the language” (p. 19). Watson-Gegeo (2004) notes the claims of cognitive scientists who estimate “95% of all thought is unconscious” (p. 332). While I am not a trained linguist or sociolinguist, the correlations are striking in that the relevance of the language underpins the expressed identity of the Haida.

Critically, E. Hall (1990) argues that the speakers of a language “inhabit different sensory worlds” based on perceived experiences, which are culturally quite different” (p. 2). His statements serve to support the importance of the language within cultural contexts in relation to tourism, as argued in this thesis. Where the Haida’s perspectives on language and identity extend beyond that of Hall is the relationality of the language with the lands and oceans of Haida Gwaii. E. Hall (1990) suggests that experience is changeable as it “occurs in a setting molded by man” (p. 2), whereas the Haida and the writings of other indigenous peoples would suggest that their experience of the land is unchangeable; rather it is man that is changeable (Cajete, 1994; Watson-Gegeo, 2004;
Wilson, 2008). It is here that present theories of language in non-indigenous scholarship misunderstand the relationship between land and language: language has no intention or meaning outside its relationship with the land. This research led me to think outside the confines of language as language; rather that language is literally and figuratively the land.

Foundational to this, is an understanding that knowledge is place-based, hence language is place-based and a unique expression of that relationship within a community of speakers. Indigenous scholars speak to the “pedagogy of place,” as discussed by Cardinal in Wilson (2008) and Parker (2008), who link the land with knowledge and knowledge with the language as an intrinsic expression of their relationship to the land. Similarly, Cajete (1994) argues that knowledge or the pedagogy of place guides the conduct of individuals, Stewart-Harawira (2005) that knowledge stands in a cultural context, and Watson-Gegeo (2004) that, “language…originates in social interaction and is shaped by cultural and socio-political processes” (p. 331). One of the most insightful statements I heard while in Haida Gwaii was, “The English language seeks to separate you from the land.” (Interview Alsop, June 1, 2012). The statement eloquently goes to the heart of the issues and reflects each of the central concepts related to the relevance of their language. I understand the statement to mean:

- English has no relationship to the land
- English has no relationship with the ancestors
- English has no relationship to our ways of being
- English keeps us from our relationship with the land

If one thinks of the writings of Derrida (1976), one can take this further to understand that the very structure of English shapes and informs another way of knowing the world. English creates compartmentalized structures wherein no relationship other than that
which identifies things and categories can exist (see also, Cloete, 2011; Watson-Gegeo, 2004). This is not to say that English is bad, rather that to the Haida, English sounds hollow and empty of meaning as it serves a very different purpose. The Xaayda kil or Xaad kil has a rich complexity that binds itself to the land and the knowledge that comes of the land, held within a relationship of speakers and non-speakers.

10.1 Expanding Language and Tourism Theory

This thesis expands on a number of existing theories at the intersection of language, tourism, and community-based development by considering the perspectives of the Haida community in their effort to revitalize the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil (Haida language). Understanding the relevance of the language to the Haida, and indigenous peoples broadly, this thesis re-orients language as central to the function of indigenous tourism as opposed to being a means to convey ideas about a people, a place, or a particular heritage. Without understanding the intrinsic relationship with land and knowledge, scholars have unintentionally relegated language to a form of communication—ascribing their own understanding of language to that of indigenous peoples. When I ask, “Does culture inform language or does language inform culture?” the answer is almost invariably that culture informs language. While I once held this position, I now take the opposite stance—arguing that language informs culture. As thought…as language are the means by which we convey knowledge, it follows that language is a priori to culture. The import of this is to alter, in sum and content, the purpose of language within indigenous tourism contexts. The use of language in tourism products and services and the role of the community in supporting community-based and tourism related initiatives take on great significance when viewed through this lens.
This thesis theorizes that language crosses time and cultural contexts; meaning language draws on a continuum of multidimensional relationships—past and present. A challenging concept, as it demands a non-linear understanding and orientation as to the meaning of time (Metge, 2004; Kaʻai & Higgins, 2009). The findings of this research suggest that language remains entrenched within artistic heritages; ceremonies and events; the gathering, preparation of food; and within the home and community. Within linguistics, these socio-cultural areas of language use are known as “domains of language use” (Fishman, 1972; Grenoble, 2013; Goodfellow, 2009b). Each of these areas, with the exception of home and community, are intrinsic to the expression and production of indigenous tourism and cultural heritage and hence foundational to sustainability. However, while home and community are arguably of the greatest significance, to my knowledge no study has explored the meaning or relationship of “home” within tourism contexts. That language rests within a socio-cultural context is clear (Bauman, 1980; Cooper, 1989; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Haynes, et al. 2010; Reyhner & Lockhard, 2009): that indigenous tourism rests within a socio-cultural context is also clear (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Carr, 2004; Colton, 2005; McKercher & du Cross, 2002; Notzke, 2006; Zeppel, 1999). What is not so clear is that as language rests within a relationship with place, it follows that indigenous community-based tourism initiatives also rest within a relationship with place.

The implications challenge our understanding of authenticity. The argument is that language collapses questions of authenticity by informing and maintaining a relationship with place that supersedes that of externally imposed or internally accepted constructs of what is or is not authentic. Held in a relationship with place, language expresses that relationship so fully, as stated by Nika (Interview, June 28, 2012), that language becomes synonymous with individual and collective identity. I understand this
to mean that identity for indigenous peoples rests within place and is not a linear, socially
held, or prescribed construct. These constructs exist, but only as they pertain to place as
the core relationship of indigenous peoples (Cajete, 1994; Carr, 2007; Parker, 2008;
Wilson, 2008). Scholars have difficulty arguing that authenticity rests within the
experience of the visitor or that of the producer of a cultural experience (MacCannell,
as authenticity is seen to rest within subjective constructs–open to myriad interpretation.

The concern, as stated by Taum (2010) and Hollinshead (2009) is that these
subjective constructs confuse the issues and potentially impose a false measure of identity
that seeks validation through external sources. In contrast, language as a placed-based,
knowledge-based expression of identity holds one within a very different relationship.
The language cannot be anything other than authentic, meaning that its expression in one
context (in this case tourism) automatically establishes itself on multiple levels within the
community. As stated previously, if one perceives of language as the defining construct,
pseudo constructs become irrelevant: tourism simply extends the range of ways in which
the community maintains their language identity. I am led to wonder if the success of
cultural performance as a driver of cultural and language revitalization in Hawai‘i and
Aotearoa could be attributed to the place of language as a defining construct within the
creative arts of dance and music.

10.2 Building Language-Based Tourism Initiatives

Within linguistics, the academic literature clearly advocates for the use of
culturally integrated approaches to language development (Crystal, 2001; Fishman, 2001;
Goodfellow, 2009a; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; McIvor, 2009; O‘Regan, 2009, 2011;
Tuki, 2009). So too, the value of community planning, in the effort to minimize the effects of tourism on indigenous peoples, relies on the implementation of effective initiatives (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Scheyvens, 1999; Sofield & Birtles). The critical need for effective community planning argued by Fishman (2001) stating that one off attempts, or poorly considered attempts, to revitalize languages do more harm than good.

In developing a means for the community to integrate language effectively into tourism products and services, it was necessary to clarify the role of the community in supporting language use within tourism settings. The findings of this research link the role of the community fundamentally to understanding the multi-dimensional language nature of language across and within a network of relationships in the community–language resources. As stated, language is not limited or constrained to one-dimensional expressions within tourism contexts–the multi-dimensional relationships intrinsic to language extend beyond the immediate tourism exchange to incorporate myriad tangible and intangible interactions within the community.

