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Place Identity, Guides, and Sustainable Tourism in Canada's Yukon Territory

by

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ABSTRACT

The following is a qualitative and interpretive exploration of place identity, wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides, and sustainable tourism development in Canada's Yukon Territory. Four research sub-questions are used to glean insights and advance this study: 1) how are Yukon place identities characterized in relation to remoteness?; 2) how is Yukon tourism positioned in relation to these place identities of remoteness?; 3) how is remoteness reflected in the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides?; and 4) how do the place identities of wilderness and cultural interpreter guides influence the way they design and deliver their tourism activities?

Recognizing the importance of "sense of place" as a tourism development tool, cultural geography was used to analyse guide place identity in relation to place-making and place-marketing processes. The study involved textual analysis of resident and tourist oriented documents, participant observation of guides and their tourism activities, and an analysis of place identity narratives identified in interviews with wilderness and cultural tourism guides. Three collective place identity narratives were used as a framework to examine place relationships in a tourism context: 1) Masculinist Narratives, 2) Narratives of the New Sublime, and 3) Narratives of Loss.

In this study, place identity is explored in terms of the way it is expressed through, and influenced by, notions of "remoteness." Remoteness is conceptualized as a social, cultural, historical and geographical construct that holds meaningful – if differently experienced and expressed – place identity values for residents and tourists alike. Remoteness is defined by the Yukon's vast wilderness, its distance [real and perceived] from southern Canada and "civilization," and its unique cultural makeup and history, especially with regard to lingering notions of an untamed frontier and its First Nations residents. Place identity captures remoteness as a critical value in developing and maintaining self and group identity; remoteness is also examined in light of how it is part of the Yukon tourism experience.

Research findings include a description of cross-cutting themes that advance an understanding for the role remoteness plays in relation to place and identity in a tourism

context, including an analysis of critical features – climate, space and time – which act as "narrative reinforcements." Findings also discuss infrastructure as a pivotal paradox; one that hinges on the "remote-accessible" nature of the Yukon's tourism development question. Relationships between guide place identity, tourism experience authenticity and the nature of interpretation, type of tourism operation and tourism experience are identified and considered in relation to special interest tourism. Finally, implications for tourism and destination management and the goals of sustainable tourism development are discussed.

This dissertation is dedicated to the people of the Yukon: past, present and future

and

to my parents, Pat and Ken de la Barre

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have been lost and found so many times now in this vast place that is the Yukon Territory, that I can barely count them. This place is the minder – and reminder – of my growth as a person. It is place as point of reference: holding up for me, mirror-like, how I know/don't know myself and understand/don't understand my place in the world. I leave here, often, sometimes for years on end, thirsty for the big world "Outside," only to be summoned back by the comfort of this familiar and the challenges and joys of living a day-to-day life immersed in the paradox of a place that is both awesomely huge and crushingly small.

This project captures some of my own relationship to the territory, though there is more missing here than what is present. It has been an interesting journey, made possible only through the kindness and generosity of many people. Among them, and most importantly, two mentors who have been relentless in their support and interest in my work: my academic advisor Dr. Tom Hinch, and my father, fellow geographer and tourism enthusiast, Ken de la Barre. Tom provided me with timely, insightful and encouraging guidance from the time I first contacted him when I was searching for someone to work with, up until the final moments of this undertaking. Bad breakfasts with Ken at *Ricky*'s in Whitehorse, and really good ones at *Caféteria* on St-Laurent Street in Montreal, ensured I never went hungry and always, always, had someone willing to go through it all with me, every single step of the way. I am deeply indebted to both of them.

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Time spent with Dr. PearlAnn Reichwein and fellow students in her *Landscape and Memory* course was an especially inspiring period for me. The course proved to be fertile ground that helped grow the seed of this project in its very early stages. I'm thankful for the discussions that were made possible during our class sessions, and remain motivated to teach a similar course somewhere – hopefully sometime soon!

Without the participation and interest of Yukon wilderness and cultural tourism guides this study would have fallen flat. They were generous with their time and openly shared their love of the Yukon with me. They also provided me with useful insights that come from the challenges they face and frustrations they encounter with their chosen tourism activities. Not to mention those they face because lifestyles are morphed into livelihoods. In their honour, I hope my research will resonate in some way with the purposes and intentions I set out with: to help ensure the long-lasting beauty and dynamic character of the Yukon Territory.

I've also been the lucky recipient of much encouragement and assistance from the Yukon's tourism agencies and their representatives. In particular, I'm grateful to the Territory's Department of Tourism and Culture for allowing me access to the 2005/2006 tourism branding research results. That research proved essential to positioning place

identity in the context of Yukon place marketing processes. I'd also like to give special thanks to Patti Balsillie, former Chief Executive Officer of the Tourism Industry Association of the Yukon (TIAY).

I also owe great thanks to faculty administrative personnel, in particular Anne Jordan, Tana Farrell and Suzanne French, to the Canadian Circumpolar Institute (CCI), especially Elaine Maloney, and to members of the Circumpolar Students' Association (2003-2005). I am grateful also for funding received from many agencies including the University of Alberta, the Association for Canadian University and Colleges for Northern Studies (ACUNS), Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), the Yukon College's Northern Research Institute (NRI), the Yukon Foundation, and the Tourism Cares for Tomorrow US-based not for profit.

Deconstructing home, an unwitting result of tearing apart the Yukon as "place" – a place that I (mostly) love – has not been easy. Nor has it been easy to ignore a near constant seduction to make innocent encounters with home part of a never-ending option to do more field work. Such encounters have required mental gymnastics that are worthy of a paper all on its own (which I may or may not ever get to). To help with the jumps and leaps, the highs and the lows, friends and family were waiting in the sidelines with emotional refreshments. In particular, siblings Tracy and Michel and their partners Dirk Rentmeister and Melissa Maione, provided me with much encouragement, and my nieces and nephews – Aliesha, Charlotte, Tristan, and Noah – were enthusiastic supporters and important diversions along the way. I am grateful to them for letting me take up space as the oldest – and most annoying – student at the supper table!

I would also like to express gratitude to my mother who passed away just two months before this PhD project began. In her own way, Pat has been ever-present, pushing me along when things got tough and the urge to just "chuck it" was a strong and attractive option. Through her support and encouragement, my mother played a pivotal role in what I have been able to accomplish in my life, and this academic achievement is no exception.

Since starting full-time work upon completion of the first and very rough draft of this paper, my colleagues with the Regional Economic Development Branch (Yukon Government) have been consistently understanding and more than willing to provide me with the necessary flexibility and support to finish this project. They made it possible for me to make the necessary transition from writing full-time to writing whenever I was not at my day job. Special thanks to Sharon Hickey who is one of the most supportive cheerleaders I have ever come across.

There are so many other people, simply too numerous to name, who in some way helped me along the way. They provided feedback on parts of drafts, inspirational musings, encouragement, much needed good humour, dinners out and sleepovers in, crazy nights of dancing in living rooms or dance halls, and doses of soothing friendship to lighten the many moments of darkness and existential angst that accompanied me on this doctoral journey. To all of you I say, **Thank You**! I **REALLY** could not have done this without you.

What Led Me to My Research?

My father, Ken de la Barre, was the Canadian Director of the Arctic Institute of North America (AINA) throughout most of my childhood (1965-1975). Because of his position, and because of my mother's love of entertaining, our supper table was often honoured with the company of northern scholars and modern-day Arctic explorers. These gaggles of lovers of all things "North" would sit for hours, often drinking (too much) wine (or scotch), and telling tales that expressed both their love and respect for northern places.

In concert with these suppertime theatrics, I was witness to my father's travels in the Arctic. It seemed he was always off on an icebreaker, or being flown into a remote research station, or otherwise departing for some circumpolar destination. Trinkets would be brought back that reflected the nature of life in a northern world: Sámi-made mittens, moose scat and bead necklaces, big (BIG) bugs that were found in glaciers and then set in glass casings. In the 1970s, my father was required to spend summers at the AINA's Kluane Lake Research Station on the shores of that lake in what is now Kluane National Park. My family would drive to Kluane Lake from Montreal in April, and return in September.

In 1981, I began my career as a "bush cook." I cooked in remote bush camp settings all over northern Canada, on and off and seasonally for two decades (13 seasons). The work brought me to remote wilderness areas – fly in only or road access – and proved a fruitful trade for me as it paid for much of my early university education. As a result, my love affair with the North is in part built on the experience of sipping coffee at 6:30 am on the steps of a wall-tent kitchen, while looking out onto the vastness of a deeply mythologized landscape; this after having flipped eggs for 15 to 30 gruff looking and hard working men (with few exceptions the use of "men" is accurate!).

Despite my early introduction to Canada's north, it was not until 1991 – after completing a BA in Human Geography (University of Ottawa) and a Master's in Environmental Studies (York University) – that I relocated my home-base permanently to the Yukon. Living in a small wood-heated-no-running-water cabin an hour from

Whitehorse (for many, the quintessential introduction to living in the Yukon), I published and co-edited an arts and culture travel magazine for women called *SHE travels: a magazine dedicated to women and travel,* worked with a not-for-profit that provided support services to women, and cooked.

Needing a professional and personal challenge, I left the Yukon and Canada in 1997 and worked overseas for several years in southern Africa region. In Malawi, I coordinated a training institute that focused on the development and use of participatory methodologies for rural and peri-urban community mobilization agents. Following that, I designed, coordinated and co-facilitated World University Service of Canada's (WUSC) 6-week learning travel seminar on international development in Zimbabwe (1999). Twenty Canadian and 16 Zimbabwean students participated in that seminar, and despite my experience travelling and living in "developing" nations, it was a life-changing experience for me as well as for many of the students. Working on the seminar led to my appreciation for special interest travel and my awareness of the benefits it can potentially bring to host destinations, as well as to travellers. Upon my return to Canada, I managed WUSC's Student Refugee Program (SRP). Based in Ottawa, I travelled regularly to refugee camps and urban refugee-settlements in Benin, Ghana, Kenya and Pakistan.

Place-related considerations figure prominently in much of my personal and professional experience. Tourism and travel, "the North" and its many interpretations, communities, development, place-as-haven, place-as-hell, are all features that I have scrutinized and been inspired by at a personal level. One of my initial motivations for this study was a growing awareness of how the Yukon could be positioned to set an example for best practices where tourism development in remote areas is concerned. It has been one of my greatest privileges to examine these issues through my doctoral research and this dissertation.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACUNS	Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies
CTC	Canadian Tourism Commission
SIT	Special Interest Tourism
TIAY	Tourism Industry Association of the Yukon
TOI	Tour Operators Initiative
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization (also "WTO")
WTAY	Wilderness Tourism Association of the Yukon
YFNTA	Yukon First Nations Tourism Association
YG	Yukon Government

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PREFACE

The Yukon Territory

The Yukon Territory is cushioned in the North West corner of Canada and at 483, 450 square kilometres it covers 4.8% of Canada's total land mass. It is the ninth largest provincial/territorial jurisdiction in the nation and only the Atlantic Provinces are smaller (Map 1).

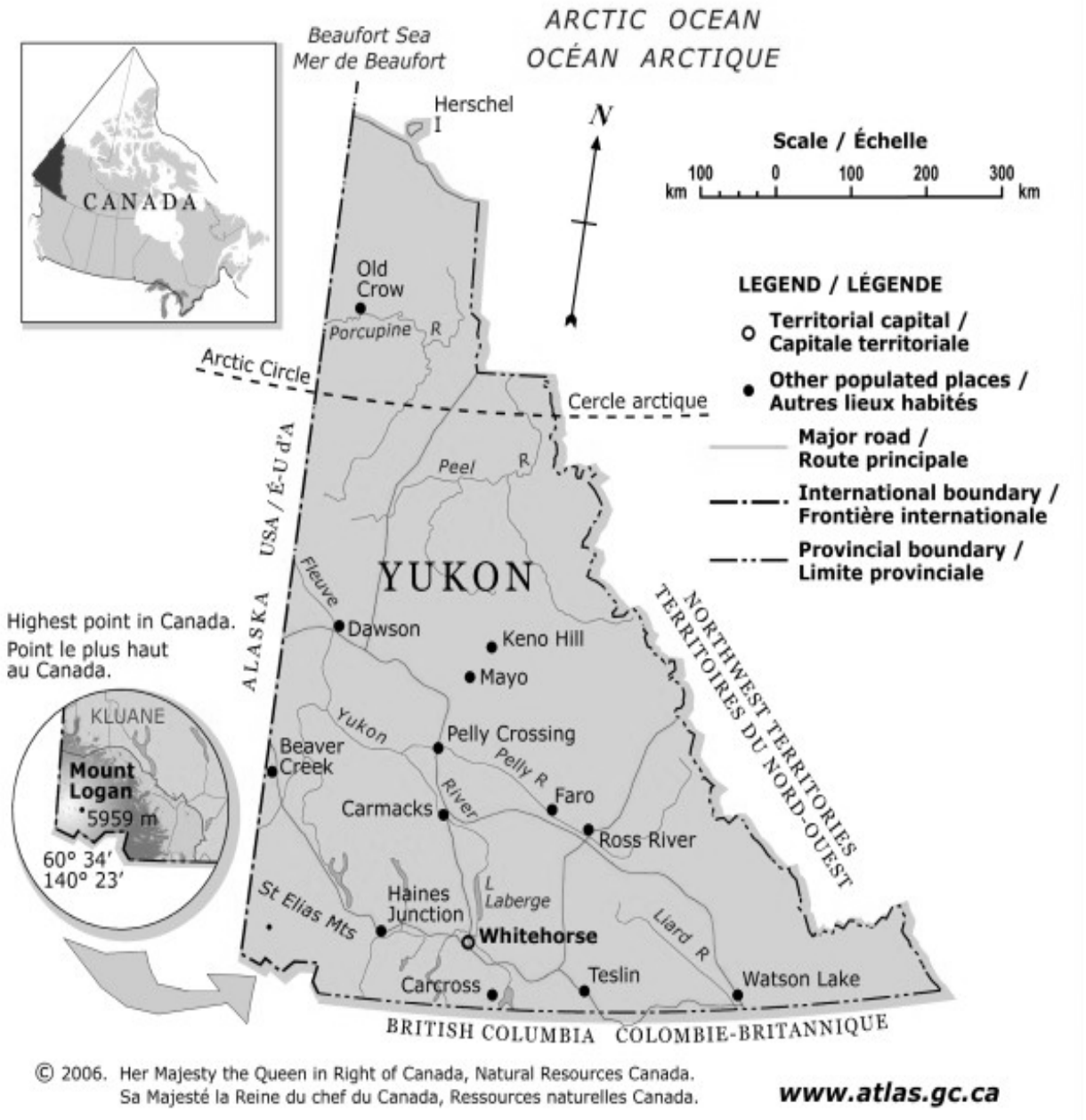
The Territory's legendary climate boasts the coldest ever recorded temperature of - 63 °C at Snag in 1947. However, while having a severe cold climate remains an essential Yukon characterization, recorded average minimum temperatures for January for the 1971 to 2000 period range from a more moderate - 24 °C to - 20 °C for Whitehorse, and - 34 °C to - 30 °C for Dawson City. Whitehorse temperatures especially are not dissimilar to the recorded mean minimum temperatures for southern Canadian regions, as is evident in average minimums for Edmonton (-19 °C to –15 °C), Saskatoon, Regina and Winnipeg (-24 °C to - 20 °C), and Ottawa and Montreal (-19 °C to -15 °C).[1] More recently, it has become increasingly apparent that climate characterizations are imperilled by virtue of the growing evidence that climate change will impact Yukon temperatures in the next three decades by increases of as much as 3 to 4 °C in the winter months.[2]

The Yukon's infrastructure differentiates the territory in some important ways from Canada's other territories, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut (Smith, 1996). One of the most significant differences is the fact that all but one of the territory's 16 communities are linked by over 4,700 kilometres of all weather, year-round roads.

[1] For average January mean daily minimum and maximum temperatures for the period 1971-2000 go to http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/maps/environment/climate/temperature/temp_winter

[2] For information of projected temperatures changes due to climate change across Canada go to: http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/maps/climatechange/scenarios/nationalwintertemp2050. A simulation of projected changes in the winter (December to February) temperatures from the period 1961 to 1990 to the period 2040 to 2060 for Canadian lands is shown.

Map 1: Map of the Yukon Territory



The population of the Yukon is 33, 294 and almost 75%, or 24, 900 people, live in or around Whitehorse, the territory's capital (Yukon Government [YG], 2008a). In addition to Whitehorse, only three Yukon communities out of 14 count more than 500

people (Dawson City, Haines Junction and Watson Lake).[3] Most of the smaller communities outside of Whitehorse are majority First Nations people, who comprise about 25% of the total Yukon population (YG, 2008b).[4]

The relatively unpopulated nature of the Yukon Territory is especially apparent when juxtaposed to its Alaskan neighbour. Alaska's land mass is 917, 730 km² (or 570, 373 m²) and is home to 626, 932 residents (2000 census). Described in this manner, Yukon has a population density of one person per 16 km² and Alaska has one person per km².

Euro-Canadian historical accounts for the Yukon begin with chronicles of inter-tribal trade along the Pacific coast in 1740. Despite these trade activities, European traders and explorers remained in the periphery until after 1830 when the advancing fur trade and commercially led mapping explorations pushed them further inland. The interior lands were particularly hard to access and held back the advance of the fur trade with eastern lands (Coates & Morrison, 2005). The fur trade is still important today for about 3% of the population, mainly First Nations, and the value of fur production for the territory is still accounted for in the Territory's annual statistical review (YG, 2008a, p. 58).

Economic development in the territory since the 1898 gold rush has primarily been characterized by "boom-and-bust" cycles in a manner that typify many of Canada's natural resource dependent towns and regions. The words of William Ogilvie, a Yukon explorer whose stories are compiled in a book titled *Early Days on the Yukon and the Story of its Gold Finds* (1913), perhaps best capture the national interests which led to continued attention on the Yukon Territory after 1898. He observed,

> The future of this vast region is full of hope, as it is generously endowed. The resources are rich and varied and only await the pick of the prospector, the plough of the farmer, and the advent of the horse and cattle rancher to make it what one day it will truly be – Canada's great Reserve. (p. 306)

[3] For a more comprehensive introduction to all Yukon communities go to http://www.yukoncommunities.yk.ca/

[4] The term "First Nations" is consistent with Aboriginal self-identification in the Yukon Territory.

Today, the "land of plenty" narrative is still extolled and the territory remains tied to its natural resources and boasts world class mineral deposits – "with many rich areas yet to be discovered" – emerging forestry interests, and oil and gas industries (Retrieved on September 6, 2008 from http://www.investyukon.com/).

Investment interests have been positively impacted by diminishing federal government control over the Yukon's natural resources. As of April 1, 2003, devolution processes have provided the Yukon Territory with the responsibilities and powers for resource management. In addition to increased control over its natural resources, the Yukon Legislature has gained power to pass laws in the same areas as provincial legislatures: these include education, health care, social services, recreation, roads and other infrastructure. The legislative assembly is made up of 18 elected members and has a territorial cabinet that works in the same way as a provincial or federal cabinet.

First Nations also have struggled for control of their own affairs. As of August 2006, 11 First Nations had signed their Final and Self-Government Agreements.[5] Only three Yukon First Nations have not settled land claims and remain Indian Bands under the federal Indian Act. Self-Government Agreements provide exclusive law-making powers to First Nations over their internal affairs, lands and resources and management of their citizens' Final Agreement rights. In addition, self-governing Yukon First Nations have the power to make citizen-based laws and the authority to make laws in relation to their Settlement Land (Retrieved on September 6, 2008 from http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/landclaims/history.html).

The Yukon Territory is home to 14 First Nations who are defined by eight language groups. Map 2 features a Yukon First Nations' languages map that identifies seven language groups as Athapaskan and the remaining group as Tlingit.[6] While still a controversial debate in archeological circles, it is believed that people first inhabited Yukon lands between 25 000 BC and 1000 AD. Controversy aside, it is widely agreed that Yukon First Nations are the oldest continuous inhabitants of North America. The links between early pre-contact inhabitants and their descendents still living in the Yukon

[5] For comprehensive information on Yukon Land Claims, go to: http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/landclaims/agreements.html

[6] For additional introductory information on Yukon First Nations, go to: http://www.gov.yk.ca/aboutyukon/culture.html and http://www.yfnta.org/

are said to date back to 8000 BC. First Nations were "restricted wanderers," hunter-gatherers who were tied to the land and its seasonal requirements. Lifestyles were created around seasonal movements and food resources, and spiritual values were given to both animate and inanimate objects (Coates & Morrison, 2005; Nadasdy, 2003).

Map 2: Yukon First Nations Language Map

Source: Map provided by the Yukon Native Language Centre: http://www.ynlc.ca/languages/index.html

During the trade years, First Nations' social, cultural, economic, and political powers were in transition and experienced much change. For instance, inter-tribal trade

decreased and disease began to take many lives as epidemics were brought back inland by tribal members coming back from trade trips (Coates & Morrison, 2005). Other events that contributed to change and disrupted life for Yukon First Nations include the Indian Act introduced as federal legislation in 1876, the Klondike gold rush, the building of the Alaska Highway, the Canadian government's 1969 "White Paper," and the long process leading up to land claims and settlements agreements, beginning with the first draft land claims agreement which was rejected in 1984.[7] Among the events that negatively impacted Yukon First Nations, the Klondike gold rush is the most widely known.

The Klondike gold rush of 1898 is a story that has captured the attention of scholars and writers for over a century. The story has been told often, by many, and from diverse perspectives: general histories (Coates & Morrison, 2005); "ordinary" Klondikers and permanent settlers (Porsild, 1998); women (Backhouse, 1995; Duncan, 2003; Meyer, 1989); environmental history (Morse, 2003); and First Nations (Cruikshank, 1992). Popular historian and former Dawsonite Pierre Berton (1958, 2001, 2005a, 2005b), along with the infamous poet Robert Service (1940, 1983) – who lived in the Yukon for a brief period at the turn of the 20th century – have also provided popular perspectives on the Yukon's legendary gold rush.

The Yukon's intrigue began with gold mining prospects and promises to adventurers who made their way north that they would get rich, quick. However, Coates and Morrison (2005), as well as Morse (2003), allude to the tremendous attraction the wilderness frontier held for another cohort: those people who lived in those increasingly urbanized areas in southern Canada and the United States. This frontier opportunity was framed for how it contrasted urban life:

> Where else was a man to go to earn his fortune by the sweat of his brow, away from cities and settled area? Where could he go for a fresh start, a last chance to make his fortune? The Yukon seemed to offer one last opportunity. (Coates & Morrison, 2005, p. 78)

[7] The Indian Act defined the qualifications for being a "status Indian" and was a federal attempt to control Aboriginal identity and membership, and the White Paper proposed the incorporation of Indians into Canadian society as standard citizens.

Between fifty and sixty thousand people made their way over treacherous mountains in harsh climates in their quest for gold, adventure and an opportunity to escape the confines of civilization. Ironically, by the end of the 19th Century, Dawson City was the largest city in Canada west of Winnipeg. This status was short-lived, however, and by 1901 the population had decreased to nine thousand. By 1921, only one thousand people remained in Dawson (Coates & Morrison, 2005).

Fur trade and dredge mining activities continued after the gold rush with little interest being shown to Canada's northwest through the depression. Interest was re-ignited during World War II, with the construction of the Alaska Highway. Officially opened on November 20, 1942, the highway was built as a result of political pressures arising from the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, and the perceived vulnerable position of North America's unprotected northern region. While never used for military purposes beyond providing a land link for the airfields, the highway transformed the northwest. The highway was completed in 1949 and brought the second wave of irreversible change to the Yukon (Coates & Morrison, 1995; Coates & Morrison, 2005; Schreiner, 1992).

McCandless (1985) claims that the Second World War "ended isolation, introduced technological changes, increased the population, and put an end to what had been a cultural equilibrium between natives and non-natives" (p. 40). Early explorers and fur traders may have opened up the territory, but it was the gold rush of 1898, the Alaska Highway, and the rich natural resources that secured long-lasting interest in the territory. Arguably, however, it is the Yukon's vast space and virtually untouched wilderness – often referred to as "pristine" – combined with its growing infrastructure that is increasingly at the heart of its present appeal. Under the maxim that "Green is the new Gold," modern adventurers are making their way north in pursuit of a new kind of rush.

Yukon Tourism: A Brief History

The Yukon has a rich tourism history. With some definitional leeway, it could be argued that the first wave of Yukon "tourism" began at the turn of the 19th century when nearly 40,000 people descended upon Dawson City during the gold rush of 1898. They brought with them a need to create infrastructure for worker-migrants not unlike the

infrastructure required for visitors. A half-century after the gold rush, the Alaska Highway brought the second wave of "tourism." The creation of a discourse that frames and sells the wilderness as a tourist attraction is made evident as early as 1954 in a travel guidebook that proclaimed "the highway is still a frontier and unsettled region passing through the heart of an untamed wilderness" (Schreiner, 1992, p. 86).

Still, despite road access into and through the territory to Alaska, the Yukon has experienced slow tourism development in a modern tourism industry sense. Among other things, tourism development has been slowed by the demographics in the Yukon combined with its vast wilderness, harsh climate and geography. These have all led to lingering and powerful myths that reinforce perceptions of the Yukon's uninhabitable and inhospitable nature. Nevertheless, these perceptions are changing.

A 1993 Statistics Canada survey proclaimed Canada to be an "adventure travel/ecotourism paradise" (CTC, 1997, October). Specifically, Statistics Canada proclaimed that adventure travel and ecotourism (no distinction made) outperformed the economy in all regions of the country. In 2001, the CTC declared that outdoor tourism grew at an annual rate of 15% per year over five years, and added that Canada was well positioned to attract much of the international growth of this industry. This future, it claims, is secured for Canada because of its "extensive, untapped natural resource base" (CTC, 2001, pp. 3-4).

Given the trends noted above, it is not surprising that recent market demands have featured a love affair with "The North" and its wilderness. CTC statistics are likely affected by what some are calling "post-material values." Inglehart's (1977, 1990) theory of postmaterialist values proposed that people growing up in postwar and Western social welfare societies, had most of their material needs met. As a result, post-material values express less concern over economic security and physical safety and more over social equality, quality of life, and the environment (Blamey & Braithwaite, 1997). They also include a renewed idealization of nature which has occurred as a result of, among other things, encroaching urbanization (Cronon, 1995; Holden, 2003; Carter, 2001; Cosgrove & Duff, 1981; Stark, 2002). Reflecting on the increasing allure of wild places, Stark (2002) proposes,

> As human living spaces in North America become more homogenized, sanitized and removed from the natural world, there seems to be an attendant impulse on the part of more people to travel to far-flung places on the globe. It is hardly surprising that as human life becomes more routinized and predictable, the 'call of the wild' becomes more alluring. (p. 103)

Stark echoes a post-modernized version of the same intrigue that brought early adventurers to the Klondike during the gold rush expressed earlier by Coates and Morrison (2005).

Sustainability issues in the Yukon are tied to the vulnerability of the wilderness environment and the fragility of Aboriginal and northern (e.g., not necessarily First Nation) cultural practices, due to how susceptible they are to commodification processes. Day-to-day wilderness-related practices may be specifically relevant to many First Nations due to the cultural and historical significance of traditional land-based lifestyles. However, these issues also concern many non-First Nations northerners whose lives also revolve around their ties to the wilderness. It is the advantage gained by relatively slow tourism development, in combination with the existence of unparalleled wilderness, growing infrastructure, mechanisms promoting political equity for Yukon's Indigenous people, and the increasing desire of travellers wanting to visit the Yukon because of its natural beauty and relationship to remoteness, that create a unique opportunity for Yukon citizens and tourism development planners.

CHAPTER ONE – THE RESEARCH AND ITS CONTEXT

Introduction to the Research

Northern Canadian communities have given considerable attention to the opportunities presented by tourism in the past three decades. Faced with an increasingly contested natural resources base, and armed with the romantic appeal of "the North," they have engaged tourism as a strategy for economic growth and stability. Debates on sustainability have intersected with tourism development rationales, and challenge the underlying assumptions of tourism's merit as an agent for positive and sustainable development. At the heart of these debates lies the evolving need for northerners to articulate what they understand as "sustainable," and how tourism, as a complex, market-driven industry, can contribute to their vision.

The Yukon Territory in Canada's northwest is an apposite example of the emerging context for northern tourism development described above. Over three million travellers have visited the Yukon since 1999 (YG, 2009). In a survey conducted for the Yukon Government's tourism department in 2000, the territory reported a 5% increase in visitors since 1990. In 2006, the territory reported an 11% increase in visitors since 2001 (Yukon Bureau of Statistic, 2006). While 2008 saw a decline in visitation, there was a 4% increase in visitors to the territory in 2007, making it the highest year for visitation to the Yukon since 1994 (YG, 2009).

Yukon tourism, like many other jurisdictions worldwide, will likely be impacted by the economic recession which began in 2008. At 79% of travellers, Americans form the majority of the territory's visitors. Despite the fact that fuel costs are lower than in 2008, and that the US dollar is stronger than it was in 2008, it is anticipated that American consumers will spend less during this recession, and that this will impact Yukon tourism (YG, 2009). While the current situation shows a decline in visitation to the Yukon by its largest group of travellers, different demographics, longer-term trends, and more far-reaching numbers point to considerations worthy of note.

For instance, a 17% decrease in the number of Canadian visitors to the Yukon in 2008 is offset by 20% growth since 2000. Moreover, despite an overall decline of 20%

visitation since 2000 by Germans, the Yukon's third largest group of travellers (after Americans and Canadians), non-traditional markets travelling to the Yukon are growing. In 2008 there was a 2% increase in the number of Mexican visitors to the territory, and since 2000 travellers from that country have grown by 182%. Over the last decade, visitation has also increased from South Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, France, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands (YG, 2009).

Excluding 2008 and 2009, statistics more generally point to moderate growth and an increase in visitor diversification in terms of where visitors are travelling from. Furthermore, other measures available alongside visitor statistics provide a broader picture of tourism's significance. In 2000, 890 businesses or 41% of Yukon businesses that took part in the survey reported revenue generated from tourism; 1,900 jobs in the territory, or 11% of all jobs, are tourism related. Eighty percent of all Yukon employees worked for businesses that reported at least some level of tourism revenue. The last statistic was up from 66% in 1998 (YG, 2002a). In 2008, it is estimated that $194 million in revenue is directly attributable to non-resident tourism on a yearly basis, and that more than one-quarter of all Yukon businesses reported in 2007 that at least a portion of their gross revenue was derived from tourism (YG, 2009).

Other developments confirm the continued attention to the importance of the territory's tourism economy and its growing dependence on tourism for local employment and community development. As an example, tourism considerations were a focal point for the 2007 Canada Winter Games held in Whitehorse, and are part of the larger agenda included in the "Decade of Sport and Culture." This agenda coincides with the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics. In addition, a variety of reports from other sectors have been released which incorporate the value of tourism in the territory's strategic planning. Examples include the arts and cultural industries (Zanasi et al., 2004; Dray, 2004), and city planning processes (City of Whitehorse, 2005). Importantly, tourism has also been identified as a key goal in First Nations economic development plans (Zanasi et al., 2004; Champagne Aishihik First Nations, 2005). There is little doubt that tourism is a feasible economic development initiative that is considered increasingly in combination with the territory's historically predominant natural resource-dependent economy, and the

government is planning accordingly (YG, 2000a; YG, 2000b; YG, 2002a; YG, 2002b; YG, 2002c; YG, 2002d).

Notwithstanding the important economic motivations that drive tourism development in the territory, tourism has also been identified by Yukon First Nations as an important strategy for cultural preservation and promotion. The Yukon First Nations Tourism Association (YFNTA) mandate is "to assist in the development of Yukon First Nations Tourism products which promote cultural awareness and maintain cultural integrity" (retrieved on December 1, 2007 from www.yfnta.org). Increasingly, tourism is also being used as an advocacy tool to encourage environmental conservation and foster awareness on key issues. For example, *The Three Rivers Project* strategically used this rationale to challenge industry interests in oil and gas drilling, coal mining and coal-bed methane extraction in the Peel watershed (CPAWS, 2006).

Despite tourism's growing importance for achieving diverse mandates, tourism development in the Yukon is faced with challenges similar to those faced by other peripheral and circumpolar regions (Butler, 2002; Hall & Boyd, 2005; Hall & Johnson, 1995; Hinch, 2001; Hinch & de la Barre, 2007; Johnson & Haider, 1993; Johnson et al., 1998; Krakover & Gradus, 2002; Marsh & de la Barre, 2006; Mueller & Jansson, 2007; Sahlberg, 2001). These include the territory's relatively long distance from southern Canada, its limited tourism infrastructure, especially outside Whitehorse and Dawson City, and its pronounced seasonal cycle. Despite these challenges, the north is involved in processes that shift predominantly extractive resource-based economies to more tourism-based ones. This shift is in part due to the historical legacy left by the "boom and bust" nature of natural resource extraction economies – especially those that are mining-based.

Among the many expressions of this shift, especially in wilderness-based destinations, is the predisposition for regions to (re)frame utilitarian views held about nature from how it exists as a site for non-renewable resource extraction, to more romantic views that position nature as an aesthetic commodity (Hall, 2002; Cronon, 1996). The boom-and-bust legacy combined with romantic conceptualizations of nature has strengthened the view that tourism is desirable.

While environmental historians unravel how the perception of nature changes with the needs and attitudes of society, tourism scholars investigate how these perceptions

interact with tourism. In her case study of mountain towns in Colorado for example, Stokowski (1996) claimed,

> The redefinition of scenery allows rural communities to consider new strategies for local economic development, especially proposals that are primarily based on fostering tourism growth. (p. 8)

At the heart of Stokowski's work is the idea of a dynamic interpretation of sustainable tourism, especially in relation to the broader concept of "sustainable development." Sustainable development emerged in the 1970s in response to the growing realization that tourism development is not without its own potentially negative impacts. These include undesirable environmental, cultural, social and economic impacts, which are especially relevant for vulnerable regions and the people who live there (see for instance, Honey, 1999; McCool & Moisy, 2001; Mclaren, 1998).

In response to tourism's potential, and in consideration of both its development constraints and the challenges of sustainability, the Yukon Territory is strategically promoting certain types of tourism over others. Tourism industry planners are increasingly promoting "niche market," "special interest" or "new tourisms" to resolve some of the territory's tourism development challenges (YG, 2002c). The initiative to promote special interest tourism over other types of tourism is based primarily on two rationales.

The first rationale is to ensure the effective use of advertising dollars and increase the "return on investment" (ROI). This objective involves targeting tourism market segments interested in what the Yukon has to offer, and in so doing, lessening the impact of tourism development constraints. The second rationale is to mitigate tourism's negative impacts. In a Yukon context, the latter concern is arguably based on a preventative approach given that past and current visitation has not yet had any obvious or significant negative impacts on the territory's socio-cultural or natural landscapes. It is in part via an economic rationale, one that works in tandem with a "carrying capacity" strategy, that special interest tourism is seen as being able to mitigate tourism's negative impacts. This rationale encourages a tourism industry that favours fewer people coming to the territory who spend more money. Theoretically, it is a strategy that translates into

having fewer people moving around the Yukon's pristine wilderness without sacrificing revenue.

The favourable light with which special interest tourism is viewed with the above-mentioned second rationale is due, however, to more than its potential to facilitate a strategy to increase economic benefits while controlling the number of visitors. There is evidence that stakeholders – including industry, government and Yukon citizens generally – value special interest tourism because of its potential to contribute to sustainable tourism development and "sense of place" related themes (YG, 2000a). In this way, it is hoped that the territory will avoid becoming "another Banff."

"Sense of place" has secured a central role in tourism research (Ashworth & Goodall, 1990; Hester, 1990; Hollinshead, 2004a; McAvoy, 2002; Milne, et al., 1998; Stedman, 1999; Stowkowski, 2002; Walsh, et al., 2001). Feld and Basso (1996) define sense of place as "the experiential and expressive ways places are known, imagined, yearned for, held, remembered, voiced, lived, contested, and struggled over" (p. 11). Tuan's (1974) notion of "topophilia" also speaks to sense of place and is based on the feelings of attachment and love that a person can have for place.

Sense of place is useful for tourism research for two key reasons. First, it provides a means to understand the attachment held by residents for where they live and their cultural connections to place which is expressed through symbols, myths and memories (Feld & Basso, 1996; Tuan, 1974, 1977). These processes are often referred to as "place-making." In turn, these contribute to community enhancement mandates, which are often seen as integral to sustainable tourism development frameworks (Jamieson, 1990; Power, 1996; Ringer, 1998; Vitek & Jackson, 1996). Second, sense of place can advance tourism marketing objectives by capturing and using place images and representations (Ashworth & Goodall, 1990; Milne et al., 1998; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Ringer, 1998; Walsh et al., 2001). The latter activity is often referred to as "place-marketing."

In this study, sense of place dimensions are investigated through the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides. Holloway and Hubbard (2001) propose that "meaningful places become part of who we are, the way we understand ourselves and literally, our place in the world" (p. 71). In turn, these "play an important part in the formation of our identities" (p. 71). It is in this way that the concept of place

identity captures the role played by place in developing and maintaining self-identity and group identity (Proshansky et al., 1983). Place identity also provides a compelling framework for identifying and understanding the effects of place changes on people (Greider & Garkovich, 1994). These place changes can be either positive or negative, and include those that are a result of tourism, or have an impact on tourism.

The Yukon's tourism development context is set against the backdrop of its place-making and place-marketing processes. It is also set against the ways in which these place processes influence how people see themselves in relation to place and what they hold to be meaningful (place identity), the territory's economic characteristics (economies in transition), as well as concerns over sustainability. These themes promise to continue affecting how the territory conceives of, and manages, its tourism development.

The Research Question

This study explores the relationship between the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides and the goals of sustainable tourism in Canada's Yukon Territory.[8] To this end, the central research question that directs this investigation is: what role does the place identity of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides have in advancing the goals of sustainable tourism development in the Yukon Territory? (See Figure 1).

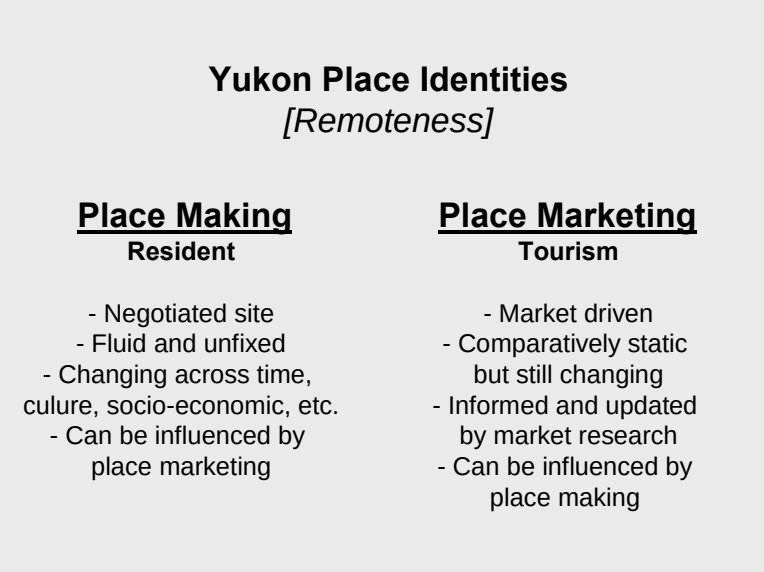
[8] For brevity's sake, wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides will generally be referred to as "guides" in this study. Interpreter guides can also be referred to as "operators" (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Williams & Soutar, 2005; Curtin & Busby, 1999). In the Yukon, this is especially the case when the guide also owns the tourism business he/she guides for.

Figure 1. Illustration of the central research question.

An important aspect of this study is the concept of "remoteness." Preliminary research suggested that remoteness is a social, cultural, historical and geographical construct that holds meaningful – if differently conceptualized and experienced – place values for residents and tourists alike (de la Barre, 2004a; de la Barre 2005). "Remoteness" is defined by the Yukon's vast wilderness, its distance [real and perceived] from southern Canada and "civilization," and its unique cultural makeup and history, especially with regard to lingering notions of an untamed frontier and its First Nations residents. In light of this, guides place identity is explored in terms of the way it is expressed through, and influenced by, socio-cultural and geographical notions of remoteness.

Four research sub-questions guide this research. The first two sub-questions identify and frame Yukon place-identities and their relationships to the territory's tourism context: 1) how are Yukon place identities characterized in relation to remoteness?; and 2) how is Yukon tourism positioned in relation to these place identities of remoteness? (See Figure 2).

Figure 2. Illustration of the first two research sub-questions.

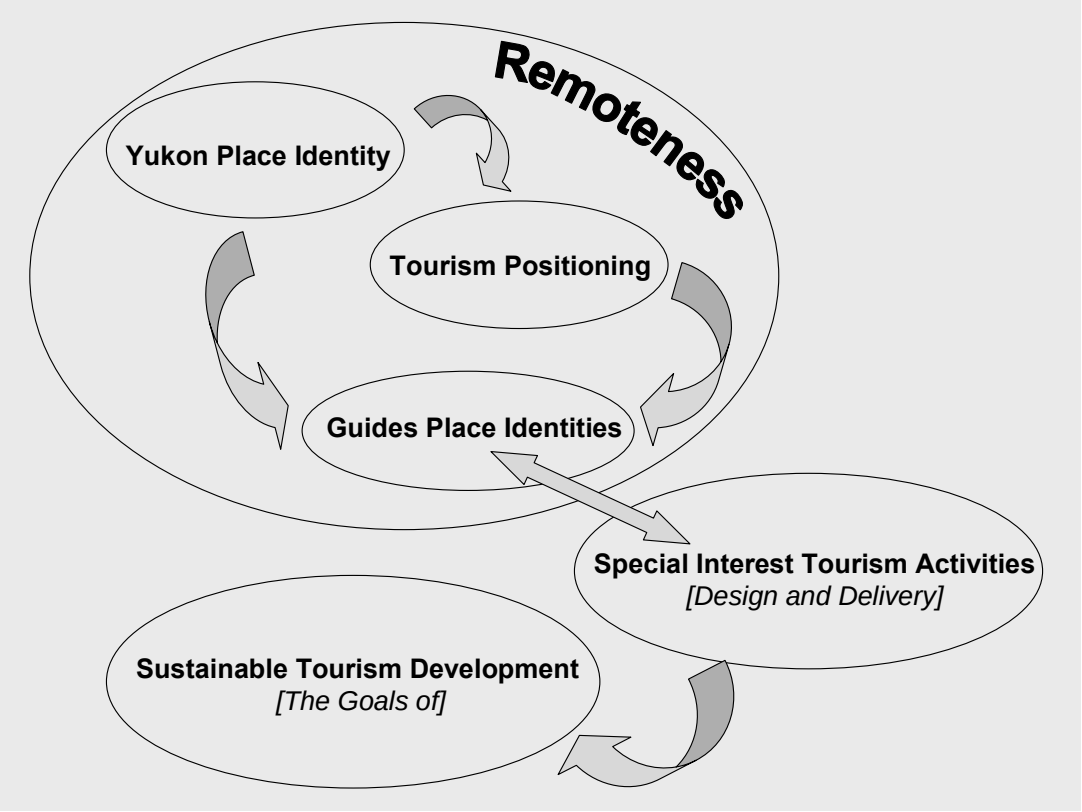


The next two research sub-questions are: 3) how is remoteness reflected in the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides?; and 4) how is the place identity of wilderness and cultural tourism guides manifest in the design and delivery of their tourism activities? (See Figure 3).

Figure 3. Illustration of the second set of research sub-questions.

Synthesizing the sub-questions findings and analysing the interpretations will contribute to answering the primary research question. Figure 4 illustrates how the research sub-questions are positioned in the context of the primary research question.

Figure 4. Illustration of the sub-questions interacting with the central research question.



Significance of the Study

This study provides theoretical insight into the relationship between place identity and sustainable tourism development. The insights gleaned from an examination of this relationship are especially significant in light of Botterill's (2001) epistemic observations. He suggests that much of tourism research has been framed historically by conventional (positivist) methodologies. As a result, the relationships involved in tourism have been investigated and understood primarily through impact research or comparative studies.

Framing tourism research with different epistemic assumptions may uncover other kinds of relationships and understandings. These include, for instance, assumptions that challenge conventional subject/object understandings and enable different ways of seeing the relationships between those who visit and those who are visited. Epistemological discussions are further elaborated upon in Chapter 3.

This investigation also provides practical understandings integral to the creation of sustainable tourism development strategies relevant to the Yukon. These strategies may also be useful for other tourism destinations, especially those defined as peripheral geographically (or otherwise). Specifically, this study proposes that place identity investigations can be used to further the development and implementation of place-based theory, as well as planning and policy in peripheral tourism development contexts. Place-based strategies rely on communities' distinctive place characteristics, including place tensions (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006), and are rooted in place-based interests (Bricker, 2003; Stedman, 1999). The objectives of place-based approaches are to increase mitigation strategies and decrease the likelihood of developing policies that are counter productive to one another and result in negative impacts on place (e.g., tourism and mining policies) (Castle & Weber, 2004).

Overview of Dissertation Sections

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. This first chapter has introduced the research question and its context. Chapter Two provides a literature review and Chapter Three presents the methodological and theoretical components that shape and guide the investigation. Chapter Four and Five analyse textual data and respond to this study's first two research sub-questions: 1) how are Yukon place identities characterized in relation to remoteness?; and 2) how is Yukon tourism positioned in relation to these place identities of remoteness?

With the conceptual framework for Yukon place identity and its relationship to tourism outlined in Chapters Four and Five, Chapter Six addresses the third and fourth sub-questions: 3) how is remoteness reflected in the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides?; and, 4) how do the place identities of wilderness and

cultural interpreter guides influence the way they design and deliver their tourism activities?

The final chapter, Chapter Seven, is a synthesis of analyses provided in the previous chapters and a discussion that sheds light on the primary research question: what role does the place identity of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides have in advancing the goals of sustainable tourism development in the Yukon Territory? Chapter Seven also sheds light on the contribution this research makes, provides recommendations, and suggests areas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This study's primary research question aims to advance an understanding of the role guides place identities have in advancing the goals of sustainable tourism development in the Yukon Territory. To achieve insights that will help answer the research question, this chapter presents a review of four bodies of literature: 1) place identity, remoteness and tourism, 2) special interest tourism, 3) wilderness and cultural tourism guides as mediators and facilitators of tourism experiences, and 4) sustainable tourism development.