It is here, this thesis expands on the work of sociolinguistics, and tourism scholarship to establish a theoretical framework on which to support the use of culturally appropriate and culturally relevant uses of language within community-based tourism settings. The framework provides a visual means of understanding the multidimensional language relationships at work in the community. While working on this research, people were sometimes surprised that I wanted to know what they thought about language and tourism issues. To them, they knew very little about such things, but I would point out that people know far more than they realize, they just don’t know what they know. The

170 Māori language immersion programs clearly link learning objectives within cultural ideologies, for example, kaupapa Māori (philosophy), te ara poutama (holistic development), and tuakiri tangata (total personality) as basic components of a culturally integrated approach to learning (Fleras, 1987; Goodfellow, 2009a; Ka’ai, 2009; McIvor, 2010; O’Regan, 2011). The success of these programs stemming from the fact that they remain integrated within the broader cultural context and needs of the whānau (community) and iwi (extended kinship group).
purpose in developing this framework was to show the Haida community what they already know.

The reason there is such great potential here lies in the fact that the use of the language within community-based initiatives is founded within the life ways of the Haida. The language cannot be anything other than relational in its presence in the community, the purpose of the language remains as it always has, and the context, that is, how the language is used, is founded in the same activities they have always used to express who they are as a people. In understanding this, the life ways of the language can be re-positioned appropriately within community-based tourism contexts. These contexts flow from respect (yahguudang), genuine sharing (gudgígíd), and the transmission of knowledge (gwii híGang.gulxa). The relevance is that tourism, set within this environment, provides a setting for increasing the visibility and accessibility of the language in culturally relevant and culturally appropriate ways.

As a linguist Golla (2001) states, “The greatest potential lies on the periphery of, or totally outside academia, where market-based economic incentives are beginning to stimulate some highly creative language-learning programs linked with ecotourism.” It becomes a moot point and a zero sum game in the face of the complete loss of their language: using the opportunities and settings available a point of necessity. The Haida are no longer in a position to argue the niceties for or against, “the prostitution of culture for economic gain” as posited by Hauanani Kay Trask (1999). However, one cannot side step the issue quite so neatly, and repositioning the language appropriately within community-based tourism contexts, as exemplified by the Haida, provides an opportunity to serve both the very real economic needs of the community and yet do so in a cultural context that reflects their own way of being in the world. It becomes imperative, to borrow an old phrase, “not to throw the baby out with the bath water.”
Re-orienting language as central to the function of indigenous tourism provides a very different lens through which to understand and consider the use of language within community-based tourism and tourism related settings. The challenge to the broader tourism industry is to understand that language is so much more than a tool of communication. The use of indigenous languages in tourism settings must be done in conjunction with indigenous peoples. This may be difficult and challenging, yet to exclude language for this reason or worse misuse or appropriate language for economic gain is to undermine the very thing that sustains indigenous peoples and their life ways.

### 10.3 Contribution to Knowledge and Further Research

This research makes a contribution to understanding the relevance of language within community-based tourism contexts, the role of the community in correlating language use within tourism products and services, and the stewardship of language through tourism initiatives. Despite repeated calls to find new ways to expand language use outside institutional settings (Barrena et al., 2006; Goodfellow, 2009b; O’Regan, 2009, 2011; Pohe, 2012) to date, no studies have explored the use of tourism for this purpose from the perspective of the community. While written through a tourism lens this research brings together two fields of study, tourism and linguistics (applied and sociology), to explore how indigenous peoples can take advantage of community-based tourism initiatives to support language development and language revitalization.

Typically, these fields have worked in relative isolation, yet together they contribute significantly to our understanding of how language relationships within the community are foundational to supporting increased language use within tourism contexts. Presently, there is a limited appreciation of the relevance and relationality of indigenous languages at the community level within tourism, which has precluded the
development of culturally relevant and culturally appropriate uses of language within these and related settings. The original contribution to knowledge is that the effective use of tourism for this purpose is dependent upon supporting multi-dimensional language relationships within and outside the immediate speaking and non-speaking community.

Future research should explore the development of targeted language-based tourism programs in order to further establish valued practices, program parameters, clarify and legitimize language relationships in the community, and develop a culturally appropriate means of evaluation. Research could also serve to establish the economic value of indigenous languages within the tourism industry. The current literature clearly supports this in theory, yet there is no literature, of which I am aware, that quantifies the economic value of indigenous language at the community level. Possibly applying economic principles, similar to those used to map landscape values, could be used for this purpose. Given the rate at which indigenous languages are being lost, the need for relevant research is critical as it would allow communities to make a stronger argument to support language development on the basis of economic return in tourism.

One of the central issues highlighted within the broader literature is the level of interest visitors have in exploring indigenous languages as demonstrated by Phillips and Thomas (2001), Zeppel (2001), d’Entremont (2001), and the planning strategies developed by indigenous tourism organizations (AtBC, 2005; Whyte, et al., 2012). Based on my extensive field experiences in Haida Gwaii, Hawai`i, and Aotearoa I would suggest that visitors have a deep curiosity about language not filled within available indigenous cultural tourism experiences. There is a significant gap in our understanding of this issue within the current literature. Exploring the extent and limits of visitor interest would be of great value to indigenous communities seeking to create cultural experiences
that draw on language relationships and an opportunity to enrich visitor experiences in meaningful ways.

10.4 Moving Forward: Integrating Approaches to Language Development

The most significant recommendation to come from this research is the implementation of a language-based tourism program in Haida Gwaii. To this end, I plan to apply for postdoctoral funding to support my continued work with the community around language and tourism issues. To my knowledge this will be the first program ever developed specifically for this purpose. It is an opportunity to work through the barriers and challenges of implementation, but also to track the outcomes in culturally appropriate ways. I plan to use this time to explore one of the identified gaps in our understanding as to visitor interest in indigenous language. The community has invited me to return to Haida Gwaii for this purpose.

The key findings of this research (Table 14) and the suggestions generated by the community (Table 15) will form the basis of this program, as will the valued practices identified in Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa New Zealand. Directly or indirectly, the recommendations to come out of this study are the result of the Haida’s efforts to support the development and revitalization of the Xaayda kil / Xaad kil. The community was creative in coming up with suggestions on how they might further incorporate their language within tourism contexts. Most of the suggestions relate to increasing the visibility and accessibility to their language within the community.

Table 15 represents some of the key ideas and points of action to emerge from this research. There are other minor suggestions, but these cover the most significant contributions.
Table 15

Supporting Language Use in Tourism Contexts at the Haida Heritage Centre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggestion</th>
<th>Rationale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Develop pocket guide to language</td>
<td>- a handbook…user friendly for the visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- of great interest for our own people, easy to use reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- encourage our silent speakers to get involved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop list of most used words for visitors</td>
<td>- opportunity to develop language learners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- encourages visitors to use the language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- increase accessibility to language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop language standards for tour guides at HHC</td>
<td>- encourage language use at Haida Heritage Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- increase visibility of language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- increase accessibility to language at Haida Heritage Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- target levels of language learners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourage further development of language classes for visitors</td>
<td>- encourages language use at Haida Heritage Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- challenges staff to use language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- increases visibility / accessibility to language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- engage with visitors; cross cultural exchange, build awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have meetings in the Haida language</td>
<td>- hold political and general meetings in the language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- the structures are already place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- need to follow protocol and use Haida words for this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual contest to develop music or dance for Haida Heritage Centre</td>
<td>- encourages language use in community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- draws on artistic heritages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- involves broader community in language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- music and arts forms are gateway to language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish language standards for tourism employment</td>
<td>- encourage those entering the industry to have some knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- language skills are highly transferrable to other employ. areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- encourages youth to retain the language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- creates opportunities to use the language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourage the use of personal Haida names.</td>
<td>- use our Haida names in the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- identify with our traditions and heritage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explore potential to donate grocery points to support local youth camps</td>
<td>- supports youth in the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- potential to approach larger chains in BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- opportunity to encourage language use in cultural context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish impromptu Haida dance / song groups at Haida Heritage Centre</td>
<td>- encourage local artists to share music / dance once per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- a mix of traditional and contemporary; a jam session of sorts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- opportunity to engage with language through art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop range of language products for gift shop, playing cards, sentiments etc</td>
<td>- proceeds would be used to support language program at HHC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- provide support for language training materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- encourage language use in community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Access graduate student volunteers** | - network with tourism educators to encourage student exchanges  
- successful programming is built on volunteers  
- need to take advantage of people with the same interests |
| **Community games night in the language.** | - re-establish regular Haida bingo evenings  
- could be opened to visitors to attend  
- makes it fun to learn the language and fits the community |
| **Develop points of interest for visitors around communities** | - focus on place names and the link to history of Haida  
- potential to develop *blackbox technology* from New Zealand (hand operated voice box provides information in language(s))  
- doubles as teaching aid for school groups in cultural context  
- create opportunity to use language / develop speakers |
| **Create language immersion experiences** | - develop specific tourism programs; experience Haida culture  
- opportunity to use the language on extended tours |
| **Explore potential to work with student groups** | - student exchange programs focused on language learning  
- national and international student groups  
- combine with environmental studies etc. |
| **Develop language materials for local regional tourism** | - opportunity to develop language learners in community  
- increases awareness of language in community  
- involve local and regional tourism associations and operators  
- establish use of language in visitor guide, information |
| **Develop policy around language use in tourism settings** | - establish requirements for local and regional business signage  
- opportunity to develop language learners in community  
- encourages use of language in community  
- increases visibility of language  
- basis for approaching transport providers to include language |
| **Establish awards dinner** | - reward businesses for creative use of language in community  
- encourages use of the language in the community  
- recognize efforts of those support language  
- recognize elders involved in supporting language  
- recognize most improved tour guides |
| **Include info at Gwaii Haanas visitor orientation** | - opportunity to use language by staff  
- encourages language use in the community  
- encourages visitors to be more aware of language |
| **Build collaboration in tourism industry** | - work in partnership with tourism programs and businesses  
- share resources and expertise to increase language use  
- work with Haida and non-Haida to increase language use |

Source: Field journal and participant interviews.

One of the key objectives of the Haida was to identify those valued practices supporting culturally appropriate uses of language in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa. The purpose was to
explore those activities that might inform and expand the use of language in Haida Gwaii. These valued practices will be used to support the development of a language-based tourism program and a number of ideas have already been shared with the community. To ensure this information is available to the residents of Old Massett and Skidegate, an executive summary and compendium of the valued practices will be compiled comprising all the examples from Hawai‘i and Aotearoa. The compendium will be styled after Table 13, but include additional information including photos, website links, and contact details. The communities in the Hokianga, Bay of Islands, and the Ka Welina Network in Hawai‘i will also receive copies of the compendium.

10.5 Reflections

My involvement with the Haida over the past number of years has provided opportunities to work and speak with many people from around the islands. Creating a long-term relationship with the Haida community laid the foundation to researching with the community in an atmosphere of respect (yahguudang) and genuine sharing (gudgígid) wherein the transmission of knowledge (gwíi híGang.gulxa) can occur. As a volunteer at the Haida Heritage Centre, I had the pleasure of meeting artists, writers, and photographers. The islands have a history of inspiring world-renowned artists including Charles Edenshaw, Bill Reid, Robert Davidson, and Emily Carr. The islands could not be more diverse in the expression of their traditional, present day, and evolving art forms in music, dance, drumming, weaving, carving, and cultural practices. Across the islands, each person brings their own talents and skills to bear and collectively they make an outstanding contribution to life on the islands.

As a researcher working independently in the sense of funding, I had little to offer in terms of monetary benefits. However, I was able to hire an interpreter to work with me
and was directly involved in training staff at the Haida Heritage Centre. I volunteered there for the duration of my fieldwork and contributed directly to the operation of this facility in many ways including the production of several training videos for tour guides. I believe my work in the community was received positively, having earned the nickname of **MGK**. The handle is the acronym for a rapper called *Machine Gun Kelly*. As is evident from the size of this thesis, apparently I talk a lot and too quickly. My personal learning experience could not have been richer. The opportunity to work extensively in Haida Gwaii and yet incorporate time in Hawai‘i and Aotearoa added to my knowledge and experience in ways that would not have been possible otherwise. The study would have been rich had I remained in Haida Gwaii, but the cross cultural aspects of this work gave me time to develop my exposure to and thinking around these issues. I was challenged to expand my line of sight and consider multiple perspectives that only enriched and deepened the learning experience.

One of the challenges of this research was attempting to work from the perspective of an insider within the Haida community. While I understand that I cannot fully enter into their experience, nor should I want to, in the end I realized that not only was it challenging to research from the inside, it became increasingly difficult to balance those perspectives within the context of the broader academic literature. The thinking that lay behind this present work was situated differently, that is, questioning how language affects tourism; rather than asking what the effect of tourism was on language. Working with the community to develop the interview questions was critical to orienting this research to that of the community. I now have a much clearer understanding of the pitfalls of attempting to write from an emic rather than an etic perspective. My understanding of these concepts draw on Geertz (1983) who posits that one cannot operate fully in or outside of an experience and Williams (2011) who noted that an emic approach required
that researchers develop an understanding of the worldview of those with whom they work. Williams’ work was particularly relevant to this study as it supported the view that one cannot make assumptions about language, i.e., that it is critical to simply ask those with knowledge. Though challenging, if I was to do it over again, I would choose again to write from the same perspective as it provided a much deeper understanding of the complexity of the issues involved and insight into how change might be affected.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the contribution of a number of organizations and individuals. I would especially like to acknowledge the residents of Old Massett and Skidegate in Haida Gwaii that contributed to this work. A special shout out to Jason Alsop and Aay Aay, without their assistance, this work would not have been possible.

Haida Heritage Centre at Kay Llnagaay, Skidegate, Haida Gwaii
Haida Gwaii Museum
University of Otago, Department of Tourism
University of Otago Doctoral Scholarships
Ka Welina Network, Hawaiʻi
Waipā Foundation, Kauaʻi, Hawaiʻi
Copthorne Hokianga, Te Ika a Maui, Aotearoa
Hone Mihaka, Taiamai Tours, Bay of Islands, Aotearoa

Thank You  Haawʻa  Mahalo  Tēnā Koutou
Appendices

Appendix A: Glossary of Words and Pronunciation

Haida Words: Use & Pronunciations (key vowels and consonants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Haida (Xaayda kil) Southern Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance / making things right</td>
<td>tll yahda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canoe</td>
<td>Tluu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Kilslaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>K‘waalas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come eat</td>
<td>Haala ga ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come to Haida Gwaii</td>
<td>Xaayda Gwaay gwii hla aan Kaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Ḣnagaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creator</td>
<td>Sah ‘laana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>Guud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>gwaaygiGang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Chiina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genuine sharing</td>
<td>gudgigid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>Chinaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>Nanaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thank you</td>
<td>Haaw’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea Lion Town</td>
<td>Kay Ḣnagaay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matriarch</td>
<td>K’uljaad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potlatch</td>
<td>‘waahlGahl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raven</td>
<td>Xuuya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>Yahguudang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>gwii hlGang-gulxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To take care of</td>
<td>Tllxanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer knowledge</td>
<td>k’aadang.ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>‘laana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Aanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your welcome</td>
<td>Laagang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Skidegate Haida Immersion Program Orthography (2013).