Four sub-questions guide this research: 1) how are Yukon place identities characterized in relation to remoteness?; 2) how is Yukon tourism positioned in relation to these place identities of remoteness?; 3) how is remoteness reflected in the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides?; and, 4) how is the place identity of wilderness and cultural tourism guides manifest in the design and delivery of their tourism activities?

The first body of literature reviewed on place identity, remoteness and tourism, aims to justify and provide the context necessary for addressing the first two research sub-questions. The literature introduced specifically conceptualizes and frames a discussion that examines Yukon place-identities and their relationship to the territory's tourism context. Insights that result from answering the first two sub-questions are required for addressing the second set of sub-questions.

The other three bodies of literature reviewed, special interest tourism, wilderness and cultural tourism guides as mediators and facilitators of tourism experiences, and sustainable tourism development, establish important definitions and highlight issues and debates that provide background for understanding the relationships under investigation in this study. The literature reviewed offers insights that are useful for answering the study's second set of research sub-questions.

Place Identity, Remoteness and Tourism

Sense of Place and Place Identity

There are many ways to conceptualize sense of place and among them is the important contribution that cultural geographers have made. Feld and Basso (1996) understand sense of place as "the experiential and expressive ways places are known, imagined, yearned for, held, remembered, voiced, lived, contested, and struggled over" (p. 11). Tuan's (1974) notion of "topophilia" also speaks to sense of place and is based on the feelings of attachment and love that a person can have for place. In a similar vein, Kneafsey (1998) suggests that sense of place is responsible for enabling people "to feel that they 'belong' to a place, or that a place 'belongs' to them" (p. 112). More recently, Carter et al. (2007) argue that sense of place provides meaning and shapes the experience of those people who live in, visit, or imagine place (p. 755).

Geographers, however, are not alone in their desire to unravel questions that look at who we are and how this is intimately anchored in "where we are" (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). Social and environmental psychologists also have paid considerable attention to human/environment relationships, and have demonstrated significant insight for conceptualizing and understanding people and place relationships (Altman & Low, 1992; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Krupat, 1983; Sarbin, 1983; Stedman, 2002; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Their contributions include more than just an understanding of how place is a context for action and can facilitate certain forms of behaviour. They also understand place as part of the person that is incorporated into one's concept of self.

What scholars across disciplines generally have in common is an understanding of how human/place relationships are complex social and cultural constructions (Greider & Garkovick, 1991; Stowkowski, 2002). The latter is commonly regarded as an important feature of place understandings even by those who examine place in light of the contributions made by the physical environment (Smaldone et al., 2005; Stedman, 2003). There is similar acceptance amongst scholars that places are conceived of and understood as relational (Entrikin, 1997), process oriented (Smaldone et al., 2005), and that they are fluid and changeable (Stowkowski, 2002). The above-mentioned place researchers also

largely agree that places, even as single spaces, encompass multiple "places" and meanings.

There is much interest in how places confer collective and community meanings of place. Many geographers, for instance, see the role of place as a repository of collective memory. Relph (1976), Entrikin (1997), and Stowkowski (2002), all examine diverse place processes and how these reinforce individual identities and shape and support collective ones. Along similar lines, Espelt and Benito (2005) introduce the idea of "collective imagination" and suggest that place images – as one way to investigate place processes – refer to both individual and subjective constructions as well as social ones.

Distinctions and links between "sense of place" and "place identity" have been proposed by a number of place researchers. Rose (1995) suggests that feelings of belonging contribute to how sense of place is linked to place identity because "how you define yourself is symbolized by certain qualities of that place" (Rose, 1995, p. 89). Kneafsey (1998) claims that place identity is used to "capture the broad range of social relations which contribute to the construction of a 'sense of place'" (p. 112). Holloway and Hubbard (2001) propose that "sense of place" relates to "place identity" because "meaningful places become part of who we are, the way we understand ourselves and literally, our place in the world" (p.71). In turn, these "play an important part in the formation of our identities" (p. 71).

Place identity then, can be understood as an essential part of self-identity (Erickson & Roberts, 1997, npn). It forms and changes over time and emotional attachment lies at its core (Smaldone et al., 2005). Place identity reflects the narrative strategies we employ to (re)gain a sense of wholeness, connecting self to milieu and to broader communities and collectivities (Entrikin, 1997). Place identity processes can result from powerful landscape meanings which influence people to the extent that their behaviours and sense of themselves, or their collective group belonging, becomes associated with a specific locale (Pratt, 1998). Sack (1997) similarly describes place identity and suggests that the link between identity and place identity exists because "self-knowledge and personal identity cannot be reconstructed without place-worlds" (p. 136). Further understanding "place identity" might best be accomplished if we consider definitions for "place," and describe what is meant by "identity."

Tuan's (1977) humanist approach to, and experiential perspective on, space and place led him to consider how "undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" (p. 6). Smaldone et al., (2005) assess that "places can evoke various feelings in people including comfort, security, belonging, being anchored, self-expression, and freedom to be oneself" (p. 399). Relph (1976) suggests that "events and actions are significant only in the context of certain places, and are coloured and influenced by the character of those places" (p. 42). His work on place led him to insights that relate to what is commonly referred to today as "globalization." He explored the disappearance of landscapes and significant places and proposed "placelessness" as a concept that captures what happens when people lose their sense of place (p. 79). He demonstrated great insight into place changing processes in acknowledging three decades ago that our increasing attraction to places was due to the rise in "placeless geographies."

"Identity" can be defined as "the qualities which make up an individual, or place, capable of being specified or singled out, which make it unique and separate" (Erickson & Roberts, 1997, npn). Simon (2005) explains that sense of place is a component of identity and psychic interiority, and "is a lived embodied felt quality of place that informs practice and is productive of particular expressions of place" (p. 31). Furthermore, as a dynamic social construction, she proposes that identity expressions always coexist with other identity expressions. Therefore, when discussing identity expressions, references to "identities" in the plural is often appropriate (p. 31).

A significant process associated with identity is that of exclusion. Abram and Waldren (1997) claim that identity is "a process of expression and exclusion" (p. 6), and that

> "We" exist through the exclusion of "them," and "we" find an expression of our "identity" in characteristic practices or rituals. Rituals of identity at least appear to be expressions of "who we are," albeit in opposition to those who are not us. (p. 5)

Exclusions are responsible sometimes for place disruptions. Place disruptions are caused by transformations in place attachment, and are due to noticeable changes to a place or its people (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Moreover, when place attachments are disrupted,

"individuals struggle to define their losses in order to identify what types of connections will provide them with a meaningful relationship to the world" (p. 82).

The idea of exclusion combined with place disruptions is especially rich when considered alongside the concept of "belonging." Belonging is defined as "a sense of experience, a phenomenology of locality which serves to create, mould and reflect perceived ideals surrounding place" (Schama, 1995). Belonging is also tied to emotions about a place, and sentiments, real or imagined, for a particular location (Lovell, 1998). The idea of belonging is, itself, affected intimately by place disruption processes, and incorporates similar processes such as displacement, dislocation and dispossession.

Place Identity and Tourism

The view that sense of place and place identity are social constructions is useful for tourism research. It is a view that contributes not only to advancing an understanding of how place identity impacts tourism, but also of how tourism can impact local place identity.

Tourism impacts on place identity are often discussed in the context of the negative impact that globalization has on places. Globalization is characterized by shrinking spatial and temporal dimensions, notably through the effects of the internet and an increasing facility to travel and communicate. Some academics have argued that globalization leads to the standardization (or westernization) of place (Entrikin, 1991; Mowforth & Munt, 1998). While the negative effect tourism has on place identity has gained much attention, others have pointed to the possibility that tourism can also contribute to strengthening it.

Kneafsey's (1998) research proposes that places can retain their distinct identities in the face of potentially homogenizing global processes. She points to resilient social relations as a factor that can engage with globalization processes and decrease negative impacts on places. Ashworth (2005) explored how place identity elements in Newfoundland were used to reflect place image for tourism. His study sought to reveal how commodified Newfoundland place identities impacted upon resident sense of place.

He found that the iconic representation of Newfoundland, or what could be called the "imagined Newfoundland," proved to be

> A creative resource supporting a highly flexible product range which can be sold to both residents, legitimizing their place identities and to visitors as a defined brand-image, an on-site experience and purchasable souvenir. (p. 190)

As a result, the use of a commodified place identity offered "a relatively problem free heritage product range" (p. 190).

The above discussion provides insight into the way globalization processes also hold place enhancement capabilities: ones that may help foster an increased articulation for place uniqueness. These discussions and insights are significant for northern regions like the Yukon where place integrity is fundamental to tourism success, and critical to a sustainable tourism strategy.

The North, Remoteness and Place Identity

The idea and reality of "North" underlies many geo-political events and discussions in Canada. It has long been the foothold for much cultural positioning and social self-assessment at national, regional, community and individual levels. Our treatment of the North, its people and environment, has fundamentally configured our evolution as a nation. Today, the North continues to define many of the issues that underscore our understanding of, and response to, issues identified at worldwide levels that have far reaching consequences, for instance globalization and climate change.

While its importance is unquestionable, where the North is actually situated has been, and continues to be, the subject of much debate. The geographer W.L. Morton claimed the North began along a line beyond which cereal crops would not readily grow (Morton, 1972). Another geographer, Louis Edmond Hamelin, invented the notion of "nordicity" as a means to measure northerness (1988). His system is based on assigning "Polar Units" to places. These units – or points – are allotted to such things as latitude, summer and winter temperatures, population, and accessibility. Despite creating an

inventory of northern characteristics that establish Northern value, Hamelin also viewed the North as a passion and not just an area.

Ruminations on where the North is situated have long been complemented by debates on the North's significance to Canadian identity. Scholars who have contributed to the significance of the North in Canada also include Harold Innis, who as "Canada's pre-eminent social scientist" in the 1920s, developed a telling northern vision for Canada based on national unity and identity (Evendon, 1999). Canada's meaning of North as a site of "national imagining," complemented Innis' desire to help Canada realize itself as a nation (p. 164) (see also Atwood, 1987; Cavell, 2002; Coates & Morrison, 2005; Gould, 1992; Hamelin, 1988; Powell, 1989; Wiper, 1993; and Zaslow, 1971). However, the "idea of North" is perhaps best exemplified in Shields' (1991) essay *The True North Strong and Free*. He claims

> For most English-speaking Canadians the "North" is not just a factual geographical region but also an imaginary zone: a frontier, a wilderness, an empty "space." (p. 165)

Shields' work is situated where cultural geography meets cultural studies. This disciplinary cross-fertilization explores what becomes of the North in the human imagination. The North, he claims,

> Becomes "the North in men": a sort of essentialistic human nature revealed by ritualistic journeys, rites de passage, and re-confirmation in a landscape empty of human traces. (p. 199)

Concurring, Heinimann (1993) points out that "the role of the imagination in defining the North is more important than for any other region in Canada" (p.135).

Much can be said about the North and its place in Canadian geographies, real and fabricated. Central to these discussions is the view that conceptualizations about the North hinge on relationships to remoteness. Like the North, however, remote is not easily defined.

The nature of remote is relative, but has been characterized as having a high degree of naturalness. Remoteness has been understood to be space that features an absence of

impacts and disturbance, and an environment empty of human traces such as roads, settlements, and other human artefacts (Hall & Boyd, 2005; Kaltenborn, 1996). Remoteness is conventionally perceived as being physically removed (Ardner, 1989), has low population densities, and is confirmed by the presence of expansive amounts of pristine and untouched wilderness (Hall, 1992; Hall & Boyd, 2005).

The history of wilderness is closely tied to its storied portrayal as an ever-changing social and cultural construction (Hall, 2002; Wadland, 1995; Williams, 2001; Wilson, 1991). Cronon's (1996) work situates the shifts in wilderness appeal that occurred between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The American wilderness was not a paradise: "it was something to be 'conquered,' 'subdued,' or 'vanquished'" (Hall, 2002, p. 285). Wilderness was deserted, savage, desolate, barren, a wasteland. Pre-nineteenth-century Euro-North Americans perceived wilderness through a utilitarian lens which showed evidence that nature had been successfully tamed and was under the control of man (Hall, 2002), or through a religious lens where wilderness was portrayed as a desolate forest inhabited by wild beasts.

Aligned with the Puritan attitudes of the time, early settlers to North America, Australia and New Zealand migrated to the New Worlds with biblical notions of a "howling wilderness" in tow (Hall, 2002). Often cited for its descriptive representation of the emotions associated with wilderness is a poem published in 1662 by Michael Wigglesworth, a Puritan pioneer to New England (quoted in Hall, 2002):

A waste and howling wilderness,
Where none inhabited,
But hellish fiends and brutish men
That Devils worshipped.

Puritan views of wilderness had shifted considerably by the late 1800s when the Romantic Movement came into contact with wilderness and transformed it into panoramas of awe and admiration. Best captured as an expression of the "sublime," wilderness landscapes were imbued with moral values and cultural symbolism still evident today (Hall, 2002). Whereas nature had once been "the antithesis of all that was orderly and good – it had been the darkness, one might say, on the far side of the garden

wall," it became "frequently likened to Eden itself" (Cronon, 1996, p. 9). As an embodiment of the sublime, wilderness became the place one went to glimpse the face of God and to have a religious experience. Indeed, wilderness was a symbol of God's presence on earth (Hall, 2002).

One of the consequences of romantic conceptualization of wilderness was its perception as an antidote to industrialization, and the human condition itself (Cronon, 1996; Schama, 1995). This perception paved the way for intellectuals, artists and writers, such as Henry David Thoreau and John Muir, to promote preservationist perspectives. Thoreau and Muir are known as the founding fathers of American environmentalism, and attached to them is a credo which stipulated that "in wildness is the preservation of the world" (Cronon, 1996; Schama, 1995). Packaged with this credo came the notion that wilderness provided a spiritual home for the American people. This home allowed a space, both imaginary and physical, for people to draw themselves away from gross materialism and indulge in the "workings of wild nature, rather than the workings of man" (Hall, 2002, p. 289).

There are still no simple definitions of wilderness today: the legacies of past perspectives live on and are evident in how historical debates contribute to a plethora of issues surrounding the use of nature around the world. Nonetheless, wilderness is often defined with characterizations that are similar to those used to evoke remoteness. These include a high degree of naturalness, opportunities for solitude, and "primitiveness" (Hammitt & Symmonds, 2001, p. 327). Being in wilderness is considered to be the "closest we shall ever come to absolute nature" (Wadland, 1995, p. 14), and has the potential to generate a "feeling of absolute aloneness" (Ovington & Fox, 1980, p. 3). Romantic perspectives of wilderness were realized not just through the widespread internalization of the moral and cultural attitudes of the sublime. They were also made possible because of another historical and conceptual event: the frontier and its closing (Hall, 2002).

Hall (2002) argues that the wilderness is symbolically the land beyond the frontier. The frontier is a liminal space which best describes the – moving – boundary between wilderness and civilization, and symbolizes man's domination of nature. The frontier's distinctiveness from the Old World became increasingly threatened with expanding

industrialization and urbanization in the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The "closing of the frontier" was characterized by "a form of cultural anxiety" and "focused on the need to retain links with the wilderness out of which the American nation had been created" (p. 291). Hall highlights how, with the closing of the frontier, many Americans turned to the primitive to construct their national identities (see also Nash, 1963, 1966, 1967).

As alluded to above, conceptualizations of wilderness have often been associated with the absence of people. Numerous scholars have argued that late eighteenth-century nation-building ideas required a view of wilderness as a landscape essentially empty of human traces (Bordo, 1993; Coates & Morrison, 2005; Hodgins, 1998; Shields, 1991). Cronon (1996) was not the only one among them to explain how "the myth of the wilderness as 'virgin,' uninhabited land had always been especially cruel when seen from the perspective of the Indians who had once called that land home" (p.15). He observes:

> The removal of Indians to create an 'uninhabited wilderness' – uninhabited as never before in the human history of the place – reminds us just how invented, just how constructed, the [American] wilderness really is. (p. 15-16)

There have been challenges associated with incorporating the Aboriginal presence in wilderness into mainstream perspectives (Hodgins, 1998), especially in the United States and Canada. However, in an ironic twist to this story, current perceptions of wilderness are more apt to include the presence of Aboriginal people than not. In contemporary times, Aboriginal presence is a powerful symbol capable of collapsing time and setting in place distance from modernity; both qualities that are significant for tourism geographies. These qualities also contribute to the pervasive cultural construction of First Nations people today as being inherently anti-industrial and anti-modern. Similar views of Aboriginal people have been popularized throughout most of the Western world. Primitive wilderness – a wilderness that embodies and is confirmed by the presence of Aboriginal people – is idealized, aspired to, sought after and, like remoteness itself, is commodified and sold as a tourism product.

Place identity characterizations are embedded in the values associated with a definition of remoteness that depends on wilderness in diverse ways. Cronon (1996)

describes how wilderness was held to be the "last bastion of rugged individualism" (p. 13). As the story goes, an individual could escape the confinement of civilized life by "fleeing to the outer margins of settled land and society" (p. 13). Other characteristics given to people who go to or inhabit wilderness, is that they will be "freer" and more able to grasp opportunities to recover their "true selves" in the "ultimate landscape of authenticity (p. 16)." He proposes that remote regions combine

> The sacred grandeur of the sublime with the primitive simplicity of the frontier, it is the place where we can see the world as it really is, and so know ourselves as we really are – or ought to be. (p. 16)

Hall (2002) offers complementary perspectives and characterizes the values associated with the remote/wilderness/frontier experience as one that provides "mental and moral restoration for the individual in the face of modern civilization" (295).

Other common characteristics associated with remoteness include assertions about how people in remote areas are communitarian and individualistic. Cronon (1996) for instance argues that primitive conditions force people "to band together with their neighbors to form communities and democratic institutions" (p. 13). In contrast to communitarian views, but happily co-existing alongside them, Ovington and Fox (1980) argue that wilderness has the capacity to provide individuals with "a feeling of sole dependence on one's own capacities" (p. 3). Or, as Hall explains: "the challenge and the refreshing and recreating power of the unknown are provided by unadulterated natural wilderness large enough in space for us to get 'lost' in." As a result, "it is possible once again to depend upon our own personal faculties and to hone our bodies and spirits" (p. 295).

As provider of identity characteristics that allow one to think of oneself as free, self-sufficient, authentic, honest, risk taking, collectively oriented – in ways that do not threaten also having individualistic virtues –remoteness has great identity granting powers. These identity characteristics are increasingly desired by travellers who seek to see themselves differently because of the places they visit.

Tourism in Remote Areas

Remoteness is a powerful idea that is being increasingly promoted for tourism purposes (CPAWS Wildlands League and Ontario Nature, 2005; Kaltenborn, 1996; Krakover, 2002; Stark, 2002; Milne et al., 1998; Nuttall, 1997; Price, 1996). Butler (2002) highlights the nature of its allure and declares "the more remote the location, the more valued it is as a collector's item" (p. 7). In 2002, remoteness was proclaimed crucial for resource-based tourism by the Northern Ontario Tourist Outfitters (NOTO) association (Northern Ontario Business, 2002).

The appeal of remote areas for tourists lies in several factors including the images and myths associated with it (e.g., frontier), and the availability of unique and rare attributes that few others experience (e.g., meeting Aboriginal people and seeing exotic wildlife) (Butler, 2002). In this sense, remote destinations garner tourist attention because of the perceived exclusive nature of the experiences they offer. Remoteness in Canada forms an integral part of what is considered to be "northern uniqueness." Arguably, it is this uniqueness which forms the basis of much tourism promotion in Canada's north.

Place uniqueness often is associated with discussions on place authenticity. Authenticity is an ambiguous concept that has stirred much debate by academics since MacCannell's 1976 paper (see for instance Greenwood, 1977, Cohen, 1988 and Urry, 1990 and 1995). Greenwood (1977) argues that commodification processes can transform cultural or environmental attributes that stand out as exotic into commonplace experiences once they are packaged and sold for tourism. Just like Greenwood's (1977) notion of "local colour" or Cohen's (1988) "cultural authenticity," northern uniqueness can be destroyed by its treatment as a tourist attraction (p. 131).

In the context of remoteness as a tourism attraction, Duffield and Long (1981) state "the very consequence of lack of development, the unspoilt character of the landscape and distinctive local cultures, become positive resources as far as tourism is concerned" (p. 409). Hall and Boyd (2005) point to the inherent contradiction implied with tourism development in remote areas and state, "to increase numbers of visitors may therefore reduce the natural qualities that attracted visitors in the first place" (p. 7).

Cohen's (1988) notion of cultural authenticity expresses similar concerns: when produced for tourism, the value of cultural practices and rituals can be destroyed for those people who practice and find meaning in them. Case studies have demonstrated how host relationships to remote tourism destinations often stand in sharp contrast to those relationships visitors have with them (Milne et al., 1998; Nuttall, 1997). These potential threats to local values are all the more poignant given the tourism industry's sophisticated marketing tools, and place promotion and commodification mechanisms.

In contrast, Wang (2000) suggests that "authenticity" remains relevant to certain types of tourism, including cultural tourism, and Taylor (2001) proposes that cultural production processes can have purposes that are not just for tourism: they can also accommodate the non-tourism related needs of the people immersed in the culture. Moulin (1990) agrees and claims that by "keeping the focus on the culture, the identity and the values of the past," authenticity can be used to predispose a community to explore how the authentic can be "a positive and dynamic force to understand the present and to foresee the future" (p. 26). Far from fixing culture, he claims it is possible for cultural tourism activities to provide an "opportunity for change in an evolutionary manner" (p. 26). This can be accomplished by avoiding the danger of "falling into a touristic logic rather than a culture logic" (Moulin, 1990, p. 14). Stated another way, the needs of a culture must be privileged above the needs of tourism.

Understanding why remoteness is attractive and under what conditions it is perceived as authentic requires the examination of the idea of wilderness and wild nature, and the changing importance these have held in the human imagination. At the end of the 19th century, scholars seeking to better understand the desire for nature experiences through tourism aligned the motivation to seek out wild nature in wild places with primitiveness. Jasen's (1995) history of tourism in Ontario suggests that as "fears about the effects of urban life mounted, [tourists] flocked from the enervating city to the exhilarating wilderness, hoping to cast themselves under the care of Mother Nature and to rediscover the power of the primitive within themselves" (p. 3). Wilson's (1991) history of recreation and tourism in wilderness areas describes how nature was seen as a place one went to find "some kind of contact with the origins of life" once urbanization took hold in North America during this time period (p. 25).

In a similar way, a post-modern engagement with nature might explain what some environmental historians refer to as the redefinition of wilderness in light of "post-material values." Post-material values dictate that quality of life issues and concerns will replace material ones (Stark, 2002). These emerging values – especially in affluent parts of the world – help to explain the renewed idealization of wilderness that has occurred as a result of, among other things, the extensive and ever expanding urbanization of the planet (Cronon, 1996). Price (1996) reinforces this view by arguing that people want "a change from progressive urbanization, crime-ridden cities, and the stress of telephones, social pressure, and pollution" (p. xiii), and that they are seeking an "experience with nature and identity with 'life' – with trees, birds, vistas, and with peoples living simpler lives" (p. xiii).

Strang's (1996) exploration of the tourist motivation to "go bush" in Queensland (Australia's far north eastern region) is a noteworthy example of the impact remoteness values have on tourism. Strang explains that visitors perceive the region as a place that is "apart from normal life, unspoiled, and uncorrupted by modernity, and suggests that it is 'rejuvenating' to jaded souls, harried by modern pressures" (p. 64). She advances the idea that the landscape releases people from authority and grown-up responsibility. She also observed that visitors perceive remote community life as a nostalgic expression for values that are perceived to have disappeared in urbanized areas:

> People focus on the gentle pace, the manageable scale of social life, and the timeless continuity – all the things the urban Australia has supposedly left behind. There is an assumption that 'going bush' permits a quality of social interaction that can no longer be found elsewhere. (p. 64)

A significant theme captured in Strang's analysis is the notion that being in a remote place allows people to commune with nature and re-establish a particular kind of idealized relationship with the environment; a relationship perceived to be available only if one escapes from urban areas. At the core of this idealized relationship are values and beliefs encouraged by the Queensland tourism industry.[9] In another similar study,

[9] For historical context see Russell Ward's (1958) work which explores wilderness in Australia and its contribution to mythologized national identity.

Stowkowski (2002) explores how nostalgic and idealized longings for wilderness and other values associated with remoteness, are explained by postmodern theorists as "the dreams of people seeking places of connection and meaning in a chaotic world – places that might offer 'grounding' in terms of community and landscape and history, such that one's life can be made less isolated and more fulfilling" (p. 369).

Such nostalgia can lead to idealizing the places and people who are visited. Milne et al's (1998) study of tourism in the Arctic explored tourist internalization of the "idea of North" and how it "influences some of the impacts associated with tourism development in the region," in particular "the idealized view that tourists often hold about the [Inuit] and their relationship with the surrounding landscape, a view that stands in stark contrast to realities of everyday life in the region" (p. 102).

Nostalgia and idealization aside, the geographical limitations of remoteness present a number of challenges for tourism development. Among those challenges is the relative absence of human and social capital (Hall & Boyd, 2005); limited transportation infrastructure which makes access to remote regions difficult or expensive (Kaltenborn, 1996); low levels of accommodation; low levels of information; seasonality (especially in a northern remote context); economic factors; training opportunities; a lack of non-service sector (e.g., industrial, manufacturing, etc.) and minimum wage employment opportunities; insufficient markets for conventional development; and weak political influence (Butler, 2002). Earlier work by Woodley (1993) begins this list with a lack of vision, low interest and awareness levels, and cultural barriers.

In addition to the obstacles listed above, Kaltenborn (1996) underscores how tourism in remote areas is under threat from other powerful industries (e.g., oil and gas and other natural resource extraction industries). This threat can become a significant obstacle to tourism development given that the integrity of tourism in remote areas relies on the quality and nature of wilderness; that is, it must be "pristine" and "untouched."

As a result, remote areas are being marketed increasingly in ways that capture people's anxiety over the alleged inevitability of their disappearance. They are marketed in light of their time-sensitive shelf life, due to the fact that remote areas are becoming more accessible, or because of the effects of climate change, for instance. It is worth noting that this type of marketing signals a growing popular understanding for destination

area cycle theories, which were introduced into scholarly tourism discussions introduced over three decades ago by Butler (1980) (see also Plog, 1973). Butler's ideas introduce how the evolution of tourist areas undergoes transformation through a recognizable cycle, which he called the "Tourist Area Cycle" (later referred to as the "Tourism Area Life Cycle" (Butler, 2006). The cycle recognized the dynamic nature of tourist areas and how they evolve and change over time. Morgan and Pritchard (2002) use Butler's cycle to explain how "as the destination becomes famous and loses its cutting-edge appeal … tourists move on to the next new place since they do not want to be seen somewhere which has become popular and rather passé" (p. 25).

Representing Place Identity for Tourism Promotion Purposes

Many scholars have investigated representations of place in the context of tourism, notably through analyses of place promotion strategies, also known as destination or tourism marketing (Ashworth & Goodall, 1990; Milne et al., 1998; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Ringer, 1998; Walsh et al., 2001). Place promotion is "the conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of specific geographical localities or areas to a target audience" (Ward & Gold, 1994). Chang and Lim (2004) define tourism marketing as an activity that "distils the essence of a place, and 'imagines' an identity that is attractive to tourists and residents alike" (p. 165). Huigen and Meijering (2005), Erickson and Roberts (1997), and Dredge and Jenkins (2003) are among those who claim that creating a sense of identity features prominently in successful – and competitive – place marketing activities.

Ashworth and Voogd (1990) claim that fundamental to tourism marketing and promotion activities is the assumption that "there is some relationship between the amount of promotion and the number of visitors (or 'customers')" (p. 2). As a result of this widely held assumption, place promotion is an increasingly common aspect of place management (Schöllmann et al., 2001). They are activities that occur in a climate of place competition whereby local authorities "attempt to influence the location decisions of capital, largely because other places are doing the same" (p. 301).

"Branding" is a key strategy used in place promotion and is potentially the most powerful marketing tool available to destination marketers (Morgan et al., 2002). Destination branding involves sophisticated and comprehensive market research and is widely considered successful if the brand communicates the "feel" and "personality" of a place (Slater, 2002), is built on emotional values (Gilmore, 2002), and involves "trust, quality and lifestyle connotations that consumers can readily purchase, explore and associate with themselves" (Anholt, 2002, p. 5). Important to understanding how brands work in the context of tourism is that consumer's brand choices are understood to be lifestyle statements. In this sense, consumers are purchasing emotional relationships that are attached to destination images (Morgan et al., 2002).

Case studies demonstrate the issues that are implicated in place promotion and destination marketing. Featured among them is the clash between resident place identity and the place identity promoted for tourism purposes. For instance, Nuttall's (1997) study of cultural tourism development in Alaska explored the conditions that predisposed tourism to be a threat to local traditions and ways of life. In part, he suggested that the threat tourism posed was due to the fact that visitors seldom shared the same values or ways of life as local residents.

Theorizing the potential difficulties involved with host and visitor place experience/expectation clashes, and drawing on Urry's (1990) notion of the tourist gaze, Hall (1994) argues that

> Advertising creates images of place which then create expectations on the part of the visitor, which in turn may lead the destination to adapt to such expectations. Destinations may therefore become caught in a tourist gaze from which they cannot readily escape unless they are willing to abandon their status as a destination. (p. 178)

Fundamentally, what these issues point to is how the need to represent "Other" can distort reality and may not provide a true depiction of the destination (Milne et al., 1998, p. 103).

Rose (1993) argues that tourism representations used by marketing bodies are constrained by historical, political and cultural discourses and that places are shaped by them. Her work highlights how "certain identities are constituted as more powerful and more valuable than others" (p. 6). Schöllmann et al. (2001) examined the importance of

the concept of sense of place in place promotional practices. Their case study of Christchurch, New Zealand, illustrates how conflicts arise from promoting the same places differently to different target audiences. Pritchard and Morgan's (2001) study of marketing in Wales led to a similar conclusion. Their critical analysis of tourism representations through an investigation of destination branding strategies drew upon Berger's (1983) ideas which explored how powerful discourses shape ways of seeing the world.

As is evident with the above examples, the clash between resident and host place perceptions, expectations, and experiences, raises compelling issues. However, there is an increasing amount of attention given to similar representational challenges that arise when considering the non-static nature of resident place identity; for there are always many local place identities. Consequently, issues arise around the promotion of one place identity over others. Local level "place identity clashes" point to the need to consider the way some place discourses are more powerful than others. In fact, discursive struggles occur at diverse levels and include host/visitor and host/host. Host/host discursive struggles and place issues are a fundamental focus of this study.

Without dismissing the significant ways that promotion and representations function to distort place, they can also function to reinforce local identities in ways that enhance or empower local place agendas (economic, political, environmental and cultural). Ashworth's (2005) investigation into how the commodification of Newfoundland's place identities for tourism impacted resident sense of place found that

> The symbolic significance of the outport as iconic representation of a valued idea is more important now for local consciousness and external image than it has ever been. It is *the* imagined Newfoundland. What had been originally projected externally has now been incorporated through reflection in the identity of Newfoundlanders. It has proved to be a creative resource supporting a highly flexible product range which can be sold to both residents, legitimizing their place identities and to visitors as a defined brand-image, an on-site experience and purchasable souvenir. (p. 190, italics in original)

Nuttall (1997) explored similar local enhancement themes and argued that communities could achieve self-determination and cultural survival objectives with a strategic and well considered use of tourism. Other studies demonstrate how local interest is being explored

for its capacity to contribute to stronger resident place identities and reinvigorated local economies (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003; Erickson & Roberts, 1997).

Case studies like those above provide evidence that, despite the potentially detrimental influences of commodification and globalization processes, communities can experience a renewed interest in the local through planned and strategic tourism development. As part of this strategy, and as a benefit to tourism destination planners, the enhancement of local identities can serve to make destinations more marketable by further refining destination uniqueness and distinctiveness. This is crucial for creating the competitive advantage required by the marketplace (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003).

Not surprisingly, in response to the diverse representational issues highlighted in this section, many scholars are studying tourism marketing and promotion practices. Hudson and Miller (2005), Walsh et al. (2001), and Stowkowski (2002) are among the many who argue that careful planning and responsible place marketing can contribute to more positive and sustainable tourism. Among other things, this can occur if locals, already immersed in place-making, are involved in place-marketing also.

One of the tools available to remote destinations for their tourism development purposes is special interest tourism. The next section defines special interest tourism and identifies key issues to be considered in the context of this study.

Special Interest Tourism: History, Definitions and Characteristics

It has been suggested that special interest tourism (SIT) has existed since the Grand Tour, and before that, the ancient Olympics (Trauer, 2006). However, as a consciously marketed type of tourism, the phenomenon is relatively new and has existed only since the 1980s (Hall & Weiler, 1992). Special interest tourism is also known as "new tourism" and "niche market tourism," and is sometimes understood and promoted as a sub-category of "alternative tourism," "responsible tourism," "sustainable tourism," "ethical" and "appropriate tourism." SIT includes diverse forms of culture-based tourisms (e.g., Aboriginal and heritage) and nature-based tourisms (e.g., adventure and wilderness). Educational tourism, sport tourism, health and spa tourism, agricultural tourism, are

among the many and always-emerging interest-based tourisms that define special interest tourism.

Special interest tourism is sometimes defined by default as everything that is not mass tourism (Douglas et al., 2001). However, critics of this approach, such as Meetham (2002), argue that

> Given the fragmentation and market "niching" that is characteristic of global economies and changes in consumption patterns, the implication is that all tourism may be, or soon will be, described as SIT. (p. 568)

Meetham raises a critical issue with regard to defining SIT. He asks, "is it a matter of numbers, a matter of quality, a matter of type, or simply the end of mass consumption as we have known it up to now?" (p. 568).

Indeed, despite the advantages of open-ended descriptions, some definitional limitations can be useful. Trauer (2006) suggests that SIT infers individualized travel but is more than just numbers. She explains SIT with reference to its non-commercialized nature, and highlights how tourists are looking to buy feelings and experiences (see also Hall & Weiler, 1992). This suggests that tourists, like a growing number of western, and perhaps privileged consumers generally, are increasingly inclined – and pre-disposed – to look for emotional and other experiential stimuli through their purchasing decisions (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). Yukon's travellers are no exception in this regard.

Yukon Tourism's primary target market consists in travellers who are 45 years and over, reasonably affluent couples with no children at home, well-educated, employed or retired. Its secondary market is similar but younger (35 years and over). Its tertiary market consists largely in adventure seekers aged 24-35 who live primarily in Alberta or British Columbia (YG, 2005). These three groups roughly coincide with the "consumer market segments" targeted by the Yukon's Department of Tourism and Culture: Scenic Outdoor Travellers, Cultural Explorers, and Adventure Challengers (YG, 2009).

A consumer market segment defines a type of visitor, and usually includes a detailed survey of traveller characteristics, including what they are seeking when they travel. Scenic Outdoor Travellers like to explore and renew their connection with nature, enjoy physical activity, and are willing to step outside of their comfort zone. Cultural

Explorers are intellectually driven, like to experience new lifestyles and see as much as possible. They also have an inclination for cultural pursuits, and bus tours are considered appealing. Finally, Adventure Challengers are interested in travel that will provide them with the opportunity to challenge themselves, be physically active, find thrills and excitement, renew their connection with nature, and be adventuresome (YG, 2009). These market segments are further discussed in Chapter Five.

Scholars of special interest tourism point out that this type of traveller is difficult to neatly compartmentalize because they include a broad range of tourist types (Tabata, 1989; Hall & Weiler, 1992). The Yukon's market segments resonate with this observation. Nonetheless, Hall and Weiler (1992) offer two characteristics that are useful for determining what special interest travellers are looking for. First, travellers are seeking novel, authentic, and quality tourist experiences. Second, their travel motivation and decision-making is primarily determined by a particular special interest. In addition to these two characteristics, Hall and Weiler (1992), as well as Stebbins (1982), conceptualize SIT as being attractive to travellers seeking to engage in "serious leisure." These travellers demonstrate a tendency toward durable benefits such as self-actualization, self-enrichment, self-renewal, self-expression, social interaction and a sense of belonging, and lasting physical products of the activity.

Special interest tourism generally has been regarded as a growing and booming market (Hall & Weiler, 1992; Tabata, 1987). The exact size of the market, however, remains unclear. In the 1980s it was thought to represent about 15% of the US travel market (Tabata, 1987), and 2 to 3% of the travel market worldwide (World Tourism Organization, 1985). Today, calculating the size of the market remains challenging as most tourism industry statistics are kept by "niche market" category and not calculated on the basis of one overarching general category of "special interest tourism" (CTC, 2007a).

Special interest tourism is characterized by market segmentation activities. Market segmentation is a market research tool that divides broad markets into smaller, specific ones based on customer characteristics, such as age, gender, consumer patterns, buying power and other variables including special interests areas (e.g., hobbies, nature, and cooking), and values. It informs tourism product development and marketing programs. Moreover, it is believed by industry organizations that market segmentation can assist

tour operators to develop tourism products in a targeted manner, and help consumers understand the products being offered (CTC, nd).

Specific attributes also characterize special interest tourism, including activity customization to suit traveller interests and motivations, and the presence of thematic activity or interest area experts (Trauer & Ryan, 2005). As a result, some form of experience mediation or facilitation also typifies SIT, and tourism interpreter guides are key agents who fulfill these roles.

Tourism Interpreter Guides and the Tourism Experience

The role of the modern tour guide has its direct historic origins in the Grand Tour of the 17th and 18th centuries (Cohen, 1985). Today, guides are considered to be key front-line players in the tourism industry (Ap & Wong, 2001). Guides transform a tour into an experience through their knowledge and skills. The role of the guide varies given the type of activity, but a few overarching roles can be identified.

Cohen (1985) identified two lines of origin and roles for the modern tourist guide: "pathfinder" and "mentor." The pathfinder leads the way for visitors and points out objects of interest. Historically, these guides were locals and undertook their activities with little or no formal or specialized training. In contrast, the mentor directs visitors' ways of conduct and involves a geographical and spiritual element (e.g., personal tutor or spiritual advisor). Pond (1993) summarized five guide roles: leader, educator, ambassador, host, and facilitator. Others have seen guides as "culture brokers" (Holloway, 1981) and mediators (de Kadt, 1979). Of specific interest to this study, is the guide's role as mediator and interpreter.

Guides are known generally for their role in welcoming and informing visitors (Dahles, 2002; Kalinowski & Weiler, 1992; Yu et al., 2004). In wilderness settings, guides are recognized also for their responsibility in assuring visitor comfort and safety (Curtin & Wilkes, 2005). The guide's position as mediator (Zeppel & Hall, 1992; Yu et al., 2004), along with his/her role as producers and transmitters of social and cultural place constructions (Budeanu, 2005; Dahles, 2002; Markwell, 2001; Salazar, 2006), and

sense of place more specifically (Milne et al., 1998; Ringer, 1998), are of particular interest to this research.

Guides roles as mediators of visitor experiences of place have been investigated by many scholars including Kalinowski and Weiler (1992), Markwell, (2001), Zeppel and Hall (1992), and Yu et al. (2004). As "place mediators," guides are part of a destination's "tourist body in the experience of place" and are producers in the social and cultural productions of place (Markwell, 2001). Beedie's (2003) investigation presented the guide as a choreographer of social experience and examined their relationships to the places in which they guide, and how they are positioned to shape visitor experiences. Arguably, their unique position as mediators of visitor and host worlds provides them with an opportunity to positively contribute to destination tourism development. Less explored is the role intermediaries such as tour operators and guides can play in the development of community-based tourism.

Wearing and McDonald (2002) argue that "the relationship between intermediaries and rural and isolated area communities must take relations of power and knowledge into account when planning and designing programmes for tourism (pp. 191-192). They explore how intermediaries can contribute to the production of new knowledge that facilitates communication between different worldviews (p. 192). They also highlight the potential for guides to contribute to processes that facilitate communication between different worlds; a possibility that may hold particular promise for tourism development in the Yukon's more isolated – and majority First Nations – communities (see Carr, 2007).

Many scholars support the idea that a guide's most common and critical role is related to interpretation (Ap & Wong, 2001; Armstrong & Weiler, 2002; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Interpretation has been defined as "an educational activity that seeks to develop intellectual and emotional connections between the visitor and the natural and cultural environment" (Armstrong & Weiler, 2002, p. 105). Interpretation is a planned effort that creates an understanding for historical events, people and objects, and serves to translate natural and cultural environments for visitors, while it transforms appreciation to understanding (Knudson et al., 1995). Interpretation also "facilitates or extends people's

understanding of place so that empathy towards heritage, conservation, culture and landscape can be developed" (Stewart et al., 1998, p. 257).

Despite widespread support for the role of interpretation, Reisinger and Steiner (2006) propose that interpretation can impact negatively on the authenticity of the visitor experience. They define authentic tourism as "the individual and personal tourist experiences that contribute to one's sense of identity and connectedness with the world," and not to the consumption of the real or genuine (p. 481). In this regard, their definition of authenticity rests not on the nature of the tourism product, but rather on the character or state of the tourist him/herself (see also Wang, 1999).

Taylor (2001) proposes the idea of "sincerity" in tourism as an alternative to the quest for the "authentic." "Sincere" cultural tourism is based on an interactive approach and cross-cultural encounters entail communicating with localized culture (Taylor, 2001, p.16). For Taylor, the idea of "authentic" is a colonial remnant that embodies a legacy of political and economic domination, and is accompanied by the creation of myths, stereotypes, and fantasies that shapes the West's views of others. Furthermore, he claims "in sincere cultural experiences, where tourists and 'actors' 'meet half way,' authenticity may be redefined in terms of local values" (p. 24). Thus, for Taylor, rather than the authentic object as the perceived important site in the touristic experience, it is the moment of interaction that is perceived to hold value.

Taylor (2001) suggests that externally controlled and directed tourism initiatives may be pre-disposed to create what MacCannell (1992) termed "staged" authenticity in tourism. Staged authenticity, argues Taylor (2001), re/produces myths of "Other" and reaffirms colonial legacies. The "Other" is characterized by essentialized objectifications of those not "I" (the self, or one's perceived community, e.g., gender, race or nationality). The "Other" in tourism is characterized by hegemonic colonial perspectives, the privileged and "knowing" observer, and is linked to "museumifying" the cultures of Other (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004) (See also Aitchison, 2000). Alternatively, locally controlled and directed tourism initiatives may be pre-disposed to create "sincere" interactions between hosts and guests. Sincere interactions are positive and considerate of local values.

Similarly, Milne et al. (1998) suggest that the future of more appropriate tourist development in Canada's north lies with First Nations' ability to construct tourist places and in so doing "influence tourist perceptions and thoughts, in such a way that the industry works for them and meets their needs" (p. 117). Authenticity as a marketing construct has for the most part been formulated by "outside" actors, it is increasingly seen as important that the interpretive power to define and represent it shift to those on the "inside"(Milne et al., 1998). With a shift to "inside" interpretive actors, authenticity, through cultural tourism, can become part of a process that gives communities the opportunity to contemplate who they are and how they want to present themselves to the world. The above views stand in contrast to those that have debated it exclusively on the basis for the way it implicates cultural tourism in processes that negatively impact those involved in tourism.

Reisinger and Steiner (2006) identify alternative definitions of interpretation which facilitate positively conceptualized authentic tourism experiences. They define interpretation as an activity that provides "more room for experiences to speak for themselves, with interpretation service a quite different purpose" (p. 487). Here, the objective of interpretation is to facilitate connection, underline the communication process aspects of the activity, and highlight educational (meaningful learning) – as opposed to informational – elements of the interpreted object. Concomitantly, the authors understand authentic tourism to be defined through "the individual and personal tourist experiences that contribute to one's sense of identity and connectedness with the world," and not to the consumption of the real or genuine (p. 481). In this regard, their definition of authenticity rests not on the nature of the tourism product, but rather on the character or state of the tourist him/herself.

Reisinger and Steiner (2006) draw upon Heidegger's (1996) work to inform their philosophical enquiry into the guide's role as interpreter. Their reconceptualisation of interpretation challenges two fundamental assumptions. First, they question the assumption that tourists are unable to interpret the foreign places they visit for themselves. Underlying this assumption is the belief that, without interpretation, visitors either incorrectly interpret the environment, or provide for themselves interpretations that are not as rich. Second, they take issue with the inherent notion that meaning need be

constructed outside of the experience rather than emerge from it (p. 485). Ultimately what they propose is a reconceptualisation that moves away from "people-centered, rational construction of meaning to a more individual, immediate and participative approach to interpreting experience" (p. 487). They claim this to be a post-humanist approach to interpretation, and that it decentres the interpreter in favour of the experience. One way to decentre the interpreter in favour of the experience is to underline the experience and not the interpreter.

Weiler and Ham (2001) argue that when interpretation is conducted in protected areas it encourages appropriate use, promotes responsible management of the resource, and fosters long-term conservation goals and ethics. Armstrong and Weiler (2002) add that an important aspect of interpretation is the communication of environmental themes or messages. In this sense, interpretation and, by extension, guides, may have an impact on a destination's sustainable tourism dimensions (Christie & Mason, 2003; McArthur &Hall, 1993; Moscardo, 1998).

Guides activities impact the nature and type of tourism development. Ormsby and Mannie (2006) identified how guides help ensure the safety of visitors in foreign environments (cultural and natural), and can contribute to the diversification of local economic benefits and the transfer of knowledge to both visitors and residents alike. The latter also contributes to encouraging local support for both tourism and conservation. In this sense, guides are implicated in sustainable tourism development and play a significant role in defining what sustainable means for tourism destinations.

Sustainable Tourism Development

Background

The idea of "sustainability" grew out of the conceptual shifts that occurred in development thinking during the 1970s and 1980s. More specifically, sustainability grew out of concern over the environment and was prompted by the 1987 release of The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) report entitled *Our Common*

Future (WCED, 1987).[10] The report defined sustainable development as a "process by which the needs of the present are met without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (p. 8). The conceptual and practical implications of this report were framed as principles in *Agenda 21* and the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development* a few years later at the 1992 Rio Conference (France, 1997). The three pillars of sustainable development are economic, socio-cultural and environmental (Retrieved January 20, 2008, from http://www.unwto.org/frameset/frame_sustainable.html). Still, there is much debate and little agreement on what sustainable development actually means either philosophically or in practice. Much of this debate revolves around how to incorporate a concern for environmental and cultural interests into development agendas.

Wearing and McDonald (2002) suggest that one way to resolve the conservation versus development approach that has defined so much of the "what is sustainable development debate?" is to consider how the conservation and development debate is not about "choosing between two mutually exclusive modes of practice – tradition or modernity." Rather, they suggest "it is concerned with finding new balance in a changing time and enabling people to communicate their priorities to outside influences" (p. 199).

Sustainable Tourism

Sustainable tourism can be understood as a subset of sustainable development, and, as similar to sustainable development. As Hunter (1995) points out, however, while sustainable tourism may share areas of mutual concern with sustainable development, it may sometimes work against sustainable development because it has its own specific tourism-centric agenda.

Debates on what "sustainable tourism" mean are numerous (Hall & Lew, 1998; Nelson et al., 1999; Moisey & McCool, 2001; Pigram & Wahab, 1997). In a general sense, sustainable tourism refers to minimizing tourism's negative impacts on natural, social and cultural environments, and striving to maximize positive impacts. Hughes

[10] Also known as *The Brundtland Report*, named after its chairwoman.

(1995) offers an activist oriented definition while capturing the rationale behind sustainable tourism. He suggests that sustainable tourism can best be understood as "an injunction for change arising from dissatisfaction with present principles and practices of tourism" (p. 49). Canada's national tourism industry association, the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC), defines sustainable tourism as tourism that

> Actively fosters appreciation and stewardship of the natural, cultural and historic resources and special places by local residents, the tourism industry, governments and visitors. It is tourism which can be sustained over the long term because it results in a net benefit for the social, economic, natural and cultural environments of the area in which it takes place.

TIAC's definition was developed in collaboration with Parks Canada, and is used also by that national organization (Retrieved on December 10, 2007, from http://www.tiac-aitc.ca/english/advocacy_sustainabletourism.asp).

What most definitions of sustainable tourism have in common is the idea that tourism development needs to integrate goals for maximizing long-term economic goals and concerns with environmental and socio-cultural ones. Providing some historical context as to how sustainable tourism emerged and evolved sheds some light on definitional struggles.

The sustainable tourism concept was linked initially to the natural environment. However, links to other areas, including social, cultural and economic sustainability, quickly became apparent (France, 1997; Hall & Lew, 1998; Clark, 1994). These links are perhaps most apparent where societies or cultures under threat are concerned, and where environmental sustainability is linked to a way of life (Price, 1996). The growing popularity of "ecotourism" and the increasing sophistication of tourism impact analyses also brought about an appreciation for the links between environmental and other kinds of sustainability (Honey, 1999; Fennell, 2003). Analyses of tourism's impacts on communities revealed how impacts were fundamentally involved at the implementation level of sustainability planning. Through the necessity of community involvement, the concept of sustainable tourism became linked to political, social and cultural empowerment. Research in these areas underscored the interdependence between the "environment" in its widest sense, social communities, and tourists. As a result, the link

between community and sustainability became fundamental to most models of sustainable tourism, and community involvement in tourism development is now widely considered to be at the centre of the sustainability debate (Christenson, et. al., 1994; Joppe, 1996; Marien & Pizam, 1997; Murphy, 1985; Richards & Hall, 2000; Stabler, 1997).

According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO or WTO), sustainable tourism occurs when a balance is achieved between the three pillars of sustainable development. In addition, the WTO specifies that sustainable tourism should: 1) make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity; 2) respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance; and, 3) ensure viable, long-term economic operations, that provide an equitable distribution of socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders, and include stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contribute to poverty alleviation (Retrieved on December 10, 2007, from http://www.unwto.org/frameset/frame_sustainable.html)

In effect, when applied to tourism development, a concern for sustainability facilitates the idea that tourism should be managed with recognition that it is more than just a market and industry phenomenon (France, 1997). This can significantly alter how the activities and relationships within tourism are framed, and how "sustainability" is understood.

Principles and Frameworks

Sustainable tourism is perceived generally to be both a set of principles and a "toolbox" of practices. Many scholars and tourism practitioners have introduced conceptual models for achieving and maintaining sustainable tourism (France, 1997; Hall & Lew, 1998; McCool & Moisey, 2001; Nelson et al., 1999; Richards & Hall, 2000; Stabler, 1997). Tourism industry associations also have developed their own guiding principles and have applied them to strategic practices.

The Tourism Industry Association of Canada and Parks Canada incorporated such principles as practical guidelines into their Code of Ethics as part of their sustainable tourism strategy (Retrieved on December 10, 2007, from http://www.tiac-aitc.ca/english/advocacy_sustainabletourism.asp). Tourism industry actors are encouraged to:

1. Promote sensitive appreciation and enjoyment of Canada's natural and cultural heritage, contemporary landscapes, cultures and communities;

2. Balance economic objectives with safeguarding and enhancing the ecological, cultural and social integrity of Canada's heritage; and,

3. Share responsibility by being a full participant and contributor to the economic, environmental and cultural sustainability of the destinations and assets it utilizes.

Numerous other organizations have formed and developed guidelines and principles with the goal of encouraging sustainable tourism practices. Among these is the Sustainable Arctic Tourism Association (SATA). The association has identified six principles. Sustainable tourism should:

1. Support the local economy
2. Operate in an environmental friendly manner
3. Support the conservation of local nature
4. Respect and involve the local community
5. Ensure quality and safety in all business operations
6. Educate visitors about local nature and culture

Established at the end of 2005, SATA's mandate is to become "the platform for networking and promotion of sustainable tourism within and beyond the arctic region." At the heart of these principles are issues that relate to community involvement and engagement in tourism development processes, and leads to what is commonly referred to

as “community-based tourism” (Retrieved December 10, 2007, from http://www.arctictourism.net/).

The rationale presented for community-based tourism has been widely documented (Christenson, et. al., 1994; Joppe, 1996; Marien & Pizam, 1997; Murphy, 1985; Richards & Hall, 2000; Stabler, 1997). Community-based tourism stems from “grassroots” approaches to development and gained importance in community development movements during the 1970s and 1980s (Hannam, 2002; Beeton, 2006). Those movements were defined by emerging critical understandings of power as a dynamic force in relationships (e.g., between people, within communities), and led to the development of strategies that empowered local agents, for instance, those that are associated with “participatory methodologies.”

Participatory methodologies are based on adult education approaches and are grounded in democratic principles such as process-oriented and consensus-based decision-making (Kruger & Sturtevant, 2003). Participatory methodologies have been used in community tourism planning processes (for one example, see Derrett, 1996). Wearing and McDonald (2002) present an argument for “participation” in community-based processes as it is conceptualized by participatory approaches to development. They highlight how the use of dominant Western models (values) used in community-based approaches exploit “Other,” and that a critique of colonization processes must be considered for any meaningful participation to occur. In this regard, Lee’s (1992) analysis of colonization and community development has implications for the application of community-based tourism approaches and First Nations participation in tourism development processes.

Feminist critiques of development also were central to the shifts in approaches that have occurred since the 1970s (Marchand & Parpart, 1995). Participatory methods have been embraced enthusiastically by practitioners and scholars alike for their “bottom up” approaches to development. However, poststructuralist critiques offer “post-development” and “post-colonial” analyses that challenge the value of all development agendas, including participatory ones (Escobar, 1995; Watts, 1993).

Important to community-based approaches is the endorsement of collaboration with different levels of government and decision-makers. These collaborations are sometimes

characterized by the support offered by government agencies, for instance, through financial assistance to help create insider controlled development plans. Community-based tourism planning approaches can be an integral part of how local communities and vulnerable cultures participate in deciding how (and if) tourism development occurs (Beeton, 2006; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Murphy, 1985, 1993; Reed, 1997; Richards and Hall, 2000).

Community engagement and involvement are crucial for addressing place issues in tourism and sustainable development practices. Kneafsey (1998) suggests that promoting "bottom up" tourism development processes has been assessed as a means to regenerate "crumbling senses of place identity" (p. 112). Similarly, Feehan (1992) proposes that active engagement in tourism development processes can provide communities with opportunities for self-reflection and other kinds of cultural examinations.

In *The Cultural Construction of Sustainable Tourism*, Hughes (1995) reviews contributions to the literature on sustainable tourism and proposes tentative evidence of the universality of the scientific construction of sustainable tourism. He claims that debates on sustainability have been fuelled by the power of science and suggests that they are characterized by a rational approach "in which intervention is pursued using a variety of technical, regulatory and management instruments which treat the environment as an object system" (p. 50). These instruments include a variety of objective self-evident criteria such as carrying capacity, stewardship, energy efficiency, conservation and conflict management (p. 51) (see also Cohen, 2002).

Tourism scholars also have considered how different discourses and paradigms affect our understanding of resource management issues and, by extension, what we define as "sustainable." Kruger and Sturtevant (2003) examined different sustainable tourism development models, their associated approaches, and the impacts these had on accessing social knowledge in community research. Williams (1995) determined that "instrumental paradigms" (scientific discourse) prioritized meanings that were largely tangible and that focused on commodity uses grounded in economic models. McIntyre et al. (2004) illustrated how "meaning-based" valuation models are difficult to assess (and hotly contested). They suggest that meaning-based models have not been used as much as have "information processing" models. Importantly, all of these scholars associate the use

of particular paradigms and discourses as having an impact on community involvement in planning activities.

Of specific interest to this study is a framework proposed by Vilamos (2006). He contemplates the relationship between regional development, environmental quality and the tourist product, and proposes that

> The most appropriate way to perceive sustainable tourism is not as a narrowly-defined concept reliant on a search for balance, but rather as an overarching paradigm within which several different pathways may be legitimized according to circumstance. (p. 296)

Vilamos' overarching paradigm is defined by four approaches which are assessed on the basis of weak-to-strong interpretations of sustainable tourism development:

1. Sustainable development through a "Tourism Imperative": Results from a weak interpretation of sustainable tourism development, is skewed towards the fostering and development of tourism, and primarily is concerned with the needs and desires of tourists and tourism operators (largely in terms of operators' economic expectations). Tourism-related side-effects might involve substantial loss of natural resources.

2. Sustainable development through "Product-Led Tourism": Results from a weak interpretation of sustainable tourism development where the growth of tourism is privileged over environmental considerations. It is an approach most commonly used in older tourist destinations where tourism already dominates the local economy. The approach may include maintaining or enhancing existing tourism infrastructure in specific locations "which might carry the additional benefit of avoiding tourism-related damage to nearby pristine locations where tourism is either unwanted by locals and/or would occur in environmentally-sensitive locations" (p. 298). Product-Led Tourism becomes increasingly aligned with more sustainable ones when it is combined with a mandate that targets a portion of tourism revenues to activities that increase destination resilience (e.g., redirecting revenues into other facets of the local economy).

3. Sustainable development through "Environment-Led Tourism": This approach results from a stronger interpretation of sustainable tourism, and is most applicable in emerging tourism areas where development is linked to the promotion of certain types of tourism over others (e.g. special interest tourisms). The aim is to:

> Make the link between tourism success and environmental quality so strong that it is transparent to all interested parties what the risks to tourism's continued survival would be if tourism were not strictly controlled and ultimately limited to within the carrying capacity or sustainable yield of the least robust aspect of the environmental resource base. (p. 298)

Importantly, while still being a product-led approach to tourism development, it differs from that approach because it prioritizes environmental and cultural concerns over marketing ones. Strategies to increase sustainable tourism development are created using a variety of regulatory and/or market-based techniques "designed as 'sticks and carrots' to change the behaviour of tourism operators and tourists themselves" (p. 299).

4. Sustainable development through "Neotenous Tourism": This approach assumes that there are instances where tourism is so harmful to the natural or cultural environment that it should be altogether discouraged. This approach can only be assigned to areas where there is little or no tourism activity. Strategies used to prevent the expansion of tourism-related infrastructure include access permit policies as well as land-use planning. This approach has a strong relationship to sustainable tourism development in regions where there are important cultural or environmental values at risk. Borrowing from Butler's tourist-area cycle, Vilamos further explains the usefulness of this approach for protecting particularly vulnerable and fragile areas. He proposes the aim is to:

> Keep tourism development to exploration or involvement stages, perhaps dominated by a small number of individual adventure travellers, small groups of tourists, or those engaged in legitimate study. (p. 299)

Vilamos' work is particularly useful because of the way he conceptualizes and considers socio-cultural impacts on a destination.

On a final note, in their analysis of research on sustainable tourism from papers published in the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (1993-2007), Lu and Nepal (2009) underline that sustainable tourism can best be understood either as an "adaptive paradigm" or as "adaptive management." These address issues of "unpredictability of events, uncertainties about the outcome of events and complexities of scale and times" (p. 5). Their review and analysis underlines how sustainable tourism is no longer limited to mean achieving minimal disturbance in pristine areas only. Rather it is an application that has uses in a range of natural and built settings. As important is the common understanding now that sustainable tourism "is not a specific type of product but a goal to be achieved" (p. 14).

Place, Identity and Sustainable Tourism

Place dimensions as historical and cultural constructions can provide important insight into relational investigations that influence how sustainability is understood, negotiated and practiced. Place research has contributed to community enhancement mandates, including sustainable development initiatives (Jamieson, 1990; Power, 1996; Ringer, 1998; Vitek & Jackson, 1996). An examination of previous research demonstrates how place understandings have been useful to further our understanding of sustainable tourism.

Hester's (1990) Manteo, North Carolina, case study suggests that community involvement in identifying important social and cultural qualities of place – what he calls its "sacred structure" – could be used to increase the effectiveness of tourism planning and development. Stedman (1999) proposed that sense of place can be developed as an indicator for community well being – especially as this may be linked to more community-based understandings of what sustainable means. McAvoy (2002) used sense of place and place meanings to understand how American Indians in the New West conceptualize landscape and how this plays out in recreation and tourism management. Ballesteros and Ramirez (2007) argued for the inclusion of indicators relating to community identity for heritage tourism planning and management. Their work assessed the influence and role of identities on tourism development and sustainability, and

centered on the need to take into account the symbolic and identity-related factors in the planning, designing and managing of tourist products and destinations. Their work sheds light also on how identity is mediated by the tourist industry by asking critical questions, such as: How does tourist activity fit discursively into models of local community and identity? (p. 681). Ringer's (1996) research in Kennicott-McCarthy, Alaska, investigated visitor and resident images of landscape features, and particularly their identification with wilderness. His study led him to conclude that "understanding perceptions, and their role in influencing personal behaviour and judgements about place, may be the most critical component of an effective, sustainable tourism plan for a destination community" (p. 952).

Where place, identity and sustainable tourism are concerned, the concept of "geotourism" must be referenced. Geotourism is defined as "tourism that sustains or enhances the geographical character of a place – its environment, culture, aesthetics, heritage, and the well-being of its residents" (Retrieved on February 11, 2009 from www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/sustainable/about_geotourism.html). The concept incorporates the principles of sustainable tourism while putting an emphasis on its place characteristics, including "the local impact tourism has upon communities and their individual economics and lifestyles" (Lew, 2002, p. 347).

Sustainable Tourism in Remote Regions

Many scholars, tourism planners and conservation oriented not-for-profit organizations have discussed sustainable planning and management of destinations in the context of remote dimensions. Butler (2002) identifies four basic issues that need to be resolved in order to achieve successful tourism development in these areas. First, there must be an awareness of changes that could occur and willingness on the part of local residents to accept them. Second, type and scale of tourism development has to be appropriate. Third, control of the dimensions and nature of tourism must be maintained. Finally, to assure the long-term well-being of tourism and other regional economic activities, integrating tourism with the existing land uses and the resource base is essential (p. 5). Butler also emphasizes the necessity to take into consideration the many

viewpoints towards tourism that exist in a remote destination area, the evolutionary process of tourism, and to address policy issues that surround control and responsibility. Of utmost importance where the latter is concerned is to recognize that both the supply side (e.g., resources and tourism infrastructure) and the demand side (e.g., number and type of tourists, marketing and promotion campaigns) must be managed for successful sustainable tourism development.

Underlining tourism development concerns in remote areas is an awareness of a destination's life cycle or the "Tourism Area Life Cycle" (Butler, 1980, 2006; Plog, 1973). Undiscovered areas in peripheral locations are increasingly difficult to find, and their value grows exponentially with the decrease in these types of settings on a global scale. As Cohen (2002) explains:

> If in the past they were unmarked, peripheral locations open to all and of little interest to the tourist industry, owing to their remoteness and difficulties of access, they now become ever more valuable owing to their increasing rarity… they become a new economic 'resource,' the sustainable exploitation of which necessitates the imposition of controls and limitations on access. (p 272)

Through this process, Cohen suggests that remote areas that become seen as valuable for tourism make the shift from being the least desirable for visitors, to the most sought after.

In their report titled *Remoteness Sells: A report on resource-based tourism in Northwestern Ontario*, the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) Wildlands League and Ontario Nature (2005) offer a number of recommendations that address sustainability issues in relation to remote areas. Among these is the suggestion that remoteness be considered as a quantifiable economic value. This is in line with others who define wilderness as a "vanishing asset" (e.g., Smith, 1996). In planning and management terms, this is achieved by treating remote tourism as valuable land-use in and of itself rather than as a resource management and land-use planning afterthought.

Kaltenborn (1996) suggests undertaking segmentation activities on the basis of attitudes and not activities for tourism planning models that strive for sustainable development outcomes. He identified five types of visitor segments based on attitudinal

aspects towards a destination setting. Two of the seven key aspects identified in this segmentation activity derive from assessing remoteness-related indicators, articulated under "Degree of desired remoteness" and "degree of desired naturalness." As a type of tourism that relies heavily on market segmentation, special interest tourism holds particular promise for achieving the goals of sustainable tourism. Similarly, Blamey and Braithwaite (1997) suggest segmentation along social values. They claim this is especially useful "when the product of interest is a social good" or considered to be a "of a public good nature" (e.g., the environment or culture) (p. 32).

Special Interest Tourism and Sustainable Tourism

Tourism researchers have spent a considerable amount of time investigating how different types of tourism and tourists have distinct impacts on destinations. Three decades ago Cohen (1972) claimed that the type of tourist influenced the nature of the tourist experience, guest contacts with hosts, and impacts on the destination. More recently, Ritchie (2003) observed that the rise of new tourisms and special interest holidays have "influenced the nature of tourism, its settings, the tourism industry, and its resulting impacts on the individual traveler and the host destination" (p. 29).

Discussions about sustainability have resulted in a nomenclature that sets "good" tourism ("alternative," "responsible," "sustainable," "new," "niche" and "special interest") against "bad" tourism ("mass tourism") (Weaver, 2001a, p. 77, and see also Butler, 1990). Mass tourism, considered as conventional and large-scale tourism, is also referred to as "hard" tourism, and encompasses "undesirable" dominant forms of tourism (Wearing, 2001). During the past 50 years or so, mass tourism has been widely criticized for its tendency to negatively impact host destinations (Wearing, 2001; Fennell, 2003). Examples of mass tourism commonly include most forms of coach travel and all-inclusive packaged tours, for instance, Club Med. On the other hand, non-mass tourisms, which include alternative tourism, special interest tourism and other soft tourisms, have been promoted for their ability to avoid the pitfalls of mass tourism (Ritchie, 2003; Traur, 2006). Given the historical evolution of special interest tourism, it has been commonly understood to be a form of alternative tourism.

Alternative tourism emerged because of a concern for sustainability (Butler, 1990; Wearing, 2001). Weiler and Hall (1992) suggest that the

> Essence of alternative travel is the active, conscious involvement of the visitor with the host in a manner which does not degrade the quality of the destination's socio-cultural or natural environment. (p. 9)

Similarly, Wearing (2001) defines alternative travel in its most general sense as

> Forms of tourism that set out to be consistent with natural, social and community values and which allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences. (p. 32)

However, it is important to recognize that while all alternative tourism can be considered special interest tourism, not all special interest tourism can be considered alternative.

In fact, "special interest tourism" is perhaps more closely aligned with the more industry-based "niche market tourism" than it is aligned with alternative tourism. Niche market tourism pertains more to market segmentation exercises than to a philosophical underpinnings of different types of tourism and their impacts. This is a crucial distinction given general understandings of the goals of alternative tourism. Alternative tourism conceptualizations inherently assume that tourism is not benign. Special interest tourism on the other hand, while often considered to be different in scale from mass tourism, can be indistinguishable from mass tourism in terms of its underlying philosophy, its activities, and even its impacts. The point is that special interest tourism can sometimes be perceived as a benign type of tourism because of its association with alternative tourism. In fact, it is not always benign and, aside from sometimes having smaller numbers, does not necessarily adhere to some of alternative tourism's critical features. On this last point, Clarke (1997) proposes that type of tourism has less to do with the matter than does scale. He claims that all scales of tourism should be designed and implemented to be sustainable**.**

The preceeding discussion emphasizes the importance of further identifying some of the claims made about special interest tourism – as a form of new tourism and in light of its affiliation to alternative tourism – and mass tourism. There are a number of tourism

scholars who, albeit cautiously, make claims that special interest tourism may have less negative impacts than mass tourism (McIntosh et al., 2002; Nuttall, 1997; Weiler & Hall, 1992).

As an example, Curtin and Busby (1999) cautiously suggest that special interest travel opportunities can be a more valuable alternative to mass tourism. They observed that it appeared to be more "controlled tourism" and that it was in a better position to potentially benefit the local ecology and the host environment. However, they include the caveat that it could be more destructive than mass tourism's larger operators because it brings tourists in direct contact with remote locations that are ecologically and culturally fragile (see also Butler, 1990). In this sense, the suggestion that special interest tourism can decrease tourism's negative impacts has not gone unchallenged, even by those who seek to study it for its potential to mitigate tourism's negative effects.

There are few scholars who would not concede that tourism, in any form, tends to draw on scarce natural and community resources. In fact, scholars largely agree that no form of tourism is inherently endowed with a capacity to minimize tourism's negative effects on destinations. By extension, no tourism can profess a naturalized relationship to what is sustainable. To illustrate this point, Clarke (1997) highlights characteristics specific to mass tourism that are actually beneficial to sustainable tourism. These include: 1) tourism's dependence on environmental quality and the greater power larger tourism lobby groups can exert to protect the environment; 2) large scale operators' ability to promote the sustainable message to more people; and 3) the influence large scale tourism activities can have on suppliers and distributors in implementing sustainable policies in the supply chain. In part because of these discussions, new and alternative tourisms, including special interest tourism, have helped to fuel on-going debates on what sustainable tourism means and how it can be achieved.

Tourism Interpreter Guides and Sustainable Tourism

The link between sustainable tourism and operators was officially recognized by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) in 2000 through the Tour Operators Initiative (TOI) for Sustainable Development (Retrieved September 12, 2007, from

http://www.toinitiative.org/). The initiative was developed and supported in collaboration with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Its mission is twofold and includes to: 1) advance the sustainable development and management of tourism, and 2) encourage tour operators to make a corporate commitment to sustainable development. The British organization representing tour operators, the Association of Independent Tour Operators (AITO), also advocates responsible tourism. The underlying principles they identify for achieving responsible tourism imply a role for operators and guides (Retrieved on May 16, 2008 from http://www.aito.co.uk/corporate_Responsible-Tourism.asp).

The relationship between guides and tourism development is supported also by the federal crown corporation responsible for tourism in Canada. In March 2006, the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) circulated findings from a study conducted by the Tour Operators Initiative (TOI) and the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). The study concluded that "tour operators have a unique opportunity to exercise great influence on the level and type of tourism development that is carried out around the world" (CTC, 2006). Such findings are consistent with studies undertaken by tourism scholars including Budeanu (2005), Dahles, (2002), and Salazar (2006).

Canadian industry associations have created sustainable tourism codes of ethics which are promoted amongst all tourism providers, operators and [their] guides included. Industry associations reflect the fact that private sector tourism businesses increasingly perceive a link between operators and sustainable tourism. As an example of one of these businesses, GAP, a Canada-based special interest tourism provider since 1990, commented specifically on the characteristics of their guides and how this helps achieve the company's sustainable tourism values and goals. Among other things, GAP Tour Leaders receive special training in low-impact travel and are selected based on their knowledge, commitment to and awareness of sustainable travel (Retrieved on October 2, 2007 from http://www.gapadventures.com/sustainable_tourism/ecotourism_operator_standards). Developing tourism marketing and promotion materials that identify the relationship between guides and sustainable tourism also implies a company is aware that its clients

appreciate the direct link between guides and sustainable tourism. With the development of the Wilderness Tourism Licensing Act (http://www.wtay.com/licensingInfo.aspx) (see also Gerst, 1999), and promotion of a code of conduct for Yukon wilderness tourism guides, the critical link between guides and sustainability is recognized also by Yukon tourism guides and operators (http://www.wtay.com/codeOfConduct.aspx).

Industry concerns and practices provide insight into the relationship between operators, guides, and sustainable tourism. Scholarly work also recognizes this relationship and addresses it from a variety of different perspectives. Academic research has helped to define and understand the nature of the relationship between guides and sustainable tourism from theoretical and philosophical perspectives (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2000; Weiler, 1993). Such research provides critical assessments of product development and delivery, management strategies and policy statements, including their political and ethical implications (see also Curtin & Wilkes, 2005; Dahles, 2002; Salazar, 2006; Williams & Soutar, 2005). Scholarly case studies help to demonstrate the compelling relationship between guides and sustainable tourism.

Curtin and Busby's (1999) study examined tourism destination social, cultural and economic impacts as perceived by small and large tour operators. They observed that specialist operators took tourists "'deeper' into marginal economies and sensitive cultures" (p. 144), but that negative social impacts were amplified as a result of this. However, they also found that specialist operators were more aware of the cultures they visited and the impacts they had on them then were mass operators. In addition to several management related insights, the authors conclude that price cutting competition was an obstacle to sustainable destination development and environmental planning, and that the operator's perceived responsibility plays a significant role in sustainable tourism.

Carey et al. (1997) examine the influence of tour operators on the long-term sustainability of destinations. Their work with tour operators in the UK found that tourism intermediaries had considerable influence on the way tourism develops in destinations. They found there was little research that looked at the role and influence of intermediaries towards achieving sustainable tourism. Budeanu (2005) also examined the role of the tour operator as a market intermediary. He recognized operators as "holding a

great possibility and responsibility for triggering such essential changes in attitudes and actions of producers and consumers, towards more sustainable tourism practices" (p. 93).

Burton's (1998) study of ecotourism operators in Australia examined operators' background, motivation, sustainable practice, and how they educated and managed tourists. She sought to characterize how operators' ecotourism business practices compared to mainstream (or "mass") nature-based companies. She found that, in highly competitive tourist areas, the most sustainable tour operators could also be responsible for the geographic spread of tourism activities into previously pristine nature areas. This was deemed necessary by operators in order to provide the quality nature experience they were promoting. Burton concluded that "radical solutions are necessary if the most environmentally sustainable tour operations are themselves to be sustained and encouraged," and that managing authorities may need to "provide contexts in which their operations can be viable" (p. 140). While politically difficult, direct intervention into market forces, which could mean limiting tourist numbers for instance, and otherwise controlling the destination development cycle, were proposed as possible ways of contributing to the creation of viable and sustainable contexts.

Weiler's research over the past two decades has paid a great deal of attention to the specific relationship between guides and sustainable tourism, notably for nature tourism and ecotourism as distinct types of special interest tourism (for instance, Armstrong & Weiler, 2002; Kalinowski & Weiler, 1992; Weiler, 1993, 1996, 1999; Weiler & Davis, 1992; Weiler & Hall, 1992; Weiler & Ham, 2001, 2002; Weiler & Kalinowski, 1990). In collaboration with other scholars, her work has focused on the role of interpretation, as executed by guides, in achieving the environmental and cultural conservation and/or protection mandates included in the management strategies of nature-based tourism destinations. Underlying her research is the premise that local guides are a valuable tool and can form the basis for a sustainable tourism development strategy. Weiler's definition of sustainable tourism explicitly includes social/cultural, ecological/environmental, and economical values, characteristics and goals.

Much of what has been introduced and discussed in the literature review presented here demonstrates the definitional challenges associated with the concepts that are at the

heart of this study: Remoteness, wilderness, and place identity are concepts that, among other equally complex aspects, are defined by their relative and multi-dimensional, ever-changing and evolving nature. These definitional struggles do not represent a limitation; rather, they represent the rich and dynamic nature of the subject under study.

Similarly, the debates that surround special interest tourism and sustainable tourism development demonstrate that they also are difficult to define. However, what is important to underline for this study, and perhaps generally, is that special interest tourism and sustainable tourism development are configured around principles and goals, and bearing this in mind, they are associated with important guidelines and tools with which to advance both vision (policy) and practice (implementation). The next chapter introduces the approach used to address the primary research question, and presents an argument for how to deal with the challenges that result from a study that relies on the above-mentioned multiple and hard-to-define concepts and practices.

CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY

Qualitative Research

Introduction

A qualitative approach was adopted to gain insight into the relationship between place identity and the goals of sustainable tourism development. Qualitative research relies on Interpretivism as a general philosophy. Interpretivism "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty, 1998, p. 67).[11] Qualitative research often can use a multimethod focus that involves interpretive and naturalistic approaches (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, 2000; Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001), both of which are suitable for the research question proposed in this study.

Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) propose that the need for qualitative research in tourism "rests on a departure from static, quantitatively measurable knowledge towards a focus on understanding and expressing that aspect of being which is dynamic, experienced and elusive of the positivist researcher" (p. 67). Emergent and dynamic understandings of tourism necessitate qualitative approaches that take full advantage of a diverse range of research strategies, many of which remain underutilized in tourism research.[12] Hollinshead (2004a) calls for tourism research that provides "genuine cross-disciplinary coverage of the tacit, the subjective, the discursive or the interpretive" (p. 65) in order to address this omission in our understanding of the perspective of the local population. Fittingly, these debates in tourism coincide with those which are also taking place in cultural geography (Lunt, 1993; Phillimore & Goodson, 2004; Shurmer-Smith, 2002).

This study is based on a definition of tourism as a set of activities and relationships that take place in spaces that are socio-cultural constructions with meanings that change over time (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). This research occurs at a time when "scant

[11] It should be noted that "constructivism" and "interpretivism" are both commonly referred to in the literature as paradigms (see for instance, Guba & Lincoln, 1994, Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001, and Sparkes, 1992). The latter may appear redundant, as it is generally understood that qualitative research is connected with interpretivism as a general philosophy (Decrop, 2004; Sparkes, 1992).

[12] See Hartmann (1988) for early contributions to this on-going discussion.

attention has been paid to person centred approaches which take into account individual experiences and perceptions," and is considered in light of how person centred approaches construct the host and guest experience (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004, p. 40). The investigation relies on emerging ways of conceptualizing and undertaking qualitative investigations on the relationships between types of tourism, the sites of tourism activities, and the experiences and understandings of those involved (see also Botterill, 2001, and Tribe, 2005).

"Moments" in Research History and Tourism Scholarship.

> Something is happening to the way we think about what we think.
>
> - Geertz, 1983, p. 20.

Denzin and Lincoln (1994, 2000) divide the history of qualitative research in this century into five "moments" which operate simultaneously in the present. The first or the "traditional" moment is associated with the positivist paradigm (1900-1950). The positivist paradigm asserts that objective accounts of the world can be given. The second moment, also called "modernist" or "golden age" (1950-1970), and the third moment, or "blurred genres" moment (1970-1986), are both associated with the appearance of postpositivist arguments. The latter claim that partially objective accounts of the world can be given. The second and third moments are influenced by new interpretive, qualitative perspectives such as hermeneutics (where prior understandings and prejudices shape the interpretive process), and cultural studies (an interdisciplinary field that merges critical theory, feminism, and poststructuralism). The fourth moment reflects the "crisis of representation" (1986-1990) and is a reflection of the struggle researchers have had with "how to locate themselves and their subjects in reflexive texts" (p. 2). Finally, the fifth moment, or the postmodern or present moment (1990-present), is "characterized by new sensibility that doubts all previous paradigms" (p. 2). The present study is situated in the third and fourth moments outlined in Denzin and Lincoln's categories, and puts a particular emphasis on the third moment, or blurred genres.

In the blurred genres moment the researcher is a *bricoleur* and borrows from different disciplines (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, 2000). The interpretive bricoleur produces a *bricolage* – that is, "a pieced together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 4). The bricolage is an emergent construction and the qualitative researcher deploys diverse strategies, methods, and empirical materials. The investigator as bricoleur engages with the research and the iterative process at work with the subject matter under investigation.

The blurred genres approach reflects the belief that research can benefit from a flexibility that allows the investigator to adapt the research design, the methods, and theoretical underpinnings to changing circumstances, as well as her/his own understanding of a phenomena or situation. This flexibility is also one that allows the researcher to engage in "an interactive process shaped by [the researcher's] personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 6). Hollinshead (1996) observes that Denzin and Lincoln's bricolage provides tourism research with "a ventilated approach to social and human enquiry that seeks to combine the intellectual stimuli of postmodernity with the necessary practicalities involved in knowing local/grounded/population specific situations" (p. 69).

In a similar discussion, Goodson and Phillimore (2004) have claimed that tourism research appears to be dominated by the first (traditional) and second (modernist) moments. They suggest that this may be due to a reliance on earlier and more familiar anthropologically and sociologically influenced qualitative methods (p. 38). However, they also assert that there is increasing reference to the fourth and fifth moments in tourism research.

The fourth moment, or crisis in representation, is relevant to this investigation for at least three reasons. First, tourism research situated in the fourth moment considers as a central theme the diverse and complex dimensions of people and place relationships. On this subject, Goodson and Phillimore (2004) propose that,

> some of the key debates central to the fourth and fifth moments have formed the focus of a number of discussions, with key considerations including the social construction of tourism space, place, reality and knowledge; the conceptualization of 'self' in tourism; and issues of subjectivity, embodiment and the nature of power relations. (p. 38)

Second, this study conceptualizes tourism as relationships and interaction, and through this conceptualization challenges the conventional Self/Other or subject/object dichotomy that has been applied most commonly to tourism research (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004). As a result, a possibility is present to reconceptualize and see anew tourism's relationships, including the relationships between those who visit and those who are visited (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004, p. 12). Consequently, it is proposed that tourism as it is understood in the fourth moment can lend itself more easily to being understood from the perspective of the visited people or the destination. This is a critical dimension of this study.

Finally, while the third moment gives more attention to methodological, epistemological and ontological issues than do the first or second moments, the fourth moment attends to issues that surround participants' voices, including their personal and intellectual biographies (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004). In this way, the fourth moment makes room for researcher reflexivity as a legitimate way of creating knowledge. Reflexivity is defined as more than a self-indulgent practice where a research uses the first person or writes themselves into the research. It relates to a researcher's ability at "looking and reflecting inwards upon themselves as researchers, and outwards upon those that they 'research'" (Tribe, 2005, p. 6).

Epistemology, Ontology, and their Relevance for Place, Identity and Tourism Research

Epistemology deals with the nature of knowledge and is concerned with "how we know what we know" (Crotty, 1998, p. 8). This study uses a "constructivist-interpretive" epistemology. Constructivist or constructionist epistemologies are based on the fundamental belief that "human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as we construct or make it" (Schwandt, 2000, p. 197). Constructionism challenges objectivist epistemologies in its rejection of the idea that there exists an objective truth waiting for us to discover. Knowing is not passive, and humans do not simply reflect or mirror what occurs around them: they filter what occurs to them through their collective understandings of the world and the practices that are a consequence of this

understanding (Schwandt, 2000). Along similar lines, Crang (2003) proposes that a constructionist agenda sees "people discursively creating their worlds" (p. 494).[13]

In contrast to positivist epistemologies which have been used in much of the qualitative research that occurred in the first (traditional) and second moments (modernist), "truth" for constructionism reflects an epistemology of the third moment (blurred genres). It proposes that "truth" is produced and unveiled through interpretive practices. Here, "knowledge of what others are doing and saying always depends upon some background or context of other meanings, beliefs, values, practices and so forth" (Schwandt, 2000, p. 201). Constructionist perspectives assert that this knowledge imposes a subjectivist epistemology that is based on co-created understandings (e.g., between investigator and respondents) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Matters of ontology relate to questions of seeing, experiencing, meaning, being and identity, and "help determine or designate the nature of the knowable (or otherwise, the nature of reality in terms of concerns of 'being', 'becoming' and 'meaning', etc.)" (Hollinshead, 2004a, p. 75). Constructionism is ontologically relativist, does not operate on the basis of a singular reality, and assumes that research takes place in the natural world, or is "naturalistic" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Hollinshead (2004a) argues that ontological relativism seeks to "understand the identities of, the meaning attributed by and the experiences of different populations, against a background of competing perspectives of life and the world, within the setting being investigated" (p. 77). This relativism is viewed as critical to what differentiates constructivism from other paradigms, for instance positivism, postpositivism and critical theory (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

According to Hollinshead (2004a), ontological reflections are particularly significant in tourism research because tourism, by nature, implicates interactions

[13] Crotty (1998) bases the distinction between "constructivism" and "constructionism" on the idea that "constructivism tends to resist the critical spirit, while constructionism tends to foster it" (p. 58). He also identifies constuctivism as interested in the individual creation of meaning, and constructionism as interested in the more collective generation of meaning (p. 58). Nonetheless, "constructivism" seems more widely used and the distinction made by Crotty does not appear to influence its more common usage (see Schwandt, 2000; Denzil & Lincoln, 2000; Guba, 1990; and Hollinshead, 2004a). We can add social constructionism to this interchangeable list of terms according to at least one author who explicitly deals with this (see Hollinshead, 2004a, p. 77). There does not appear to be an authoritative way of framing these discussions. Given the inconsistent usage, I generally default to the language of the author and therefore refer interchangeably to both constructivism and constructionism.

between individuals and places. His review of ontological matters in tourism led him to agree with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1992) assessment that tourism research has been limited by its inability to embrace the "ontological *madeness* of places" (original emphasis, p. 66). In response, Hollinshead suggests that this limitation has had significant consequences for tourism scholarship given that tourism is the quintessential "place-maker." Moreover, and considered in this light, challenging the idea of objective knowledge can facilitate researcher capacity to "try and understand the contextual realities and subjective meanings that shape people's interactions with their world" (Samdahl, 1998, p. 126). Such epistemological and ontological deliberations make it possible to view knowledge produced by this study as having been filtered through my own experience and co-created with research participants.

The human geographer David Ley (1988) reflected on the nature of place as a human construction, and underlined the epistemological and ontological requirement to grant it more respect because of its complexity. He called on geographers to interpret the complex relations between people and places with a methodology of engagement: one that involves informal dialogue as well as formal documentation. It is with a commitment to understanding how this complexity is at work in the relationships examined in this study that a constructionist epistemology and ontology were adopted.

Theoretical Perspectives

Introduction

Theoretical perspectives are sometimes referred to as "paradigms" and are defined as "a loose collection of logically held together assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 33). A paradigm is a "way of looking at the world, the assumptions people have about what is important and what makes the world work" (p. 33). The perspectives adopted for this investigation are grounded in humanist geography.

Humanist Geography

The history of humanist geography reflects a commitment to "understanding everyday life from the viewpoint of the subject;" it is a history that celebrates "the meaning and experience of place," and is interested in the symbols that reveal individual and group attachments to their locality (Burgess & Gold, 1985, p. 11). Holloway and Hubbard (2001) allege that a "humanistic approach to human geography is a perspective that emphasizes how the distinctly human traits of creativity and emotion are involved in the *making* of place" (p. 67, emphasis in original). They further suggest that humanistic theory, a perspective that evolved partly in reaction to positivist and naturalistic approaches in geography in the 1960s, allows for a focus on place as opposed to abstract space. In a similar manner, Eyles (1985) proposes "the significance of what places mean to people and how people interpret place is [therefore] primarily derived from the humanist tradition" (p. 2).

Humanist-influenced geographers have long been concerned with the relationships between people and place (for an overview, see Hubbard et al., 2004). Those who have made important contributions to conceptualizations and theorizations of place as they are considered in this study include: Baker and Biger (1996), Cosgrove (1998), Cosgrove and Daniels (1988), Duncan & Ley (1993), Entrikin (1991), Eyles (1985), Feld and Basso, (1996), Gregory (1994), Hubbard et al. (2004), Ley (1988), Relph (1976), and Tuan (1974, 1977). These geographers critiqued positivist conceptions of place and engaged with social theory and social anthropology. Notably, they enlisted Anthony Giddens' structuration theory (1984, 1990, 1991) for social theory (see for instance the work of Derek Gregory), and Clifford Geertz's (1973, 1983) "thick description" and an interpretive theory of culture for social anthropology (see for instance the work of Denis Cosgrove). Humanist influences also brought subjectivity, reflexivity and situated knowledge to geographic enquiry (Hubbard et al., 2004), and fostered phenomenological understandings of places (see for instance the work of Yi-Fu Tuan and David Ley).

Such cross-disciplinary engagement led to new ways of understanding people and place relationships, and included an appreciation for multiple interpretations. Foremost, and of particular importance to this investigation, this engagement led to a re-

conceptualization of space and place as constructed and contingent, and gave context a central significance for social explanation.

As is argued above, humanist geography brought useful theoretical additions and re-conceptualized encounters with place and challenged how they are understood by geography. However, as Shurmer-Smith (2002) points out, the humanist emphasis on individuality and multiple meanings was not accompanied by a political analysis of the different ways space and place are understood and lived (see also Cosgrove, 1998). As she suggests,

> To simply describe the various human senses of place is to leave the important part of the cultural work undone; one's task must be to show how they ravel together, support and undermine one another, and constitute a dense fabric. (p. 26)

In response to Shurmer-Smith's concerns, a critical cultural geography approach is used in this study to mitigate the limitations of humanistic geography. A critical cultural geography approach enables an examination of the dense fabric of Yukon place identities and guides engagement with them. It can also provide insights into how these all "ravel" together to advance an understanding of the Yukon's sustainable tourism development context.

Cultural Geography

Cultural geography looks at the ways in which place, space and environment are perceived and represented (Shurmer-Smith, 2002), and is concerned with how place and image contribute to the formation of our identities (Aitken & Zonn, 1994). In recent history, theoretical debates within cultural geography have framed "old" and "new" cultural geography (Jackson, 2000; Shurmer-Smith, 2002; Cosgrove, 1988). "New" cultural geography is largely a result of encounters with intellectual political movements (e.g., feminism and post-colonialism). It emerged in response to questions about power, authority, subjectivity and issues of representation (Jackson, 2000; Shurmer-Smith, 2002). Such encounters allow cultural geography to articulate a concern for reflexivity

and an interest in the positionality of the researcher (Jackson, 2000). These responses and encounters are what define the critical dimensions of cultural geography, and associate it with post-positivist moments in qualitative research.

Crucial to critical studies on place is cultural geography's fundamental concern with text, image and metaphor. This concern looks for multiple meanings and creates "messy texts" (Hay, 2000). Using a "messy texts" approach provides insight into place power struggles, and leads to the identification of privileged place meanings and interpretations. "Messy texts" emerge from the research process and, as a result, provide wholeness without evoking totality; they inspire open-endedness while being characterized by a lack of conclusion. The latter is replaced with pragmatic resolution. As a result, messy texts are imbued with partial knowledge and foster dialogue (Marcus, 1998).

At the heart of the relationships under investigation in this study is a focus on issues of identity and representation of self and other in place and in tourism. Cultural geography is concerned with the relationship between geographical phenomena and ideology, and how such relationships are used by people to express their sense of who they are (Shurmer-Smith, 2002). To understand issues of identity and representation, this investigation relies on a critical cultural geography and its view of place and image as social constructions (Duncan & Ley, 1993; Lunt, 1994; Shurmer-Smith, 2002). Privileging place as a social construction facilitates an interrogation of the taken-for-granted categories of everyday life (Duncan & Ley, 1993), and sets in motion a consideration for power, representation, identity and difference in tourism scholarship (Hall, 1994; Hollinshead, 2004a, 2004b). The idea that places are contested sites is a vital one for bringing a critical perspective to sense of place and place research because, as Shurmer-Smith (2002) argues, "though sense of place is an enticing concept, it ought to be obvious that there is no single genuine essence buried in any place to be mined by the trained cultural geographer" (p. 25).

Cultural Geography, Northern Narratives, and Narratives of Remoteness

"Narratives" refer to storied ways of knowing, and are a fundamental way humans organize their understanding of the world (Cortazzi, 2001). They can also be understood

as referring to a "discourse form in which events and happenings are configured into a temporal unity by means of a plot" (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5). The primary function of narratives is to authorize and set in place ways of experiencing the world (de Certeau, 1984, p. 123). They are also used to establish connections – past and future, people and place, and between people whose opinions diverge (Cruikshank, 1998, p. 2). Narratives provide insight into the way in which communities are held together through shared metaphors, especially in light of how they can be reworked or differently interpreted across time, culture and individuals. Narratives also reveal important understandings about belonging. In this regard, Cruikshank (1998) suggests that this is particularly true in the Yukon, as well as other parts of the world, when narratives of history and culture collide. Her research highlights the relationship between the way categories of belonging emerge during periods of social upheaval, and the way in which ideas about belonging "provide particular insight into how local meanings are asserted in response to externally imposed classification systems" (p. 3). These understandings can be useful for the many communities of people, old and new, Aboriginal, European and others, who attach meanings to the Yukon as a place.

Narratives that feature the North as plot have been vital to the formation of a "Canadian identity" and have been explored in a variety of ways by geographers, historians, and literary theorists (e.g., Atwood, 1995; Berton, 1958, 2001, 2005a, 2005b; Cavell, 2002; Coates, 1994; Hamelin, 1988; Heinimann, 1993; Shields, 1991; Zaslow, 1971). Remoteness narratives often complement, or are integral to, more general narratives that feature the North as a central plot. In these contemporary narratives, remoteness, like wilderness, is framed in a positive light and is increasingly sought after due to growing – and global – urbanization (Coates, 1994; Cronon, 1995; Stark, 2002). Given their sought after nature, they are narratives that also hold a particular interest for tourism (Bell & Lyall, 2001; Krakover & Gradus, 2002; Haider and Johnston, 1993; Nutall, 1997; CPAWS Wildlands League and Ontario Nature, 2005).