Note: Only the Southern dialect has been used in the document to improve readability..
### Pronunciations

#### Consonants*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Guud</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hl</td>
<td>hiGaa</td>
<td>rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’</td>
<td>k’aaw</td>
<td>herring roe on kelp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>king</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’</td>
<td>k’al</td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘l</td>
<td>‘laana</td>
<td>town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’alang</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl</td>
<td>tlaan</td>
<td>stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tl’</td>
<td>tl’aa</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts’</td>
<td>ts’uu</td>
<td>red cedar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘</td>
<td>tlaa’ahl</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>xaahl</td>
<td>shiny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>xaayda</td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Vowels*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>taan</td>
<td>black bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw</td>
<td>taw</td>
<td>greese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aaw</td>
<td>k’aaw</td>
<td>herring roe on kelp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>kay</td>
<td>sealion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aay</td>
<td>gwaay</td>
<td>island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ey</td>
<td>Geyluu</td>
<td>intuition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>isda</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>iiitl’l</td>
<td>us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>dlljuu</td>
<td>doing something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll</td>
<td>dllna</td>
<td>octopus arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>doaxan</td>
<td>even if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td>whale/point/nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uu</td>
<td>tluu</td>
<td>boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaa</td>
<td>yaan</td>
<td>really</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes only those with markedly different sounds than English.

Source: Skidegate Haida Immersion Program, 2011
### Hawaiian Words: Use & Pronunciations (key vowels and consonants)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>‘Ōlelo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Land, division, estate</td>
<td>ahupua’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land, food, eating</td>
<td>‘āina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affection, greeting, generosity</td>
<td>aloha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, foreight</td>
<td>haole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part, fraction</td>
<td>hapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance and song</td>
<td>hula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counsellor, adviser</td>
<td>kaka’olelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native born</td>
<td>kama‘āina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person / Hawaiian</td>
<td>kānaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help</td>
<td>kokua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right, ownership</td>
<td>kuleana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reputation, rank</td>
<td>kulana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandparent, ancestor</td>
<td>kupuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewardship</td>
<td>mālama ‘āina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy / divine power</td>
<td>mana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native, genuine</td>
<td>maoli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District / region</td>
<td>moku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word, speech, to say</td>
<td>‘Ōlelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecting story</td>
<td>mo‘ōlelo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre, naval, summit</td>
<td>piko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welcome strangers</td>
<td>welina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help</td>
<td>kukua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Long:**
- ā, as in father
- ō, as in obey
- ū, as in marine
- ō, as in rose
- ū, as in rule.

**Short:**
- a, as in republican
- e, as in nicety
- i, as in charity
- o, as in eulogy
- u, as in pull

Consonants same as in English except ‘K’ which is ‘t’ or ‘tch’; ‘L’ which is soft ‘r’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>English</strong></th>
<th><strong>Te Reo Māori</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>love, empathy, concern for</td>
<td>aroha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction, meaning</td>
<td>aronga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gods</td>
<td>atua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welcome haka</td>
<td>haka pōwhiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posture dance / general term</td>
<td>haka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended kinship group</td>
<td>iwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewardship</td>
<td>kaitiakitanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank, row, line, team</td>
<td>kapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder man / male Elder</td>
<td>kaumātua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language nest</td>
<td>kōhanga reo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder woman / female Elder</td>
<td>kuia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditions, practices, plan</td>
<td>kaupapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stories of past/traditions</td>
<td>kōrero tuku iho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genuine hospitality, kindness</td>
<td>manaakitanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prestige, authority, influence</td>
<td>māna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court yard, open area in front of the wharenui</td>
<td>marae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life principle, special nature, emotion</td>
<td>mauri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitor, guest</td>
<td>manuhiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greet, welcome</td>
<td>mihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free from tapu, ordinary, unrestricted</td>
<td>noa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>reo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural expert</td>
<td>rūnanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of the land</td>
<td>tangata whenua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred, prohibited, set apart, forbidden</td>
<td>tapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct procedure</td>
<td>Tikanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Island</td>
<td>Te Ika a Maui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Island</td>
<td>Te Wai Pounamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori language</td>
<td>Te reo Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prize, possession, goods, treasure</td>
<td>taonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song, to sing</td>
<td>waiata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal speeches</td>
<td>whaikōrero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribal knowledge, training, learning</td>
<td>wānanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended family/group</td>
<td>whānau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting house, main building of marae</td>
<td>wharenui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vowels:
a, as in far; aa is held longer
e as in desk
i, as in fee
o, as in awe (not ‘oh’)
u, as in sue, boot

wh, as in fish
r, as in I
ng, as in singer
macrons change meaning


Appendix B: Listing of Participants Referenced in Thesis

Haida Gwaii (23)

Aay Aay May 31, 2012
Alsop June 1, 2012
Diang (pseudonym) June 29, 2012
Collison June 24, 2012
GaahnGahl (pseudonym) June 20, 2012
Haana (pseudonym) June 24, 2012
Jiixa June 15, 2012
Kiil’iljuus June 23, 2012
KwiGa (pseudonym) July 6, 2012
Kihl guulaans June 29, 2012
Laurel July 21, 2012
Nang King.aay ‘Uwans Sding June 19, 2012
nang Kaa Klaagangs June 18, 2012
Ngaasda (pseudonym) June 11, 2012
Nika June 28, 2012
SGaana Jaads K’yaa Ga Xiigangs June 7, 2012
SGid Gang.xaal June 11, 2011
Skaanas June 13, 2012
Wiid (pseudonym) June 24, 2012
Xaamxuulang (pseudonym) June 25, 2012
Xaaawdiyaay (pseudonym) June 24, 2012
Xylang jaad xyla June 22, 2012
K’iiwaay (Anonymous) (June, 2012)

Hawaii (10)

Kimura September 11, 2012
Marzo September 12, 2012
Dun September 12, 2012
Silva September 22, 2012
Sproat-Beck October 3, 2012
Diamond October 22, 2012
Taum October 22, 2012
Thoursen October 30, 2012
Wilson, K. October 17, 2012
Wong-Kalu October 27, 2012

Aotearoa (12)

Barrett January 1, 2013
Carman December 25, 2012
Appendix C: Education Agreements & Programs


In public schools (non-reserve), aboriginal student education (K to 12) in British Columbia is the responsibility of the provincial government, Ministry of Education. Targeted funding is provided annually to support aboriginal student education within the school system—allowing school districts to offer enhanced education programs to students who self-identity as aboriginal (www.bced.gov.bc.ca/). School districts and aboriginal communities are able to negotiate and enter into Enhancement Agreements with the Ministry of Education in British Columbia. These five-year agreements provide enhanced educational achievement opportunities for Aboriginal students, emphasizing the provision of programs that focus on local cultural, language, and histories of that area (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2013).\(^{171}\)

Note: In February 2012, the Haida Gwaii School District, the Old Massett Village Council, the Skidegate Band Council, and the Council of the Haida Nation negotiated such an agreement with the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2013).\(^{172}\)

Grade 5 to 8 Second Language Education Programs (1997)

The BC Ministry of Education’s Language Education Policy recognizes the official languages of Canada, but also “the growing number of other languages spoken by British Columbians” (Ministry of Education, 2011). This policy provides for regular instruction in a language other than English or French in grades 5 to 8, upon approval by the Minister


\(^{172}\) As of April 2012, there were 53 such enhancement agreements in place in BC Ministry of Education (2013).
of Education (School Act, 1996, c5). As of April 2012, there were 19 such approved second language curriculum programs in British Columbia. It is the responsibility of the school board to choose which second language will be taught in the region’s schools—French being the default where an alternative is not offered (Ministry of Education, 2011).

**Note:** The School District of Haida Gwaii is not yet among those providing second language instruction in their own language (Ministry of Education, personal communication, 2012).