Crucial to the geo-cultural and historical premises used in this study, is an understanding of the way northern narratives, narratives of remoteness, and tourism as a phenomenon, are all immersed in colonial histories, discourses and practices. In a contemporary Yukon, the North, wilderness and the idea of remoteness, and tourism, still

find much of their significance largely in relation to Euro-Canadian cultures. This is in contrast to Aboriginal oral accounts of the Yukon's past (Cruikshank, 1991, 1992, 1998; Nadasdy, 2003; Shields, 1991), investigations into Aboriginal ways of knowing the world – "epistemology" (Ermine, 1996), and culturally differentiated views, beliefs and experiences of nature (Easton, 2008; Selin 2003; Wilson, 2003), which point to the possibility that Aboriginal ideas about wilderness and remoteness were concepts imported across North America by non-Aboriginal people.

Russell's (nd) postcolonial analysis of Alaska suggests that northerner identity might be one that links "remote" to "a discursive remnant of colonial policy" (npn). Like the Alaskan "frontier," remoteness is predicated on the existence of contrasting images. Brown's (2002) study of wilderness as a state of mind among Alaskans concurs with these ideas. He proposes that the frontier could not exist if there was no civilization with which to contrast it (p. 106). So, remoteness like "the last frontier" is "powerfully defined by its relationship to the settler society" (p. 106). These issues fundamentally inform the "messy text" that are place relationships in the Yukon.

Research Strategy, Methods, and Analysis

Research strategies are what connect researchers to approaches and methods for collecting and analyzing empirical materials (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). A research strategy comprises the "skills, assumptions, and practices that the researcher employs as he or she moves paradigm to the empirical world" (p. 22). The strategy used in this research is the case study.

A Case Study Strategy

Stake (2000) introduced the case study as an established qualitative research tool that is used for theory building as opposed to theory testing (see also Kitchin & Tate, 2000; Merriam, 1998). A case study approach is interested in what can be learned from the single case (Stake, 2000; Jardine, 1998). It is used to gain in-depth understanding of a

situation (Cresswell, 1998; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2000), and is appropriate for the study of events, roles and relationships, including specific encounters (Kitchin & Tate, 2000).

Case studies focus on meaning and relationships (Merriam, 1998; Veal, 1992), and are both a process of inquiry and a product of that inquiry (Stake, 2000; Yin, 1984). Merriam (1998) highlights how case studies should be focused on process, context, and discovery rather than outcomes, specific variables, and confirmation. As "bounded systems," case studies are also particularistic (focus on a particular event, program, or phenomenon), descriptive (end product is a rich, "thick" description of the phenomenon), and heuristic (illuminates our understanding of the phenomenon under study) (Merriam, 1998). End products are descriptive narratives, interpretive accounts or evaluations whose objectives are to increase understanding in order to improve practice and inform policy and future research (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2000). They also play a significant role in advancing the knowledge base in the relevant field of study (Merriam, 1998). The case study presented in this dissertation is used primarily to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization. In this sense, it can be classified as an "instrumental case study" (Stake, 2000).

Methods

Methods are instruments, techniques and strategies used for data collection. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) refer to research methods in qualitative research as "a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible" (p. 3). Through the use of methods that seek to represent the world, the qualitative researcher can "study things in their natural settings" and "attempt to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3).

Case studies allow for research flexibility and acknowledge the iterative process at work in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The researcher can make changes to the research design based on the need to take advantage of changing opportunities and to adjust to theoretical or practical concerns as they occur (Yin, 1994). The researcher is the primary instrument for data collection in case study research, and a multi-method research strategy can be utilized (Merriam, 1998), including methods traditionally used in

ethnographic research (Fielding, 1993). The methods used in this study include textual data, participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

To comply with Territorial and institutional requirements for undertaking field research, a Yukon-Canada Scientist and Explorers Act License was issued for this research for 2004, 2005 and 2006 (#4060-15-5-569), and a Certificate of Ethics Approval for Fully-Detailed Research Proposal was issued by the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation, University of Alberta on June 28, 2007 (Research Ethics Application #2006-0615-02).

Textual Data

Textual data are representations of how people make sense of the world (Hannam, 2003). According to Silverman (2006), textual data are defined as words and/or images that are recorded without the intervention of a researcher (e.g., interviews). Peräkylä (2005) warns however that "researcher instigated" and "naturally occurring" data should be seen on a continuum rather than as a dichotomy.

Rationale. Textual data selection and analysis was informed by the literature review on the north and remoteness found in Chapter Two. The literature review combined with an analysis of the textual data provides the basis for conceptualizing resident place identity themes ("place-making"), and their use in tourism texts ("place-marketing"). The combination of these research activities offers an historical and contemporary context for understanding Yukon place identities and their embeddedness in – and/or response to – remoteness narratives.

Textual data is used to examine this study's first two sub-questions: 1) how are Yukon place identities characterized in relation to remoteness? and 2) how is Yukon tourism positioned in light of place identities configured around remoteness? Preliminary analysis of textual data analysis established the broader parameters and foundation for analyzing and conceptualizing the place identities of tourism interpreter guides in combination with the data collected with other methods (participant observation and semi-structured interview).

Criteria and selection. There is no single "right" way to cope with textual data selection. Selection can be based primarily on researcher subjectivity, evolving knowledge on the research topic, and an emerging ability to feel confident in the value of the materials and their capacity to establish relationships; regardless of how these same materials might be read differently by someone else (Hannam, 2003).

Textual data was selected on the basis of being able to provide rich place references that specifically enable Yukon voices and their place attachment and/or identity expressions (e.g., how people define or are defined by being a "Yukoner"). Two main streams of textual data sources were identified to provide context and help answer the first two research sub-questions: 1) Yukon resident oriented data sources, and 2) tourism oriented data sources. "Text" was defined in its most generous sense (Silverman, 2006; Veal, 2006), and included popular media for resident data sources, and tourism promotional materials and websites for tourism-oriented data sources. Visual productions were selected for both streams of textual data sources (Aitken & Zonn, 1994; Burgess & Gold, 1985; Kitchen & Tate, 2000), and included documentary films and a dance performance. A third data source stream, data source overlap, was identified due to the analytical value the data held for both resident and tourism data sources. The specific criterion for each data source stream follows.

1. Yukon resident oriented data sources

Data sources analysed to conceptualize Yukon place identities include newspaper and magazine articles and documentary films. Newspaper articles were taken from the *Yukon News* (published 3-times a week and distributed Yukon-wide); *What's Up Yukon* (published 2-times a month and distributed primarily in Whitehorse and to some communities, e.g., Dawson City); and *Up Here* (a magazine which is published monthly and distributed across the north, to southern-based subscribers, and available at some magazine outlets across Canada). Data were collected over a 4-year period (2003-2007).[14]

The *Yukon News* and *What's Up Yukon* are published in Whitehorse with primarily Yukon-based writers for the former, and exclusively Yukon writers for the latter. *Up*

[14] Except for *What's Up Yukon* published only since February 10, 2005.

North is a magazine published out of Yellowknife, NWT, and includes articles by writers from across the north, as well as from southern Canada. The documentary films selected for this study share much with the creative intent of personal documentaries as defined by Youngs (1985). He defined the personal documentary as "intended neither for the individual with simply technical expertise nor for someone who desires only to reflect 'reality'; it is a form which enables those with something to say the freedom to do so" (p. 148).

Documentary films are not objective and unbiased presentations of truth and reality. They entail a subjective manipulation – and subjective interpretation on the part of the filmmaker – of place, images, sounds and events (Gold, 1985). Manipulations are woven together in order to create powerful stories, that may not be the "truth," but neither are they "fiction." Historically, this type of filmmaking emerged out of the perceived lack of attention given to social problems by commercial cinema in the 1930s (Gold, 1985).

The films selected for this study reflect some of documentary filmmaking's original intent. However, they also demonstrate the contemporary nature of documentary filmmaking and its use as a storytelling device that may or may not have any intended political or social justice value. Documentary film as a storytelling medium is of particular importance in Yukon filmmaking, and Yukon filmmakers are garnering national and international attention for their ability with this medium (Personal communication, Andrew Connors, Technical Director, Yukon Film Society, June 8, 2007, and see de la Barre, 2007).

Documentary films selected for this study were produced and directed by Yukon filmmakers, or were produced and directed by non-Yukoners whose films' clearly intend to provide Yukoners with a voice to tell a Yukon story. They also had to be easily accessible for viewing at home (so that they could be rewound often and notes could be taken). Similar to the documents selected for textual analysis, films were selected on the basis of being able to provide rich place references that specifically enable Yukon voices to articulate place identity expressions (e.g., how people define or are defined by being a "Yukoner"). The films selected for this study are: A *Shipyard's Lament* (Connors, 2001), *Beautiful and Deranged: The Song of the Yukon* (Black, 2005), *City of Gold* (Daly, 1957), and *The Yukoner* (King, 1956). Two films by Yukon First Nations were selected

also: *Picturing a People: George Johnston, Tlingit Photographer* (Bochner, 1997), and Northern Native Broadcasting *Stranger in our own land: History of Yukon Land Claims, Part I (1997)*. Finally, a First Nations contemporary dance performance, *Łuk T'äga Näche'* (Salmon Girl Dreaming) (Olson, nd), also was selected.

2. Tourism oriented data sources

How tourism marketers create a destination image and the impact this has on local communities has been the subject of much tourism scholarship (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Morgan et al., 2002; Ringer, 2000; Walsh et al., 2001). Tourism marketing uses images to communicate ideas and feelings for places (Morgan et al., 2002). The tourism promotion texts that were selected for this study include materials produced by the Yukon Government's Department of Culture and Tourism, Yukon not-for-profit associations, and private sector tourism businesses.

Government produced and distributed documents selected include the *Yukon Vacation Planner* (YG, 2004a, 2005, 2006, 2007a). Published annually, it is the tourism department's most important publication for potential and already arrived visitors. A second government publication was analyzed: *Places to go on Yukon time* guide book (YG, 2004b) was published once only, and was part of the broader *On Yukon Time* program, components of which are still used in some tourism promotion campaigns today (e.g., the *Art Adventures: on Yukon Time* booklet which is published annually). Yukon Government Tourism Department websites were analyzed also. http://www.travelyukon.com/en/ and http://www.driveyukon.com/. Finally, *Yukon: Getaway Country* (Canwest Films, 1967), an early Yukon tourism promotional film, was analyzed.

Two tourism not-for-profit organizations involved in the development and promotion of tourism were selected for this study. They consist of the Wilderness Tourism Association of the Yukon (WTAY), and the Yukon First Nations Tourism Association (YFNTA). Both of these organizations produce tourism promotional materials and are involved in marketing the Yukon as a destination. They are important tourism decision-makers and significant stakeholders in Yukon tourism.

The Wilderness Tourism Association of the Yukon (WTAY) is a member-driven, non-profit organization that provides marketing, advocacy, research, consultation, referrals and education. WTAY's mandate is to be the "collective voice of the wilderness and adventure tourism industry in the Yukon Territory, Canada" (www.wtay.com). The organization has a critical role in the Yukon's tourism development context, in part because organizational interests are largely defined through the way market and for-profit concerns intersect with wilderness conservation and protection. WTAY operate the yukonWILD cooperative buy-in marketing program (www.yukonwild.com). As well, in 2002, with the assistance of the Yukon Government's Department of Tourism and Culture, WTAY adopted a code of conduct guidelines for operating wilderness tours. Among other things, the code includes guidelines for guide standards, wilderness etiquette and wildlife viewing, promotes positive impacts such as providing local benefits and practicing cultural respect, endorses the practice of the Leave No Trace program, and is committed to minimizing the "potential negative impact of wilderness tourism on the environment and people of the Yukon, and to maximize the positive" (www.wtay.com). Contributing to the work of conservation initiatives is encouraged as one of the ways to accomplish this commitment. To some degree, these seemingly contradictory concerns co-exist because wilderness tourism operators' livelihood depends on the quality of the wilderness they have access to. WTAY has played a central role in developing tourism-related policy that incorporates informed awareness and knowledge of how best to use the wilderness for the purposes of tourism.

The Yukon First Nations Tourism Association (YFNTA) was incorporated in 1994 and defines itself as an industry-driven not-for-profit association (www.yfnta.ca). The YFNTA underline mandates that attend to principles of cultural integrity and improving cultural awareness of Yukon First Nations, and the marketing and promotion role they can play. Importantly they are involved in building capacity both at the tourism product development and delivery level, as well as through building First Nations ability to showcase their culture and their businesses at large events (e.g., Gathering of Northern Nations which showcased Yukon First Nations during the 2007 Canada Winter Games which were held in Whitehorse in February of that year). Given the overwhelming task that most Yukon First Nations are involved in with the implementation of Self-

Government, it is hardly surprising that tourism development concerns are difficult to prioritize. Governance issues and increasing the overall well-being of First Nations citizens in their communities remains a fundamental prerequisite to First Nations involvement in tourism (and tourism development).

Not surprisingly, and given the above, a limitation to this study was access to First Nations guide perspectives. There are two primary reasons affecting lack of access. First, there are a limited number of First Nations tourism products in the territory, and by extension, few guides. Second, many of those guides who do exist are tied to cultural centres or other similarly affiliated First Nations organizations. In addition, access to First Nations guides is often bound to complex and time-consuming protocols that sometimes involve intellectual property rights and traditional knowledge protection policies. These access issues point to related "sense of place" debates and their relationship to colonial discourses that have shaped land conceptualizations and material (legal) realities. Access issues highlight also the cultural and political importance of "place" for First Nations in the territory, and the significance of land claims and self-government processes as a means to (re)confirm cultural place-based relationships. Private sector guides may have been more easily approached, however, there are few private sector aboriginal tourism products.

Textual data selected from the two Yukon tourism associations described above include WTAY's website (http://www.wtay.com/), as well as their cooperative marketing website (www.yukonwild.com), and the YFNTA produced visitor guide (Yukon First Nations Tourism Association, 2004 and 2005), as well as their website (www.yfnta.ca).

There is a tremendous amount of tourism promotional material produced by the private sector in the territory. Given this volume, I selected only promotional material produced between 2003 and 2007 by businesses that in some way represented tourism activities similar to those included in other data collection activities. To help ensure confidentiality, I did not select only those materials produced by the tourism businesses that participated in my study (in either participant observation or interview activities). Tourism promotional materials selected from the private sector include tourism brochures, pamphlets and posters, advertisements in newspapers and magazines, and business websites.

Finally, data collected for the 2006 Yukon Government's Department of Tourism and Culture branding exercise – which replaced "Canada's True North" with the "Larger than Life" tagline – was analysed for insights into both resident and tourism place identity features. The branding exercise involved extensive surveys and interviews with Yukon residents and visitors.

3. Data source overlap

One textual data source was assessed as having substantial usefulness for both resident and tourism oriented data sources. *As the Crow Flies* (Chapman, 1998) is exemplary of the type of visual production that can play a pivotal role in understanding Yukon place identities. The film was produced primarily for tourism purposes and is shown to visitors in the Whitehorse Visitor Information Centre. It portrays numerous Yukon residents expressing how the Yukon makes them feel and what living in the territory means to them.

Analysis. Using textual analysis, resident data sources were analyzed for their place identity expressions and place-making attributes. Textual analysis is concerned with "unpacking the cultural meanings inherent in the material in question," and "draws upon the researcher's own knowledge and beliefs as well as the symbolic meaning systems that they share with others" (Domosh, 2003, p. 192). Information for analysis can be retrieved using conventional word-processing programs (Domosh, 2003).

Tourism oriented data sources were analyzed for how place identity themes are used to promote Yukon tourism and their place marketing attributes. Manual data sorting and a code-and-retrieve strategy were separately applied to both resident and tourism oriented data streams (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The strategy involved marking the text and tagging particular chunks or segments of text, developing data themes from the coded text, and attaching coded text to emerging data themes. Text identified related to key statements, ideas, opinions, thoughts and sentiments about people's relationships to the Yukon as a place, especially how these relationships relate to or make identity statements. Documentary films were viewed and "text" was coded during viewing, recorded with a digital tape recorder, and then transcribed manually into a data file. It was then coded to emerging data themes similar to print-based textual data.

Categorized data themes were analyzed for the way they represented shared meanings and interpretations, sometimes referred to as "textual communities" (Hay, 2000). Identifying textual communities and the relationships they have to one another can also lead to better understanding how and why some place meanings are ignored, hidden or contested.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a method that has been used by geographers who seek to understand the meanings of place and the contexts of everyday life (Hay, 2000). It is a particularly effective method for investigators who intend to collect rich data that comes from local perspectives, through community involvement, recurrent contact with people, and relatively unstructured social interactions (Hay, 2000). In consideration of my resident-based engagement with the "field," and given my participation in the activities I observed, I adopted "participant-as-observer" and "complete participation" approaches (Scott & Usher, 1999). These approaches are appropriate for investigators who want to understand their own locality (Hay, 2000).

Rationale. In combination with interview data, participant observation data was used to examine this study's third and fourth sub-questions: 3) how are the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides characterized in relation to remoteness? and 4) how is guide place identity manifest in the way they design and deliver their tourism activities? (See Figure 3 in Chapter One, p. 8)

Participant observation activities served two purposes. First, they informed the research process and design. For instance they:

- Facilitated access to the research participants and informed interview selection;
- Facilitated dialogue between research participants and researcher (Belsky, 2004);
- Assisted with the formulation of interview questions and follow-up questions while conducting interviews.

Second, by directly experiencing the activities under observation – what Scott and Usher (1999) identify as "direct experiential value"– participant observation provided opportunities to gain insight into guides place identity as it relates to the design and

delivery of their tourism activities. Participant observation data also was useful later in the analysis process to refine emerging ideas on how guides viewed and/or practiced sustainable tourism in light of place identity and tourism activity design and delivery considerations.

I participated in 16 tourism activities and interviewed 14 guides from July to September 2006 and one guide in February 2007 (see Tables 1 and 2). Participation used an inductive process to build explanations on guide place identity in relation to their tourism activities (Veal, 2006). Observation was "unstructured" or "naturalistic" and no formal recording or analysis procedures were used during the actual observations (Veal, 2006). However, notes highlighting critical insights were logged in a notebook or recorded with a digital voice recording. Participation was interactive for nine of the activities ("I" in Table 1). However there was little or no opportunity to interact with guides or other participants during the other seven activities ("not I" in Table 1).

Criteria and selection. There are few step-by-step guidelines for participant observation given that every observation situation is unique (Hay, 2000). The strict application of rules has less to do with the approach than does the investigator's high capacity for introspection "with respect to his or her relationship to what is to be (and is being) researched" (p. 109).

Participant observation activities were conducted with diverse types of guides who interpreted a variety of settings to different kinds of visitors. The Yukon Territory offers a wide selection of short term and multi-day tourism activities. Due to resource limitations, only one activity was longer than one day in duration. Activities were selected to represent diverse activity types, in the public and private sectors, and included wilderness and nature-based tourism activities, as well as cultural tourism in the City of Whitehorse, Haines Junction, and Dawson City.

Given resource limitations, consideration was given to how accessible activities were in terms of distance and time required to participate in the activity, as well as on the financial resources necessary to participate. A majority of activities were selected because they were within a 100 km radius of my residence in Whitehorse, and because they were free or very low cost (12 out of 16 activities were selected on this basis). In

addition, I participated in one activity ("Sport Tourism") as a volunteer in the delivery of the activity under observation.

A total of eleven female and five male guides were observed. Their ages varied from early-career or seasonal guides in their 20s to very experienced life-long, career guides in their 50s and 60s. Pseudonyms were used and other explicitly identifying information has been removed to protect confidentiality, as is required by the University of Alberta ethics requirements. It should be noted that in the Yukon, naming a lake or river can identify an operator or guide because tourism activities are sometimes geographically allocated or dictated. As much as possible, information that might identify guides has been removed. Participant observation activity descriptions are detailed in Table 1.

Analysis. Field notes containing personal comments, observations and/or analytical remarks were written down in a notebook as soon as possible following the observation. Applying the same code-and-retrieve strategy that was used for the textual data, field notes were reviewed and key quotes, insights, comments, observations, were typed into a Word document ("Name of Activity_Data File"). Participant Observation data analysis was informed by the literature review and findings from other data analysis activities. Insights gleaned from participant observation were used primarily to support or enhance findings from other analysis activities.

Table 1

Participant Observation Activities

#	Activity	Type	Ownership	Location	Duration	Role
1	Interpreted Walk I	Cultural	Not for Profit	Dawson City	1.5 hours	I
2	Boat Tour	Cultural	Private/Local	Road Access Wilderness	7 hours	I
3	Northern Lifestyle	Cultural	Private/Local	Southern Yukon	4 hours	I
4	Heritage Program I	Cultural	National Public	Dawson City	1.5 hours	NI
5	Heritage Program II	Cultural	National Public	Dawson City	1 hour	NI
6	Heritage Program III	Cultural	National Public	Dawson City	1 hour	NI
7	Interpreted Walk II	Cultural	Private – Not Local	Dawson City	1 hour	I
8	Interpreted Walk III	Cultural	Not for Profit	Whitehorse	1 hour	I
9	Interpreted Bus Tour I	Cultural	Private – Not Local	Dawson City	1 hour	NI
10	Interpreted Bus Tour II	Wilderness	Private – Not Local	Road Access Wilderness	8 hours	NI
11	Interpreted Walk IIII	Wilderness	Private – Local	Whitehorse	1 hour	NI
12	Sport Tourism	Wilderness	Private – Yukon and Not Local	Road Access Wilderness	10 hours	I
13	Interpreted Hike I	Wilderness	Not for Profit	Whitehorse	2 hours	NI
14	Interpreted hike II	Wilderness	National Public	National Park	4 hours	I
15	River Trip	Wilderness	Private – Local	Road Access Wilderness	8 hours	I
16	Canoe Trip	Wilderness	Private – Local	Road Access Wilderness	288 hours	I

Interviews

This study also used semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are in-depth interviewing methods and are desirable for investigations that seek to understand

key informants in complex cultural situations (Hay, 2000). Semi-structured interviews allow flexibility to change the wording and sequence of questions once the interview has been initiated (Hay 2000; Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Initial questions were followed-up with probing questions (Hay, 2000; Kitchin & Tate, 2000). As a result, "the interviewer has much greater freedom to explore specific avenues of enquiry, and logical gaps within data can be anticipated and closed" (Kitchin & Tate, 2000, p. 214). New lines of enquiry that emerge out of the interview process can also be pursued. Interviews often evolved into conversations and point to Kvale's (1996) claims on interviews as "co-authored narratives." These are characterized by the "interplay of interviewee and interviewer in the interview process," and include an appreciation for the interviewee's statement as "a joint social creation" (p. 183).

Rationale. In combination with findings from textual data analysis and supported by participant observation data, interview data were used to examine this study's main question: what role does the place identity of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides have in advancing the goals of sustainable tourism development in the Yukon Territory? To help answer the main question, interview data were used to provide insight into the third and fourth sub-questions: 3) how are the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides characterized in relation to remoteness? and 4) how is guide place identity manifest in the way they design and deliver their tourism activities?

Interview protocols centered on three main themes: 1) guide place-identity and relationship to remoteness, 2) design and delivery of tourism activities, and 3) sustainable tourism development. Sample questions are provided in Appendix A. As much as possible, a summary research description was provided to the interview participant at least a week in advance of the scheduled interview date (Appendix B). In a few cases, interviews occurred on the "spur of the moment" and advance materials were not provided to the interviewee (they were provided on site). Interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder and transferred to a desktop computer. Limited note-taking occurred during the interviews as this interfered with interviewer/interviewee interaction. Interviews took place in a variety of settings including at the investigator's place of residence in Whitehorse, in interviewee homes, and the sites where tourism activities were delivered.

Interview transcripts allow these conversations to be more closely analyzed. There is no standard form of interview transcription, and decisions are mostly guided by what the transcript will be used for (Kvale, 1996; Poland, 2002). For this study, transcripts were used as a tool to assist with more in-depth analysis and as an *aide-memoir* for both interviewer and interviewees. To create a transcript that would best communicate the subject's stories as well as decrease a potential negative reaction with interviewees when reading their own transcript, a more fluent written style was used (Kvale, 1996; Poland, 2002). Repetitions, pauses and tone of voice for instance, were not reported in the interview transcripts. In addition, less relevant sections of the interview were condensed, summarized or omitted from transcription (for instance discussions on unrelated current affairs, personal life events unrelated to the interview, and muffin recipes!).

Given time limitations and transcription costs, half the interviews were transcribed into a typed document by the investigator and the other half by a paid transcriber. Costs for transcription was $15.00 an hour, and each interview hour required approximately 6 to 8 hours of transcription time. Using a digital recorder facilitated the transfer of interview files to the transcriber over the internet. Where a transcriber was used, I listened to the recorded interview and followed the transcribed text line for line after the transcription was complete. This allowed for editing and helped ensure that all interviews were uniform. It also gave me an opportunity to closely and intently listen to all interviews in a similar manner (Poland, 2002).

The completed transcripts were identified with a code to ensure confidentiality, and, as much as possible, other important particulars (names, locations, etc.) were omitted from the transcript. Transcripts were sent back to interviewees to be reviewed for accuracy and to supplement with additional comments. Only one guide provided feedback on the interview transcript (a geographical clarification was provided).

Criteria and selection. Interview selection occurred using purposeful sampling to maximize the number of different type of guides selected for the study (Merriam, 1998). Guides were selected from both cultural and wilderness tourism, and some consideration was given to the type of activity they were involved in (e.g., not all hiking or canoeing, some First Nations cultural tourism, sport and adventure tourism, winter tourism). Selection criteria were also based on identifying information-rich cases for in-depth

study, and attempted to capture as many place identity perspectives as possible. Past professional and personal knowledge of tourism activities and familiarity with those who deliver them informed the identification of key guides to interview. However, given the nature of the guiding community in the territory, "snowball," "chain" and "network" techniques also were used in the selection process. Informal discussions on my research topic in a variety of social and research oriented settings over the course of four years often resulted in historical summaries of guiding in the Yukon. These discussions identified a number of Yukon guides who have made important contributions to guiding in the territory over the past 40 years. As a result, three guides were interviewed on the basis of their past guiding contributions, even though they no longer guide, or do so only on a casual basis.

Convenience, access and financial resources were also a consideration. Distances between communities are great in the Yukon, and guides are often away during the summer working thereby making meetings difficult to arrange. At the same time, some guides do not live in the Yukon and leave the territory at the end of the tourist season.

Fourteen interviews were conducted with diverse types of guides. They include guides who:

- Deliver their activities in both private (business) and public (not-for-profits and government institutions, e.g., Parks Canada) sectors;
- Have varying degrees of guiding experience and incorporate a mix of male and female guides;
- Worked in different wilderness settings, as well as in town;
- Worked in nature-based and cultural tourism programming areas; and
- Provide activities that are short (a day and parts thereof) and long (multi-day) in duration.

As with the participant observation activities, interviewee ages varied from early-career or seasonal guides in their 20s to very experienced life-long, career guides in their 50s and 60s. A description of interviewees is included in Table 2. Pseudonyms were used and other explicitly identifying information has been removed to protect confidentiality. To comply with University of Alberta Ethics requirements, interviewees were asked to sign consent forms (Appendix C).

Table 2

Interviewee Profiles

#	Guide	Time in Yukon	Guiding in Yukon	Type	Activity	Length
1	Bob	Born in Yukon	Since 1978	Cultural	Boat tours	1/2 day
2	Sally	>15 years	Since 1992	Cultural	Walking	1/2 day/day
3	Jack	> 30 years	Since 1997	Cultural	Northern lifestyle	1/2 day
4	Molly	Born in Yukon	Since 1996	Cultural	Heritage	1/2 day
5	Ken	Seasonal last 3 yrs	Since 2003	Cultural	Heritage	Day
6	Gordon	> 20 years	Since 2000	Cultural	Heritage	1/2 day
7	Ted	> 30 years	Since 1983	Wilderness	Canoeing	Multi-day
8	John	> 30 years	Since 1978	Wilderness	Hiking	Multi-day
9	Liz	<10 years	Since 2000	Wilderness	Sport tourism	Multi-day
10	Jim	> 30 years	Since 1984	Wilderness	Hiking	Multi-day
11	Paul	<10 years	Since 2000	Wilderness	Kayaking	Multi-day
12	Susan	> 20 years	Since 1984	Wilderness	Canoeing, Kayaking, Hiking	Multi-day
13	Patricia	< 5 years	Since 2005	Wilderness	Hiking	Multi-day
14	Tim	> 20 years	Since 1971	Wilderness	Hiking	Multi-day

Of note, eight of the guides who were selected for interviews also took part in this study's participant observation activities. In these eight cases, all but one guide interview was conducted after participating in the tourism activity with the guide and his/her group.

Analysis. Analysis of interview data was informed by literature reviews and findings from both the textual and participant observation data analysis. Interview transcripts were first analyzed in light of answering the third research sub-question: how

are the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides characterized in relation to remoteness? Using the same code-and-retrieve strategy used for the textual data, transcripts were reviewed and key quotes, insights, comments, observations, were typed into a Word document titled "Interview data_sorted." Next, emerging themes were identified in a two phase process. First, broad stroke themes were identified and placed in a Word document titled "Emerging themes_Phase I." The second stage of this process involved analysing data themes from Phase I in light of the sub-research questions, and further sorting the data for those themes most appropriate to the investigation. Interview data that did not fit into a theme but which represented an important if isolated insight, were also highlighted. Tagged data was referenced in a way that citations could be easily traced back to their original sources by indicating guide code number and line number where the citation was located in the interview transcript (e.g., Guide02_277).

Cross-Cutting Analysis Considerations

Interpretive analysis is an iterative process, involving both inductive and deductive logics. Analytical processes can move from description to explanation, as well as from explanation to description. Analytical activities undertaken in this study hinged upon the constant interaction between research design and data collection (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).

Analysis is not separate from other features of the research process, including dissertation writing. Many scholars view writing as an important part of the analysis process. Richardson (2000) sees writing as "a way of 'knowing" as well as a method of discovery and analysis. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) claim that writing "actually deepens our level of analytic endeavour" (p. 109). Finally, Parker (2004) proposes that dissertation writing is an intrinsic part of the analysis process: one that involves "the construction of a narrative that presents persuasive themes and story lines, argues influences, connections and outcomes, and develops wider implications for the discipline in which the study is situated" (p. 163). Table 3 illustrates how the research process evolved and was chronologically executed (referenced in steps 1 through 17).

Table 3

Tracking the Research Process

Chapters	**One, two and three**			**Four**		**Five**			**Six and Seven**								
Activity Chronology (in Steps)	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**	**17**
Living in the Yukon: Reflexivity + opportunity																	
Attending tourism conferences, meetings, and events.																	
Informal exchanges, discussions and conversations																	
Literature review/reading																	
Reflexivity and iterative analysis																	
Textual Data Collection: Yukon Place Identity																	
Textual Analysis: Code and retrieve/Themes																	
Textual Data Collection: Tourism and place identity																	
Textual Analysis: Code and retrieve/Themes																	
Participant Observation: 16 guided tourism activities																	
Highlight key insights based on field book and digital recordings																	
Use Textual data analysis to confirm/contest and advance interpretations																	
Use Participant Observation to confirm/contest and advance interpretations																	
Interviews: 14 guides																	
Interview transcription																	
Member-checking																	
Interview Analysis: Code and retrieve/Themes																	
Dissertation writing																	
Conferences and small group presentations																	

About Trustworthiness

Both the third and fourth moments in research history emerged from challenges made to positivism (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, 2000). For positivism, research trustworthiness hinges upon criteria of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity, and places "triangulation" at the centre of trustworthiness issues. Triangulation involves the use of more than one research approach in a single study or is implicated when results from one method are contrasted with those of another (Veal, 2006).

This investigation uses a constructivist paradigm and attends to issues of trustworthiness primarily from the requirements of the third moment, or blurred genres, and utilizes the tools made available to qualitative researchers operating in this post-positivist moment. Post-positivists such as Decrop (2004), assert that positivist expectations of triangulation assume a "fixed-point," and affect how, and even if, a multiple range of interpretations can be sought and investigated. Similarly, for Janesick (2000) removing the expectation that there is one correct interpretation necessitates that validity has to do with description and explanation.

Decrop (2004) refers to trustworthiness in the third moment by referencing Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria-based typology for trustworthiness in qualitative research. Their typology results from a re-assessment of validity, generalizability, and reliability and proposes four reformulated criteria. They are: 1) credibility or truthfulness; 2) transferability; 3) dependability; and 4) confirmability (see also and Crang, 2002; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; and Guba and Lincoln, 1989). This reformulated approach to trustworthiness hints at Kvale's (1996) notion of a "moderate postmodernism," and suggests that rejecting the notion of an objective universal truth opens up the possibility of "specific local, personal, and community forms of truth, with a focus on daily life and local narrative" (p. 231).

To achieve credibility or truthfulness, this study used prolonged engagement and examined the research over an extended period of time in the research location (2004 to 2007). I collected data, regularly attended industry and other related conferences and

forums, volunteered or otherwise attended tourism events, and was subject to Yukon tourism information, emerging issues and debates, through day-to-day residency living in the territory.

Silverman (2006) suggests that combining methods and comparing and contrasting data also contribute to data credibility. This study used a multi-method strategy combined with a research design that required constant interaction between analysis and findings. This interaction led to opportunities that confirmed or challenged insights, and opened up new analytical avenues.

Transferability is achieved through referential adequacy involving the provision of contextual information that supports data analysis and interpretation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 160). Sub-questions were contextualized through literature reviews and textual data sources which reinforced data analysis and interpretation activities for each of the data collection strategies. Prolonged engagement also enabled transferability given that it involved persistent observation and included opportunities to actively seek out emerging data sources (Decrop, 2004).

Janesick (2000) proposes member checks are part of the heuristic tools that can help research confirmability, and Decrop (2004) claims that they enhance credibility and truthfulness. For the latter, "research is credible when the suggested meanings are relevant to the informants and when the theoretical propositions conform to the interview and observation data" (p. 159). Member checking was accomplished in a variety of ways. Like Belsky's (2004) Belizean case study on the politics of community ecotourism, member checking occurred with participants themselves. This was achieved by sending transcripts back to interviewees for them to review.

In addition to formal member checking strategies with interview participants, preliminary findings from textual data analysis were presented to diverse northern audiences at conferences in Alaska (de la Barre, 2005) and in the Yukon (de la Barre, 2006), and an informal presentation was given to the Yukon Government's Department of Tourism and Culture's senior management in November, 2007. Preliminary research findings were also presented informally to a small group of Yukon residents and tourism professionals in preparation for a presentation to delegates of the 2008 International Polar

Tourism Research Network conference in Nunavik, Québec (de la Barre, 2008). These forums provided opportunities to discuss emerging ideas and research findings with Yukoners and other northerners or northern scholars, many of whom are engaged in tourism development.

Finally, I had numerous conversations with Yukon residents, tourism interpreter guides, and tourism professionals between 2003 and 2009 (from research design to dissertation writing). While not part of the data collection activities per se – and therefore not formal or recorded member checking activities – these exchanges served as critical opportunities where assumptions could be identified and interpretations reassessed, and where findings could be tested and feedback provided.

Researcher Positioning and Implications for the Research

First Nations Perspectives

While there are a growing number of ethnic and cultural communities in the Yukon today, two groups have dominated the territory since the 1850s: First Nations and European Canadians. Early in the research design phase, I was faced with the decision to either look exclusively at European Canadian place identities and their relationship to tourism processes, or include and discuss First Nations place identities. Because I am not a First Nations person, and because I assume First Nations and non-First Nations world views are different, I was unsure if I could include both. However, to exclude a consideration of First Nations place identity from this study seemed as problematic as incorporating it in an uncritical manner. Therefore, I opted to include it. The question then became: how am I going to incorporate First Nations place identity?

In response to this challenge, my strategy was to provide as much insight as I could while positioning my analysis with reference to the work done by others. The latter include First Nations themselves, or scholars who have done research on or with First Nations exclusively and incorporated a critical examination of the issues being addressed, for instance, the work of Julie Cruikshank (1991, 1992, 1998). Most importantly, while

trying to avoid interpreting First Nations culture and experience for them, I attempted to propose the existence of alternative views than those held by European Canadians.

I struggled with this decision during the entire research process, from data collection to dissertation writing. Nonetheless, while the impacts of my decision have created some challenges and raised much interesting internal dialogue, I would make the same decision if I were to start over again. Put simply, in this case at least, I believe that an awkward inclusion is better than a glaring exclusion. Furthermore, I believe insights I am able to articulate are richer for trying to understand First Nations relationships to place identity issues. I hope my readers, especially any Yukon First Nations readers, will empathize with my struggles, support my decision, and use my insights to their benefit, whether they agree with them or not. Indeed, this last point holds true for any Yukoner reading this dissertation and wondering about statements made about "their" place identity. Place identity is, after all, an intimately personal relationship between people and the places they inhabit (real and imaginary). Because no one likes to have their world interpreted for them, I know this work has the potential to tread on "sacred ground." I humbly ask that readers recognize this work as a starting point for understanding Yukon people and place relationships, and that they view it as one possible interpretation among many.

Two data collection challenges emerged as a result of the decisions I made regarding the inclusion of First Nations in this study. First, I had to be aware of the relationship that exists between place identity and traditional knowledge (TK). First Nations place identity is immersed in oral history, and aspects of place identity can be perceived to be embedded in traditional knowledge (the reverse may be true as well). Given the proprietary issues that surround traditional knowledge, I tried to look at broad place relationship themes and analyse these for the insights they provide into place identity.

Second, I had to consider how First Nations people express their place identity. Because Yukon First Nations people favour oral expression, they are less likely to write about place in relation to identity in the popular media. As a result, I incorporated appropriate cultural representation sources from which I might be able to obtain some of this data, for instance, through film and dance. I also had to be attentive to uncritical or

gratuitous descriptions or references to First Nations place identity provided by non-First Nations people. In a related matter, I considered how First Nations' political and cultural processes in the territory are in and of themselves tangible place identity expressions. These expressions are significantly intertwined with First Nations' place and identity reclamation activities. Among other things, these reclamation activities include those that result from Land Claims and Self-Government processes. I was aware of the need to address these issues. Whether or not I have successfully resolved them, however, remains less clear.

When the Field is Home

Traditionally, the "field" has been bound by a sense of distance and defined as a place you travel to, and return from. Or, as the anthropologist James Clifford (1997) writes, going to the field has presupposed "a spatial distinction between home base and an exterior place of discovery" (p. 53). Similar issues have been addressed by feminist geographers who investigate questions of reflexivity and autobiography as they relate to the researcher and his/her relationships to what is being researched, and how (Moss, 2001; Rose, 1997).

As a Yukon resident for almost 20 years, and having spent time here as a child while my father worked at the Arctic Institute's of North America's (AINA) research station in what is now Kluane National Park, I have well-established roots in the community of Whitehorse (including the tourism community), and in the territory generally. Moreover, my sense of self, my identity, is deeply influenced by the time I have spent in the Yukon, what I have done here, and the people I have met and come to know. As a result, doing research in the field, at home, brought unique challenges as well as opportunities to the data collection process.

Clifford's (1997) reflection on the "field as home" raises important challenges to the authoritative narratives on "Insiders" and "Outsiders." His reflections required that I scrutinize the way these categories have characterized fieldwork (see also Crang, 2003). Clifford highlights how, traditionally, community residents were excluded from doing research on their own communities given their assumed inability to be "objective," and

how this fact has changed considerably over the last 25 years. In contrast to ethnographically influenced research that strives to make "Insiders" of "Outsiders," the challenges he raises address how "Insider" becomes "Outsider" through fieldwork's disciplinary and spatially defined restraints.

These issues are particularly compelling and relevant for "who" is doing research from "where" in a northern research context. My investigation takes place at a moment in history when colonial and paternalistic northern research legacies have been questioned and challenged in the last decade (see for instance, the Association for Canadian Universities for Northern Studies [ACUNS], 1998; Adams, 1992; Coates and Morrison, 1991; Graham, 2006). Notwithstanding these challenges, anecdotal and memory-laden references to the research legacies of times past still carry substantial weight and impact the research environment and process.

Much research executed in the north historically was characterized by academics who did their research and then left the field for home in the south. Animosity toward research(ers) was produced in part by the ritualized pilgrimage of southern academics who went north to "the field," to do their research "on" and "for" the North – often in the colonial sense of "for"– and then left. Coates and Morrison (1991) refer to these academics as "fair-weather migratory birds that flock northward each year" (p. 175). Their investigations only rarely included northerners, and often, if not always, fit into colonial-like models for development and patronizing rituals of "concern" – which often cloaked a desire for control over natural resources. The authors suggest that, as a result, "academics, perhaps unwittingly, became part of the colonization of the periphery" (p. 175).[15]

Challenges to the kind of colonial research agendas mentioned above are being addressed, and there are an increasing number of examples of successful collaborative and community-based research undertaken in the north by academics in southern Canada as well as other parts of the globe. Their aims are to co-create knowledge and understanding on issues that are important to northerners. For example, recent collaborations between academics from several institutions with the Champagne Aishihik

[15] For additional discussions on this topic, see Bielawski, 1984; Coates, 1994; Lotz, 1991; Shields, 1991; Senkpiel & Easton, 1988; and, Senkpiel et al., 1993.

on the Kwäday Dän Ts'ìnchi (Long Ago Person Found) project (Personal Communication, Winter Event, Haines Junction Convention Centre, March 13 and 14, 2009).

My study was born in part from my experience living in the Yukon, and of it being home. In this sense, I did not rely solely on short-term field interactions. My research is the result of on-going processes that have taken place in all kinds of settings, formal and informal, throughout the duration of my doctoral program. In fact, it could be argued that these processes began prior to my studies, and will continue beyond their completion. Having said this, I do not think my residency – which is still a short time by many standards – absolves me of succumbing to the pitfalls that have resulted in ill-perceived researcher behaviour and motives. I hope, however, that my residency has made me aware of northern research ethics, and that it has contributed positively to my work.

CHAPTER FOUR: YUKON PLACE IDENTITIES

Place where folks live is them folks.

- John Steinbeck (1939)

Places inform who we are and therefore how we are to behave;
in short, to be somewhere is to be someone.

- Cheng et al., 2001, p. 240

Introduction: Situating Place Identities

The Yukon's Aboriginal people, now referred to as "First Nations," have called the Yukon home for a long time. Until recently, they were "restricted wanderers:" hunter-gatherers who were tied to the land and its seasonal requirements. Day-to-day life was created around seasonal movements and food resources. Spiritual values were given to both animate and inanimate objects (Coates & Morrison, 2005; Nadasdy, 2003).

Wilson's (2003) exploration of First Nation's cultural relationship to place, offers intriguing insights into the daily geographies of Aboriginal spiritual ties to the land. McClellan's (1987) and Cruikshank's (1991, 1992, 1998) research contributions, including the latter's recordings of First Nations oral histories, also provide overwhelming evidence of a people defined by relationships to place that were neither "frontier" nor "remote." Indigenous tales of intimately living with the land coincided with notions of an objectified wilderness – perspectives that viewed wilderness as external to self – only when these perspectives were imported into the North by non-indigenous people (see also Easton, 2008).

The relationship indigenous people had to the idea of remoteness can be viewed through the findings of the 1977 "Berger Inquiry." Thomas Berger, the inquiry's chairperson, advanced that there are two distinct and co-existing views of the North. Since the inquiry, these views have been commonly referred to with the expression: "northern frontier; northern homeland" (Berger, 1977). In light of these reflections, it is possible that northern Indigenous place identity did not hinge on perceptions of the North as a place primarily understood in contrast to other places: far away places that were

imbued with family and familiar and experienced through longings for a "home" powerfully located elsewhere. This possibility is echoed by the Inuit filmmaker Zacharias Kunuk. Kunuk implies the absence of relative conceptualizations that can sustain the idea of remoteness when he claims "we thought we were the only people on Earth" (Kwan, 2006, p. 48). While differences in self perception are sure to have existed between Canada's Indigenous people, and the Inuit experience is likely unique in many ways, similar perspectives on remoteness may be relevant also for Yukon First Nations.

Nonetheless, even if the idea of remote did not exist for Indigenous people in ways that were later conceptualized by European and other migrants to the north, notions about the outside world were articulated. Yukon historians and scholars, as well as First Nations' oral histories, all provide accounts of inter-tribal trade, and later, trade with Russian and European fur traders (Coates & Morrison, 2005; Cruikshank, 1992; McClellan, 1987; Nadasdy, 2003). Trade interactions imply that there may have been a sense of belonging that was contrasted with knowing others existed elsewhere who did not belong.

For the reasons raised above, it is proposed that notions of being isolated in an intimidating and unfriendly landscape, far from "civilization," emerged during the explorer and fur trade eras of the late 1700s and early 1800s. Ideas about the Yukon would have coincided with dominant perceptions held about wilderness: it was seen as harsh, barren, and evil (Coates & Morrison, 2005). Cronon (1996) also illustrates how connotations of wilderness at that time "were anything but positive, and the emotion one was likely to feel in its presence was 'bewilderment' or terror." Wilderness, he further explains, was "a place to which one came only against one's will and always in fear and trembling" (pp. 8-9). In the Yukon context, remoteness as a way of ordering the world, especially in relation to how one perceived oneself (identity), may have surfaced through the experience and accounts of migrants coming into the Territory from Southern Canada, the United States, and Europe.

Records, diaries, report entries, and memoirs such as those of Robert Campbell, describe a disdain for the Yukon, and reveal how Europeans who ventured north internalized the dark perceptions of wilderness that were characteristic of that era.

Campbell, a Hudson's Bay fur trader who wandered the Yukon from 1840-1852, is one of many who chronicled his lonely laments (Library Archives of Canada). He wrote:

O Solitude, where are the charms
That sages have seen in thy face?
Better dwell in the midst of alarms
Than reign in this horrible place

Campbell's poetry conveys a moving account of how geographic remoteness led to feelings of isolation that were negatively perceived and experienced by those who left their southern or foreign country homes and families to venture into the Yukon Territory.

Compared to the societies migrants were coming from, the Yukon was a comparatively lawless land. It was a place that provided a way of life that contributed to the perception of the territory as savage and untamed: just like the wilderness that surrounded it. Until the mid 1890s, miners were living in a world of their own making and the "only laws they obeyed were those they drafted for themselves" (Coates & Morrison, 2005, p. 58). Pierre Berton, the avid Klondike historian who grew up in Dawson City, refers to this society of miners as "a community of hermits whose one common bond was their mutual isolation" (Berton, 1958, p. 19).

While there were many changes that resulted from early trade relationships, Shields (1991) proposes that the first event in recorded history that can make a claim to irrevocably changing the Yukon came with the 1898 Klondike gold rush. Cruikshank (1992) similarly assesses the impacts of the gold rush and states that its most permanent effect was "a new regional infrastructure, comprising forms of legal, political, economic, and social administration that continue to have far-reaching consequences for everyone living in the Yukon" (p. 25).

The Romantic Movement brought new ideas and perceptions of wilderness to the Yukon. Among other things, the Movement facilitated an increased estimation for feeling, imagination and sensibility. Heightened sensitivities were accomplished, for instance, by extending or transferring "feelings formerly associated with religious experience to the secular realm" and by giving new meaning and value to "wild nature" (Jasen, 1995, p. 7). Changing cultural priorities, including the establishment of the

"sublime" as a major aesthetic category, were also a contributing factor to the rise in the Romantic Movement (Jasen, 1995). Bell and Lyall (2002) define the sublime as:

> An abstract quality in which the dominant feature is the presence or idea of transcendental immensity or greatness: power, heroism, or vastness in space or time. The Sublime inspired awe and reverence, or possibly fear. It is not susceptible to objective measurement; rather, that feeling of being overwhelmed dislocates the rational observer. (p. 4)

By the end of the eighteenth century, an increasingly influential Romantic ideology had imposed an aesthetic of the sublime onto the wilderness (Cronon, 1995, 1996).

Notwithstanding the impact Romantic views had on transforming an unfriendly wilderness into a sublime conceptualization, the appeal of the Klondike was enhanced also by the commonly held view that, by the end of the Victorian era, there was no more American frontier left. Cronon (1996) explains that,

> This nostalgia for a passing frontier way of life inevitably implied ambivalence, if not downright hostility, toward modernity and all that it represented. If one saw the wild lands of the frontier as freer, truer, and more natural than other, more modern places, then one was also inclined to see the cities and factories of urban-industrial civilization as confining, false, and artificial. (p. 14)

Berton (1958) considered there was "something magical about the era" as the end of the Victorian Age drew near. Englishmen who had been "raised on a diet of adventure in far-off lands" and Americans were full of a gullibility and optimism that led them to believe that anything was possible (p. 103). He tells the story of a Jesuit missionary in Alaska, Father William Judge, who described those southerners who came to the Yukon just a few years prior to the gold rush as men who seemed to be "running away from civilization as it advanced westward – until now they have no farther to go and so have to stop" (p. 18). During this period, perceptions of remoteness, like those of wilderness, shifted. Now, the distance from civilization was infused with life-affirming and enriching qualities.

Writing on the opening of the Canadian North from 1870 to 1914, Zaslow (1971) comments that the Yukon gold rush presented itself to a world that was "starved for adventure and plagued by unemployment" (p. 103). Coates and Morrison (2005) agree and invite us to imagine talk of the Klondike around southern tables, and listen to the resounding choruses of "where else is a man to go to earn his fortune by the sweat of his brow, away from cities and settled areas?"(p. 78). A journey North to the Yukon Territory seemed to offer that opportunity.

The Klondike gold rush of 1898 is rich with references to the changes that help situate remoteness as an exotic and sought after place value. In her environmental history of Alaska and the Yukon, Morse (2003) refers to the Klondike gold rush as a time in history when anti-modern ideas designated a condition whose symptoms were expressed, not through escaping work, but through the pursuit of "authentic" work and the ideals of an older Protestant work ethic (p. 122).

Morse (2003) illustrates how dissatisfaction with urbanization and industrial capitalist transformations meant that even middle and upper-class men and women might have assessed that the isolation they felt while sitting in the very centre of the civilized world, appeared less attractive than hard work set in the mythical isolation of the northern frontier. To make her point, Morse references Walter Curtin, a steamboat operator who was stranded on the Lower Yukon in 1898. He wrote:

> There is nothing I miss here and I do not feel far away. It seems that the people on the Outside are far away. Think of a man sitting in a cage in a bank and thinking he is an important citizen instead of a slave." (Quoted in Morse, 2003, p. 123)

The idea of this adventure was all the more forceful given anti-modernist discontent which underlined industrialization in the southern parts of Canada and in the United States.

As Morse explains, to head out to the gold rush was to take an "adventure" that was immersed in images and sentiment that were firmly wrapped around the idea of remoteness. Invoking the powerful symbolic imagery of bundled figures going up the Chilkoot Pass, she describes the journey as one that necessitated "pure bodily engagement with nature," and argues that the gold rush was "the exact pre-modern

engagement so many miners sought as an antidote to modern life" (Morse, 2003, p. 166). Berton (2005a) describes those same figures as stampeders who **"**clawed their way up the passes … when others flagged, or failed, or fled, they had hung on, secure in themselves, and isolated from the outside world – prisoners of their environment but free from the cacophony, and the glare, and the breathless bustle of the settled world" (p. 1). Indeed, the difficulties encountered on the journey to the North confirmed the "anti-civilization" nature of their destination places.

The ideology of wilderness as sublime helped to further construct a positive way of seeing – and experiencing – remoteness. It is a view that was further entrenched at the end of World War II with the building of the Alaska Highway. The highway opened up the wilderness to the scrutiny of the Canadian Government, increased infrastructure of all kinds, and facilitated demands that would have devastating impacts on First Nations (Coates & Morrison, 2005). Completed in 1949, the highway allowed access into the very heart of the sublime, and initiated what continues to be a significant factor that influences the idea and framing of a particular kind of remote experience: an accessible remote.

It is against this history of remoteness that Yukon place identity narratives are explored in this chapter. By analysing textual data collected from newspapers, magazines and documentary films as described in detail in Chapter Three, the present chapter addresses this study's first research sub-question: how are Yukon place identities characterized in relation to remoteness?

Yukon Place Identity Narratives

Masculinist Narratives

The Yukon: where the men are men, and so are the women.

- Yukon adage

In his multi-media performance *You are here*, Whitehorse-born Ivan Coyote plays off the literary icon Northrop Frye's (1971) question *Where is here?* and offers up a tale of northern community, belonging and matriarchs (Yukon Arts Centre performance,

Whitehorse, March 3, 2007). This is not the frozen, empty hinterland of an imaginary and unpeopled North reflected in Frye's question (Altmeyer, 1995; Grace, 2002; Hulan, 2002). Nor does Coyote harp on the lone frontiersman whose northern character is built on the strength that comes from his solitary struggles in the wilderness. Coyote's North evokes strength, yes, but it comes from human contact and warmth, and is more akin to a loving embrace than a lonely conquest.

Still, the territory's popular media often portray Yukoners as being immersed in the narratives that are invoked by Frye; narratives that have been pivotal in the creation of a Canadian and "northern identity." Here, the frozen North permeates the storied ways Yukoners express their place identities. Characterizations of self-sufficiency, individualism, and of being free and adventurous, are all central to these Yukon place identity narratives.

Hulan (2002) refers to these narratives as "masculinist," and defines them by their capacity to convene the northern characters that have long been synonymous with those who conquered Canada's wilderness: its non-First Nations and male explorers and adventurers. Masculinist Narratives call upon characteristics of the mythic frontier individualist also described by Cronon (1996): He was all that a man was "meant to be before civilization sapped his energy and threatened his masculinity" and before he "became emasculated by the femininizing tendencies of civilization" (p. 14). A summary of Masculinist Narratives place identity themes is found in Table 4.

Because they are so pervasive and intrinsically linked back to a particular world view and a specific moment in history, Masculinist Narratives provide compelling insight into Yukon place identity. They also lay the foundation for understanding the importance of remoteness as a reference point for Yukon place identities.

Table 4. Masculinist Narratives and Place Identity Characteristics

Masculinist Narratives **Place Identity Theme**	**Description**
Self-sufficient	As a means to 'survive' the isolation and remoteness. Relates to the idea of living without infrastructure, i.e., living "off the grid" (not on the electricity grid). Living with no infrastructure or less infrastructure than "down south," either through choice (want to) or circumstance (no infrastructure available).
Independent/Individualistic	Characterized by an idealization for being self-taught or being anti-establishment.

Self-sufficient

No where are Masculinist Narratives more apparent than in the city of gold itself. Dawson City's "Johnny," a columnist with the Yukon-wide bi-monthly entertainment newspaper *What's Up Yukon*, gets to the heart of the matter with this explanation:

> But living in Dawson means that some weird Northern metamorphosis will occur whereby you grow Dawson DNA … Dawson DNA is "doing it yourself." Maybe we don't do it the perfect way or get it done the first time but, nevertheless, we learn to tackle projects by ourselves. We learn to muscle our determination through projects because we realize things have to be done out of necessity, they have to be done to beat winter. (Caribou, 2005, December 9)

Referencing the weather is central to sustaining these narratives, and weather is immersed in a geography of contrasts:

> And this place we chose to live in is a land of extremes. When the sun only hangs on for a few hours and the temperatures dip to -40, we can't help but look at our fellow Yukoner as a brother in arms; we are all in this together; Outsiders can't imagine what we go through. (Hookey, 2006)

Not surprisingly, these narratives increasingly rely on the possibility that there are few remote geographies left on the planet; especially ones that can make it more difficult to be self-sufficient than the frozen, empty North.

Underlining the support weather conditions provide to notions of being self-sufficient, is the capacity Yukoners pride themselves on for being able to survive the extreme weather conditions:

> When you live in places like that you are absolutely focussed on things that are pretty much fundamental to your well-being […]. You know, if you're water jug's empty, then you gotta go get water. You can't turn on the tap. If the fire's out, then you gotta do something about it. (Connors, 2001)

While some Yukoners live without what most Canadians would consider to be basic amenities, the reality of day-to-day life for most Yukoners paints a very different picture.

In a paper titled *Alaska Exceptionality Hypothesis: Is Alaska Wilderness Really Different*? Brown (2002) refers to the space most Alaskans reside in as a "replication corridor." He describes this corridor as a "narrow strip of human habitation that mirrors urban conditions found outside Alaska" (p. 106). He further observes that "people do not generally live in small communities, let alone off the land; they tend, instead, to cluster in modern, well-served cities that effectively mirror Southern centres" (p. 106). The same can be said to be true for the vast majority of Yukoners.

In fact, more than 73 percent of Yukoners live in or around Whitehorse (Yukon Government, 2008a). Furthermore, whether in Whitehorse or not, most Yukoners live in modern housing not unlike that found in Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver. Despite this, the image of Yukoners living in quintessentially Northern habitat, the "off-the-grid" cabin-in-the-woods, is still very powerful. "Off the grid" relates to dwellings that are not on the electrical grid, usually do not have plumbing, and are commonly wood-heated

without a backup heat source (e.g., oil or gas).[16] Less than five percent of all dwellings in the territory are off the grid, and most of these are found within Whitehorse or Dawson City limits, or their periphery areas (Rural Electrification, Community Services, YG, personal communication, February 12, 2008).[17] Despite these realities, off the grid ways of living contribute to validating Masculinist Narratives and stimulate place identities formulated around mythologized lifestyles; lifestyles that rely on and promote relationships to remoteness.

The legitimacy of self-sufficiency as a place identity narrative is further assured with the view that few non-Yukoners want to live in a rudimentary "survival of the fittest" way:

> Some people come up here and they just go "Yuck." … Man, how can you live like this: Outdoor plumbing, chopping wood, hauling water? (in Black, 2005)

Such positioning strengthens ideas about the Yukon as a place that is available mostly to people who can endure "hard living" and difficult circumstances. In addition, it promotes the view that Yukoners survive because they are (or become) "do-it-yourselfers;" self-taught, multi-talented, and innovative. By extension, they also are perceived to be hardy, resilient, and determined.

Individualistic

Alongside self-sufficiency as a place identity characteristic, is the idea that Yukoners, as frontier seekers and dwellers, are independent, or "individualistic." Individualistic is understood to be a person who demonstrates independence or individuality in thought or action. It is defined as "being your own person" and impacts upon the Yukon's capacity to attract "creative types" (Barnes, 2007), as well as its ability

[16] "Off the grid" increasingly relates to alternative energy systems as much as it does to frontier-defined ways of living.
[17] There is no data kept specifically on off the grid dwellings in the territory. This number is an approximation based on conjecture and other data (e.g., number of total dwellings).

to generate social tolerance: "… people who inhabit the frontier tend to be individualists, tolerant of behaviours that depart from the norm" (Querengesser, 2006).

Individualistic as a place identity characteristic pertains to "doing what you want to do," without fear of, or preoccupation for, consequence, and is worn as a badge of honour:

> The North is the domain of the individual. More than any other place in Canada that I've lived or visited, people here do what they want, and hardly ever does anyone try to stop them. Northerners are rugged to the point of quirkiness. (Kennedy, 2004, p. 4)

Yukoners are not just *attracted* to individualism, they are *resigned* to it:

> But let's face it. We are Yukon …We dress differently, we think differently, we drive differently, we eat differently … The list goes on. Many of us do things against the grain of our Southern family members. We break trail, live an off-the-beaten-path, I'm-gonna-live-it-my-way type of life up here. (Caribou, 2007, May 18)

It is this kind of "do-it-my-way" philosophy that fuels an historical and still pervasive anti-establishment and anti-bureaucratic sentiment.

In the days prior to the gold rush, the territory was perceived to be a lawless land. First Nations paid attention to customary law, and miners and other newcomers coexisted under the careful eye of the "miners' meetings" and their majority rules legal system. Amongst First Nations and non-Aboriginal newcomers alike, banishment was a common outcome for people whose individualistic tendencies made their behaviour toward the common good unpredictable. Public means of social control involved community members dispensing justice and preventing conflict (Coates & Morrison, 2005). It was not until the early 1890s that North West Mounted Police moved into the territory. Despite their growing numbers – from 20 in 1896 to over 300 by 1898 – the vastness of the territory and the difficulty in accessing many areas made implementing formal law challenging (Coates & Morrison, 2005).

Public justice systems are sometimes still conjured up as a form of vigilantism. They are expressed through the rationales of interest groups who develop and justify their

own rules and codes, as was evident in 2007 in a squatter community in Whitehorse. Referring to a house that was set fire:

> There were different rumours as to how and why the shack had burned. It could have been mischievous kids, dealers with a score to settle or – my favourite explanation – the enforcement of squatters' law: a form of vigilantism one likely wouldn't want to be on the receiving end of. (Oke, 2007, p. 57)

The "do-it-my-way," individualistic motivation that facilitates bringing anti-establishment reactions and vigilante justice is apparent in other realms as well, such as with public health policy. This was evident during the 2005 smoking by-law discussions which occurred in Whitehorse:

> And just because it's happening Outside doesn't mean it has to happen here. Some of us live here because the Yukon is not like the Outside. This is our Yukon. Let us respect all Yukoners. Let us together keep our Yukon something special and not succumb to the pressures to keep up with the Outside world unless Yukoners desire it. (Capital Hotel, 2005)

"Outside" is a commonly used expression by those who "belong" to the territory. It specifically excludes everything and everybody south of the Yukon border (but not necessarily north or east of it). In this context, enforced by-laws become synonymous with what exists Outside, and being anti-establishment translates into practices that frame resident "real" Yukoners against "fake" ones.

Characterizing Masculinist Place Identity Narratives: "The Colourful Five Per Cent"

Without a doubt, the Yukon characterization that best represents the Masculinist Narrative is the older, commonly white male – though not always – who belongs to the archetypal and iconic "Colourful Five Per Cent." These eccentric personalities were first encountered and imagined by Robert Service, and were represented by the bard through composite characters such as Sam McGee, Dan McGrew, and a Lady named Lou

(Service, 1940).[18] They were unpredictable, nonconformists, free thinkers, and free spirits, who were portrayed as crusty old hermits or women of "ill repute." Similar characters were later made famous and designated the "Colourful Five Per Cent" by popular historian and Yukon artist, Jim Robb (Robb, 1985).

Like Service's characters, the Colourful Five Per Cent are protagonists of scale who symbolically embody "the Yukon lifestyle." Lovingly admired, they are the "oddballs and quirky people" who "provide edge and focus to an increasingly bland picture" (Hasselbring, 2007). What's more, the Yukon's Colourful Five Per Cent are "more interesting than most places," because "for some reason or another, the North attracts these kinds of people and also moulds these kinds of people" (Connors, 2001).

Comments made by the editor of *What's Up Yukon* demonstrates the kind of narrative the Colourful Five Per Cent relies on. Reflecting on what he perceives will be visitor shock at what they find in the Yukon when they flocked to Whitehorse for the Canada Winter Games in February 2007, he asked:

> Would it shock our visitors to learn we like to drink a cocktail with a frozen, human toe in it? Probably. At Rendezvous, we think it is great fun to see how far we can throw a chainsaw (throwing axes is so east coast) and turkey carcasses make great bowling balls. (Hookey, 2007a)

Reality strikes a different chord, however, because ordinary Yukoners rarely drink the cocktail with a toe in it: the infamous "Sourtoe Cocktail."[19] It is an activity primarily reserved for tourists (for a fee, of course). In addition, most if not all Rendezvous events occur only during Rendezvous (mid-February, annually), and are not part of Yukoners' day-to-day lives. As such, they can hardly be viewed as "the more ribald side of Yukon life."

In her exploration of Masculinist Narratives of the North, Hulan (2002) proposes that qualities associated with these narratives emerged "as part of an imperial discourse of

[18] Service's Sam McGee was based on an actual real man named Sam McGee. However, Service's McGee is a composite character made up of many of the men he met and heard about while living in Whitehorse and working at the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (CIBC) in the years immediately following the 1898 Gold rush. The real Sam McGee bears little resemblance to Service's McGee (McBride Museum presentation on Sam McGee, July 31, 2006, Whitehorse, Yukon; and Freeman, 2007).

[19] For a more in-depth and amusing introduction, go to: http://www.sourtoecocktailclub.com/

masculinist dominance and superiority," and "fostered colonial expansion, in part, by enticing young men to prove their manliness in the empire's service" (p. 7-8). The contemporary display of Masculinist Narratives that inhabit Yukon place identity expressions found in popular media demonstrate how these narratives rely heavily on the nation-building narratives of the North long studied by scholars of Canadian identity.

These nation-building narratives continue to affirm and create differences between the Yukon and Yukoners from the rest of Canada (and the world). It is a differentiation that becomes significant not only for the territory's political tactics – for instance, the aspirations some politicians had for the territory to become a province, especially prior to devolution in 2003[20] – but is also essential to its tourism branding. The latter point is further explored in Chapter Five.

Narratives of the New Sublime

I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived.

- Henry David Thoreau, Walden (1854)

The ideology of the sublime has had a significant influence on Yukon place identity. Insights into this influence are apparent in the narratives Yukoners use to express their place identity. I have called these narratives "Narratives of the New Sublime."

Narratives of the New Sublime are associated with the reconceptualisation and celebration of wild places which took place during the Romantic period at the end of the eighteenth century. Many of the values associated with the new sublime point to a convergence with post-material values. As introduced in an earlier chapter, post material values emphasize quality of life over material wealth, and help explain the renewed

[20] "Devolution" came into effect with the new *Yukon Act* on April 1, 2003 and is a transfer process that gives provincial like powers, rights and responsibilities to the Territory.

idealization of wilderness that has occurred as a result of, among other things, the extensive and ever-expanding urbanization of the planet.

Narratives of the New Sublime reflect features and characterizations that rely on remoteness. Remoteness allows for the establishment of relationships to place identity attributes such as freedom and of "being free," as well as to the idea of an original and authentic self. A summary of place identity characteristics proposed to relate to Narratives of the New Sublime is found in Table 5.

These narratives depend on the appropriation of the sublime by a new generation of conservationists, many of whom are also self-proclaimed "exurbanites." The latter relate to the disillusioned, urban-exhausted, or opportunity seekers who continue to push the geography of suburbia. Converts to the Yukon exhibit an unrivalled enthusiasm for expressing the ways living in the territory has transformed their lives in deep and meaningful ways.

Table 5. Narratives of the New Sublime and Place Identity Characteristics

Narratives of the New Sublime **Place Identity Characteristic**	**Description**
Freedom and "Being Free"	Believing that one lives unencumbered by restrictive social conventions or protocols and can do as one pleases.
An Original and Authentic Self	Seeing self as, or believing that self is closer to, or embodies the idea of original self. Relates to the idea that one is undisturbed by urban environments. Believing that self is "pure" and "real," just like nature and pristine wilderness.

Characteristics that I have associated with particular narratives are not necessarily exclusive to one narrative; narrative overlap is, in fact, quite common.

For instance, freedom and the idea of "being free" is an important reinforcement to self-sufficiency and individualism, and is expressed also through Masculinist Narratives. Such overlap points to the complex nature of people's relationships to place, and the challenges involved in articulating place identity characteristics. Nonetheless, narrative distinctions can serve an analytical purpose and provide insight into Yukon place identities.

Freedom

The idea of freedom is associated with a version of North that draws attention to wilderness defined as empty hinterland, unpeopled, vacant, and calls to mind Bordo's (1993) analysis of wilderness space as a *tabula rasa* (see also Hammitt & Symmonds, 2001, Hulan, 2002 and Moray, 1998):

> I just think I love the freedom and the whole crazy, vast last frontier, no one comes here. You can pull over on the side of the road, and you know wherever you're walking that maybe no one's ever walked there before. And just that whole thought of no one has ever been down this, you know little animal trail, you know no human being has been here or there, it's kind of really enticing. (in Black, 2005)

Freedom is also seen as synonymous with wilderness:

> … the North is the place where you feel close to the soul of the Earth, can feel the rhythms of a place where freedom and wilderness are synonyms. (Heming, 2006)

For another, the Yukon's wilderness provides a kind of freedom that can not be found elsewhere:

> And you can be alone in a huge wilderness where nobody can interrupt your peaceful thoughts … You're free. You're basically more free here than anywhere else. (Chapman, 1998)

It is in this manner that now, as in the early nation-building past, this perceived emptiness can be viewed as an attractive opportunity that can be filled however a person wants or needs it to be.

Emptiness conceived of as opportunity sets the context for a landscape defined by the absence of people. In this setting, individual choices are not witnessed by others. As a result, "true" freedom exists when permission is neither sought after, nor granted. Freedom is portrayed as being able to be(come) whoever you want to be, and do anything you want to do:

> Here it's more wide open. And it really, psychologically, my head feels like it just opens up; which I like. It's exciting. I can go anywhere. Do anything. (in Black, 2005)

Freedom is also a characteristic that is closely aligned with the possibility one has to become acquainted with an original and authentic self.

An Original and Authentic Self

The idea of an original and authentic self is linked to stillness, spiritual transcendence and enlightenment. Original authenticity is expressed in terms of being able *to be yourself:*

> You don't have to impress somebody … when you come here to live. … what you do, it's not based around how you look or how you dress, how you present yourself. You don't have to. Just the thought of trying to be something else. You can be yourself and that's OK, it's acceptable. (in Black, 2005)

As well as being able to figure out life's *true* priorities:

> So you get in touch … with yourself. Find out … is it all that important, to chase this or that. (in Black, 2005)

The idea of linking a version of North and wilderness to an original and authentic self is an association that is facilitated by a Romantic view. This view provides Yukon nature

and wilderness – the antithesis of urban areas which are considered to be toxic – with an inherent ability to summon one's "true self." As one resident claims: "I don't think I was real before I came to the Yukon. I think it turned me into the real person" (Chapman, 1998).

Authentic and original selves are place identity characteristics that appeal to alternative (non-Western) notions of space and time. Gill (1999) suggests that untouched nature is perceived to exist outside of space and time. Seen in this light, Narratives of the New Sublime, through their reliance on untouched nature, can also be located outside of space and time.

Moreover, encroaching development and the disappearance of features that define geographic remoteness contribute to the persuasive desire to express place identity through Narratives of the New Sublime. However, these place transformations also impact upon people and their place relationships, and affect how people define themselves. In these instances, Narratives of Loss provide important insight for understanding Yukon place identities.

Narratives of Loss

Narratives of Loss in this study are conjured as expressions of people displacement and place dispossession that arise through processes of place transformation and change. Narratives of Loss can symbolize sites of power struggles, resistance, and contestation and are alluded to in the work of Brown and Perkins (1992), Feld and Basso (1996), and Lovell (1998). More recently, and specific to the Canadian context, similar narratives are featured in a study of contested landscapes in the doctoral work of Hanson (2002). Insights into Yukon Narratives of Loss can be found through an investigation of First Nations' displacement and a closer examination of the state of the frontier.

First Nations' Displacements

Narratives of Loss for First Nations people express loss of traditional ways of life with the land, and tell the tale of collective and individual struggles that ensued for First

Nations. Losses also occurred because of the way newcomers' world views have translated into practices that have had negative impacts on First Nations people. Impacts have ranged from alienating First Nations to contributing to perspectives and practices that have threatened their very existence. Impacts that have led to losses have been detailed by scholars, and are increasingly being recorded and expressed by First Nations peoples themselves.

Perhaps because of their storytelling and oral histories, First Nations have often turned to the arts to express their past and present losses, as well as for their future place relationship aspirations. Michelle Olson, a Han citizen from the Dawson City area, choreographed a dance performance that addresses questions of identity and cultural inheritance. *Łuk T'äga Näche'* (Olson, 2006) explores the emotional landscape and dreams of a young woman trying to remember what is lost. A river figures prominently in this story: "Grandma and me we'd come to this river every Sunday after church … It's in my skin. It's in my blood. It's in my bones."

Tlingit filmmaker Carol Gedde's film Picturing a People: George Johnston, Tlingit Photographer (Bochner, 1997) documents changes which affected Yukon First Nations in the 1920s and 30s through the eyes of George Johnston, a self taught Tlingit photographer. With this film, Geddes, a clan relative of Johnston's, hopes to foster an appreciation for Johnston's legacy; a legacy which, according to Geddes, "was to help us dream the future as much as to remember the past."

Narratives of Loss are especially present in a film made by the Yukon's Northern Native Broadcasting (1997) entitled *Stranger in our own land: History of Yukon Land Claims, Part I.* Utilitarian views on what the Yukon land held for its early European explorers and settlers hold the key to crucial practices that disempowered First Nations relationships to place:

> Newcomers in search of opportunity, found it here. They came. They stayed. They fell in love with this beautiful land. Like the fur traders and others before, they had found a home. But what they saw when they looked out over this mysterious land was at complete odds with what the First people saw: one could only see the money that would bring them happiness. And the other suffered deeply … spiritually connected with all the land.

Moreover, while adventure may have been central to the plot that led many southerners North to the Yukon, increased material wealth was just as powerful a motivator:

> We saw early on the driven nature of these people; it was a greed and a drive that we really couldn't comprehend. These people were literally dying to get to the gold fields. (Northern Native Broadcasting Yukon, 1997)

While it is commonly agreed that the creation of the frontier brought more negative changes to First Nations people than positive ones, it has remained up to now an inspired and much longed and imagined place for non-first nation people both inside and outside the Yukon's borders.

The End of the Frontier?

The idea of the frontier is still a powerful force in the Yukon. Whether it is perceived to still exist:

> The Yukon is still the frontier. This is a place where you can come and be who you want to be. You have the opportunity here to not be held back by past traditions, or whatever. You can be whoever you want to be. This will always be a frontier. It was, and it is today. (Connors, 2001)

Or not:

> The truth is: the frontier is dead. The Yukon is rapidly becoming just another tourist trap. The Alaska Highway sometimes seems like it's bumper to bumper with campers. German tourists swagger through the streets of Dawson wearing their cowboy hats. Mines have left behind an epic legacy of pollution and cleanup that will cost billions. The northernmost 'undiscovered' rivers have lineups of canoeists being airlifted in, and the mighty Peel River with its pristine watersheds punching through the Arctic Circle might soon become a polluted victim of more mega projects. Today's Yukoners are thinking less about dance hall girls and Robert Service, and more about Iraq, rising real estate prices, or the increasingly strict fish and game regulations as the wildlife disappears and the tourists flourish. (Brett, 2004)

Dead or alive, for non-first nation Yukoners, frontier nostalgia is built on both longing for the past, contempt for the present and fear for the future.

Certainly the quest for the frontier leads new residents and tourists alike up the Alaska Highway each year. Accompanied by an acute nostalgia for a time and place of the past, they journey north across thousands of kilometres and hope to find a land unchanged from what it was a hundred years ago, or more.

In the opening monologue of *Shipyard's Lament* (Connors, 2001), a documentary film that chronicles, among other things, the loss of cultural colour, the director and narrator, Yukon documentary filmmaker Andrew Connors, muses:

> When I was a kid, I had a dream of Yukon. My dream was about the last frontier; a hard, simple, beautiful place, immortalized by Jack London and Robert Service. You remember those guys… when I came North ten years ago, well the truth of that last frontier was nothing like I expected. Had I arrived too late? Where was the spell of the Yukon, the call of the wild, Sam McGee, a lady name Lu? (Connors, 2001)

Perhaps what his musings demonstrate is that newer Yukoners will inevitably and always have a different, more recently-made older Yukon to reflect upon than those who came before them: be that a year, ten years, or 50 years earlier. As one resident contemplates, "perhaps everyone finds their own frontier" (Connors, 2001).

Narratives that speak to loss of the frontier are apparent through a growing idealization of the Colourful Five Per Cent. It is an idealization made all the more poignant because of the decreasing number of Colourful Five Per Cent characters. References abound about how it is increasingly difficult to find the "crusty old hermits" who survived into a modern Yukon. Some advance the possibility that they are simply not being replaced as they die off from old age. Hasselbring, a Yukon journalist, writes that "the dwindling of the Colourful 5 Per Cent is, I'm sure, partly due to a loss of habitat of this endangered sub-species (Hasselbring, 2007). Tied to a wilderness lifestyle that relied on the existence of the frontier, he proposes a strategy to encourage growth of this endangered Yukon "species":

> Long-term year-round wilderness living is hard to maintain and is not everybody's cup of tea as the metamorphosis of many old back-to-the-landers into city dwelling baby boomers shows. Maybe a way of fostering growth in the Colourful 5 Per Cent sector would be to offer vacant trap lines through a lottery system to folks seeking a time-honoured Yukon lifestyle, if only for a year or two. Or with the settlement of land claims, First Nations could consider offering leases for remote .8-hectare parcels here and there. (Hasselbring, 2007)

Similar prognoses on the loss of colour are a point of interest explored by contemporary historians, scholars, journalists and documentary filmmakers in both Yukon and Alaska.

In his popular account of the eradication of Alaskan bush culture, O'Neil (2006) attributes the loss of legendary-like characters that lived off the grid along the Yukon River in between the Alaska-Canada border and Circle, Alaska, to land management policies implemented by the Alaskan Park Service. Formerly the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Land Management, the Park Service took jurisdiction over this land in the 1980s. Soon after taking over the land, the Park Service implemented policies which made pioneer-like settlements in the wilderness difficult, and eventually, impossible.

Norton's (2006) interest in accounts such as O'Neil's, concern wilderness values and ethics. He ruminates on the drama that continues to unfold and that dictates – directly or indirectly – that wilderness must be divested of human presence in order to be preserved. He suggests that with the disappearance of bush culture, "the value invested in lands by the dimension of human experiences of them is lost forever" (p. 441). He contemplates with O'Neil the impact this loss has on wilderness preservation. Norton's view of preservation is that it is best executed when it relies on the presence of humans in the wilderness.

Land issues feature prominently also in Connors' (2001) *Shipyards Lament*. After the gold rush and up until recently, the Colourful Five Per Cent could be found in two squatter settlements in Whitehorse. One was a community called "The Shipyards," so named because of its location in what had been the shipyard grounds during the paddle wheel era on the edge of the Yukon River in downtown Whitehorse. Populated mostly with unconventional souls who rejected modern amenities and lived in wilderness-like situations within city limits, the community was dismantled when the City of Whitehorse

took the land back in 1998 after the Yukon Government passed legislation to force the last squatters off the land.

The other community, "Squatters Row," is a fast-changing formerly off-the-grid community located just off the Alaska Highway near the southern access road leading to downtown Whitehorse. Today, most residents of Squatters Row own their land and some have hooked onto the grid. Up until ten years ago, most of these dwellings would not have had a land-based phone line, though some could have used radio phones. Today, cell phones are widely available and commonly used by residents who do not have access to, or who do not want to pay for the infrastructure required for, a land-based phone line.

Nonetheless, the dream of living in a cabin without all the expected amenities and having a "real" Yukon experience is still powerful. This is evident with classified ads that appear regularly in the *Yukon News*, such as this one:

> Dawson family of 4 needs cabin, small home for winter. Very mature capable northerners. 4 sled dogs. Need phone & electricity, no water necessary. (Dawson family, 2006)

Despite being the exception to the rule, new residents are sometimes so mesmerized by what is left of the Yukon's frontier lifestyles, that they ignore actual present-day realities.

Duncan's (2003) observations are exemplary of this. The introductory chapter of her book titled *Frontier Spirit* is autobiographical and is based on her experience living and working in Dawson City for a year in the early 2000s. So seduced is she by the presence of Yukoners who still live an off the grid lifestyle, that she provides misinformation about how the majority of people live in the Yukon. Commenting on the unshaven, smelly men at a popular local drinking establishment, she encourages the idea that basic amenities are a luxury for most Yukoners because "few people in the Yukon have running water" (p. 12). In an otherwise thoughtful book on life in the Yukon, this statement is more than slight exaggeration.

Modern-day myths such as the one propagated by Duncan, attempt to locate the past in the present, and in so doing, strengthen notions that life in the remote frontier has not changed. Through such myth-making, characteristics that make credible a location for, and experience of, remote are validated.

Place identity narratives rely on other storied elements to create and/or confirm their relationship to remote. I call these storied elements "narrative reinforcements" and examine them in the next section.

Narrative Reinforcements

Narrative reinforcements in the Yukon and the Canadian north in general, relate to those overarching characteristics that empower and confirm notions of remote for the purposes of place identity. Narrative reinforcements act as story "props" and can be based in fact or aligned with fiction. They can be attached to narratives that have withstood the test of time, or play a support function for emerging and new narratives. If remoteness is the central plot around which Yukon place identity narratives are expressed, then climate, space, and time are three of its most significant narrative reinforcements.

Climate

Knez (2005) provides insight into the relationship between climate and identity. He proposes that climate is "nested in places" and that it "not only constitutes objectively a place but also subjectively influences the way we experience and remember place" (p. 209). Climate is an ecological variable that plays an important role in everyday life and informs our place identity (Knez, 2005), and is expressed in place identity narratives.

Weather and climate are significant narrative reinforcements for each of the narratives presented in this chapter, and explored throughout this study. For Masculinist Narratives, climate can emphasize self-reliance characteristics:

> A whole bunch of us have chosen to move up here, and so that means you have to accept extremes; of being in a place that you can get to 40 or 45, or 50 or 60 below, there's not much room for error, and you could die if your car breaks down a half mile out of town. If you're not prepared, you could die. It's a harsh reality. (in Black, 2005)

Extreme geographies are fused with extreme weather to produce narratives that reinforce the consequences of what happens when one does not pay attention to what is required

for survival in a remote northern geography. Notions of self sufficiency coexist with individualism. The former is appealed to through a capacity to survive the elements on one's own, while the latter through an affiliation to living with unique – and extreme – climatic conditions.

Narratives of the New Sublime also make use of climate as a narrative reinforcement because harsh, cold weather, when combined with lack of amenities can conjure ideas of authentic people bound by nature's elements:

> Over time … we begin to think and act as true compatriots with our natural world, and at the same pace. What binds us as neighbours is not the coffee shop or the civic centre, but rather the wind. (Heming, 2005)

Climate can be viewed as a factor that encourages – requires even – people to be more authentic and real.

More recently, a changing climate calls upon Narratives of Loss. These demonstrate peoples' relationships to northern places and the anxiety they feel in the face of potential and presently occurring changes that are due to global warming. There are many ways the effects of these climatic changes are expressed, including this humorously framed one:

> Fortunately, Yukon pride is not as fragile as you might expect. Warmer weather doesn't seem to be dampening our spirits in the least. We're a hardy bunch and I'm proud to say that we seem to be adjusting to this latest challenge. Just the other day, I peeked outside and despite the unseasonably warm weather, decided to go for a walk anyways. (Wheeler, 2006)

A changing climate dislocates northerner identity and displaces how people define themselves individually and collectively. A Canadian remote is often defined in association with a harsh climate. Its loss as a credible narrative reinforcement could have a significant influence on Yukon place identities.

Space

Masculinist Narratives work well with the idea of endless space, especially when space is positioned as the definitive component separating civilization from the Frontier:

> One of the neat things about Yukoners – real Yukoners – is that they are proud of this place. They don't just thrive on the obvious advantages of fresh air, open spaces and wilderness. They consistently and joyously point out what southerners would see as big negatives: long dark winters, ice fog, block heaters and a limited number of malls. (Wheeler, 2006)

The sublime is bound to vastness and its characteristics further find their force when they inhabit locations that are set apart by their remote and wild nature. Embedded in Narratives of the New Sublime are expressions of individuals humbled by vastness: "It's the great big broad wilderness that surrounds us and keeps us humbled in relation to the rest of the world's turnings" (Caribou, 2005, September 9).

Time

Self reliance and individualism are expressed through lifestyle choices, which, according to one Yukoner, are more accessible choices in the Yukon because time is perceived to be more abundant there:

> Coming from a busy city where I was constantly trying to make a buck or get ahead, or whatever. To kind of just doing stuff that doesn't make money; it's whatever you make of it. And here, you have time to do that – and it's acceptable. (in Black, 2005)

In this way, time is a narrative reinforcement to Masculinist Narratives. Time is also a significant prop for Narratives of the New Sublime.

Griffiths' (1999) exploration of time provides an account of how it came to be measured and defined by merging Western perceptions of land, wilderness and nature. She proposes that during the move West and North, "wild land and wild time were both charted, logged and discovered with the aid of theodolites, chronometers and telescopes;

inventions all made, incidentally, in the same period of history; objects of finding in an unfoundland, inventions designed to find and log an unfoundtime" (p. 341). In the dichotomized way that typifies Westernized thought, escaping bounded and measured perceptions of time, or "clocklessness" is available by finding or creating "timelessness."

> A frequent realization is that I've traded in tall buildings for stoic mountains: the bustle of the metropolis for the calm of wide open spaces. Ironically I felt a sense of panic over the fact that I needed to slow down upon my arrival. But as the North continues to grow on me, I find solace in the concept that it is more than welcome that you stop and breathe the mountain air. (McCarthy, 2007)

Challenging Western belief systems and adopting "alternative" ones is a central theme at the heart of Narratives of the New Sublime. Transcending false ways of being is perceived as possible by disputing Western time and related constraints; including constraints associated with Christian belief systems:

> I quickly learned that the culture I grew up in is structured by 12-hour day-and-night cycles. Just think about it: In the Christian tradition, the Lord gave day to the living and night to the dead. The English language is peppered with idioms such as "dark as night" and "clear as day." But those simply don't apply North of Sixty. (Sinclair, 2007, November-December, p. 76)

Alternative belief systems increasingly accommodate the idea of slow. The "Slow Movement" for example is one that pits fast world values against emerging slow world ones. These values are critically acclaimed in Honoré's (2004) *In Praise of Slow*, a book that captures the author's response to a world that prays to a mantra of "faster, faster" in what he calls a "cult of speed."

Yukon Narratives of the New Sublime share a critique of the cult of speed in ways similar to the "Slow Movement." Indeed, coming to the Yukon is associated with slowing down:

> I used to be quite a busy person. It slowed me down probably half a notch. Moving here was great. It's good for that; slow you right down kind of thing. (in Black, 2005)

For some, time not only slows down, it moves backwards and makes it possible to recapture a childhood past:

> When I came here I totally fell in love with it. It was like going back to when I was a little girl. (Chapman, 1998)

Yukon time is synonymous with breaking down the barriers and making possible a return to an original state, a truly authentic self. It is the quintessential homecoming. The idea of "Yukon Time" becomes significant in the context of Yukon tourism and is further explored in Chapter Five.

If innocence can be restored by being in the Yukon, other losses are not so easily recalled. Frontiersmen seeking solace from modernity experienced a sense of loss as the nature of the Frontier changed. Connors (2001) weaves in the affects of clock time: "John works at his own pace," he tells us, "and he sets his own time. But that's how it is when you live in the old Yukon" (Connors, 2001).

Nor have Western conceptions of time been kind to Aboriginal people. Neither clocklessness nor timelessness, both Western fabrications, adequately reflect the nature and experience of Indigenous time, what Griffiths (1999) calls "wildertime" or "wild time." She states that,

> The wilderness is full of the phases of time itself, its qualities, its changes, its bear births, eagle marriages and salmon deaths. It isn't Western time, but a wild and untamed time … perhaps just as wilderness describes this land, so 'wildertime' or 'wild time' could describe time here. (p. 337)

McCellan (1985) explains that Aboriginal relationship to time, like past relationships to the land, was disrupted by newcomers and their ways of measuring and being in the world. Aboriginal relationships to land gave place names that linked people to their stories about place. Non-First Nations' use of place names conjures up contemporary graffiti: the "I was here" claim to space. Griffiths notes that for the Tlingit,

> Even in naming, these are two ways of thinking about time – one the Upstairs up-tempo Western naming which characteristically ties the object into individual biography and actual history – the tamed past. [Tlingit] naming,

> Downstairs, down tempo time, ties the mountain or river into mythic biography and an abstract history – an untamed past which is also present: the sleeping giants still sleep, and the Taku is where swans and geese still touch down. (p. 338)

In the above examples, time and pace are central themes that advance an understanding for the way in which the proliferation and empowerment of non-First Nation's world views have had far reaching impacts on Aboriginal people lasting into the present day.

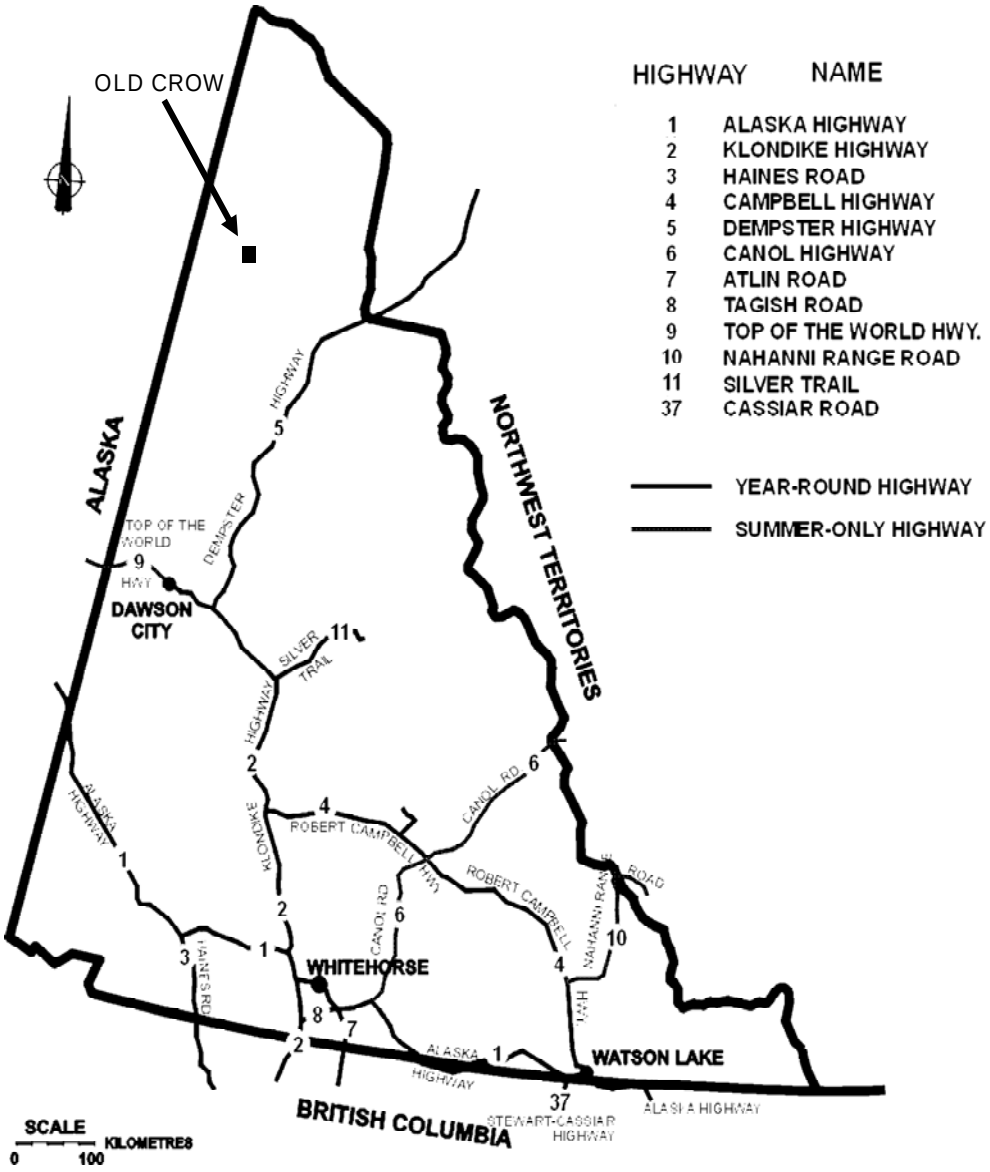
Infrastructure and Yukon Place Identities

In a 2005 editorial, former Yukon News editor Peter Lesniak stated that, "railways, roads, pipelines and such are bound to destroy the very fabric of this special place forever" (Lesniak, 2005). Access to the Yukon has changed a great deal in the last 50 years. Since 1949, the Alaska Highway has made it possible for people to journey by road into the far northwest corner of the continent. Today, the Yukon has a total of 4,700 km of road that links all but one community (Old Crow). Map 3 illustrates the territory's road infrastructure (see Map 3).

Air transport also has changed significantly. The Yukon is no longer an Air Canada controlled monopoly. Air North has for more than a decade offered competitive year-round air service to Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver, Dawson City, Old Crow, as well as service to Fairbanks, Alaska, during the summer months. Perhaps the most noteworthy sign of the Territory's "coming of age," however, is the fact that Whitehorse International Airport has had direct flights to Germany on Condor Flugdienst from May to October since 2001.