**Pre-school Language Nest Programs (1990)**

Programming provided pursuant to the First Peoples Heritage, Language, Arts and Culture Council Act (FPHLAC, 1990). The mandate of the FFPHLAC is to assist First Nations to “revitalize their languages, arts, and cultures” (FPHLCC, 2012). Programs are designed to facilitate a range of learning options for communities and include: Language and Cultural Camps, Language Authority and Language Plan Development, Master-Apprentice Program, BC Language Initiative, Aboriginal Language Initiative, and Pre-School Language Nest Programs. The Pre-School Language Nest Program is a partner initiative formed by 1) the First Peoples’ Heritage, Language and Culture Council, 2) the Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, and 3) the New Relationship Trust (See: www.fphlcc.ca/ and http://www.fpcc.ca/files/PDF/language-nest-programs_in_BC.pdf).

**Note:** There are currently 8 Language Nest Programs in BC—Haida Gwaii is not yet among those offering this level of programming (Report on BC Languages, 2010).

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175 The Aboriginal Language Initiative (ALI) is a federal program delivered through provincial and territorial organizations; for example the BC’s First Peoples’ Heritage, Language and Culture Council. The Aboriginal People’s Program, is administered by the Dept. Canadian Heritage. See http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1267285112203.

176 For additional information on these programs see http://www.fphlcc.ca/language
Head Start Program / Birth to Age 6 (1995)

Health Canada funds BC’s First Nations Head Start On-Reserve Program (www.bcfnhs.org/). The mandate of this program is to enhance early childhood development and advances six strategies for this purpose. These include, 1) cultural and language, 2) education, 3) health promotion, 4) nutrition, 5) parent and family involvement, and 6) social support (www.bcfnhs.org/). The program is a holistic, community-based effort where culture is affirmed as part of a child’s unique heritage—encompassing their emotional, spiritual, physical, and learning needs (www.bcfnhs.org).

Note: Four of the five First Nations-operated schools in Haida Gwaii offer such programs. The estimated amount of language instruction per week is 9 hours (FPHLCC, 2010).
### Appendix D: Schools in Haida Gwaii

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agnes L. Mathers</strong></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary/Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Kindergarten to grade 122</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandspit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Early Learning Pre-K</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Port Clements Elementary</strong></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>public Port</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Kindergarten to grade 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Pre-School to K</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tahayghen Elementary</strong></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Kindergarten to grade 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Early Learning Pre-K</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>George M. Dawson Secondary</strong></td>
<td>110</td>
<td>public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Grade 8 to 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Living and Learning School</strong></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>independent Q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Kindergarten to grade 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Queen Charlotte Secondary</strong></td>
<td>143</td>
<td>public Q.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Grade 8 to 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sk’aadgaa Naay Elementary</strong></td>
<td>175</td>
<td>public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Kindergarten to grade 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skidegate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(on reserve)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chief Mathews School</strong></td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>band Old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- K to 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massett</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Partial immersion provides two additional afternoons of instruction per week. (*)
Source: A. Wilson, Superintendent School District 50.
(www.bced.gov.bc.ca/apps/imcl/imclWeb/SchoolContacts.do?distNo=050&distName=Haida%20Gwaii)
Appendix E: Population Statistics / Haida Gwaii


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Massett Village</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skeena District D*</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Clements</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Charlotte Village</td>
<td>1045</td>
<td>948</td>
<td>944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skeena District E**</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Massett Reserve</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skidegate Reserve</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4812</td>
<td>4370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note*: Includes Tow Hill, Tlell, and Lawn Hill (rural Graham Island).
Note**: Includes Sandspit and residents of Moresby Island.
# Community Population by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Old Massett (690)</th>
<th>Skidegate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(780)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>20.9 (144)</td>
<td>26.8 (209)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>19.4 (133)</td>
<td>10.5 (82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>10.4 (72)</td>
<td>11.9 (93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>17.2 (119)</td>
<td>14.8 (115)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>16.4 (113)</td>
<td>16.9 (132)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>8.2 (56)</td>
<td>10.5 (82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>7.5 (52)</td>
<td>9.1 (71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0 (689)</td>
<td>100.5 (784)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Appendix F: Key Stakeholder Agreements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement</th>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Impact on Tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Moresby MoU</td>
<td>-Canada -BC Gov</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>-stop logging in South Moresby</td>
<td>-agreement to establish national park -transferred ownership from province to Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Moresby Agreement</td>
<td>-Canada -BC Gov</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>-agreement to protect Gwaii Haanas as designated park</td>
<td>-funding to establish national marine and terrestrial areas -development of regional economic development fund*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naikoon Management Plan</td>
<td>-BC Parks</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>-establish land use -establish recreation uses -establish conservation role</td>
<td>-establishes local advisory group -cooperative Mgmt with Council of the Haida Nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic Land-Use Agreement</td>
<td>-BC Gov -CHN</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>-establish new protected areas 254,000 hectares</td>
<td>-reflects cultural conservation, spiritual and recreational purposes -collaborative management arrangement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconciliation Protocol</td>
<td>-BC Gov -CHN</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>-establish protocol for land use management</td>
<td>-commitment to renaming Queen Charlotte Islands to Haida Gwaii -shared Mgmt. by joint council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwaii Haanas Marine Agreement</td>
<td>-Canada -CHN</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>-extends Gwaii Haanas 10km offshore</td>
<td>-focus on conservation -traditional activities to continue -recreation activities meet conservation objectives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* What is now the Gwaii Trust Society. ** What is now the Archipelago Management Board

Appendix G: Maps Haida Gwaii

Permission pending as at November 2013.
Haida Gwaii - Queen Charlotte Islands Land Use Plan Protected Areas

Appendix H: Community Approval (Correspondence)

Kelly Whitney-Squire
PhD Candidate
Department of Tourism
School of Business
Room 432, 4th Fl.,
Commerce Building
P.O. Box 56, Dunedin 9054
New Zealand

November 17, 2011

Mr. Jason Alsop
Council Haida Nation
Culture & Language Representative
Operations Manager
Haida Heritage Centre
Skidegate, Haida Gwaii

Dear Jason,

Re: Support to undertake volunteer work and research at the Haida Heritage Centre

It is with great pleasure that I am finally able to write this promised letter seeking your support for me to volunteer and conduct research at the Haida Heritage Centre during the upcoming summer season in 2012.

Since completing my Master of Recreation Management through Acadia University in spring 2011, I have undertaken to complete my doctoral studies at the University of Otago in Dunedin, New Zealand. The focus of my current studies is based on the findings to come out of my master’s work in regard to the role and use of the Haida language within community-based tourism initiatives.

While I began the PhD program here in March 2011, I have since spent a considerable amount of time researching related tourism issues here in New Zealand with a number of Māori academics, tourism business owners/operators, organizations, and associations such as the Māori Rock Art Centre. Further, in October this year I was able to visit with a number of Hawaiian focused tourism service providers in Honolulu and the Big Island in addition to meeting with officials from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. The purpose of these advance field visits was to develop an understanding of key aspects of Māori and Hawaiian tourism businesses, but more importantly to seek their support, input and guidance on how best to approach this research project.

At this early stage, the purpose of this work will be to explore the role of the Haida language within community-based tourism initiatives and determine how individuals and the community currently use tourism to support language use. This will be done by looking at how language is being integrated into tourism products and services and clarifying the role of individuals and the community in supporting the language within tourism initiatives. Building on this work, the focus will shift to looking at these same issues in Hawaii and New Zealand in order to assess complimentary developments elsewhere and develop a culturally appropriate and relevant way in which to bring each other’s experiences and knowledge to bear on such things as best practices.
Ultimately, the goal is to share and apply the unique experience and knowledge of individuals and communities from these areas in a mutually beneficial way. However, it is critically important that this approach not be considered final in any way. In approaching this research, it is my hope to work closely with individuals and the community in order to develop an approach to the study that reflects the needs and aspirations of the Haida — from the perspective of the Haida community. This would include meeting the expectations and needs of the community in regard to outcomes and deliverables and ongoing support to implement any resultant programs that are developed. To this end, please consider the above noted purpose and objectives as open ended and an approach through which I hope to obtain your assistance in implementing and carrying out this important work.

Similar to my last time spent with the community, I propose that I arrive in Haida Gwaii in early May, 2012 and remain there until the end of July or early to mid-August. I do realize that these dates may or may not meet the needs of the Haida Heritage Centre or the community and will remain open to your suggestions in regard to the dates/timing, assuming I receive your support to proceed. In regard to my volunteering over this period of time, I am happy to perform any duties that would prove helpful to the community. I have excellent skills and experience and feel I could contribute even more this time around as I now have a better understanding of the issues faced in maintaining the important role of the Haida Heritage Centre within the community.

Very few studies to date have looked at the role of language within tourism initiatives and certainly no work has been done to date that considers the issues in depth within the context of and from the perspective of an Indigenous community. There is a lot of interest in this work here in New Zealand and in Hawaii and I am pleased that I have been able to establish the beginnings of a network that can contribute so effectively to this research.

My time in Haida Gwaii in 2010 was memorable and an experience that has continued to inform my work and changed how I view the world in many ways. I truly hope that you will support my request to again work with the community in Haida Gwaii. While I await your response, please feel free to contact me if you have any questions or require clarification. I would be happy to help out in any way possible. I look forward to hearing from you as soon as possible in order that I might begin finalizing the organization and administration of this study from this end.

Sincerely,

Kelly Whitney-Squire
PhD Candidate
Department of Tourism
University of Otago
Dunedin, New Zealand

PS: Please pass on my greetings and well wishes to all.
Hi Kelly,

Haaw’aa for your letter dated November 17th, 2011, we are pleased to hear that you would like to continue to do your research with us here at the Haida Heritage Centre and we support this initiative fully. The continuation of the Haida language is of utmost importance to us as an organization and as a people and any research that can contribute to this in any way is welcomed. Having you working here and contributing to our organization was mutually beneficial and we look forward to working together again in the near future.

Please don’t hesitate to contact me if you need any additional information or assistance of any kind that will help out before your return to Haida Gwaii.

Take care,

Jason Alsop
Chief Executive Officer
Haida Heritage Centre at K’ay Llnagaay
Phone: (250) 559-7985 xt. 249
Appendix I: Ethics Approvals and Consent Forms

Advance Site Visit: Hawaii

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

The aim of this project is to determine the potential for including a Hawaiian community as part of a larger PhD study that will explore the role of language within community-based eco-cultural tourism initiatives.

What Type of Participants are being sought?

Participants will ideally be aware of Indigenous language issues in the State of Hawaii and communities that are presently involved in eco-cultural tourism initiatives. Participants have been recruited by referral from academics at the University of Otago and the University of Hawaii. Selection and exclusion criteria were based on personal interest in the research project. The researcher will be meeting with approximately 4 - 8 individuals. No payment will be offered for participation, however, the benefit of participating will relate to your personal level of interest in the topic.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to.

- Participate in a meeting to discuss the merits of including a Hawaiian community in a future PhD research project (Title: Indigenous Eco-cultural tourism: Exploring the Role of Community-Based Initiatives).

It is anticipated that this meeting will be no longer than one hour in duration. However, please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the meeting without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind. The information obtained from the meeting will be in the form of
contact details and meeting notes, which will be stored in a secure location and only those mentioned below will have access to it. Any notes from the meeting discussion will be retained until the end of the larger research project and then destroyed.

None of the information collected will form a part of any current or future research findings. At no time will the names of participants or the information obtained be required for the purpose of the larger PhD research project. Participants are also free to correct or withdraw the information provided at any time and an opportunity to review the information will be provided prior to the conclusion of the meeting.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?

Given the general nature of the information being obtained and the fact that none of the information being obtained will form part of the research results, participants will not be provided with the results as there will be none. No raw data will be collected. This project involves an open discussion of the subject and is not an interview. The general intent of the discussion will relate to broad language issues in the State of Hawaii and the potential to include a Hawaiian community in the larger research project.

The precise nature of the discussion will not have been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the meeting/discussion develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be discussed, the Committee has not been able to review the content of the discussion. In the event that the discussion progresses in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to withdraw at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?

You may withdraw from the meeting at any time, without any disadvantage to yourself.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Kelly Whitney-Squire and/or
Department of Tourism
University Telephone: 64 03 479-7993
Email Address: kelly.whitney-squire@otago.ac.nz

Dr. Anna Thompson
Department of Tourism
University Telephone: 64 03 479-8057
Email Address: anna.thompson@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

[Note: The above statement should not be included if the project has been considered and approved at departmental level]
Advance Site Visit: Hawaii

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3. Personal identifying information in the form of my contact details and notes will be destroyed at the conclusion of the larger PhD research project

4. The meeting involves an open discussion format. The general approach includes a discussion of Indigenous language issues in the State of Hawaii and community-based eco-cultural tourism initiatives. The precise nature of the discussion has not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the meeting develops. In the event that the discussion progresses in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may withdraw from the discussion without any disadvantage of any kind.

5. There are no discomforts or risks associated with your participation.

6. There is no remuneration or compensation to be made for your participation, nor will the information provided be used for any commercial purpose

7. The results of the project will not be published or form a part of the larger research project.

I agree to take part in this project.

Name of participant

__________________________________________  __________________________
(Signature of participant)                      (Date)

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

[Note: The above statement should not be included if the project has been considered and approved at departmental level]
23 July 2012

Dr A Thompson
Department of Tourism
Division of Commerce
School of Business

Dear Dr Thompson,

I am writing to let you know that, at its recent meeting, the Ethics Committee considered your proposal entitled "Indigenous Tourism: Exploring the role of the Haida language in community-based initiatives in Haida Gwaii, Canada".

As a result of that consideration, the current status of your proposal is:- Approved

For your future reference, the Ethics Committee’s reference code for this project is:- 12/200.

The comments and views expressed by the Ethics Committee concerning your proposal are as follows:-

While approving the application, the Committee would be grateful if you would respond to the following:

We are pleased to see that you are using the Pacific Research Protocols. Would it be appropriate to gain formal approval from authorities in Hawaii to ensure you have permission for the research to be undertaken there?

Please provide the Committee with a copy of the interview questions to be asked of participants, or a general outline if the questions themselves are not available.

Please provide the Committee with copies of the updated Information Sheet and Consent Form, if changes have been necessary.

Approval is for up to three years from the date of this letter. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, re-approval must be requested. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing.

Yours sincerely,

Mr Gary Witte
Manager, Academic Committees
Tel: 479 8256
Email: gary.witte@otago.ac.nz

c.c. Assoc. Prof. H M Tucker Department of Tourism

[Ref#: 12/200]
Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

**What is the Aim of the Project?**

The aim of this study is to start a dialogue on issues related to language development within indigenous community-based tourism initiatives. Feedback is being sought from the Hawaiian and Māori communities in order to advance critically informed alternative approaches and best practices that might support language development in Haida Gwaii, Canada. While the key study site is the Haida Heritage Centre and Haida Gwaii Museum in British Columbia, Canada it is hoped that the insights of the Hawaiian and Māori communities will assist the Haida community in their efforts to revitalize their critically endangered Xaad kil (the Haida language).

**What Type of Participants is being sought?**

Participants who are aware of indigenous language issues in Hawai‘i and/or New Zealand and who may be involved with community-based tourism initiatives. The researcher also hopes to meet with academic and scholars with an interest in this field of study.