Access routes into the Territory facilitate more direct links with the world outside. However, they concomitantly encroach on the real and perceived remoteness of the Territory. As a result, road infrastructure is a "hot" issue in the Yukon as well as in various parts of the Alaskan panhandle (the coastal region of Alaska parts of which are accessible by road from the Yukon). Figures 5 through 8 illustrate the "fender activism" which points to the highly controversial nature of road infrastructure.

Map 3. Yukon Roads Map



Retrieved on June 25, 2005 from http://www.gov.yk.ca/maps.html

Figure 5. Want more roads? Move down South!

Photo: S. de la Barre, July 8, 2005.

Figure 6. Build a Community, Not More Roads

Photo: S. de la Barre, Septembre 24, 2005.

Figure 7. Don't Build the Road to Juneau

Photo: S. de la Barre, June 26, 2006.

Figure 8. Build the Road to Juneau

Photo: S. de la Barre, July 26, 2007.

Smaller roads elicit equally impassioned responses. In January 2008, a proposal to build a winter road in the Wind River watershed which would allow access to a potential uranium mining site, caused much heated debate in the Territory. In a scathing letter titled *Real Yukoners love wilderness roads*, a resident exclaimed: "if at the end of it we end up with a road, so what? Maybe an actual, real Yukoner will be able to drive to the Wind River valley!" (Real Yukoners love wilderness roads, 2008, January 30). Referencing tourism businesses and their protection of landscape and related values, she adds:

> All you people have a nice quality of life because long before you got here, mining money built roads and schools and sewage plants and established most of the businesses you take for granted – the Yukon as we know it is the wonderful place it is in large part because of the mining industry.

As of August 2007, the Yukon was leading Canada as the only jurisdiction to offer high speed internet to all of its communities. Expanded infrastructure allowed Northwestel Inc., to provide high speed service to Eagle Plains. Located 371 kilometres up the Dempster Highway (toward Inuvik, NWT, and just south of the Arctic Circle), Eagle Plains is one of the most remote outposts in the territory. The General Manager of the Eagle Plains Hotel and Service Station reflected on how, with the new service, they had "joined the rest of the world" (Yukon Has Highest Access, 2007). Since the end of 2007, 17 Yukon communities have had access to cell phone service (all communities except Elsa and Keno) (Latitude Wireless, promotional material).

The welcome committee, however, is divided. A 2007 CBC North radio broadcast dealt with the cell phone service expansion debate: "What we've been hearing about from people in Dawson is that they like the remote, isolated nature of their community and they resent this kind of intrusion" (Thompson, 2006). One Dawson City resident emphasized how,

> It would really change how we live in Dawson …We kind of set our own pace…We have our own attitudes on things, and I think if we have cell phones…I don't think that we're prepared for everything that comes with it. So, I'm a little reluctant.

This sentiment draws attention to the concern Dawson City residents have with regard to cell phones not fitting in with – in fact, disrupting – the town's sense of place.

The following exchange in the same CBC North news report further highlights how cell phones might diminish the perception of the town's remote nature:

> Latitude Wireless: I understand where they're coming from. We're all Yukoners and we've been attracted to a lifestyle in the North that is … but it's an option that you don't have to take advantage of … Dawson City as a tourist location, there will be a benefit to the tourists that come to town.
>
> CBC North: On the one hand there's that. But the converse would be that people might want to come here because they want to get away from all that. I mean, we are remote, and ah, we've heard from people in Dawson that our tourists like the fact that their cell phones don't work here.
>
> Latitude Wireless: Latitude Wireless service is quite limited. I mean as far as the vast majority of the Yukon Territory is concerned, it's really only available within a small minute fraction … It's just within communities. And so, even as you drive outside of a community, the service is no longer available.
>
> CBC North: What would you say to reassure Dawsonites that the arrival of cell phones won't destroy or disrupt the lifestyle they enjoy there?
>
> Latitude Wireless: I think Dawson throughout its history has known a number of radical changes … The dyke, TV, internet service … I can't see cell phone service having a radical change on the lifestyle we enjoy in the Yukon.

Interestingly, two national CBC radio shows, World Report Radio and Newsworld TV, both picked up the story. Their interest resulted from the quaint nature of this nostalgia story: a frontier town refuting technology as a way to cling to the past (Thomson, personal communication, August 9, 2006).

What also becomes evident in this interview, however, is the paradoxical nature of infrastructure. On the one hand, infrastructure challenges the nature of remoteness (by making things more accessible), while confirming it exists (by demonstrating what it takes to get it there, or by highlighting the exotic nature of where you are in relation to the infrastructure you have access to). This is as true of roads like the one presented in

Figure 9, as it is of cell phone service or the internet. On the latter, one technologically inclined Yukoner insists that,

> The value of internet access is directly proportional to the difficulty of getting it there… In other words, the more isolated a community is from the 'big world out there,' the more value there is to having internet services that allow people some communication with that world. (Steele, 2004)

The encroachment on the Yukon of the "big world out there" brings to light another important phenomenon that contributes to shaping place identity narratives: the process of "Othering."

Figure 9. Dempster Highway Signage

Photo: S. de la Barre, August 16, 2006.

Paasi (2002) claims that "belief in deep, fixed links between a specific group and a territory may lead to processes of social exclusion and 'Othering,' both inside a region and in external relations" (p. 138). Othering is defined as,

> A way of securing one's own positive identity through the stigmatization of an 'other.' Whatever the markers of social differentiation that shape the meaning of 'us' and 'them,' whether they are racial, geographic, ethnic, economic or ideological, there is always the danger that they will become the basis for a self-affirmation that depends upon the denigration of the other group. (Retrieved on December 12, 2006 from http://www.cwrl.utexas.edu/~ulrich/rww03/othering.htm)

The need to identify "Other" is an ever-present component to Yukon place identities. There are many "Others" in the Yukon, but a significant one is the "Other" that exists through the medium of an "Outside" that is at once spatially defined and narratively persuasive.

The Importance of "Outside" and Yukoners

References to an inferred "Inside" rely heavily on comparisons to an elsewhere, and more specifically to a southern and civilized "Outside." Outside is made tangible and is felt by the senses in a negative encounter that can be remedied by coming back to the territory:

> People they go Outside, they get back here cursing it. You know the speed of it, the smell of it, the sound of it. I know I'll leave here. But I know I'll come back. I'll leave here for maybe a year, go and do whatever, but I'll come back. (in Black, 2005)

Inside(r)/Outside(r) discourses reflect "Othering" processes that highlight place belonging through narratives that are often also expressions of power.

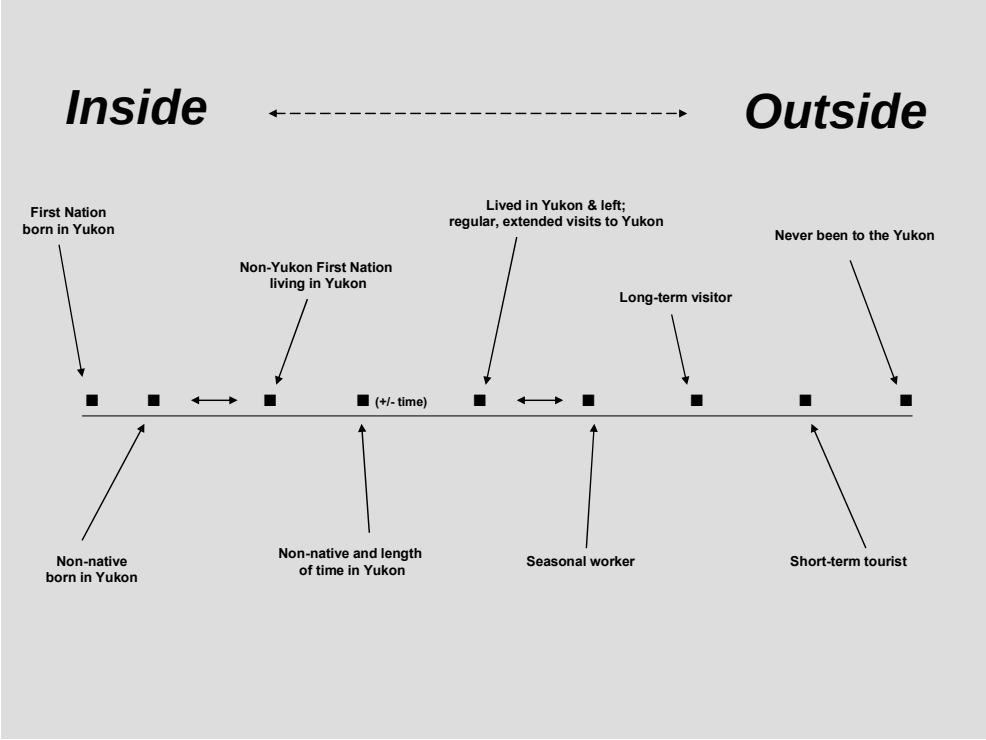
Inside(r)/Outside(r) positions represent a complex web of locations that shift with changing demographics, and the socio-economic, cultural and political terrain. They exist alongside harder to measure characteristics such as social and family networks, personal and family history, and sometimes factors that include intrinsically personal characteristics such as charisma. Figure 10 illustrates my conceptualization of these positions and their relationship to one another in the Yukon.

Hulan's (2002) "epistemic privilege" and Flora and Flora's (1996) "social capital" both help to explore the relationships illustrated in Figure 10. Hulan's epistemic privilege relates to the "real first-hand experience in the geographical north" which

"authorizes one to speak about the discursive or imagined North" (p. 14). On this topic, Coates and Morrison (1991) also note that,

> Living in the North is taken as a surrogate for knowledge; one who does not currently live in the region, regardless of the length of former residence or depth of experience and research, is deemed less understanding than the resident, regardless of how short his stay in the North. (p. 177)

Figure 10. Yukon Inside(r)/Outside(r) Positions



Flora and Flora's "social capital" represents the means through which status is acquired in communities, and helps explain newcomer/old-timer divisions. Social capital is understood as an interdisciplinary concept (Castle, 2002), commonly attributed to Bourdieu (1977, 1986). Bourdieu's (1986) definition of social capital refers to:

> The aggregate of the actual and potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in

> a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital. (pp. 248-249)

Conceptually, social capital implicates social relationships and group membership (Mahar et al., 1990), and is not linked to its use in a Marxist or formal economic sense (Postone et. al, 1993). The term is extended to "all goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation" (Bourdieu, 1977). Used in the Bourdieu sense, capital entails "the capacity to exercise control over one's own future and that of others" (Postone et. al, 1993, p. 4).

Armed with this conceptual tool, Flora and Flora (1996) propose that the "social distance between newcomer and old-timer can increase when economic development comes up" (p. 217). This distance can also surface when other values are at stake, such as those implicated with increased/decreased infrastructural development. The latter is a point made evident in the road building "photo essay" presented earlier.

The sorting and evaluation of insiders and their authority began at least a century ago with the advent of gold seekers coming into the Territory. At that time, it was a dichotomy that was for the most part exclusive of Yukon First Nations. Euro-Canadians, Americans, and others moving into the territory were bound to their status as "Sourdough" (old timer) or "Cheechako" (newcomer).[21] Designations were awarded based on whether or not a person had spent a winter in the Yukon, and survived, of course.

Tellingly, being identified today as either a Sourdough or a Cheechako is quaint when nothing is at stake. However, this distinction takes on great significance when something is on the line (e.g., land use issues, development, etc.). As Darrell Hookey, the editor of *What's Up Yukon,* observes:

> Ask any of us how long we have lived in the Yukon and we can tell you right off the top of our fur-covered heads. If our grandfather was born here, that would be akin to an American tracing their heritage to the Mayflower. (Hookey, 2007b)

[21] For two other perspectives and additional history relating to Yukon/Outside and Sourdough/Cheechako, see the work of Porsild (1998) and Duncan (2003).

Authority is given to those who have belonged longest to the Yukon. Belonging is most commonly measured through length of residency and is characteristic of other Canadian jurisdictions, for instance Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. As is likely also the case in both those provinces, length of time as a resident is a powerful trump card. In the Yukon, it is a ubiquitous licence used by many at community meetings and consultations. Comments by participants are predictably prefaced with, "I have lived in the Yukon for X number of years ..." Consequently, resident perceptions of their status/authority/rights inevitably sets older insiders against newer ones, with the goal of diminishing newer insiders' views.[22]

Today, the contemporary version of Sourdough is embedded in the vernacular with the use of "real Yukoner." When someone is accused of not being a "real Yukoner," it is meant to belittle and exclude that person from a much-fabled fold. It is a strategy used to silence an expressed view that is in conflict with the one thought, at least by the accuser, to represent an essential, timeless, irrevocable and indisputable and true Yukon value, reality, or vision. Ironically, the only Yukon residents who cannot easily be accused of not being "real" Yukoners are the territory's First Nations people. While they are an increasingly empowered people in the Territory, arguably their historical experience has not reflected their "real" Yukoner status.

Hulan (2002) specifically addresses the (re)positioning of First Nations vis-à-vis non-First Nations in a contemporary socio-cultural and political context. Epistemic privilege, she claims, "reflects the importance of experience to the emerging voices of dispossessed peoples in Canada" (p. 14). Nonetheless, in a Yukon context, non-First Nations interest groups are still in privileged positions compared to First Nations. At the very least, they are often better able to express – in an authorized Western manner – and are acquainted with the means to mobilize their views and interests (e.g., from influential

[22] It is worth considering if this practice of "organizing oneself" before one speaks is not a result of being influenced by Yukon First Nations traditions. As one Teslin Tlingit Executive Council member explained, "I was always taught that before you speak, you gotta tell who you are" (Kwaday Dan Ts'Inshi Winter Event, Haines Junction, March 15, 2009). My own thoughts are that the practice for Euro-Canadians stems from entirely different motivations (ownership and authority, and not place history and ties), and is in itself an expression of just how different people-place relationships are between First Nations people and the Yukon's European Canadian migrants. How the motivation behind these kinds of expressions may be changing, or how both these cultural groups are influencing one another in this regard, is not known (but I really like the question).

networks to media campaigns to capacity to fill in government funding application forms). These mobilization processes are facilitated also by the high literacy levels among non-First Nations residents ("Yukon's glut," 2005).

A 2005 newspaper article in the Yukon News detailed that the territory currently enjoys the status of having the highest literacy rate in Canada, with more university graduates per capita than anywhere else in the nation ("Yukon's glut," 2005).[23] The caveat to the high literacy scores is, however, apparent when you isolate First Nations scores. Here, 50 percent are functioning below the minimum acceptable level ("Yukon's glut," 2005). A more careful appreciation for this statistic points to the ever-widening gap between rich and poor – especially between First Nations and others.

Discrepancies such as the one described above add yet another dimension to the newcomer/old-timer dynamic, and the Inside(r)/Outside(r) dynamic advanced here. It tells a story about who is coming to the Yukon, and sheds light on some of the value-clashes that are a result of different place related expectations.

A variety of manuals and orientation sessions that have been developed in the last few years on how to survive a Yukon winter tell a compelling story about newcomers making their way North. At least two booklets have been produced that detail how to live through the long, dark and cold months of a Yukon winter (Yukon Conservation Society, 1994; Yukon Learn Society, 2008). Moreover, having won the federal competition to provide new immigrant services in the territory, the Association Franco Yukonnaise (AFY) has offered a winter living workshop for new migrants since 2006.

The Dawson City Museum has also produced a short video called "Dawson at 40° Below Zero" (Dawson City Museum and Historical Society, 2003). Part advice on how to deal with the cold, part poetic display of winter beauty and an idealization for all things frozen, it asks:

[23] These numbers are skewed because the Yukon's population is mostly of working age and there are more people in the workforce employed in professional occupations than any other place in Canada, e.g., more than 25 per cent of the Whitehorse working population has a university degree, as compared to 15 percent in the rest of Canada.

> What is it really like at 40° below? Uncomfortable! When outside, whiskers and eyelashes become covered with frost, caused by your breath freezing every time you exhale. Another phenomenon of cold weather is when moisture freezes on the tree branches, turning the countryside into a type of fairyland. This is called 'hoarfrost.' Various signs around town tell the locals just how cold it is. Ice fog is the first sign, usually seen on open water or a community. The ice fog hangs over Dawson until it warms up to minus 30.

Campaigns and services that provide information on how to live in the cold point to changing trends that influence perceptions of Inside/Outside. These trends potentially alter definitions of *who* is an Outsider. Some statistics are useful in this regard.

In 2001, one in every 13 territorial residents was born outside Canada's borders. That figure increases to one in every seven among non-aboriginals (YG, 2003). Between June and October 2007, 68 people from over 14 countries became new citizens of Canada in the Yukon (Personal communication, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007). In 2007, it was reported that 10.6 percent of Yukon residents are foreign-born, with the U.S., Britain and Germany as the biggest contributors (YG, 2008a).

Changing demographics influence day-to-day life in ways that affect Yukon place identities and the relationships between them. Place expectations fast become value-based negotiations that occur between Yukon residents. For instance, value clashes between those who want (more) access to modern amenities, and those who do not.

As a result, the "not-in-my-back-yard" phenomenon – also known as "NIMBY" – is increasingly common. Yukon-style NIMBY-ism is aptly described by Gregory Heming, a former Yukon News columnist:

> People who fled here years ago seeking rural sanity from urban ills are darn sure they do not want to see this place become just like the place they aborted. But it will. Those NIMBYs, while of good intention, are nevertheless infected by the indispensable and highly charged sway of citydom. They moved here seeking respite, but the mood of the big city sticks. They demand state-of-the-art health care, with all its specialized technology, and want it delivered by a country doctor with a good bedside manner. They cannot shake their love the theatre and they want it dished out in a small homey venue where everybody is entitled to a back stage pass. … They want highways as smooth as glass winding through lonely stretches of quiet countryside, elk grazing on morning grass. We are all searching for that perfect cup of coffee. Starbuck-like tight foam dripped on in the shape of some imagined totem. And we would like it

> served in a white porcelain mug thrust at us by a waitress we know and who has the time to fill us in on the weather or maybe has a heads-up on the job of our dreams. (Heming, 2005)

As Heming insinuates, people want to "have their cake and eat it too." These expectations relate to Yukon places that are trying to find a balance between old and new: a balance that, ideally, would be acceptable to everyone.

However, the balance between "old" and "new" is difficult to establish, especially when, as is illustrated above, there are no fast and easy distinctions between all the different interest groups. One useful example is the arrival of Wal-Mart to Whitehorse.

Old timers, proclaim Flora and Flora (2001), often look favourably upon the migration of box stores like Wal-Mart and fast food chains into their communities. However, "newcomers are appalled that the environmental capital would be threatened" and the picturesque rural and small town landscapes are sullied by big box stores (p. 218). Further, the authors explain, newcomers often arrive "with organizing skills gained from [their] middle-class professional training" and "[they] do their best to stop these intrusions into their personal visions of place" (p. 218).

It is more than coincidence that in their revised edition of Yukon history, Coates and Morrison (2005) give the Whitehorse Wal-Mart affair more than a cursory mention (pp. 305-307). The so called "box stores" are fairly new in the territory with Staples and Wal-Mart being the first to open their doors in 2003. When Whitehorse's Canadian Tire closed its old store in 2007 and opened its Size "A" store – the biggest they make – they were emphatic about keeping to the store's "simpler 'northern roots'." Says the store's manager:

> The old store had a Yukon flavour, which we really liked and the customer really liked, he said. That's why we're doing everything to regionalize the store so that people know you're still in the Yukon … There are two stuffed bears and a moose, as well as Caribou and sheep heads placed around the store. Plans call for a display honouring the Yukon Quest International Dog Sled Race, community activities, and even a large bald eagle holding a fish in its talons. (Querengesser, 2007, March 21)

In an effort to appease Old Timers, Newcomers, Insiders and Outsiders, including tourists during the summer, Canadian Tire formulated a design they hope will bring the essence of the Yukon into their floor plan. It remains to be seen, however, if stuffed animals can adequately create a sense of place that everyone can live with.

CHAPTER FIVE – YUKON PLACE IDENTITIES AND TOURISM

Today's tourists are not asking 'what can we do on holiday?'
but 'who can we be on holiday?'

- Morgan and Pritchard, 2002, p. 20.

Introduction: Selling the Yukon – A Brief History

One of the long-lasting effects of the 1898 Klondike gold rush was to jump-start tourism to the Yukon. More than 30 000 people flooded the territory between 1896 and 1900, prompting the growth of a sophisticated Metropolis affectionately known as the "Paris of the North." At the time, Dawson City was the biggest city west of Winnipeg and north of San Francisco. In the years following the gold rush, publications released by Robert Service and Jack London ensured an ever-growing – and still lasting – mystique for the Klondike gold rush.

Up until recently, tourism resulting from a fascination with the gold rush has been the Yukon's most significant tourist draw; however, there have been other lures in the territory's tourism history. Early tourism included river journey jaunts that began in 1917 with travel on Tagish Lake to Ben-My-Chree (Manx Gaelic for "Girl of my heart") aboard the S.S. Tutshi Paddle Wheeler. The twenty-one hour and fifteen dollar per person journey was renowned for its first class service – which was delivered by English waiters – and its nightly dancing on deck. Over its forty years of operation, the well-to-do guest list included the Prince of Wales and President Roosevelt. Ben-My-Chree was extolled as a "legendary wilderness wonderland," and was especially noteworthy because it showcased that celebrated planned landscape of the time, the English style country garden. Yukon popular historian and former Alaska Highway lodge owner Joyce Yardley (1993) remarked how the tourists of the time "were certainly enthralled to see such a display in this remote place" (p. 92).

Other paddle wheel boats were also part of the Yukon's early tourism fleet. Former cargo vessel the S.S. Klondike II was refurbished as a cruise ship in 1950 after the

opening of an all-weather road between Whitehorse and Mayo. However, the tourism venture proved untimely, and in 1955 the S.S. Klondike did her last run on the Yukon River (Retrieved on March 29, 2008 from http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/yt/ssklondike/natcul/index_e.asp).

Little more than a decade later in 1967, one of the first tourism promotional films depicted "the exciting places and events" a visitor could experience at a time when the territory "still existed between frontier and modernity" (Canwest Films, 1967). Already affectionately referred to as the "land of the midnight sun," the Yukon was promoted as a "sportsman's paradise" and was portrayed as offering an alternative tourism experience for urban visitors:

> But for those weary of crowded sky-scrapper cities, traffic jams, and smog, for those longing for sport and fun in an unspoilt wilderness, the Yukon is still the place to get away from it all. (Canwest Films, 1967)

The film further cajoled potential tourists with descriptions of a "land of contrasts" and "unspoiled wilderness" in a "remote geography."

Popular slogans that contributed to an emerging Yukon brand have been recorded over the years on territorial license plates. "Land of the Midnight Sun" was a slogan from 1952 through 1965, and "Home of the Klondike" was used from 1966 to 1977 (Retrieved on February 27, 2008 from http://users.aol.com/PL8Seditor/yt.htm). More recently, slogans used to represent the Yukon brand have included "The Magic and the Mystery" and "Canada's True North." Such messaging has contributed to producing the mythologized appeal of the Yukon's past and its natural wonders.

This chapter addresses this investigation's second research sub-question: how is Yukon tourism positioned in relation to the place identities of remoteness. This chapter analyzes data collected from textual media including tourism industry promotion and marketing materials, and the Yukon Government's 2005 branding strategy research, and examines the way tourism interacts with the place identity narrative themes presented and examined in the previous chapter.

Branding From the Inside Out: Yukon Larger Than Life

> Forget the Magic and the Mystery. The Yukon is no longer Canada's True North. Now it's Larger than Life … The Yukon is home to the largest mountain in Canada and the largest non-polar ice cap, the largest Caribou herd and more grizzly bears than you can shake a stick at. And then there's the historical tall tales of the legendary gold rush and the crowds of colourful characters immortalized in the territory's lore. (Chalykoff, 2006)

Ringer (1998) proposes that tourism is a quintessential force that relies on the production, re-production and re-enforcement of images and that this force serves "to project the attractiveness and uniqueness of the 'other' into the lives of consumers" (p. 10). If successful, these images "assist in the construction of a network of attractions referred to as a destination." Destinations, however, are more than just attractions tourists' travel to; they are places people live in. Ringer is among the many who have argued that sustainable tourism is more likely to occur when destination marketers understand the significance of place to local residents. Arguing that place importance is linked to identity, Morgan and Pritchard (2002) suggest that destination marketers need to "reconcile a range of local and regional interests and promote an identity acceptable to a range of constituencies" (p. 15). The territory's most recent branding exercise is an interesting case study in this regard.

Armed with one overarching goal – to draw tourists with deep pockets to the territory – and a two hundred thousand dollar budget, the Yukon Government began a tourism branding exercise in the summer of 2005 (Chalykoff, 2006).[24] Branding exercises help tourism destinations construct identities (Morgan & Pritchard, 2002). From these exercises, "brand personalities" are created which "allow actors, such as organizations, individuals and indeed countries to say things about themselves in foreign markets in ways that even language could not convey" (Pitt et al., 2007, p. 835).

[24] The Yukon has a relatively small total marketing budget at 8 million dollars. In comparison, Alaska has $10 million plus an additional $30 million in cruise ship advertising. In Canada, Alberta has a $48 million budget and BC has $50 million (Chalykoff, 2006).

The Yukon's 2005 branding study was promoted as "the most extensive research on tourism marketing the territory has ever done" (Chalykoff, 2006). The new Yukon brand emerged after months of research, analysis and creative development:

> What does it look like? It looks like the Yukon. It looks warm and inviting. It looks vast, and unending. It looks unlike anything you've seen before and finally, it looks like a destination that simply must be experienced. (Introducing a Larger than Life brand, 2006)

The new tagline – "Yukon Larger Than Life" – and logo were introduced to Yukoners in local papers in April 2006. Replacing "Canada's True North," the government's tourism branch director Pierre Germain explained that the new tagline is a "grandiose moniker" meant to capture the territory's landscape and lore (Chalykoff, 2006).

While a key part of the Yukon Tourism Brand Strategy Development exercise was to conduct research externally and report on information areas specific to tourism marketing, the plan also incorporated a study of Yukoners' own perceptions about the Yukon (Cameron Strategy Inc., 2005a). Using a "from the inside-out" research plan, the brand strategy was designed to integrate Yukoners' perceptions of the territory. As part of the research plan, an analysis of Yukon resident perceptions was made against those of the Yukon held by external audiences; results were based on the assumption that "the attributes which align between the internal and external audiences are key to the development of the Yukon Tourism Strategy Brand" (Pawlovich & Talarico, 2005, p. 7).

The internal consultations collected data from Yukon residents, Yukon tourism industry stakeholders, and in-market visitors (visitors already in the Yukon) (Pawlovich & Talarico, 2005). The Colorful Five Per Cent character, first introduced in Chapter Four and now characterized and shown in Figure 11, was used to invite Yukon residents to participate in the internal consultations by the Yukon Government's Department of Tourism and Culture (Call yourself a Yukoner?, 2005).[25]

[25] The text that accompanies the invitation is found in Appendix D.

Figure 11. Call yourself a Yukoner?

Published results stemming from surveys undertaken exclusively with residents provide insight into the rationale behind the branding strategy:

> The internal consultations provided many "gems" or insights about the Yukon from both perspectives of being "home" to a resident or being a "vacation destination" for a visitor. These insights are critical to the development of the tourism brand strategy because *they deeply touch the essence of what the Yukon brand is from the perspective of those who live here*. *This depth speaks to emotional elements that create the bond between people and place.* Ideally, these emotional elements should also be appealing to our potential visitors. (Pawlovich & Talarico, 2005, p. 11, emphasis added)

Highlighting the bond between residents and place as part of the branding strategy recognized the importance of locally defined place dimensions in tourism processes.

Locally defined place dimensions are known increasingly for their ability to provide added value to marketing and promotion strategies (Dredge & Jenkins, 2003; Milne et al., 1998; Morgan & Pritchard, 2002; Simon, 2005). However, without a concomitant understanding of the inherent value of locally defined place dimensions, industry driven processes can threaten locally driven place transformations, including those processes attached to identity related themes. The next section examines how Yukon place identity narratives identified in Chapter Four relate to the territory's tourism marketing.

Yukon Place Identity Narratives and Tourism

Three place identity narratives were identified from the data analyzed in Chapter Four: Masculinist, New Sublime and Narratives of Loss. These narratives are useful to examine in light of tourism promotion and marketing data analyzed for this chapter. They provide further insight into the relationships between place identity and tourism, and contribute to the framework is used to examine this study's last two sub questions.

An important part of the branding research mandate was to identify the most likely visitor types to the Yukon, referred to as "market segments" by the tourism industry. Market segmentation as it relates to marketing aims to increase visitor numbers by identifying types of travellers that should be targeted by a destination's marketing

activities. The Yukon Government prioritizes its targeted marketing to three types of travellers:

> Are you energized by exploring a new wilderness, challenging yourself on an outdoor adventure or by learning about other cultures and their traditions? Or perhaps you prefer to let majestic Yukon landscapes drift past on a scenic drive from the comfortable seat of an RV or on a guided tour? Or maybe you're jazzed by the excitement of a local Yukon event or festival, where you can get to know the locals and listen to stories told by First Nation elders. (Retrieved on October 4, 2008 from http://travelyukon.com/aboutyukonterritory/)

The three types of travellers targeted by the Yukon's Department of Tourism and Culture and introduced in this paragraph are known as: 1) Adventure Challengers; 2) Scenic Outdoor Travellers; and 3) Cultural Explorers. An examination of the way market segments identified for the Yukon relate to the place identity narratives identified in Chapter Four provides additional insight into the relationship between place identity and tourism.

Masculinist Narratives and Tourism

Tourism promotional materials appeal to Masculinist Narratives in a variety of ways. They introduce landscapes and history that open up opportunities to travel with explorers and nation-builders:

> Kluane country offers the real thing – gorgeous scenery, rugged landscapes, a place where original, raw adventures were pioneered. (YG, 2004a, p. 22)

They retell the trials and tribulations of Klondike stampeders and their ambitious journey to the gold fields:

> Imagine what the conditions were like in 1897. Picture tens of thousands of goldseekers clamouring to reach the Klondike. Chilkoot Pass represented an enormous obstacle that most were unprepared for. Today, hikers can still experience some of the pains of such a journey. (YG, 2004a, p. 11)

Specific Yukon attractions similarly propose an engagement with place that provides ready access to characteristics that are central to Masculinist Narratives. For instance, the internationally famous 1000 mile dogsled race, The Yukon Quest:

> It's about the unrelenting human desire to engage in nature in an epic test of wills, and to emerge from the struggle stronger … wiser … complete. (YG, 2004b, p. 4)

The same holds true for snow machining, another increasingly popular winter activity:

> Sometimes you feel the need for speed that only the raw, roaring power of a snow machine can satisfy. Superb trails, unbeatable alpine terrain and an endless supply of powder lure adventurous riders and everyone goes home talking about the vast spaces and thrilling scenery. (YG, 2008c, p. 85)

With these introductions, promotional materials are couched in a narrative form that entices visitors with masculinist place identity narratives, including self-sufficiency, individualism, and freedom.

As a market segment, Adventure Challengers are defined by their primary motive for travel; to challenge themselves in places "which offer a wide range of wilderness oriented adventure travel activities" (Cameron Strategy Inc., 2005b, p. 16). They seek an escape where they can "test their own physical limits in pristine wilderness" (p. 16). For the adventure challenger, "the lure of the Northern Lights and the Midnight Sun could stem from the fact that only in a destination that is pristine and remote could such a natural phenomena be truly enjoyed" (p. 19).

Branding strategy research results shed light on descriptors and characterizations associated with masculinist place identity narratives. In response to being asked "who" the Yukon is (e.g., if the Yukon were a person, that person would be), survey responses include:

- Primarily male
- Mature and rugged
- Geared for adventure and outdoor life
- With a large frame and friendly disposition

These features typify the quintessential characteristics associated with Masculinist Narratives, the Colorful Five Per Cent character.

Despite these active, rugged, hardy personifications, the Yukon also attracts "armchair" adventurers. Finding a way to appeal to spirited and enthusiastic adventurers who have no desire to actually enter the wilderness and be physically challenged, is critical to ensuring armchair adventurers attracted to the Yukon. The mobile homes that fill the Yukon's highways from May to August are vessels that can also serve to advertise the occupants' epic lore; lore that is worthy of bragging rights as is evident with bumper stickers such as the one presented in Figure 12.

Figure 12. I Survived the Top of the World Highway!

Moreover, there is no need to endure the trials and tribulations that have long been synonymous with the frontier because, "most importantly, the Yukon is a very safe, comfortable place to travel" (YG, 2004b). Even recreational vehicle manufacturers brand their product to appeal to these same travellers, and tie the frontier to familiar comfort zones. Figure 13 illustrates how this can be achieved:

Figure 13. A Comfortable Frontier

Photo: S. de la Barre, August 21, 2006.

Promotional material exemplifies how a Yukon driving holiday is marketed in a way that can satisfy even the most sedentary road voyageur's desire to take part in an epic adventure:

> There are 4,734.8 kilometres (2,942.2 mi.) of highway in Yukon, including some of the most spectacular and unusual drives in the world. The Dempster Highway, the only public road in Canada to cross the Arctic Circle, is an astonishing drive through Arctic tundra. The Klondike Highway roughly follows the route used by the gold seekers of 1898. The Canol Highway is an adventurous drive through pristine wilderness, white-water rivers and blue-green lakes. (Retrieved on October 8, 2008 from: http://travelyukon.com/media/discoveryukon/backgrounderfactsandstats/fascinatingyukontrivia/)

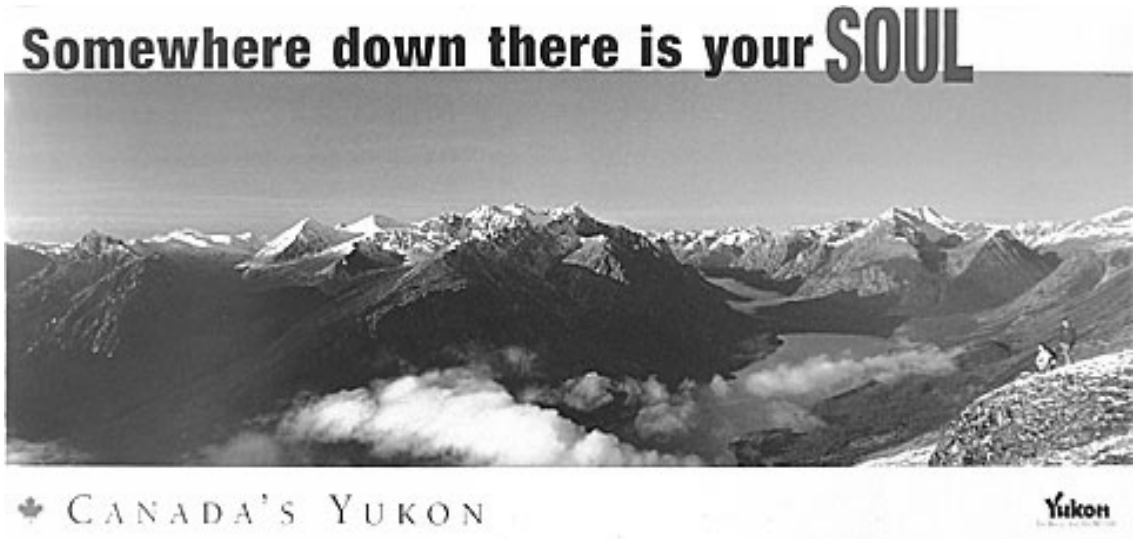
The above examples attest to the fact that travel in recreational vehicles (or "RV"s) can provide passive explorers with an opportunity to associate themselves with larger-than-life adventures, and access masculinist place identity narratives. Road travel, among other

activities, can also appeal to those seeking spiritual gratification through Narratives of the New Sublime.

Narratives of the New Sublime and Tourism

Narratives of the New Sublime rely on a renewed interest in the ideology of the sublime. Its use in place marketing summons emotional experiences that escort the visitor to the sacred and divine, as is evidenced by promotional advertising such as the one presented in Figure 14.

Figure 14. Somewhere down there is your soul



Source: Retrieved on February 29, 2008 from http://www.northendgallery.ca/somewheredownthere.html

Narratives of the New Sublime are referred to in marketing campaigns and utilize people's desire for opportunities to connect with nature. They are narratives that are confirmed by the Yukon's distance from a busy, populated, modern world:

> Here, it's easy to find magical places. Follow the clear blue skies in any direction and you'll soon be gazing across an endless expanse of snow where the only skyscrapers are made of rock and ice. Free from worldly concerns, you'll discover unique opportunities to try your favourite activities – and new ones, too – in places populated by animals alone. (YG, 2004b, p. 3)

These marketing campaigns persuasively suggest that travel to the Yukon makes it possible for visitors to access place identity characteristics associated with Narratives of the New Sublime, including a pure, authentic and original self.

The Scenic Outdoor Travellers market segment identified in the Yukon tourism branding research also draws on Narratives of the New Sublime. Scenic Outdoor Travellers are defined by their desire "to enjoy beautiful outdoor destinations where they can rest and relax." They are interested in local history and traditions, scenic beauty and "real down-to-earth experience." They are a market segment targeted by the territory's "Scenic Drives" program (Retrieved on October 4, 2008 from http://travelyukon.com/thingstodo/yukonscenicdrives/). They are told:

> Beyond your dashboard are wide open landscapes. The pavement ahead beckons you. Take a scenic drive through the Yukon's larger than life wilderness. Discover side hikes and trails along the way, and rivers ripe for roadside fishing, canoeing and birdwatching adventures. Spot Yukon wildlife from your window — moose, grizzlies and ptarmigan.

The scenic drives program is built around the Yukon's road network. Tours are promoted for their ability to facilitate journeys into remote and pristine wilderness:

> Drive to the top of the world through some of the most spectacular and remote wilderness scenery in North America. (YG, 2004b, p. 102)

> The Robert Campbell Highway offers a quiet, more remote alternative to the busy Alaska Highway corridor. It traverses one of the Yukon's seldom visited regions, a place where wildlife and solitude are abundant. (YG, 2004a, p. 6)

The scenic drives program is built on the assumption that the landscape is a resource that has meaning attached to it. However, Bell and Lyall (2001) argue that highway travel does not provide a way for tourists to attach meaning to the landscape because it is a "technology of speed" that helps to disassociate the journey from the landscape. Through this disassociation, meaning attachment processes are halted. As a result, the journey is subordinate to the destination, and any value attributed to highway travel itself is challenged.

While there may be some merit to their argument, the Yukon's Scenic Drives Program is a marketing strategy that more closely aligns with what Wilson (1991) has called "scenic legitimacy" (p. 31). Following his arguments, the Scenic Drives program promotes the highway as a technology that facilitates access to landscape meanings. Here, the touristic promotion of highways is built on the belief that highway travel can facilitate landscape meaning. Wilson's arguments help to frame the Yukon Scenic Drives program as one that does not see the journey, by road and through the landscape, as subordinate to the destination. Instead, his reasoning suggests that the journey is the destination. The latter is a proposition that fits rather well with the motivation of those visitors for whom Narratives of the New Sublime hold a particular appeal.

Narratives of Loss and Tourism

There are at least two ways that Narratives of Loss can be used by tourism to promote a destination. The first relates to how they reference disappearing landscapes, people or cultures. These are all perceived to be endangered through, among other things, the effects of industrial development or natural resource extraction, globalization or climate change. "Tourism of Doom" showcases some of the newest and trendiest tourist attractions on the planet, and includes a shift in place marketing approaches apparent through headlines such as this one: "What vista on the planet imperilled? Let's go see it quick!" (Salkin, 2007, December 21). The rationale is further explained in film introductions such as Anne Aghion's "Ice People": "The public focus on climate change has turned the shores of Antarctica into a new tourist mecca, making the earth's coldest continent the hot place to be" (Retrieved on October 5, 2008 from http://www.icepeople.com/).

The second way Narratives of Loss can be used to promote a destination is through "Nostalgia Tourism." Bell and Lyall (2001) define nostalgia tourism as visiting past places that are yearned for; places like the frontier that may or may not be perceived to still exist. They also propose that they are places that can exist without physicality and can reside "in the handed-down tales, the vague ideas drawn from distorted promotions,

historic errors of exactitude; in short: it is built on a bricolage of random fragmented truths, beliefs, mythologies, and inventions" (p. 48).

A 2007 Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) report claims that Nostalgia Tourism includes travellers who are motivated by memories of past visits and include travellers who revisit previously visited sites. It also declared that nostalgia is a new trend attracting over ninety per cent of UK travellers (CTC, 2007b).

The Cultural Explorer market segment relies on the history of the gold rush, and the allure of the frontier, as well as the increasing curiosity bestowed on Yukon First Nation peoples. Narratives of Loss and Cultural Explorers are linked through their desire for deep cultural and spiritual connection to both people and nature (Pawlovich & Talarico, 2005, p. 9). For Cultural Explorers these places are sometimes promoted as recoverable sites where present-day experiences in past landscapes can occur:

> Yukon's living history – larger than life. On every road and trail and waterway you'll experience our story, from the ancient tales of Yukon's 14 First Nations to stories of Klondike gold. Amazing lives of long ago people and more recent pioneers will excite your dreams in more than 2, 500 Yukon historic sites. Experience still-vibrant communities that developed around gold and silver and other riches of the earth, their heritage vividly preserved. (YG, 2004b, p. 12)

While some Narratives of Loss can be exploited for the purposes of tourism, others are not so easily manipulated. They call upon political, cultural, socio-economic or other struggles, and signal unresolved and often emotionally-charged place negotiations and conflicts.

When Loss Can Not Be Sold

Narratives of Loss are often at the heart of place struggles and can be problematic for tourism. These narratives often signal place complexities that are ignored, denied, or simply hidden away from the tourist gaze because they are perceived to negatively affect visitor experience. Two examples will be discussed to illustrate this perspective: a) Land use values, and b) First Nations.

Land use values. The former Shipyards area of Whitehorse discussed in the last chapter is an interesting land use negotiation case. Promoted to visitors as an area that has undergone much change recently, one tourism publication exclaims: "The Whitehorse waterfront has been the focus of a lot of attention in recent years – and it's all for your benefit!" (YG, 2004a, p. 16). Unbeknownst to the Whitehorse visitor, the now beautified Shipyard's Park had been subject to intense conflict among diverse interest groups, representing many different senses of place (e.g., First Nations, Colourful Five Per Cent residents and frontier seekers, city planners and private land developers, arts and cultural groups, homeless people, tourism stakeholders and tourists). Figure 15 presents a photograph that demonstrates the present-day groomed nature of the former frontier community on the edge of the Yukon River in downtown Whitehorse.

Figure 15. Shipyards Park 2007

Photo: S. de la Barre, June 15, 2007.

In a similar manner, Narratives of Loss may hold particular importance to Yukon First Nations, especially when analysed in a tourism context.

First Nations. While a significant political achievement for Yukon First Nations, their success at the land claims table – as well as the self government table – remains tempered by their on-going struggle for socio-cultural well-being and economic stability, both of which greatly impact their capacity to fully enjoy their newly acquired political rights and responsibilities (e.g., through the challenges they face to make manifest and manage self-government). In this sense, Narratives of Loss can refer to First Nations cultural and land-based displacement.

Place struggles and their relationship to tourism processes can reveal important insight into past social struggles. However, they can simultaneously ignore present-day local resistance to tourism development, especially if the development denies on-going or emerging social equity and justice issues (Carter et al., 2007; MacDonald, 2002).

Much of the struggles Yukon First Nations historically have encountered – and still face – are not commonly or directly referenced in tourism promotional material. Nonetheless, tourism materials do reflect these struggles in subtle yet persuasive ways. Loss can be referenced by hinting at a past world that coexists alongside the present:

> When you travel throughout the Yukon, remember that there are two separate worlds woven together here – one modern, the other ancient.
> (Retrieved on March 25, 2008 from http://travelyukon.com/thingstodo/historicandculturalattractions/)

Loss may also be invoked by pointing out First Nations contemporary involvement with place-making processes:

> The Yukon is the ancestral home of 14 different First Nations, speaking eight distinct aboriginal languages. The first people of the Yukon were hunters and gatherers who lived on the land. Though today they live in houses and cabins, many continue to practice the traditional lifestyles of smoking and drying fish, berry picking and tanning hides. Many First Nations people are accomplished artists, businessmen and exceptional Storytellers who look forward to sharing their history, culture and values. (YG, 2004b, p. 25)

The engaged visitor might become aware of First Nations' struggle for self-definition and self-reliance through references made to their origins:

> The term First Nations may be a new one for many of you. It's used throughout the Yukon in place of Aboriginals, Natives or Indians. It recognizes our people as a distinct nation, and the fact that our ancestors were here first. (YFNTA, 2007, p. 1)

Some of the information about First Nations presented above is often mediated through the Yukon First Nations Tourism Association (YFNTA). The non-governmental organization plays a crucial role in ensuring there is First Nations input on how they are represented to visitors. The YFNTA also ensures there is some involvement by First Nations on how their history is presented and promoted, and how visitor experiences are shaped in relation to First Nations attractions.

Many individual First Nations are represented and promoted for tourism through their cultural centres. These centres are located in communities across the territory, the larger of which include the Dänojà Zho in Dawson City, Big Jonathan House in Pelly Crossing, Teslin Tlingit Heritage Centre in Teslin, the Tagé Cho Hudän Interpretive Centre in Carmacks, and the Da Ku Centre in Haines Junction.

Yukon First Nations have achieved much in the way of political and cultural empowerment in the last few decades, certainly since land claims and self-government processes have been signed by 11 of the Yukon's 14 First Nations. Despite this, social issues that are a result of, among other things, colonial legacies and fast-paced transformations, can challenge on-going First Nations place identity formulations, especially where they intersect with tourism place-marketing processes (Carter et al., 2007).

In his research on the study of the touristic representation of native peoples, Cohen (1993) introduced the importance of assessing who is being represented by whom, and for what purposes, with the use of a matrix which is illustrated in Table 6 (Cohen, 1993, pp. 39-40).