**What will Participants be Asked to Do?**

Should you agree to take part in this study project, you will be asked for an interview to discuss language and tourism issues as they relate to your experience. Generally, this will take up approximately an hour of your time. Please be assured that should you share personal information it will be confidential and only used for the purpose of this study.

**What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?**

The data to be collected in this study will be in the form of transcribed interviews. The interviews will be taped/recorded only with the permission of participants. These taped recordings will be used to document responses to the interview questions or the conversations held during focus groups. The transcribed notes will be used to gain a deeper understanding of what is shared and compared to other responses to get as broad a picture of language and tourism issues as is possible. The only person who will have access to this information is the student researcher and her supervisors. Pseudonyms, chosen by the interviewee, will be used. This information will be kept in a secure location at all times at the office of the researcher for the duration of the study, i.e., submission of the final thesis. Following that, the data will be stored in a secure location within the Department of Tourism, University of Otago. The data will be kept for a minimum of five years, at the end of which time, the data will be destroyed by the University by the staff member responsible for this process.
Within the completed thesis the names of individuals will not be used. Rather, pseudonyms assigned at the time of the interview will be used to link individual responses. This is done to ensure your confidentiality and anonymity. In instances, wherein a particular quote might be attributable to you as a result of the small population of the community, the quote will not be used without your permission. While, the results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand), every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity. The exception to this will be the use of any photographs in which participants have agreed to pose. Your agreement to allow the researcher to use the photograph in any future presentations or published works will be noted on the attached consent form.

This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes language and tourism issues as noted above. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the community develops the questions and how the individual interviews progress. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

**Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?**

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Following completion of the interview or focus group, participants will have an opportunity to correct or withdraw the data/information. Participants will be asked if they want to see the transcribed notes for their final approval in which case they will be sent to the participant for this purpose.

**What if Participants have any Questions?**

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Kelly Whitney-Squire  
Department of Tourism  
Telephone: 64 03 479-7693  
Email: Kelly.whitney-squire@otago.ac.nz

Supervisor: Dr. Anna Thompson  
Department of Tourism  
Telephone: 64 03 479-8057  
Email: anna.thompson@otago.ac.nz

Supervisor: Dr. Hazel Tucker  
Department of Tourism  
Telephone: 64 03 479-7671  
Email: hazel.tucker@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the researcher you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.
Indigenous Tourism: Exploring the Role of Language Within Community-Based Initiatives in Haida Gwaii, Canada

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:
1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information [recorded data tapes] will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;
4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning involves the use of indigenous language within tourism development initiatives. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.
5. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library, Dunedin, New Zealand.
6. I, as the participant:
   a) agree to being named in the research……………………………
   b) would rather remain anonymous………………………………
   c) agree to have my photograph reproduced in printed materials..
   d) would like to receive a transcript of my interview………………
   e) am willing to be contacted if any further questions arise after the interview …………………………………………

Select Pseudonym: _________________________________ (print)

I agree to take part in this project.

.......................................................
(Signature of participant) ..............................
(Date)

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.
20 January 2012

Dr A Thompson
Department of Tourism
Division of Commerce
School of Business

Dear Dr Thompson,

I am writing to let you know that, at its recent meeting, the Ethics Committee considered your proposal entitled "Indigenous tourism: Exploring the role of language within community-based initiatives on Haida Gwaii, Canada".

As a result of that consideration, the current status of your proposal is: - Approved

For your future reference, the Ethics Committee's reference code for this project is: - 12/005.

The comments and views expressed by the Ethics Committee concerning your proposal are as follows:-

While approving the application, the Committee would be grateful if you would respond to the following:

The Committee would be grateful for the approximate value of the gift to be given to participants, as stated in item 13(f) on page 5 of the application.

In the first paragraph on page 12 of the application, in the Information Sheet for Participants, please replace the word 'incinerated' with 'destroyed', as incinerating is not the usual practice of document destruction at the University.

The Committee notes the reference to the AAA Code of Ethics being used for this research and is interested in whether the University of Otago's recently published Pacific Research Protocols have been consulted, as the research is located in the Pacific Region. We would be grateful for your views on this.

Please provide the Committee with copies of the updated Information Sheet and Consent Form, if changes have been necessary.

Approval is for up to three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, re-approval must be requested. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Mr Gary Witte
Manager, Academic Committees
Tel: 479 6256
Email: gary.witte@otago.ac.nz

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Indigenous Tourism: Exploring the Role of Language
Within Community-Based Initiatives in Haida Gwaii, Canada

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

The aim of this study is to understand the importance of language to the Haida culture within tourism initiatives. It is critical that the study represent the perspective and voice of the Haida in regard to the role of language within a tourism context.

What Type of Participant is being sought?

Participants aware of indigenous language issues in Haida Gwaii and who may be involved with community-based tourism initiatives are being sought. The researcher hopes to meet with as many individuals as possible in order to understand the complex community, political, and developmental issues involved with in supporting indigenous language within community-based tourism initiatives.

What will Participants be asked to Do?

Should you agree to take part in this study project, you will be asked for an interview or focus group to discuss language and tourism issues as they relate to your experiences. Generally, this will take up approximately an hour of your time. Please be assured that should you share personal information it will be confidential and only used for the purpose of this study.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?

The data to be collected in this study will be in the form of transcribed interviews or focus group notes. The interviews will be taped/recorded only with the permission of participants. These taped recordings will be used to document responses to the interview questions or the conversations held during focus groups. The transcribed notes will be used to gain a deeper understanding of what is shared and compared to other responses to get as broad a picture of language and tourism issues as is possible. The only person who will have access to this information is the researcher and her supervisors. Pseudonyms, chosen by the interviewee, will be used. This information will be kept in a secure location at all times at the office of the researcher for the duration of the study, i.e., submission of the final thesis. Following that, the data will be stored in a secure location within the Department of Tourism, University of Otago. The data will be kept for a minimum of five years, at the end of which time, the data will be destroyed by the University by the staff member responsible for this process.

Within the completed thesis the names of individuals will not be used. Rather, pseudonyms assigned at the time of the interview will be used to link individual responses. This is done to ensure your confidentiality and anonymity. In instances, wherein a particular quote might be attributable to you as a result of the small
population of the community, the quote will not be used without your permission. While, the results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand), every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity. The exception to this will be the use of any photographs in which participants have agreed to pose. Your agreement to allow the researcher to use the photograph in any future presentations or published works will be noted on the attached consent form.

This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes language and tourism issues as noted above. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the community develops the questions and how the individual interviews progress. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Following completion of the interview or focus group, participants will have an opportunity to correct or withdraw the data/information. Participants will be asked if they want to see the transcribed notes for their final approval in which case they will be sent to the participant for this purpose.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Kelly Whitney-Squire
Department of Tourism
Telephone: 64 03 479-7693
Email: Kelly.whitney-squire@otago.ac.nz

Supervisor: Dr. Anna Thompson
Department of Tourism
Telephone: 64 03 479-8057
Email: anna.thompson@otago.ac.nz

Supervisor: Dr. Hazel Tucker
Department of Tourism
Telephone: 64 03 479-7671
Email: hazel.tucker@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.
Indigenous Tourism: Exploring the Role of Language
Within Community-Based Initiatives in Haida Gwaii, Canada

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:
1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information [recorded data tapes] will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;
4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning involves the use of indigenous language within tourism development initiatives. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.
5. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library, Dunedin, New Zealand.
6. I, as the participant:
   a) agree to being named in the research………………………….
   b) would rather remain anonymous………………………………
   c) agree to have my photograph reproduced in printed materials..
   d) would like to receive a transcript of my interview……………
   e) am willing to be contacted if any further questions arise after the interview ………………………………………….

I agree to take part in this project.

.......................................................
(Signature of participant)
.......................................................
(Date)

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.
Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee
Te Komiti Rakahau ki Kāi Tahu

17/07/2012 - 36
Tuesday, 17 July 2012

Dr Thompson
Tourism
Dunedin

Tēnā koe Dr Thompson

Title: Indigenous Tourism: Exploring the Role of the Haida Language in Community-Based Initiatives in Haida Gwaii, Canada.

The Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee (The Committee) met on Tuesday, 17 July 2012 to discuss your research proposition.

By way of introduction, this response from the Committee is provided as part of the Memorandum of Understanding between Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and the University. In the statement of principles of the memorandum, it states "Ngāi Tahu acknowledges that the consultation process outlined in this policy provides no power of veto by Ngāi Tahu to research undertaken at the University of Otago". As such, this response is not "approval" or "mandate" for the research, rather it is a mandated response from a Ngāi Tahu appointed committee. This process is part of a number of requirements for researchers to undertake and does not cover other issues relating to ethics, including methodology; they are separate requirements with other committees, for example the Human Ethics Committee, etc.

Within the context of the Policy for Research Consultation with Māori, the Committee base consultation on that defined by Justice McGechan:

"Consultation does not mean negotiation or agreement. It means: setting out a proposal not fully decided upon; adequately informing a party about relevant information upon which the proposal is based; listening to what the others have to say with an open mind (in that there is room to be persuaded against the proposal); undertaking that task in a genuine and not cosmetic manner. Reaching a decision that may or may not alter the original proposal."

The Committee considers the research to be of interest and importance.

As this study involves human participants, the Committee strongly encourage that ethnicity data be collected as part of the research project. That is the questions on self-identified ethnicity and descent, these questions are contained in the 2006 census.

The Committee notes the researchers are seeking feedback from Māori tourism operators and Ngāi Tahu are significantly involved in Tourism. They also suggest contacting Dr Maria Amoamo who has worked with indigenous tourism.

The Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee has membership from:

Te Rūnanga o Otākou Incorporated
Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Pakeha Taki
Te Rūnanga o Moeraki
The Committee suggests dissemination of the research findings to Ngāi Tahu Tourism at Te Rānanga o Ngāi Tahu regarding this study.

We wish you every success in your research and the Committee also requests a copy of the research findings.

This letter of suggestion, recommendation and advice is current for an 18 month period from Tuesday, 17 July 2012 to 17 January 2014.

The recommendations and suggestions above are provided on your proposal submitted through the consultation website process. These recommendations and suggestions do not necessarily relate to ethical issues with the research, including methodology. Other committees may also provide feedback in these areas.

Nāhaku noa, nā

Mark Brunton
Kaitakawaenga Rangahau Māori
Facilitator Research Māori
Research Division
Te Whare Wānanga o Otago
Ph: +64 3 479 8738
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Appendix J: Interview Guides / Questions

Phase I

How is the Haida language used in the community today? What does the Haida language mean to you…your family…your community?

How the language was used by your Chinaay or Nanaay.

How does the community share the Haida language with visitors to the islands? Could the community do more to support the use of the language in this way? [Should they?]

What does it mean to you to speak your own language with visitors and guests as Haida? Do you feel it has improved your language skills? How?

In what unique ways does speaking the Haida language allow you to express yourself?

Where do you tend to use your own language the most? (How and where?)

How do you feel the community benefits from using the Haida language in tourism initiatives?

What do visitors take away from these experiences?

What is the community doing to support the use of the Haida language for youth and new learners?

What would be your vision for the community in supporting the use of the Haida language in tourism initiatives?

What would you say to the world/community about your reasons for wanting to share the Haida language with visitors to Haida Gwaii?

WORDS FOR HAIDA VALUES/CONCEPTS RELATED TO HOSPITALITY?

Phase II

What is the relevance of ‘Ōlelo / te Reo to …?

What are key historic impacts/events on language use…?

How is the language being stewarded through tourism initiatives?

What resources are available within tourism to support the language?

What are the vision and challenges faced in supporting language use in tourism?
Appendix K: Tour Introductions & Conclusions

Haida Heritage Centre
AT Kay Llnagaay

FRONT DESK: Guided Tour Intros / Conclusions

INTRODUCTION: Canoe Tour

A group of people
Good day.
Thank you all for coming to Ñay Llnagaay, and I’m very happy.
You all follow (walk after) me, and I will explain the canoe tour.
Sii.ngaay ’laa.
Haawa, Ñay Llnagaay çà dalang isis
Ad dii guudang ngaay ’laa ga.
Dii dllça hla ñaa, gen tluuwaay ad
dalang giì hll suu ças ga.

One person
Good day.
Thank you for coming to Ñay Llnagaay, and I’m very happy.
You follow (walk after) me, and I will explain the canoe tour.
Sii.ngaay ’laa.
Haawa, Ñay Llnagaay çà da isis
Ad dii guudang ngaay ’laa ga.
Dii dllça hla ñaa, gen tluuwaay ad
dang giì hll suu ças ga.

CONCLUSION: Canoe Tour

A group of people
It was a pleasure having
all of you on the canoe tour.
Thank you.
Tluuwaay guuça dalang ’waadlu’an isis
ad dii guudang ngaay ’laa ga.
Haawa.

One person
It was a pleasure having
you on the canoe tour.
Thank you.
Tluuwaay guuça
da isis ad dii guudang ngaay ’laa ga.
Haawa.
Haida Heritage Centre
AT Kay Llnagaay

INTRODUCTION: Totem Pole Tour

A group of people
Good day.
Thank you all for coming to Ñay Llnagaay, and I’m very happy.
You all follow (walk after) me, and I will explain the totem pole tour.
Sii ngaay 'laa.
Haawa, Ñay Llnagaay ça dalang isis
Ad dii guudang ngaay 'laa ga.
Dii dllça hla ḋañn, gen gyaaçang ngaay
Ad dalang gii hll suu ças ga.

CONCLUSION: Totem Pole Tour

A group of people
It was a pleasure having
all of you on the totem pole tour.
Thank you.
Gyaaçang ngaay ad dalang 'waadlu!an isis
ad dii guudang ngaay 'laa ga.
Haawa.

One person
It was a pleasure having
you on the totem pole tour.
Thank you.
Gyaaçang ngaay ad
da isis ad dii guudang ngaay 'laa ga.
Haawa.
INTRODUCTION: Weaving Tour

A group of people
Good day.
Thank you all for coming to Ñay Llnagaay, and I’m very happy.
All of you follow (walk after) me, and I will explain the weaving tour.
  Sii.ngaay 'laa.
  Haawa, Ñay Llnagaay ça dalang isis
  Ad dii guudang ngaay 'laa ga.
  Dii dllça hla ñaa, gen wiiguu!aay
  Ad dalang gii hll suu ças ga.

One person
Good day.
Thank you all for coming to Ñay Llnagaay, and I’m very happy.
You follow (walk after) me, and I will explain the weaving tour.
  Sii.ngaay 'laa.
  Haawa, Ñay Llnagaay ça da isis
  Ad dii guudang ngaay 'laa ga.
  Dii dllça hla ñaa, gen wiiguu!aay
  Ad dalang gii hll suu ças ga.

CONCLUSION: Weaving Tour

A group of people
It was a pleasure having
all of you on the weaving tour.
Thank you.
  Wiiguu!aay ad dalang 'waadlu!an isis
  ad dii guudang ngaay 'laa ga.
  Haawa.

One person
It was a pleasure having
you on the weaving tour.
Thank you.
  Wiiguu!aay ad
da isis ad dii guudang ngaay ‘laa ga.
  Haawa.
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