Table 6. Cohen's "Who Represents Whom" Matrix

Who Represents \ Who is Represented	Natives	Majority	Foreigners
Native	Natives by native	Majority by native	Foreigner by native
Member of Majority	Natives by member of majority	Majority by member of majority	Foreigners by member of majority
Foreigner	Natives by foreigner	Majority by foreigner	Foreigners by foreigner

Cohen's tool is useful for assessing how marginalized people are represented in tourism processes, and can be applied to the Yukon. His matrix provides the means to better understand the empowerment – and exploitation – potential implicated in who controls how First Nation peoples are represented. Cultural, political and other forms of empowerment are more likely to result when First Nations have control of how they are represented. Conversely, if their representation is controlled by foreigners, for instance German visitors to the Yukon, or by the majority, for instance, European descendent Yukoners, then their empowerment is compromised. In the latter scenarios, exploitation of First Nation peoples, at some level, is almost inevitable (well-intentioned motives or not).

First Nations content in government issued visitor information is generally conceived of and contributed by the YFNTA, or at least is developed in collaboration with them (Personal Communication, 5 November 2004). The YFNTA also has a website

that describes in detail the 14 Yukon First Nations, their history, culture and vision for their future (www.yfnta.org). The increasing number of First Nations' cultural centres constructed over the last decade alongside other sites of First Nations created and controlled representation contributions – for instance other community or private sector First Nations owned and operated tourism businesses – contribute greatly to First Nations involvement in how they are represented for tourism purposes. Together, these all help ensure that First Nations have some control and gain some measure of economic and other benefits from the tourism activities they are involved in, or affected by (for similar strategies and implications with other Indigenous people see McIntosh et al., 2002; Butler & Hinch, 2007).

Foremost among representational concerns in the tourism domain for Yukon First Nations was the need to move beyond the gold rush. As a popular and well marketed tourism theme, the gold rush is an event that focuses almost entirely on Euro-Canadian and American frontier seekers. The strategy used by First Nations and other Yukon tourism marketers was to incorporate and promote a message that could encompass First Nations history and values.

The official government tourism website helps First Nations achieve this by encouraging visitors to:

> Get over the gold rush. Discover greater riches in the culture of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in at Dawson's riverfront centre. (Retrieved on March 25, 2008 from http://travelyukon.com/thingstodo/yukonscenicdrives/)

Since 1998, visitors to Dawson City can learn about traditional and contemporary life of the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in at the Dänojà Zho centre. The riverfront centre is similar to other First Nations cultural centres in that it is guided by a dual mandate for heritage preservation and promotion. Importantly, it provides a First Nations designed and controlled visitor experience.

Cultural centres currently offer a predictable, quality experience that visitors can easily access. They also serve an important purpose for propagating information about First Nations values and protocols that visitors can use while touring the Yukon. The

Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in for example, have created a First Nations Protocol for visitors to their traditional area (see Appendix E: First Nations Protocols – The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in).

Still, while there is increasing First Nations' publicly owned tourism related infrastructure (e.g., Cultural Centres), there is little in the way of First Nations "product," or tourism activity. This lack of product can be challenging for Yukon tourism marketers and operators whose clients are interested in these types of cultural activities. Understandably, however, First Nations' capacity to effectively participate in much tourism planning, including product design and delivery has been forfeited by the attention required to implement land claims agreements and self-government, as well as participate in mining and other economic development initiatives, and attend to significant social and health issues that result largely from the impacts of colonization.

First Nations traditional practices and land relationships have increasingly become threatened or have eroded as access into the territory became easier. However, tourism experiences hinge on conceptualizations of First Nations – especially those that are woven into an historical and/or mythologized past – as set in a remote location. Tourism gains significant credibility due to the perception of the Yukon as remote.

As discussed in Chapter Four, there are at least three reinforcement features that impact upon the credibility of remote and influence all Yukon place identity narratives discussed in this study. These are further investigated in the next section.

Narrative Reinforcements and Tourism

Climate, space and time are narrative reinforcements that reference remoteness. They are also used as "props" and help reveal how place identity is used to promote and market the Yukon for tourism. Narrative reinforcements can be based opportunistically in fact or aligned with fiction. Destinations must attempt to create "story lines" that will attract tourists, while not setting up unrealistic expectations or alienating residents.

Climate

Yukon residents' attachment to cold temperatures is based on a commitment to place and an affinity with identity characteristics associated with extreme weather. However, visitors are less inclined to such commitment. Evidence of this is the general tendency for tourists to prefer the summer season for their journey north. Despite this historical preference, winter visitation is increasing due to the growing popularity of winter activities, including aurora viewing and dog sledding. Increasing shoulder season tourism is a stated goal of the Yukon's government tourism agency (YG, 2007b).

Climate is a central theme for winter tourism promotion. Epic tales that empower Masculinist Narratives are reinforced by weathered lore:

> Epic stories of survival, famously recounted by Jack London and Robert Service, both embellished and immortalized the image of a place and a season whose remarkable extremes demand a special vocabulary. There are "sourdoughs" who have weathered at least one winter, witnessing the ice come and go on the mighty Yukon River. And then there are "cheechakos" or newcomers, who can only imagine the power of beauty and nature on so grand a scale. (YG, 2004b, p. 2)

Narratives of the New Sublime are invoked with references to a winter climate that is true and pure:

> True Winter with a Warm Heart: With its land, lights and legends, the Yukon offers winter in its purest form. (YG, 2004b, p. 3)

As urbanization and climate change negatively impact the experience of winter in southern Canadian regions, nostaligia for "Real Winter" is reinforced by promotional taglines such as, "There's no winter like a Yukon winter" (YG, 2004b, p. 3). Narratives of Loss use climate to highlight the symbolic significance a "real" winter experience. In addition, the significance of a real winter experience is combined with the accessible nature of a Yukon winter experience:

> Gone are the days when people had to scale mountain passes and punch roads through wilderness just to reach the Yukon. Now, an unforgettable winter adventure begins with an affordable two-hour flight from Vancouver, Edmonton or Calgary in western Canada. (YG, 2004b, p. 3)

Marketing the accessible nature of the Yukon is a strategy that underlines a paradox related to the values of remoteness which can be further explored in combination with another narrative reinforcement: space.

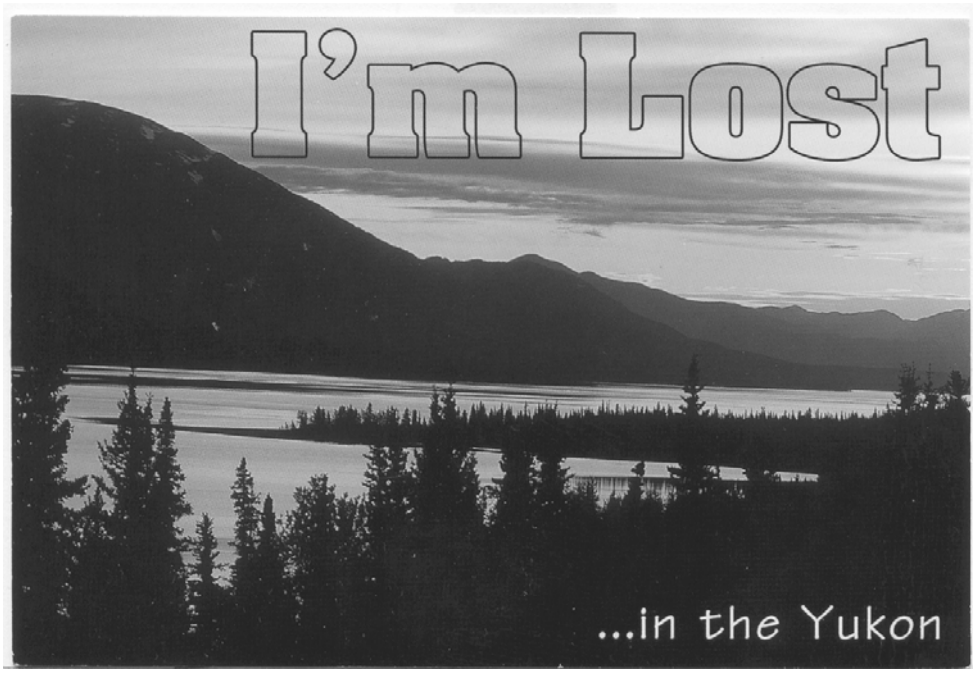
Space

> Not till we are completely lost, or turned around – for a man needs only to be turned around once with his eyes shut in this world to be lost – do we appreciate the vastness and strangeness of nature. Not till we are lost, in other words, not till we have lost the world, do we begin to find ourselves, and realize where we are and the infinite extent of our relations. (Thoreau, 1854, p. 268)

Thoreau's "lost" is the kind of lost that offers spiritual achievement and supports an understanding of a lost that is yearned for. Solnit (2002) suggests that this yearned for lost is one that reasons: "Lose the whole world, get lost in it, and find your soul" (Solnit, 2002, p. 15). The idealized quality of lost promoted through Yukon postcards such as the one presented in Figure 16 relates to Thoreau and Solnit's lost.

Postcards can play an important role in disseminating ideas about places (Waitt & Head, 2002; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). The message embedded in "Lost in the Yukon" can prove to be especially appealing to "exurbanites" who were first introduced in Chapter Four.

Figure 16. Lost in the Yukon



The appeal of lost for diverse audiences has also been demonstrated by similar marketing initiatives internationally and in other northern Canadian jurisdictions. Chivas Regal Scotch's 2003 40 million US dollar advertising campaign is worthy of mention. This campaign portrayed three men ice fishing in Alaska (Figure 17). The photo is accompanied by the word-scrambled message:

> *THIS IS THE CHIVAS LIFE: Ice Fishing in Alaska.* ***THIS IS THE*** *KEEP YOUR EYES PEELED FOR POLAR BEARS. WHERE THE HELL ARE WE, NOT ON THE GUIDED TOUR* ***LIFE****.* (Retrieved on March 7, 2008 from: http://www.beveragenet.net/sw/2004/0404/0404stc.asp)

The bolded lettering appears in blue in the ad and, contrasted with the black lettering of the rest of the message, draws attention to the "This is the Life" message central to the campaign. The reference to not knowing where one is located geographically, reinforced by the independent/self-sufficient descriptors inferred by the "not on the guided tour," underlines the conviction – and the emotional connection – to the idea that being lost in

the middle of nowhere is an attractive and sought after experience: one that is worthy of a costly international marketing campaign.

Figure 17. "This is the Chivas life" Advertising Campaign

Elsewhere in Canada's North, Nunavut's 2001 campaign featured advertising with scenes of Nunavut and road signs superimposed over images: "Petting zoo 4, 051 KM" and "Poolside bar 4, 127 KM." These reference points successfully and imaginatively indicate to potential visitors just how different – and far – Nunavut is from being a "normal" tourist attraction (Nunavut markets its authenticity, 2001). In a significant manner, both the Chivas Regal and Nunavut advertising campaigns rely on the link they make to the idea of "lost" to highlight a positive relationship with remoteness.

Despite the increasing appeal of remote, selling real geographic remoteness today remains challenging. Remote places must at least be perceived as accessible; otherwise it is very difficult to attract visitors to them. As a result, "accessible remoteness" is an increasingly common theme.

A full-page Globe and Mail advertisement pronounced the Northwest Territories to be "a place apart, rugged but accessible – and brimming with untouched wonders" (How many ways, 2008). The idea of accessible remoteness is also being used by tourism companies to sell other unique and hard-to-get-to destinations around the world. One such company is Intrepid which ran ads in Outpost's 2007 Global Travel Guide

promoting diverse trips to out-of-the-way locations around the globe with the headline "Conveniently Remote" (Conveniently Remote, 2007).

Both "remote" and "remote yet accessible" were found to be descriptors used to define the Yukon in the branding research conducted by the Yukon Government (Cameron Strategy Inc., 2005c, p. 12). It led to travel trade respondents underlying the necessity to highlight the Yukon as accessible: "You can get there!" (Cameron Strategy Inc., 2005c, p. 23). Yukon tourism marketing campaigns further highlight the accessible remote theme:

> The Yukon's 483, 450 square kilometres (302, 156 sq mi) of wilderness lie above the 60th Parallel, north of British Columbia, east of Alaska and west of the Northwest Territories. As remote as this vast area appears on a map, it is actually easy and affordable to reach. (YG, 2004b, p. 14)

Marketing campaigns aside, the Yukon is challenged by its geographic location. Branding research reported that "one needs a large block of time to get [there] and fully experience the Yukon's tourism offerings" and recognized that "few travellers have that luxury" (Cameron Strategy Inc., 2005c,. p. 16).

Time

> Welcome to Canada's True North – a place where time itself is a little different. For Yukoners, it's a matter of pace, a way of conducting affairs so that life is experienced more fully, lived as it were … on Yukon time. For some folks this means slowing things down so they can enjoy the moment. For others, it means heading out for a stroll or a paddle at midnight because the light is just right; taking a different route to see what the road holds in store; or adding a day to their itinerary to enjoy a local celebration." (YG, 2004a, npn)

As part of its strategic planning goals in 2001, the Department of Tourism and Culture sought to create ways to entice the largely US "rubber-tire" market (road entry tourism) to spend more time in the Yukon (YG, 2001). The department's "Stay Another Day – On Yukon Time" program was designed:

> To capitalize on the fact that today's tourists are seeking more educational and interactive experiences. Stay Another Day will address the need to create an awareness of, and a desire in Yukon visitors to experience, what the Yukon, its diverse communities, regions and people have to offer. (YG, 2001, p. 7)

The program involved icons identifying places or events of interest around the Yukon, and encouraged visitors to "slow down, explore and experience life on Yukon time" (YG, 2004a, p. 1). In later campaigns related to the On Yukon Time campaign, visitors have been further encouraged to:

> Hit the Brakes! Slow down and enjoy the moment. Take time to meet locals, discover special places … Relax. Breathe in our clean, fresh air. Spend a little extra time nourishing your soul. (YG, 2004b, p. 12)

While primarily created and designed as an incentive to get travellers to "stay another day" and spend more money in the territory, the "On Yukon Time" program signals a desire to associate the Yukon with an alternative time-space continuum, which is also associated with remote areas.

Ardner (1989) proposes that "remote areas of the globe have had a different conceptual geography, and have been perceived to exist on a different time-scale from the 'central' areas" (p. 213). Fast urban time is contrasted with slow wilderness time. As a result, the idea of alternative time also benefits from those myths about nature that have emerged and continue to gain discursive momentum since the rapid industrialization of the planet.

"On Yukon time" highlights how the territory is promoted through its association with impressions of timelessness. Timelessness in turn propagates notions of traditional and community values, harmonious relations between a less dichotomized "nature" and "culture," and is associated with an absence of social problems, and good moral, spiritual and physical health (see Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 154). References to time related themes as they relate to place identity are also apparent in First Nations created promotional materials:

> Go slowly, take your time. Ask questions, and sometimes just listen. Pay attention to everything – the wind, the detail on a carving or the ripple on a river or a lake. Our history and our culture are all around you. (YFNTA, 2007, p. 1.)

In this sense, associations with alternative time and timelessness fit nicely with First Nations for their own tourism promotion purposes. As an added bonus, a poll conducted with Yukon residents indicated that the program was well received and that it "created a tremendous amount of pride of place among residents" (YG, 2001b, p. 5).

Perhaps inadvertently, the "On Yukon Time" slogan provides an opportunity for destination marketers to entice tourists into perceiving infrastructural or customer service failings into an experience that is the natural result of northern lifestyle. By turning slow and unpredictable customer service into "relaxed and quaint," the idea of Yukon place specific time encourages the view that mediocre or unpredictable service encounters are part of what make the Yukon unique, in a positive way. Having said that, these perceptions can be advantageous to Yukon tourism service providers who may actually provide northern-defined services given the challenges they sometimes face because of geographic realities which affect their ability to compete with southern-based customer service standards (e.g., unpredictable nature of services in the North due to weather, road conditions, lack or low capacity of human resources, etc.).

The Paradox that is Infrastructure and Tourism

In the quest for an "accessible remote," infrastructure is crucial. Not only is infrastructure required to get people to the Yukon, it also impacts upon the perceived kind of visit they can have once they arrive. For many visitors, comfort and safety are not luxuries in this regard, a fact that is recognized and addressed by Yukon tourism marketers:

> Here in the North, we love receiving visitors! With our special brand of Yukon hospitality and infectious northern spirit, rolling out the welcome mat is something we take great pride in. Most importantly, the Yukon is a very safe, comfortable place to travel. (YG, 2004a, p. 6)

The issues relating to "accessible remoteness" also surfaced during the 2005 research branding exercise. That research found that the Yukon brand should emphasize the territory's wilderness and "purity," its differentiation from the rest of Canada, and its accessibility. Concomitantly, it stipulated that the branding strategy should avoid trying to make the Yukon too "sophisticated" (e.g., city experiences and culture), and any references to the Yukon that point to its inaccessible/remote characteristics (Cameron Strategy Inc.2005a, p. 7).

The complex puzzle of place identities that differently engage with "remote," must successfully negotiate and manipulate the contradictory conceptualization of the territory as "accessible." Whereas current challenges hinge on convincing travellers that the Yukon is accessible, attracting future travellers may rest increasingly on promoting the perception that the Yukon is far more remote than it is accessible. The paradox for tourism is that the need for infrastructure exists alongside tourism experiences that simultaneously rely on its absence, and through this absence confirm their uniqueness and their competitive marketing edge. This paradox is reaffirmed with tourism relationship to "Outside."

"Outside" and Tourism

Tourism uses the idea of Outside to confirm uniqueness. However, it must be used in a way that concomitantly reassures visitors that they can find in the Yukon what is most familiar and perhaps intrinsically important, to their vacation experience:

> Are Yukoners hicks? Hardly! We love cappuccino, gourmet foods and enjoy a wide variety of ethnic cuisines. We read a lot and have a lively local music scene, including visits from prominent national and international entertainers. (Retrieved on October 4, 2008 from: http://travelyukon.com/media/discoveryukon/backgrounderfactsandstats/fascinatingyukontrivia/)

These promotional "sound bites" remind us that tourism can not just promote the Yukon as remote and wild; it is required also to promote the Yukon with just enough Outside-like references. There is wildness, but the Yukon is also a refined place:

> The Yukon is a wild land with a refined heart. But its comparative lack of crowds doesn't mean roughing it – the Yukon is far more sophisticated than most people think. Stimulate the senses with a deep massage, herbal and aromatherapy remedies, or a facial. Sip on a double cappuccino and people-watch from a sunny café patio. Stumble upon an art gallery showcasing nationally and internationally renowned artists. So go out and experience all that the Yukon wilderness has to offer, but take comfort knowing you can come back to town and enjoy all the urban pleasures that make you feel right at home. (YG, 2004b, p. 17)

Marketing campaigns like the ones above also help establish the idea that the Yukon is an accessible remote destination. However, and at the same time, these campaigns further underline the complex paradoxes implicated with remoteness and the opportunistic ways the territory can be positioned as remote or accessible. Moreover, the complex puzzle of place identities which differently engage with "remote," must successfully negotiate and manipulate the contradictory conceptualizations of the territory as "accessible" and/or "remote." Whereas current challenges hinge on convincing travellers that the Yukon is accessible, attracting future travellers may increasingly rest on promoting the perception that the Yukon is remote.

CHAPTER SIX – GUIDES, PLACE IDENTITY AND TOURISM ACTIVITIES

Introduction

This chapter addresses the third and fourth research sub-questions: "What are the place identities of Yukon wilderness and cultural tourism guides?" and "How are the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism guides manifest in the design and delivery of their tourism activities?" To answer these questions, the place identities of Yukon's wilderness and cultural interpreter guides are examined in relation to the two previous chapters' findings, as well as through an analysis of observation and interview data. This chapter begins with an investigation of guide place identity in relation to Masculinist Narratives, Narratives of the New Sublime and Narratives of Loss.

Masculinist Narratives, Guides and their Tourism Activities

Masculinist Narratives call upon Hulan's (2002) northern characters and provide a home to Cronon's (1996) mythic frontier individualists. They have been associated with the composite and fictionalized caricatures brought to life by Robert Service, for instance Sam McGee, as well as those characters referred to as "The Colourful Five Per Cent." Ken, a seasonal guide, explains how these caricatures continue to influence ideas about what a Yukoner is, and who people think they can become by visiting to the Yukon:

> I had a way different idea when I came up here. When I came here I had a big beard and expected to just live in the woods or something … [I] got the job with [name of company] and had to shave my beard.

Despite having to reconcile fact with fiction, Ken was able to realize some of the expectations he held about the Yukon:

> It takes a special kind of person to live up here you know. Average person in the city is a lot less interesting than … I mean … way more characters here than most places for sure … The fact that you can be covered in dirt and carrying an axe and stand in line at the bank and people won't look at you

> twice. You can get away with a lot more here, and people are more open-minded.

The ability to behave differently in the Yukon than what is considered "normal" outside its borders, lends emphasis to the idea that present-day and real-life frontier characters still exist in the Yukon, and can be stumbled upon in everyday places, like bank line-ups.

Ideas about wilderness and the Frontier underscore the independent spirit, and specifically reference a sense of being free and unconstrained. Susan, a long-time Yukon guide, explains this sense of being free in this manner:

> But, right at the door, there's quick access to wild country. And I just love that freedom. And that's just part of my character too. I just can't stand and never could even as a child, I couldn't stand being fettered in any way, or tied down. So I find that this appeals to that side of my character that loves wide-open spaces. Where I feel free, and that's where, ever since as old as I can remember, being in nature was always been my number one thing to do.

Masculinist place identity narratives are also expressed through notions of being self-sufficient. A number of guides mentioned self-sufficiency, among them Paul, Pat and Liz. Paul describes self-sufficiency as a factor capable of connecting Yukoners to place:

> I think Yukoners by and large – doesn't matter what their political stripes are and philosophies – they all participate in this to varying degrees; and that's in that whole area of self-sufficiency. Living in this place requires that you become self-sufficient.

For Pat, being self-sufficient is synonymous with physical strength:

> So being self-sufficient that way, makes you feel strong, makes you feel, yeah it makes you feel like you can survive anything.

Referencing the relative isolation where her activities take place, Liz associates increased opportunities to explore self-sufficiency due to distance from amenities and lack of infrastructure:

> The distance […] to roadways and for rescue and everything else, it's really much more intact there in these southern areas, but here you're asked to develop a whole other level of responsibility and self-sufficiency. And that in itself is another great area for potential growth. For all of us involved in this. That's exciting. It's exciting to think that we have one of the few places left on the planet where you can access that part of yourself.

Liz underlines the value of remoteness for accessing and enabling ideas about self that are not readily available in non-remote areas. Jim also reflects on the uniqueness of remote experiences and reiterates Liz's awareness of its particular value:

> Well, I think the … lack of people … it lets me walk down the trails and not meet somebody … So you have the feeling of being alone … There are very few places in the world that you can go and spend 12 days without seeing anybody else walking all the time … not very many places.

Self-sufficiency coexists with Western perceptions of wilderness, and incorporates early nation-building – and frontier-related – readings of remoteness. Perhaps more than any other feature, the absence of other humans is what ultimately fulfills the requirements for self-sufficiency. As Liz explains,

> Well the whole thing about, can I look after myself? Am I going to get too cold? … I didn't see anybody other than the snow machine guides which might be once every six or eight hours ... And you know, a headlight burnt out and so I got into overflows and my feet were wet. It was lots of problem-solving stuff. By the time I got to [name of place], I was just wasted. But also emotionally too, like you get there and … I can't believe I just did that! … be like a trapper out on the trap line … Most people don't have that experience where you have to totally rely on yourself.

Masculinist Narratives find expression in a wilderness absent of people because being alone in that quintessential representation of remote space is associated with authoritative definitions of self sufficiency.

Design and Delivery Considerations

Two examples are provided that highlight the relationship between masculinist place identity narratives and the influence these have on the way guides design and deliver their tourism activities. The first example looks at the manner in which guides mediate narratives of self-sufficiency and individualism and provide visitor access to wilderness experiences that facilitate the expression of these narratives. The second example relates to masculinist place identity narratives and how they influence guide's approach to their tourism businesses and the experiences they offer to visitors.

Not Really Alone in the Wilderness

Wilderness and cultural tourism guides play a mediation role between people and the places they visit. Not only do they mediate different kinds of knowledge and information in order to enhance the visitor experience, through their role as mediators, guides also facilitate visitor access to place identity processes.

In his work on wilderness values, Cronon (1996) found that guides help to domesticate the sublime and tame the wilderness: "One went to the wilderness" he claims, "not as a producer but as a consumer, hiring guides and other backcountry residents who could serve as romantic surrogates for the rough riders and hunters of the frontier" (p. 15). Today's visitors to the Yukon call upon guides for purposes not dissimilar from those identified by Cronon. Yukon interpreter guides facilitate access to activities that enable visitors to have contact with masculinist place identity narratives. Through this mediation, visitors are led to experiences that provide them with the means to explore self-sufficiency.

Remote, wilderness areas are foreign territory for many people. As John explains, "people are definitely out of their comfort level and they're in an area where it's remote … and they are being pushed to their physical and emotional limits." As a result, a guide can provide the necessary reassurance that enables people to be in a remote area, thereby mediating access to Masculinist Narratives. Another guide, Ted, elaborates on how guides are called to this task:

> Let's say one of our fly-in rivers. Well, first you fly for an hour by float plane, and then, you know, you drop down to the lake and there's absolutely nothing. A lot of people are intimidated by that, even if they've had some experience before. But then the important part is the guide, or whoever is leading the trip, is to make them feel comfortable being in that place at that time, knowing that … it's ok and, you know it's remote and there's nobody here, and there's no easy way out to a road but, but it's natural … with the precautions you can be fine … that's probably a big part of it, is how well the guides can kind of get that across and it's … a safe thing to do …

Mitigating risk, even perceived risk, is part of this mediation role. However, Pat illustrates how real risk is not necessary:

> It's perceived risk versus actual, right? And if you can give people perceived risk, they just love it. And if you can always stay away from actual risk, all the better … And guiding is great for that because you can give people a whole bunch of safe parameters – like they know they are going to have dinner and they know if they get really cold, you're going to notice before they do.

The two examples above illustrate how guides provide the means for visitors to safely negotiate risk. They balance visitor wellbeing with acceptable risk, and provide visitor access to masculinist place identity narratives, self-sufficiency and freedom. In addition to mediating access to Masculinist Narrative, the provision of comfort and safety validates and confirms the space as remote.

It is worth noting that visitors who seek unmediated wilderness tourism experiences, or what are referred to as "self-guided" wilderness trips, may be seeking direct access to Masculinist Narratives. These visitors may wish to satisfy masculinist place identity features in an unmediated manner.

While it was not the goal of this study to interview tourists who were participating in self guided trips, anecdotal information provided by guides during the course of field work activities pointed to the possibility that there are visitor cohorts – for instance, German visitors – who get off the plane in the Yukon with notions of having arrived to an intact frontier. Armed with their Swiss Army knives and their full beards, they wander

off into the depths of the wilderness often by canoe with little skill or knowledge about the environment (or the canoe for that matter).[26]

However, German travellers are not the only ones coming to the Yukon with these kinds of presumptions. During participant observation, one guide, Ted, described in detail an encounter with such a group of river travellers. While leading a guided trip he came across two young men from southern Canada on a self guided trip that had not eaten in days. Their rifle in hand, they had thought to live off the meat they would hunt. The guide provided them with some food and directed them back to "civilization." He further explained that the young men did not have a hunting license, and did not seem to know that one was required to hunt in the territory. In this lawless frontier it seemed unquestionably reasonable for them to assume that you could grab a rifle and then shoot anything, anytime and anywhere you want.

Such accounts bear resemblance to the story portrayed in the book *Into the Wild* written by Jon Krakauer (1997) and released as a motion picture in 2007 (Penn et al., 2007). Recounted from diaries and other biographical research, Krakauer tells the story of Christopher McCandless, a young man who, upon finishing university, gave away all his savings, left his comfortable middle-class home and future, and hitchhiked to Alaska where he planned on living off the land and realizing his true and authentic self. He was found dead less than a year after walking off into the Alaskan wilderness. It is believed he died of starvation.

McCandless has since been commonly referred to as the young man who was either "a heroic adventurer or a naive idealist; a rebellious 1990s Thoreau or another lost American." The book and movie shed light on what motivates some people in their desire to express aspects of their place identity through Masculinist Narratives. McCandless' story, like the many accounts of self-guided wilderness travellers that circulate the territory, illustrates how remote wilderness serves as the setting that can accommodate a very specific quest; a quest that is intrinsically linked to Masculinist Narratives.

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[26] Jo Bentfeld, a German national who has spent considerable time living in the Yukon, is often cited as being partly responsible for creating modern myths about the Yukon, and luring unsuspecting "Daniel Boone hopefuls" to the territory. His most commonly cited work is *Zu Hause in der Yukon Wildnis: ein Erlebnisbericht uber meine Jahre im Busch* (or *At home in the Yukon wilderness: an account of my year in the bush*) (1991). It is worth noting that none of his adventure books appear to have been translated into English.

Notwithstanding how the desire to perceive oneself as self sufficient and free can be linked to masculinist place identity narratives, place identities are complex and multi-dimensional. In as much as McCandless' quest to Alaska can be framed through Masculinist Narratives, his was also a mission motivated by a desire to purge himself of consumerist and materialist influences. He sought to purify himself through engagement with that most untouched by humans: the wilderness found on America's last frontier. His quest reminds us that even the most rigorously pursued Masculinist Narratives can coexist, or are interchangeable with, narratives that bring us closer to an authentic self, Truth, and/or God, narratives that have been identified as Narratives of the New Sublime in this study.

Lifestyle and Leisure

A common theme that emerged during participant observation and through the interviews is that many Yukon guides are also business owners. These operator/guides decrease the separation commonly made between day-to-day life and work. Because Yukon guide's leisure activities are often similar to those they carry out for financial gain, an association can be made with Haggard and Williams (1992) claims on the importance of leisure in the self-affirmation process.

More importantly perhaps, it also suggests that Yukon guides bear some resemblance to Ateljevic and Doorne's (2000) "lifestyle entrepreneurs." The latter characterize lifestyle entrepreneurs as individualistic, courageous and risk taking; characteristics that are central to masculinist place identity narratives.

In fact, 10 of the 14 guides interviewed for this study were business owners. All of these guide/owners emphasized the importance of being able to integrate their day-to-day lives into their work lives. Jack explains this relationship in the following way:

> And when I came to the Yukon, what really impressed me is that here you could have both: you could live in a place, and work in a place, and play in a place, and not have to be divided. So it kind of was really an integrated way, kind of approach, for me that felt really good about life. … And for us this is clearly a lifestyle. It's not something that we make a lot of money at … So, the business that we do revolves around our lifestyle.

Tourism activities that are created in part by the motivation to decrease the line that separates work from life may hold a particular appeal to specific tourism market segments. Krippendorf (1987) for instance identifies the "New unity of everyday life" market segment, and defined as travellers who seek to reduce the polarity between work and leisure (see also Ritchie, 2003).

Prioritizing quality of life over financial growth appears to be a value for all of the long-term resident guides interviewed for this study, all but two of whom were also owners of their tourism businesses. Prioritizing lifestyle motivations seems to be as true of guides who are business owners, as it is for guides who are employed by tour companies or other organizations. Lifestyle motivations help define the social capital value of tourism related activities, and may be linked to the intrinsic worth of life-long learning and the personal reward guides gain from the delivery of their tourism activities. As Jack states, "There's gotta be intrinsic rewards for me."

Scale of operation can be an essential business decision for lifestyle entrepreneurs looking to decrease the divide between work and leisure, and who are motivated to increase personal value (including social capital) alongside economic rewards. Ateljevic and Doorne (2000) link the conscious effort to limit business size to a strategy that aims to provide quality over quantity. Jack describes how he and his partner have addressed group size in order to create a particular kind of experience:

> What we've consciously decided in our business, is not to do large, large groups. We're really trying to promote a more personal kind of experience.

The authors also claim that lifestyle considerations can outweigh the goal of financial growth. To illustrate this point, and in response to how she would hypothetically provide service to a large group of visitors, Sally exclaims:

> Oh, that would never happen! … No, no, no, they wouldn't be invited! I'm not placing my value in the money part of it! … Because I like to have one-on-one with each person and also to be able to control a group.

Ateljevic and Doorne (2000) relate Sally's preoccupations to lifestyle entrepreneurs' desire to balance business decisions in a way that reflects the needs of family, income and a way-of-life.

Lifestyle driven tourism operations fulfill a number of value-based motivations for Yukon guides. However, these businesses also influence the quality and type of tourism experience provided in ways that can be advantageous to a tourism destination. On this subject, Sally explains the impact her tourism activity has on visitors:

> So, people feel like they get a really authentic experience – that's a word that I hear a lot – it's very authentic … I mean if they've … read like Jack London or seen any of those northern movies they might get an essence of that at our place, because it is rustic. It's got a big dog greeting them and kids running around … I think because my family's involved too they really see this is how we live our life. It's not, we're not putting on period costumes, we're not putting on anything; no front. What you see is what you get … So, it's a really, like I feel like I'm a part of it. I don't feel separate from it.

Ateljevic and Doorne (2000) identify additional characteristics such as "insightful" and "alert" with lifestyle entrepreneurs, which, when combined with a propensity to resist "homogenized identities," denotes an affiliation to Narratives of the New Sublime.

Homogenized identities are associated with people who are alienated, who do not have close relationships with the natural environment, and who place a greater emphasis on material wealth (as opposed to personal value and social capital) (p. 386). Such overlap reminds us that place identity Narratives are rarely exclusive, and guides, like people generally, can experience simultaneous affiliation to more than one place identity narrative.

In Awe: Guides and Narratives of the New Sublime

This is probably the most amazing thing you'll ever see in your whole life…
Awe. That's it. Constant. Steady. Every single day.

- Jim

The Romantic Movement facilitated increased estimation for feeling, imagination and sensibility, and helped establish the sublime as a major aesthetic category. Today, environmental historians, ethicists and others consider the values associated with the sublime for their influence on contemporary understandings of human-wilderness relationships (Bell & Lyall, 2001; Cronon, 1995, 1996; Jasen, 1995). These understandings stem from a consideration of wilderness viewed in light of increased urbanization, and defines the sublime in relation to the contrast that exists today between urban space and wilderness space. It is in this framework that wilderness and cultural tourism guides place identity expressions are associated with Narratives of the New Sublime. These expressions include awe, connectedness, belonging, a sense of safety, and an association with an original and authentic self.

A number of guides expressed a sense of awe regarding the Yukon wilderness. Ken equated this sense of awe with spiritual fulfillment. Explaining his response to being on the Top of the World Highway (northeast of Dawson City, travelling towards the Alaska border), he tells how he exclaimed: "How can you stand up here and not believe in God?" Another guide, Jim, explains his response to being in the wilderness in this manner:

> "Awe" I guess is a pretty good word. Because it's the thing I still feel. Whenever I go out to the bush I still feel the same thing. It's always new to me…

For Jim, the wilderness provides a source of inspiration that leads to constant renewal, and offers a supply of never-ending novelty.

It is relevant that in her study of textual practices that undo the nature/culture dichotomy, Fullager (2000) explored the possibility that awe threatens to undo the "dominant fantasy of human identity as pure culture, separate from the realm of nature"

(p. 58). She claims that awe plays a role in contesting the Hegelian desire for mastery of nature; the very desire for mastery that is at the heart of many western conceptualizations of nature/wilderness.

Such textual practices help explain how, through the experience of awe, people are drawn to feelings of connectedness with nature and wilderness. Sally expresses this connectedness in this manner:

> I guess that's a theme; that we choose where we want to be and where we want to live based on our values often – if we have the luxury to do that … And I think that we share a lot of the same values as people of all walks of life living in the Yukon … Feeling connected to something bigger than ourselves. And that, for me, is the land.

A sense of connectedness also extends to the social realm, and influences feelings of belonging and community. Sally elaborates:

> People take care of each other. Something happens when stuff goes wrong in our community, everybody pitches in whether you know the person or not. People just pitch in and help and give. There's something so beautiful, like, it's just so big, it's just so beautiful; you can't even describe that feeling.

For guides, Narratives of the New Sublime combine scale of wilderness and the absence of "clutter," and provoke self actualization processes; processes that are perceived as unavailable in "civilized" areas. Paul describes how,

> … because of the scale of the wilderness here. There is an intensity about it that can lead one to really get to know oneself. That can … be a very life-enhancing process. It can really bring people to their highest level of who they are, and it can also be challenging as well … but you really get to see who you are in this place. More than in other places where, you know, we have so much stimulation coming at us through technology and media – civilization – that sometimes we don't have the space to discover who we are and what we could be doing with our life.

The distance from busy urban settings, the proximity to nature, the absence of technology and the scale and vastness of wilderness space, all provide opportunities to access an original and authentic self.

Through narrative themes such as awe, connectedness, and self-awareness, guides establish place identity expressions that invoke relationships to the sublime. These expressions are especially interesting for how they are understood by scholars studying the effects of increased and expanding urbanization on the human psyche (Cronon, 1995, 1996; Morse, 2003; Stark, 2002). As Jasen (1995) explains, the present-day idealization of wild spaces is imbued with a positive understanding of "uncivilized," which is based on the reworking of "old images and ideas to serve new purpose" (p. 13). For some guides, this reworking of wilderness gives it meaning as a space that offers spiritual fruits, and provides a much sought after sense of safety and belonging.

Design and Delivery Considerations

Two examples are provided that highlight the relationship between place identity as it is expressed through Narratives of the New Sublime, and the influence these have on how guides design and deliver their tourism activities. The first example highlights a relationship to Romantic views of wilderness, and outlines the idea of "retreats" and "journeys" in the narrative manifestation of the tourism experience. The second example incorporates the concept of profound experiences.

Romantic Escapes, Retreats and Journeys

Many of the definitional attributes of remote signify an escape from clutter and industrial development, and prompt Romantic views of wilderness. For Narratives of the New Sublime, distance from clutter and industrial development (or "civilization"), is used to facilitate the idea of a romantic escape, a "retreat" or "journey" type of experience. Susan highlights how her retreat type trips are designed, "… so that people have some down time," and "a more creative or spiritual focus." She further explains that,

> … they are set up because of my own feeling of the sacredness of the place and the potential for people to reach a deeper place in themselves by being there, because of its beauty, because of its remoteness, because of its, you know it's a really retreat feeling when you're in these places.

Retreat type journeys are opportunities for people to distance themselves from their normal lives, and with this distance, to see themselves differently. As Susan describes, distance:

> … increases [their] sense of the journey. They're heading off down the river or onto a route, if it's a hiking trip. Or even if it's going into a base camp or a cabin … if it's still flying in, once the plane flies out, you still get that sense of journey.

In this sense, distance from "civilization" supports the notion of journeys and escapes.

This kind of distance resonates with Solnit's (2002) ideas on the existential necessity for being able to get "lost." Solnit describes the space made possible through the absence of familiarity:

> There's an art of attending to weather, to the route you take, to the landmarks along the way, to how if you turn around you can see how different the journey back looks from the journey out, to reading the sun and moon and stars to orient yourself, to the direction of running water, to the thousand things that make the wild a text that can be read by the literate. (p. 10)

Paul comments on this dimension and considers the journey for how it can increase visitor literacy and their ability to "read the wild text." He underlines how visitors attune themselves to the kind of knowledge and information that is the basis for decision-making on a trip, and explains how,

> There can be some resentment there initially until they see how you actually make it work, because it's so different from their life which is usually in a village or a city where everything is predetermined and pre-planned, and very calculated and controlled – to something that's much more organic … That [resentment] fades away, but there can be some initial resentment because there's a feeling … initially it's like: 'Wow, this guy has got all the power and control, and they're not letting me know what's going to happen.'

As part of what defines a Romantic escape, a retreat or a journey, distance and remote are culminating attributes that provide an unfamiliar context, and allow guides to be implicated in trust building processes: trust between visitor and guide, as well as a visitor's trust relationship with self (that can result, for instance, in increased self-

confidence). The absence of infrastructure is a critical feature of this kind of unfamiliarity.

For example, technological advances such as satellite phones have made it possible to increase the infrastructure deemed required on wilderness tourism trips. Susan explains: "I always carry one. Because in this day and age when you're taking clients out, satellite phones have become the norm." She further describes how she mediates this technology in light of providing the "remote experience":

> You know, I feel like we tell people these phones are only to be used … for the guides to use and for emergencies, so we don't allow people to … use them, to be calling out at home. They have a contact number at the office … if their families need to get hold of them, they could, and we would get a message. But it might not be immediate, it might take, it would just depend when they next phoned it. So, as far as a take on it, I mean, a "true journey" and adventure wouldn't have, I shouldn't say the "true", but the more … What's the word?

In their role as mediators, guides reconcile wilderness, for instance, with the intrusion of infrastructure in such a way as to ensure a "true" wilderness setting is not infringed upon.

"True journeys," like "true wilderness" is a problematic concept. Susan was one of many guides who expressed discomfort with the use of superlatives such as "true" for concepts that are always relative. Ted, John, Jack, Jim and Liz were among those who were equally challenged. Nonetheless, Susan articulates an intention to shield visitors from a means to connect with the outside world while on one of her guided trips:

> So if I'm using the phone … I wouldn't talk, ever, in front of anyone else. I would go away so that it's not, so they're not feeling that contact with the outside world … I wouldn't sit in front of them, talking on the phone. That would take away from the experience; maybe not for them, but for me.

In designing a trip where access to technology remains a hidden security feature, Susan creates an illusion that promotes – and protects – the ideal of "true" wilderness. Admittedly, the illusion may be as much or more for her sense of the journey, as it is one that benefits visitors.

Here, as with Masculinist Narratives, guides are mediators. In relation to Narrative of the New Sublime, guides mediate the journey, which is in part defined by their capacity to secure the unfamiliar. They are the architects of experiences that provide new ways for visitors to understand and know themselves, foster new forms of literacy, and increase the ways visitors relate to their surroundings.

Profound Experiences

Interviews and participant observation data revealed that having a "profound experience" is linked to place identity narratives of the New Sublime. These experiences were found to influence the kind of tourism experiences guides create in terms of activity duration.

Duration relates to length of activity, for instance, a single day (e.g., one-day raft trip) or a multi day activity (e.g., two week guided canoe trip). Most multi-day trip guides have guided day trips and found the experience to be shallow and unfulfilling. Multi-day trips provoked more guide enthusiasm for place related issues than did single-day trips. Ted explained the difference this way:

> When people are only coming for a day, most of the time, especially if it's a new activity, if they have never been rafting or dog-sledding, it's such a new thing they really are just focusing on the activity. They are not getting a chance to kind of look at the environment they are in … The activity is way more important than the place, or just getting a feel of the area they are travelling through. And it shows. On a day trip the people don't really ask much questions, about the type of animals or birds or anything like that. They're really just focused on the activity. And a lot of times, it's almost a bit like, they might not have wanted to go dog-sledding that bad, but they'll do it because it's only a two or three hour thing. So it's, you know they can say "I've been dog-sledding," but they didn't learn anything about the dogs or the place or training or anything like that.

Furthermore, short trips do not provide opportunities for the guides to get to know their clients. Ted describes how, with day trips "you really don't get to know the people as well as I like and to kind of get as much over to them as possible."

Many Yukon long-term resident guides expressed sentiments similar to those

expressed by Ted. Their views reflect a preference for multi-day activities, and an assessment of single-day activities for being less intimate, and unable to provide them with opportunities to incorporate educational mandates. As an example of this preference, when encouraged to elaborate on the role of the guide on a single day excursion, Jim proclaimed:

> That's a babysitter; that's not a guide. That's not sharing experience of things; that's spending some time there and making some money.

Another guide, John, assigned similar shortcomings to single-day trips:

> I do very little single-day guiding. Occasionally, I find myself on a walk with people. I don't find there's much time there to develop a relationship with people whereby you can inform them significantly. You can certainly inform them superficially. You know all the simpler observations.

In contrast, guides were generally much more positive about multi-day activities, as is exemplified by comments made by Ted and John:

> Multi-day you actually have way more opportunity to get to know the people on a more personal level. You get way more opportunity to do some teaching or instruction, educational aspects of it, and I find even with people, on a day trip, they don't really get to kind of feel like they're somewhere else, they're on the trip. It's still so short. It's just, we did this for a few hours and we're back. Whereas a multi-day trip, I find it even takes people 3 days, or 4 days before they actually start getting just into the trip and they forget all the other kind of exterior influences that they left behind and then they can start really concentrating about where they are and get the most out of the trip. I just found that day trips were fairly impersonal. You get to the point you don't even bother to learn their names. You know, you've got 2 or 3 hours and they're gone. And day trips you know, generally, it's larger numbers too … You don't bother trying to take it to the next level with people. You just get them down the river, and that's it. (Ted)

> But the multi-day trips are much more conducive to building a picture of a system, a sub-arctic system, a boreal forest eco-system. With the time involved and the distance you are travelling, there are so many better opportunities to inform people. So, that delivery of that level of understanding is what I enjoy most. (John)

Participant observation activities resulted in assessments that confirmed guide evaluations on the qualitative differences between single-day and multi-day trips. These include differences that contrast space with place, as well as superficial and profound experiences. In practice this translates into, for instance, guide motivation to "just get down the river;" in opposition to creating a "journey" and showcasing the beauty and characteristics of the river. Participant observation of a one day trip excursion down a river provides one example of these differences.

Asked about the flora along a river which we were travelling down at a good speed, the guide, young and seasonally employed, responded without hesitation "I don't know anything about that; I just know how to get down the river" (One-day river trip). His response may not be characteristic of all seasonal guides, however, it does prompt questions relating to differences between not only length of activity, but type of guide (long-term resident versus seasonal). Moreover, it prompts questions also regarding type of activity (adventure versus educational).

The relationship between the length of time a guide has spent in the Yukon and the manner in which resident-based place experience can influence a guide's "place stories," may have a bearing on the kind of tourism experience provided. There is evidence that length of time living in the Territory facilitates richer narratives about the Yukon. As Molly explains:

> I think having, a lot of our guides are local here and I think that really… we have a personal relationship to the stories that we're telling. For me it's my history that I'm sharing with people, so I'm interested in it and passionate about it, and I think that really comes across to the visitors as well. If you're really interested in something, they can't help but be a little bit interested even if they didn't think they were.

It is worth noting that visitors are complicit in validating the relationship between length of time and narrative credibility. Molly further explains how visitors pursue a different line of questioning when they find out she has lived in the territory year-round most of her life:

> … as soon as people know what my background is, I think it helps them have a more personal connection with me and feel more comfortable interacting and asking questions … I feel it gives me a lot more credibility. People are much more willing to believe what I'm saying when they know that I have that background … And I think it helps people relate to the place that they're in … People often don't know that Dawson is still a viable town and that it would exist without all of the tourism and the historic sites and that kind of thing. So when they meet someone who's lived here and lives here because they like it here, not just from somewhere else to do a job for the summer, I think it helps them relate to Dawson as more of a real place than they otherwise might … I get a lot of personal questions. Not in a bad way, but just about what it was like to grow up here … "what do you do in the winter?" and "how many people live here?" and that kind of thing. Whereas before that kind of information comes out the questions are much more focused on Dawson's history.

Storied accounts of place stemming from personal experience and delivered through anecdotal interaction differ significantly from scripted interpretive programs. In this way, guides who have lived for longer periods of time in the Yukon may deliver richer tourism activities than more recently arrived or seasonal Yukon guides. In other words, length of time may be a factor leading to some guides having more enhanced storytelling abilities because their place relationships are embedded in their stories and anecdotes. Guide place stories are significantly impacted by *how* guides live in the Yukon. In this sense, lifestyle considerations provide key insights that advance our understanding of how guides' place identity interacts with the design and delivery of their tourism activities.

Place identity narratives of spiritual fulfillment and belonging stand in stark contrast to other narratives that reflect place transformation, change and other place related processes that result in displacement and dispossession.

Narratives of Loss: Displacement, Disruptions and Disappearances

Guides' place identity narratives that revolve around loss reveal relationships to disappearing landscapes, or landscapes that are perceived to be, endangered or already destroyed, as well as cultural traditions that are vanishing, or already gone. Some of these losses can be beneficial for tourism, while others have a more complex relationship to it.

Guides' awareness of disappearing landscape features help confirm place uniqueness. Ted, for example, expressed his appreciation for the unique remote experience that can (still) be offered in the Yukon:

> You probably feel, you know, a really remote area, you probably feel a little bit luckier to be travelling through that area. So, I always feel, yeah, you sometimes get more out of being in a real remote area, just because you know that it really is the way it always has been. And it hasn't been affected by people yet.

Similarly, Susan used Narratives of Loss to highlight what the Yukon has to offer in relation to what is perceived to no longer exist elsewhere:

> I've seen how little wilderness there is in parts of the world, and how much, and what we have here. So, whereas before, I just felt this incredible freedom … the whole Yukon, it was vast, it was wild … I just felt the freedom of it, and the excitement of being alive in it. Whereas now, I feel more that heavier feeling about what we have and how it can be changed if we're not careful … seeing what's happened around the world and seeing what's slowly happening here.

Through narratives that express loss, guides are allied with "Doom Tourism." Doom Tourism seeks to promote and market places through how they are threatened due to the effects of globalization, industrial and other development, or climate change, for instance.

Guides' Narratives of Loss make reference to yearned for cultural landscapes associated with wilderness and remote space. Interview analysis suggests that many guides hold idealized and romanticized views of wilderness and the human landscapes linked to it. These views also coincide with commonly-held Western perceptions of wilderness, and incorporate early nation building readings of that space, including the idea that wilderness is a space absent of humans. Tim explicitly framed his ideas of a people-less wilderness alongside nostalgia for what used to exist:

> … because I don't like to see people all the time. You know you used to be able to ride down those rivers and not see any one …

The increase in human activity in remote wilderness areas alongside ever expanding processes that regulate this activity, incite expressions in the form of Narratives of Loss for a way of life. As Jack describes:

> That was the way. There were no locks on doors. You know, you used people's wood, you replaced the wood … people when they travelled would try to leave something … as an appreciation. You leave it a little better then when you found it. And that's why it was OK to go and stay in somebody's place, because people that live out there, know the importance of having a shelter and how much comfort means: to be able to get out of the cold or the wind or the rain. And so you'd always make it a little bit better. And so when that person came back you could see that somebody was there, because they had cut wood, or they'd fixed this or they had done that …

These Narratives of Loss reveal how guides express place changes due to transformation, and the disappearance of "northern ways."

Despite attachment to perceptions of wilderness as a place absent of human beings, for some guides, the idea – and practice – of being alone in the wilderness is more complex. For some guides, wilderness is a much lived-in space, and reflects a particular awareness and knowledge of human presence, not absence. Jim for instance expresses this awareness with reference to his knowledge of how First Nations traditionally used one of the wilderness areas he travels through:

> Like that trail we were using is a really old trail. People used it all the time, years ago. But not anymore because it's a park. But I know that and so I would tell people: "OK, people are coming in here. This time of year. People coming in here and this is what they were looking for. This is what they were doing. Things like that. The cultural background of the land … the moose are going to be kind of here, and this is why people are here now, because this is happening or because the sheep, you know, this sort of thing. Putting all the time and place and players together.

For Jim, Narratives of Loss are used to mark the absence of a specific group of people who undertook particular activities in the wilderness. He demonstrates how Narratives of Loss can refer also to losses that relate to definitions of wilderness that include the presence of people.

It is significant that some, older, or long-time resident guides are cognizant of these issues and find ways to creatively and respectfully point out First Nations historical and present-day challenges and successes with regard to the use of wilderness. Molly, a heritage guide, specifically addresses the need to acknowledge First Nations' place relationships, with a keen awareness for how this has to be done in ways that do not appropriate First Nations' cultural history:

> It's a difficult line I find … but I feel like it's important for us to acknowledge that history and talk about it a little bit. So what I do, especially on my town walking tour which is the overall overview of Dawson's history, I talk about the First Nations history at the beginning and their use of the region. And at that point I'm standing beside the Cultural Centre. So I give people a little bit of information and then I encourage them to learn more by going to the Cultural Centre ... And then I bring it up again just briefly at a couple of other stops as well. It's such an integral part of the history here that it's really false to just say we're [name of business/organization] and we're not going to talk about that because it's not our job … I kind of look at it as enough to acknowledge the history and its importance and also make people a little bit curious because they hear about the gold rush everywhere they go, and they don't necessarily hear about the tens of thousands of years of history that are behind that.

With these comments, Molly also alludes to the fact that Yukon First Nations history generally has been obscured by the gold rush.

The view that First Nations people experienced the gold rush differently from non-First Nations has been documented by scholars interested in the Yukon (see for instance, Cruickshank, 1992; Coates and Morrison, 2005). These accounts provide substantive challenge to romantic and – through their affiliation with colonization processes – politically motivated accounts of that much publicized period in Yukon history. Bob, a First Nations guide explains the ironic twist implicated in how First Nations people have been subjected to by past Yukon tourism campaigns which focussed almost exclusively on the gold rush as an event worthy of nostalgia and promotion:

> … at one time in the Yukon we were just concerned about only the gold rush. That was the thing that always used to bug me too, is for years the worse thing that ever happened to the First Nations was the gold rush!

Fortunately, the task of enhancing Yukon's history to include First Nations accounts is increasingly being led by First Nations people themselves.

Narratives of Loss provide place identity insight that can be further explored in light of Cohen's representation matrix, or Table 6, presented in Chapter Five. Based on participant observation and interview activities, there appears to be support for opportunities that facilitate First Nations self representation and, through this, to present First Nations place identity relationships to visitors.

Tourism promotional and marketing materials are not easily able to accommodate Narratives of Loss, nor can they really express political and cultural struggles – especially contemporary ones. However, data analysed for this study suggests that Narratives of Loss reflect the complex nature of guide place identity expressions, perhaps especially for those guides who have lived in the Yukon for a long time and are aware of the territory's place issues.

Design and Delivery Considerations

Narratives of Loss are configured into the design and delivery of guide tourism activities in ways that showcase the complex relationships between guides and the places that are important to them, and that they take visitors to. Loss of culture – First Nations, frontier, and northern – and loss of "real" wilderness (pristine, untouched), are featured expressions of place identities for many guides. Guides design and deliver some of their tourism activities in light of these narratives feature prominently in both cultural and wilderness tourism, especially when heritage components were introduced. Two examples are presented: 1) First Nations and, 2) climate change and the impacts this is having on the Yukon landscape.

Some of the cultural and other losses that have occurred to First Nations have been recovered for tourism purposes through First Nations cultural centres and First Nations created and controlled tourism experiences. Collective expressions of First Nations place identity are used to illustrate people's traditional relationships to the land, and increasingly, find expression in the newly inspired connections that are a consequence of Land Claim Settlements and Self Government. As a result, guided tourism activities by

First Nations people were observed to combine Narratives of Loss alongside narratives of cultural and political empowerment.

For instance, during participant observation activities, two First Nations guides explained their ancestry and history in light of a long-standing relationship to the Yukon River. Rudimentary in nature, the tourism experience was not nearly as "slick" as other, similar tourism experiences; the story was uneven and a tattered photo album was used to complement a scripted interpretive program that was provided by guides who appeared to be shy, inexperienced, and sometimes reluctant to share their tale with a bunch of strangers. Nonetheless, they created a uniquely intimate experience, and, at the same time, were able to meaningfully illustrate alternative perspectives on an event mostly cast in heroic and epic proportions, and usually framed by the gold rush as a time worthy of nostalgia (Interpreted Walk I).

It is important to note that non-First Nations guides may be able to positively contribute to these processes. It was observed that another heritage guide incorporated multiple views on gold rush history. Such multiple perspectives reflect her relationship to place with recognition for the multiple interpretations available, including those propagated by First Nations in their attempt to reclaim their place in Yukon history (Heritage Program I).

In the above examples, Narratives of Loss are used to build awareness of First Nations history, educate visitors on local issues that have and continue to impact their well-being, and impart information about positive visitor behaviour (e.g., behaviour that contributes positively to the local area and to First Nations well-being).

Climate change is another example of how change and transformation are expressed through Narratives of Loss and integrated into tourism activities. Narratives of Loss include changes that result from loss of landscapes and loss of ways of being with the land that are a result of climate change. During participant observation, it was found that guides presented cultural changes or landscape losses that were due to the advancing pine beetle infestation, river bank erosion and rising water levels (Interpreted Hike I), to warming weather generally (Sport Tourism, Northern Lifestyle). Addressing how warming weather is producing landscape and way of life losses is reflected in his tourism

activity, Jack describes how he likes to talk about "how global warming is influencing what we do, our trails, where we can go, where we can't go."

Narrative Reinforcements, Guides, and the Design and Delivery of Tourism Activities

Narrative reinforcements such as climate, space and time are used to further substantiate the role of remoteness in the place identities available through the Yukon tourism experience. The way that guides use narrative reinforcements provides insight into how they design and deliver their tourism activities in consideration for their place identities.

Climate

Despite changes brought about by climate, which have a particular relationship to Narratives of Loss, perceptions of the Yukon as being immersed in an extreme cold climate still prevail. Jack explains:

> And when talking about the cold, the physical aspects of the cold, but also the psychological aspects, most people, if you say "Yukon" and you say "Alaska," their first word association is "cold" … what makes one place different, physically, different, in thought, or how we look at the land, how we look at ourselves on the land, we're still, I think, largely defined by our northern identity: Winter.

As a result, the visitor experience Jack provides seeks to incorporate an understanding for the physical effects of cold. He uses a skit about life in the Yukon winter to get his point across to visitors:

> It's not just verbally describe the cold …when people hear my teeth chattering, most people can kind of identify with that at a pretty visceral level.

Jack's relationship to climate further establishes an association between climate, how northerners see themselves, and place uniqueness.

> If they want to see what makes one place different, physically, different, in thought, or how we look at the land, how we look at ourselves on the land, we're still, I think, largely defined by our northern identity, winter. I think that still has a profound effect on how we conceive of ourselves.

Yukon place identities and their relationships to climate specifically were addressed by eight of the fourteen guides interviewed: John, Jack, Liz, Jim, Gordon, Ken, Paul and Molly. Climate was also a key theme that surfaced during several of the activities observed as part of this study.

For instance, when asked by his busload of visitors if he had experienced a Yukon winter, Ken, a seasonal guide answered "I've been here as long as the third week of November" (Interpreted Bus Tour I). His attempt at squeezing in a bit of winter, demonstrates the impact climate has on the credibility of guides through their experience of a remote place in climatically challenging seasons. A whole line of questioning became moot once it became obvious this guide had limited experience in the territory. In contrast, two local guides on another interpreted bus tour circulated a homemade photo album containing the story of their day-to-day life in the Yukon winter: inside were photographs of cabins in the woods, landscapes of snow, dog teams, and other quintessential Yukon winter themes. It proved an effective way to impress visitors and solicited a curiosity which led to the telling of tales about life in the cold, dark, isolated north. "You need to like the snow to live up here" was one remark made by a guide in response to a question from a tour-goer on whether or not the guide enjoyed winter life in the Yukon (Interpreted Bus Tour II).

The relationship between length of residency and place identity may hold a particular force in this study because it is a frequently held belief that it is difficult to live in the north. As Gordon explains,

> Some people that live in the Yukon, shouldn't necessarily be in the Yukon – you know what I mean? It's like that whole isolation, that whole darkness, winter, all that sort of stuff right.

As is evident above, the perception that it is difficult to live in the Yukon is due to the climate and the lack of daylight in the winter, both of which garner particular strength when combined with common views held about the lack of available amenities.

The relationship between length of time in the territory and validation for being able to successfully live there – which include enjoying it – invoke longstanding and frontier driven categorizations of Yukoners as "Sourdough" (old timer) or "Cheechako" (newcomer) (see Chapter Four). Paul expresses these relationships in this manner:

> It's an environment that is on the edge … the weather and forces here are really dramatic, so it has a very powerful energy to it. It can be a really, really positive place as a result of that extreme environment. And it can also have the flip side of that as well. It can be a very challenging and sometimes negative environment for people. They can sometimes feel overwhelmed by it due to the power and I would say it is a place of great power.

Perceptions of a cold climate contribute to lore about the challenging nature of life in the north, and reinforce Knez's (2005) position on the significance of climate for place identity. These relationships also refer to the link that exists between difficult-to-be or live-in-places, and the increased attachment people can feel for them because of these difficulties (Steel, 2000).

Climate especially can function to enhance Masculinist Narratives because northern narratives have used the cold, specifically, to reinforce identity characteristics such as self sufficiency and hardiness (for instance).

Space

Like climate, accentuating distance and referencing vast space, is also a factor that reinforces the role of remoteness in Yukon place identities. Vast space allows for the possibility of getting lost, including getting lost in the Solnit (2002) sense of losing oneself to find one's soul, first introduced in Chapter Five. Jim describes his valuation for being able to get lost in a story about a wilderness excursion he had while on a trip to Switzerland:

> So we're off in the bush – as much as Switzerland can offer the bush – and I asked [name] … "what do you do if you get lost in Switzerland?" And he sat and looked at me real straightforward, and said: "You can't get lost in Switzerland! You walk 10 minutes in any direction and there's gonna be somebody there." And it's exactly right. Now, you can get lost in the Yukon. Really easy.

Vast space is a main source for opportunities to "get lost." Opportunities to get lost in the Yukon can be understood as a rare commodity and a place feature that can influence ideas about self and identity. On the one hand, a person can become physically lost in the remote wilderness and through one's own resources find one's way out of the wilderness (e.g., through one's navigation abilities, wilderness skills, etc.). This first sense of lost invokes Masculinist Narratives. On the other hand, he/she can also become lost in the figurative sense, the spiritual sense, and be reborn and become a stronger more enlightened self – a lost that is necessary in order to be able to "find" oneself. In this sense, notions of lost in the remote wilderness reinforce Narratives of the New Sublime.

Space is a narrative reinforcement that is linked intrinsically to remoteness, and is a central theme in Yukon place identity narratives. Space is defined through references to distance, to lack of infrastructure, and the absence of human beings, among other things. Geographical distance is used to underline and confirm remoteness. Remoteness is further confirmed when, because of distance and lack of usual infrastructure, conventions are challenged. For instance, having just passed a road sign letting us know the next services were 375 kilometres away, one of the guides observed for this study flatly announced: "This road is also an emergency airstrip folks. So I'd like you to be Gary's [bus driver] eyes on the right and left" (Interpreted Bus Tour I). Driving back onto the road from the highway pullout, it was obvious this piece of information was having the desired effect: "How could a road also be a runway?" was the question my fellow bus tour companions seemed to be ruminating. It was the "punch line" – the clincher – which provided assurance that we were indeed in a remote area. We were so remote in fact, that small aircraft could land on the very road we were driving on.

Distance can also be used to illustrate the relative lack of infrastructure and absence of human beings, especially when compared with the world "Outside." As Bob explains,

> … you know I tell the people on the boat, for example, between here and Dawson – four hundred miles with nobody. The odd trapper goes through, the odd little mining operation. But there's no towns. There's nothing as the bird flies. And people pick up on that because there's nowhere Outside for you to go four hundred miles without towns, communities …

Another guide references distance in relation to remote by explaining the location rationale for his tourism activity:

> … There's other places we could be doing the tours. I think when they come down the road, physically the length of the road starts to separate you: "Where the heck are we going?" "How long is this road going to go on for?" "What happens if we have to pass somebody on the road?" … Those kinds of things are starting to kind of separate, or give distance to where we are here, compared to the highway and to Whitehorse. So I think those things are already kind of, that sense of distance is automatically happening with people …

Distance, which defines space, was used in the above examples as a psychographic marker, and can help conjure alternative notions of time.

Time

For many of the guides interviewed for this study, remoteness is a space where time is not equated with clock time. Rather, time is predicated on the often unpredictable nature of a changing environment and the need to take care of self without the usual amenities. All of the long-time Yukon wilderness guides interviewed favoured longer, multi-day trips in part because clock time disappeared as the trip moved further into the wilderness.

As a narrative reinforcement, guide notions of time are particularly evident for how they influence the design and delivery of tourism activities. Tim describes how certain design features enable visitors to experience "alternative" time:

> It's the discovery and finding and so and I think with the smaller based tourism it's possible to give people that personal sense of their discovering things. With larger tourism, I don't think it is. I just think that it's the structure of the operation where you are being led around from place to place and

> everything is timed. I think because you're able to be more *laissez-faire*…then people are able to go through the full course of an experience rather than being sort of allocated little time periods for an experience.

Tim suggests that the idea of a "journey" or of being on retreat, for instance, is made more credible when time is not calculated.

Guides and the Importance of "Outside"

The idea of "Outside" is a significant factor involved in trying to understand guide place identities in the Yukon. Interview and participant observation data underscore how North/South comparisons are an often-used strategy to positively differentiate the Yukon from other places. For instance, Paul and Ted both compared the quality of wildness in the Yukon with what is available "Outside":

> … the Yukon definitely is a place that's really wild. It's in another order of wildness in terms of what they experience in the south. I've even found that folks who do go into the outdoors a lot, who do outdoor activities in southern parks, some of them when they come up to the Yukon are a little bit overwhelmed by the scale and the power of the wildness here, and I think they want to touch that. For some people it's too much. I know people who hike and climb in the Rockies and they've come into Kluane and they like it but they're not, they can't totally settle in. They're not comfortable. And I think it's just that scale (Paul).

> … that's what the wilderness should be is what we have in the Yukon… a natural place … whereas most of them don't experience that any more. Even if they're from somewhere down South where there's lots of parks … national parks really are not, well the ones up here are still fairly wilderness, but they are getting to be artificial, they are not true wilderness like we have up here (Ted).

Susan used the "urban wilderness experience" to provide insight into the relative nature of wilderness experiences:

> You know for them, walking in Stanley Park might be the extent to what they'll do … And a lot of these people may never know any other wilderness besides that …

Perceptions of "Outside," like perceptions of the North, are not fixed. Further evidence of processes that demonstrate the shifting boundaries of remoteness are found in carrying capacity type analyses that critically impact the nature of remote. One way that carrying capacity analyses can be used to assess this state of affairs is in terms of how the presence of people impact upon the experience of "isolation":

> And that is a real key issue, because once you've adjusted your sense of isolation from, let's say, "pure" isolation, so in fact there is nobody, nothing there, to how much can we put there and still call it "isolated," then you've ruined the first isolation.

The above examples demonstrate how Yukon guides use "Outside" to define the quality and type of wilderness experience they feel exists in the Yukon. "Outside" is a place identity reference point that is used to help examine and measure encroaching infrastructure that intrudes upon the Yukon experience of remoteness.

"Outside" is also a concept that can be used to better understand the relationship between guide length of residency in the territory and place identity. A brief consideration for the perceived importance of length of residency helps illuminate some of the issues and their implications.

Tuan (1977) claimed that place knowledge and attachment increased with length of time in place. A common theme that emerged from interviews conducted for this study is that guides often describe their place relationships and practices in light of how much time they have spent in the territory. A number of guides who have been in the Yukon for more than 20 years often inferred that guides from "Outside" – seasonal guides or newly relocated to the Yukon guides – were at a disadvantage in terms of what they could offer visitors. Jim explains this relationship in this way:

> I know because I live here. 'Cuz I know this country. That's why you're having a good time, with me: it's because I know this country and I can show you all these different things that you never would see if I wasn't here. So, that's what I'm giving you: value for your money. You're actually getting a little more value than George over here who just … he's been here a couple of years but he's never been over here, he's never been over there, he doesn't know this, he doesn't know that. He's gonna get you in, he's gonna get you out … if you're an import, you have no idea. You just don't have that sense of

> place. So you can't pass it on. You have nothing to pass on: "Oh, I really like this place." And that's about as far as you can go. "Oh yeah, this is a cool place." But you don't really know anything about it. There's so much that you can't read in a book. There's so much about this country that you can't read in a book.

Another long-time resident guide, John, similarly questioned what guides who were not from the Yukon could claim to offer visitors in terms of "sense of place:"

> … so, some of your idea of the sense of place is lost because so and so is doing this job because he's going back to the University of Guelph, and he's from London or wherever, and much of [that] is lost.

Specifically addressing the length of time and sense of place equation, Ken, a seasonal guide, noted the difference between his relationship to place and the place relationships he perceived local, long-term guides to have:

> Oh, it's a lot different coming from me I think than most [name of organization] guides. A lot of them have lived here a long time. I'm just with the program in the summer so I don't have the same sense of home that other people I guess deliver when they're talking … a lot of my stuff is a lot more scripted and researched.

Ken describes part of the process that implicates length of time in validating guides as "real" Yukoners. This has implications for further understanding "Inside(r)/Outside(r)" dynamics introduced in Chapter Four.

Despite the persuasive claim that length of time spent in a place is a factor that increases place attachment, Memmott (1980) is among those to suggest that no simple association can be made between time and people's place relationships. Pat, a guide living in the Yukon for just one year at the time of being interviewed, sheds some light on this perspective:

> I've developed a quick, rapid connection to the Yukon. And when you do that it becomes personal and you're sharing personal stuff and so you kind of want to have some ability of choosing who you are sharing stuff with. Like anything else right? I want to share my piece of cake with you, but I don't want to share it with everybody! … Yeah, you have to be a bit careful because

> it could go a bit xenophobic right? … No one could come to the Yukon and we're going to "keep it like this."

The causal association between length of time in a place and other factors including environmental or cultural behaviour are unresolved discussions for scholars who have explored these relationships from a variety of perspectives. Among them, Williams (2002) explains that such a quest is "perhaps most evident to people when place meanings appear to be threatened from the outside" (p. 357). He warns against the desire for stable and authentic sense of place, because they "become arguments for narrow and exclusive definitions of who and what belongs to a place" (p. 358) (see also Williams et al., 1995).

Causal relationships between the factors addressed above are difficult to establish, however, it is apparent that guides interviewed for this study held strong opinions as to the nature of these causal factors. More than anything else, guide perspectives on their place relationships provide additional insight into Williams' (2002) claims that: 1) place meanings create and structure social differences, which in turn define "us" and "them;" and 2) that claims to place often are invoked to assert power and authority over place (p. 354).

Guides and the Paradox that is Infrastructure

The presence – or absence – of infrastructure is a critical feature that defines remoteness and interacts with Yukon place identity narratives. There are a number of possible ways to examine infrastructure, one of these ways is by calling attention to notions of remoteness as being defined by the absence of humans and the structures they create.

The importance of landscapes absent of human beings is crucial to all place identity narratives identified and examined in this study. Masculinist Narratives require that landscapes be unpeopled so that frontier self-sufficiency and individualism can be referenced. Narratives of the New Sublime require an absence of humans in order to escape to peace and tranquility available only in "pure," "real" and "true" wilderness areas as defined in a Romantic sense. Narratives of Loss reference colonial versions of

wilderness without people where loss is attributed to the fact of an increasing peopled wilderness. That longed for version of wilderness is itself a Narrative of Loss for First Nations because it ignored their presence.

A wilderness absent of people is a symbolic force that underlines many and diverse northern narratives. For these reasons, remote settings are often synonymous with wilderness areas where there are no people, and where there is little or no infrastructure. The reality, however, is that infrastructure is what allows people today to be in wilderness areas, most especially for tourism purposes. As a result, guides employ both informal and formal strategies to protect the illusion of being alone in these areas.

Informal strategies include those used by Susan to protect the journey from disruptive technological influences. More formal strategies to remove the appearance of humans from the wilderness are enacted through agreements between guides, such as what occurs with trip "staggering":

> … and it's like a river trip, "you go this day, I'll go the next day" so that we don't run into each other. The river is full, but no one knows it, because, the planning. The same, you can do the same thing with hikes, you can have 2, 3 guides working the same area. Well, let's just: "When are you guys going to go?" "Well we're going to go on the 3rd." "Well, OK we won't go until the 5th." So, that they're two days ahead of us all the time. You understand what I'm getting at? … And that is the big thing. It's one of the selling features of the trip: We're going to be alone. Nothing but us and the animals… if you sell it, you gotta show it. You gotta make sure there's no one else there; you don't run into other people.

Seen in this light, land use management strategies are another form of infrastructure that can be used to manage the presence of humans, and are used to mediate a visitor experience that is in part defined by place identity expectations.

Place identity Narratives of the New Sublime also rely on the absence of people, distance from "civilization," and a lack of infrastructure, and visitor experiences are structured around these remote dimensions. As Bob explains:

> I mention to them all the time that, most of the time we're the only boat on that lake … You get on to the boat, for example, and you get even more exclusive as you get up the lake. You don't see any other boats around. As a matter of fact, I point them out to make a point.

> Or you know, paint the image for them, the mountains are there, there's nobody on them, there's [name of lake]. You know, any given day on [name of lake], it's [number of miles] long, for goodness sake … on any given day there is just one boat on it.

For Liz, in the context of adventure races marketed as Yukon sport tourism, lack of infrastructure assures the uniqueness of place experience:

> Because there's nobody around … Because there's very few races in the world that you can get [that]. Like most races there's like lots and lots of people. And most environments you're running in, you're going to see man-made stuff all over the place.

In contrast but for similar reasons, Ted purposefully does not emphasize the experience of being alone in the wilderness because he does not have complete control over whether or not the experience will be interrupted:

> I purposefully don't try and make a big deal because you don't want them to feel all of a sudden like their trip's been ruined a bit because all of a sudden they see all these people. So, I try, and if it's on the [name of river], or a river that's going to flow into the Yukon River, well, you try and let them know that, you know, we're probably going to see people on the Yukon River. But you don't ever want to make a big deal of it. Just because, again, they will pick up and they think "oh well, yeah, it's been tarnished because we saw people," then that might be what they take away, if it was really crowded the last few days. So you try not to focus on any of the negative parts of the trips. And that might not be considered negative for most people. Same as you don't focus on if we had four days of rain, or mosquitoes.

Ted believes that such interruptions can predispose visitors to feel like their experience has been compromised if they are set up to expect something that he may not be able to deliver.

In the above examples, guide place identity supports the idea that the absence of people is an organizing principle used to denote "true wilderness" and an escape from civilization. Guides mediate risk and provide negotiated remoteness and make alternative time/space continuums safe and accessible. They also mediate infrastructure to further empower place identity narratives that are sought after through the Yukon wilderness experiences and its cultural landscapes (e.g., the frontier and First Nations). Remote is

applied in tourism activity design and delivery through references to distance from "civilization," as well as by highlighting the lack of infrastructure and the absence of people. The paradox of infrastructure exists because infrastructure facilitates for Yukon tourism. As illustrated in the last three chapters, it is a tourism that in large part relies on the values associated with remoteness.

CHAPTER SEVEN – CONCLUSION: GUIDES, PLACE IDENTITY, AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Introduction

This study is concerned with understanding the relationship between cultural and wilderness interpreter guides place identity and the goals of sustainable tourism development in the Yukon Territory. Four sub questions were used to glean insights that helped advance this understanding: 1) how are Yukon place identities characterized in relation to remoteness?; 2) how is Yukon tourism positioned in relation to these place identities of remoteness?; 3) how is remoteness reflected in the place identities of wilderness and cultural tourism interpreter guides?; and 4) how do the place identities of wilderness and cultural interpreter guides influence the way they design and deliver their tourism activities?

This final chapter is divided into three sections. The first section examines remoteness through three cross-cutting themes that emerged from this study: 1) remoteness as plot; 2) the paradox that is infrastructure; and 3) the role of Outside. These themes were explored throughout the study in relation to place identity, narratives and their "narrative reinforcements." The second section of this chapter highlights specific findings that address how guide place identity advances the goals of sustainable tourism. Finally, the third section outlines this study's research contribution, proposes recommendations and suggests future research opportunities.

Cross-Cutting Themes

Remoteness as Plot

Remoteness is a psychological or spiritual "asset," and is part of what Hester (1990) might refer to as the Yukon's "sacred structure." It has considerable value to Yukon residents, and is recognized increasingly for its value as a tourism resource. Remoteness has provoked powerful story lines which are positioned as "identity anchors" for residents and visitors alike. In a tourism context, representations of the Yukon as a unique

place often are tied to encounters with remoteness. These encounters are confirmed by the physical experience of remoteness (geographic distance from the south), and through encounters with imagined or mythologized meanings attached to remoteness.

Yukon destination marketing strategies increasingly have to reconcile two contradictory selling features: the territory's remoteness and its accessibility. Marketing campaigns underline the complex paradox associated with remoteness because they highlight the ways the territory has been positioned opportunistically as either remote or accessible. Until now, the Yukon tourism context is one where many potential visitors perceive the Yukon as remote in a negative sense (geographically inaccessible). As a result, tourism marketers have created campaigns that position the Yukon's remoteness in relation to those features that make it easily accessible. This promotion strategy includes highlighting the territory's geographic access, which sometimes includes its most basic tourism infrastructure (e.g., dispelling myths that you will not have running water in your hotel, or indoor washrooms).

However, given the disappearance of remote spaces at a global scale, attracting future travellers may increasingly depend on being able to market the Yukon in a way that downplays its accessible features. The Territory's vast amounts of "pristine" wilderness will be crucial to definitions of remote. Promotion campaigns will rely on the Yukon's ability to convincingly sell itself as a remote destination because of the type and nature of its infrastructure, in both wilderness and cultural contexts. For the latter, the type and nature of infrastructure will be especially significant in areas outside Whitehorse. As a case in point, recent debates on whether or not to pave Dawson City's Front Street illustrate the need to consider how much and what kind of infrastructure similar – and iconic – remote places will be able to support without changing the appeal and experience of its remote-accessible positioning (Davidson, 2009).

The Paradox that is Infrastructure

Encroaching infrastructure and globalization processes increasingly compromise remoteness and the values associated with it. Infrastructure is characterized not only by physical structures and amenities, but also by technological infrastructure that can not be

seen (e.g., cell phone networks), and administrative infrastructure (e.g., policy-driven regulatory mechanisms as well as informal ones such as guidelines or codes of ethics). To this point, the lack of infrastructure is at the heart of significant aspects of the Yukon tourism experience. The paradox associated with infrastructure within the Yukon's tourism development context relates to how it makes the Yukon accessible or "comfortable," while it simultaneously challenges the integrity of what is arguably the territory's most unique selling feature.

Such paradoxes illustrate the nature of contemporary place-based tensions, values and contradictions involved in Yukon place-making and place marketing processes. Marketing campaigns present the message that the Yukon is an accessible remote destination, and with that guiding message, create opportunistic ways to position the territory as either remote or accessible depending on what is required for the market being targeted. Place making and place marketing processes negotiate and manipulate the contradictory conceptualizations of the territory as "accessible" and/or "remote."

Butler's (1980, 2006) "Tourism Area Life Cycle" recognized the dynamic nature of tourist areas and how they evolve and change over time. Using this cycle it is possible to hypothesize how the nature of the territory as remote is presently downplayed because of the need to highlight its accessibility. Convincing potential visitors of the uniqueness of the Yukon by virtue of its remoteness, is challenged by having to first persuade them that it is accessible. However, given destination life cycle processes and current global tourism trends, attracting travellers to the Yukon in the future is likely to rely increasingly on being able to promote the perception that it is remote. Tourism experiences will be required to confirm that perception. Initiating tourism planning that considers thresholds for the amount and kind of infrastructure that can be introduced into an area before it ceases to be considered remote is critical.

It is worth noting that tensions associated with the infrastructure paradox contribute also to divisions that exist between natural resource developers, conservationists, old Yukoners and new Yukoners, and within First Nations communities (development versus traditional lifestyles). These divisions are increasingly expressed as northern resource development agendas encroach upon the Yukon's wilderness areas; for instance oil and gas development and mineral exploration, specifically in the Peel Watershed area.

The Role of Outside

The most dominant views of remoteness in the Yukon have been tied to the territory's vast wilderness, its lack of infrastructure, and its low population density. In addition, these European-referenced conceptualizations of remoteness have commonly been defined in relation to the territory's distance from southern Canada and/or the rest of the "civilized" world. European-derived place-identities use contrasts to conceptualize "Outside." These include dark/light, warm/cold, people/no people, and civilized/uncivilized. These place identity reference points are in contrast to those First Nations may have, as well as those that new Yukoners from other countries may have. The latter include non-European migrants to the Yukon who may not have Western cultural legacies with concepts such as "wilderness" and "remoteness."

Nonetheless, "Outside" is a conceptualization that reflects the role remoteness has had in shaping European-derived Yukon place identities – and in part expresses the hegemony of this perspective. It is an important orientation point also which has served to classify the Yukon, and Yukoners, as different and unique; a point which is readily used by tourism marketers to promote the territory.

Yukon guides structure their tourism activities with a consideration for remoteness and the relationship it has to their place identity. As part of this consideration, they use the concept of Outside to define the quality and type of experience they feel exists in the Yukon. Outside is a place identity reference point that is used to help examine and measure encroaching infrastructure that intrudes upon the Yukon remoteness experience. The absence – and presence – of infrastructure confirms remoteness and the existence of Outside, and positions place identity issues as significant features to consider for the goals of sustainable tourism development in the Yukon.

Guide Place Identity and Sustainable Tourism Development: Instrumental Considerations

This research suggests a number of instrumental considerations. Five of these are presented in this section: 1) implications of lifestyle-motivated tourism guides for the tourism development context; 2) features of special interest tourism that are associated

with promoting place-identity linked experiences; 3) the relationship between place identity and regulatory mechanisms used to promote sustainable tourism; 4) the relationship between infrastructural development and symbolic thresholds of remoteness as it relates to place identities; and, 5) the relationship between place identity, market segments and tourism planning.

Lifestyle-Motivated Tourism Guides and Sustainable Tourism

This study proposes that lifestyle-motivated tourism businesses help define and advance sustainable tourism in the Yukon in at least three ways. First, lifestyle-motivated tourism activities provide opportunities for place identity narrative interaction between visitors and guides. Tourism activities based on the day-to-day lives of guides are associated with the idea of "sincerity" as a form of "authenticity" in touristic interactions. A guide's connection to the place identity dimensions reflected in their tourism activities affirms a personal – or phenomenological dimension – and contributes to the production of sincere tourism experiences. The relationship between lifestyle-motivated tourism and sustainable tourism development occurs because guide place identity and their place making processes influence place-marketing activities (tourist oriented). In this manner, certain aspects of community-based tourism development agendas are incorporated into the tourism development context.

Second, benefits associated with lifestyle-motivated tourism guides and their activities influence the creation of social capital and contribute to enhancing and supporting quality-of-life mandates. This occurs, for instance, because these types of tourism businesses also may provide services or be involved in events that locals also participate in, or because they contribute to lifestyles that interact and connect with the broader community and collectively-held identities.

Finally, lifestyle-motivated tourism can play a role in increasing sustainable tourism by specifically facilitating First Nations participation in tourism. Lifestyle-based tourism can engage Narratives of Loss for the purposes of tourism product development. They are narratives that allow for reflection on the past, on change, and on the displacement and the disappearance of important place features. However, Narratives of Loss are also

implicated in visions for the future, and the "in progress" creation of meaning that comes from the lived-in experience of places. These narratives can reinforce perceptions of First Nations peoples and cultures as alive and in flux, and dispel negatively framed myths that prefer them to be fixed in an historical past.

In this sense, Narratives of Loss reflect the evolving nature of place identities. They summon loss that is intertwined with what has been in the past as well as what can be gained in the future. Understood this way, Narratives of Loss contribute to First Nations' ability to present themselves as part of a living culture. They are narratives that provoke reflection and discussion on the contemporary challenges faced by First Nations people. In this regard, Narratives of Loss can be conceptualized as indicators able to demonstrate local involvement, ownership and control over key messaging used in tourism encounters, especially where marginalized or historically disempowered groups, such as First Nations, are concerned.

Guide Place Identity, Special Interest Tourism and Sustainable Tourism

Two dimensions of authenticity as an aspect of special interest tourism were emphasized as important in relation to the goals of sustainable tourism development in a Yukon context. These dimensions, namely 1) group size and authenticity, and 2) interpretation and authenticity, were assessed in light of how guide place identity influences the design and delivery of their tourism activities.

Group Size and Authenticity

As a commonly held feature, and often emphasized principle of special interest tourism, small group size fosters the idea of tourism experiences that are premised with the axiom "quality over quantity." "Quality" can refer to a number of experiential attributes, including the services provided and the facilities in which they are provided. Quality, however, increasingly is invoked to assess the value of the tourism experience in relation to its ability to provide "authentic" and meaningful tourism interactions. These interactions include a wide range of socio-cultural and environmental contacts.

"Quantity" on the other hand, refers to the number of people involved in the tourism activity. The low number of high paying participants involved in special interest tourism activities is favourably contrasted with the high number of low paying participants involved in "mass tourism" activities.

This research underscores the importance of distinguishing between small group numbers as an "empty tour design" feature, and small group numbers as a design device used to intentionally structure a meaningful experience, for guests and hosts. An empty tour design feature could be described as incorporating small group-like numbers of people on a tour, but not doing anything else differently than what you would do if you had larger numbers of people on a tour. However, small group size can be purposefully positioned as a positive feature that facilitates people/people or people/place interactions.

Yukon guides emphasize how tourism encounters are meaningful when there is an opportunity to create intimate exchanges that can draw attention to people/people and people/place relationships. These are measured in part by the degree to which encounters make available opportunities to articulate and share place identity in settings that also reflect or resonate with a guide's place experience (e.g., through sharing northern lifestyle or culture). Used this way, small group numbers are implemented as a meaningful design feature.

Analysis of guide place identity narratives in the Yukon also points to the important association guides make between group size and the kind of experiences they deliver. Analysis of guides place identity narratives suggest that Yukon place identities are more likely to be reflected in encounters where guides can share their identity-based place relationships with visitors informally. Small group numbers can facilitate less formal approaches and create forums for mutually beneficial exchanges. The latter also contribute to guides personal well being by maintaining or increasing their interest in what they do.

The small group feature may prove to be of particular importance in a Yukon tourism development context because of emerging First Nations products. Meaningful encounters, designed and delivered in a way that provides value to the guide (as host), as well as to the tourist, facilitate the manner in which tourism can benefit cultural identity and promote cultural pride. Furthermore, tourism experiences that are considerate of

guide place identity are more likely to foster the kind of authenticity (or "sincerity") that is desired by visitors.

Interpretation and Authenticity

A guide who has substantial lived experience in the Yukon is more likely to interrupt scripted interpretive programs with anecdotes that foster a deeper level of personal interaction. Resident guides are able to incorporate anecdotes about day-to-day life, and a sense of place/place identity that are expansive and specific to the Yukon as a unique place. These kinds of interactions occur either because guides initiate anecdotal interventions, or because visitors seek out knowledge about a guide and discover a "Sourdough" they deem worthy of interaction.

Conveying place identity organically with anecdotes rather than through formal and scripted interpretation programs, underlines one of the important ways that place identity and place relationships in the tourism encounter can be made manifest. Organically conveyed place identity is characterized by tourism experiences that give anecdotal and other non-scripted and more personalized interactions a prominent place in the host/visitor encounter.

Informal sharing, or interpretation that invests in anecdotal intervention, can impact sustainable tourism development in at least two ways. First, informal sharing highlights localized place values so that visitors get a glimpse of how locals live in a place, what a place means to them, and how place impacts upon them in compellingly personal ways. Place identity as anecdotally conveyed, exposes guests to personal relationships with remoteness as a heritage value and has noteworthy impacts upon the depth and significance of the remote experience. Second, this kind of sharing sets the stage for meaningful host/guest encounters which have impacts on guide sustainability; that is a guides capacity to enjoy what they do and to find reasons to continue being involved in tourism. The latter is an often ignored consideration when planning for sustainable tourism development.

The Role of Regulatory Mechanisms

Masculinist place identity narratives provide insight into the challenges posed by regulatory practices. Regulatory mechanisms often impinge on the characterizations that are central to Masculinist Narratives, such as those values associated with being self-taught, individualistic, and the "do-it-my-way" approach. Furthermore, place identity relationships to remoteness are affected by the kinds of regulatory mechanisms used. For instance, place identity relationships are different depending on whether or not visitors are required to stay on walking trails, or if they are able to use Leave No Trace informed behaviours. Arguably, regulations challenge Masculinist and New Sublime place identity narratives, while personal responsibility does not necessarily interfere with them. Consideration should be given to knowing when to use which approach in terms of their impact on the place identity dimensions of the Yukon tourism experience.

The experiential elements required to confirm masculinist place identity features are transformed by virtue of the mediation and control that result from regulatory mechanisms. When alternative kinds of management mechanisms are not set in place well in advance of the manifestation of a negative tourism impact, interventionist and policy driven regulatory mechanisms may be the easiest means to mitigate additional impacts. As a result, the value of the tourism experience may be diminished and negatively influence how the destination is perceived.

Infrastructure and Symbolic Thresholds

This study raises the possibility that symbolic "thresholds" hold particular value for understanding the relationship between remoteness, place identity, and the Yukon's destination area development cycle. Symbolic thresholds are related to social, cultural and environmental resilience and can be assessed through place identity narrative identification and analysis. Sustainable tourism understandings are found in an assessment of the extent to which infrastructure can be made available before it negatively interferes with the experience of remoteness and erodes sought after place identity values.

As an example, Masculinist Narratives and Narratives of the New Sublime illustrate the ways that physical infrastructure can impede access to important place identity features. Physical infrastructure diminishes the necessity and credibility of self-reliance and the "do-it-my-way" approach. Infrastructure also interferes with the aesthetic value of the environment and may diminish those features that provide perceptions of alternative time and endless space which help shape New Sublime place identity characteristics. For features that relate to ideas about being a free and authentic person, for example, the symbolic dimensions of remoteness are significant.

Assessing the symbolic thresholds associated with remoteness as a place identity reference point provides a way to better understand Yukon resident Narratives of Loss. Narratives of Loss provide a reason to thoughtfully consider place-based changes and tensions, and emphasize transformations that influence Yukon place identity features – features that affect place identity dimensions that also function for the purposes of tourism.

The Relationship between Place Identity, Market Segments and Sustainable Tourism

Yukon place identity narratives provide a rich backdrop for better analyzing tourism marketing and promotion campaigns. Yukon marketing strategies have incorporated place identity sentiment into place promotion practices. They capture the essence of the Yukon and create emotionally charged destination positioning. Yukon place marketing benefits from Yukoners' capacity to articulate their place relationships. It capitalizes on place identity narratives that positively resonate with Yukon residents, and uses this meaning to make believable claims about place authenticity that is valuable for tourism.

There are at least two instrumental considerations that exist between place identity narratives, the market segments identified by the Yukon government's tourism department, and the goals of sustainable tourism. First, market driven tourism approaches commonly use market segments as a means to present a destination in a way that will appeal to the visitors it has identified. It is an approach that focuses on what the Yukon can offer the identified and targeted market segments. This approach struggles, however, with the effects of having "can offer" slowly transform into one that is built around "need

to offer." The imperative of the latter can lead to the subjugation of destination integrity in order to ensure "customer satisfaction."

However, this study suggests that market segments can be used also to prepare a destination for the challenges that they will bring with them to a destination. For instance, Masculinist Narratives have much in common with what the Adventure Challenger market segment seeks through a Yukon visitor experience. Masculinist Narratives point to the need to consider sustainable tourism strategies in light of identity values that hinge on being self-taught, self-directed and individualistic. Self guided trips offer more direct access to Masculinist Narratives because they are unmediated activities. Through their participation in this type of activity, visitors express their desire to perceive themselves and be perceived as self-sufficient, self-taught, free and/or individualistic. Because their encounters with Yukon phenomena are unmediated, visitor behaviour is neither informed nor monitored by guide experience and place knowledge, including awareness of critical practices that protect local environmental or cultural values.

It is unrealistic and undesirable that all visitor activities be guided; however, understanding the narratives at work can help with developing critical messaging aimed at encouraging sustainable tourism practices. Given the significance of Masculinist Narratives in the Yukon, it may be worth considering the development of a more extensive inventory of non-regulatory approaches for achieving the goals of sustainable tourism. Current approaches already being used include voluntary awareness raising through documents or taking part in programs promoted by the Wilderness Tourism Association of the Yukon (WTAY) and the Yukon Government on how to be responsible in the wilderness. These include: *Best Environmental Practices on Yukon Rivers*, the promotion of the *Leave No Trace program*, and *Into the Yukon Wilderness*, which is translated to French and German. Information about these practices is available through the WTAY portal (www.wtay.com).

The above line of questioning can strengthen sustainable tourism planning because it requires a shift in thinking and proposes alternative uses for market segment information; uses that are designed also for how they benefit sustainable tourism development planning. Knowing the place identity narratives that appeal to different market segments can help craft management strategies that respect resident values.

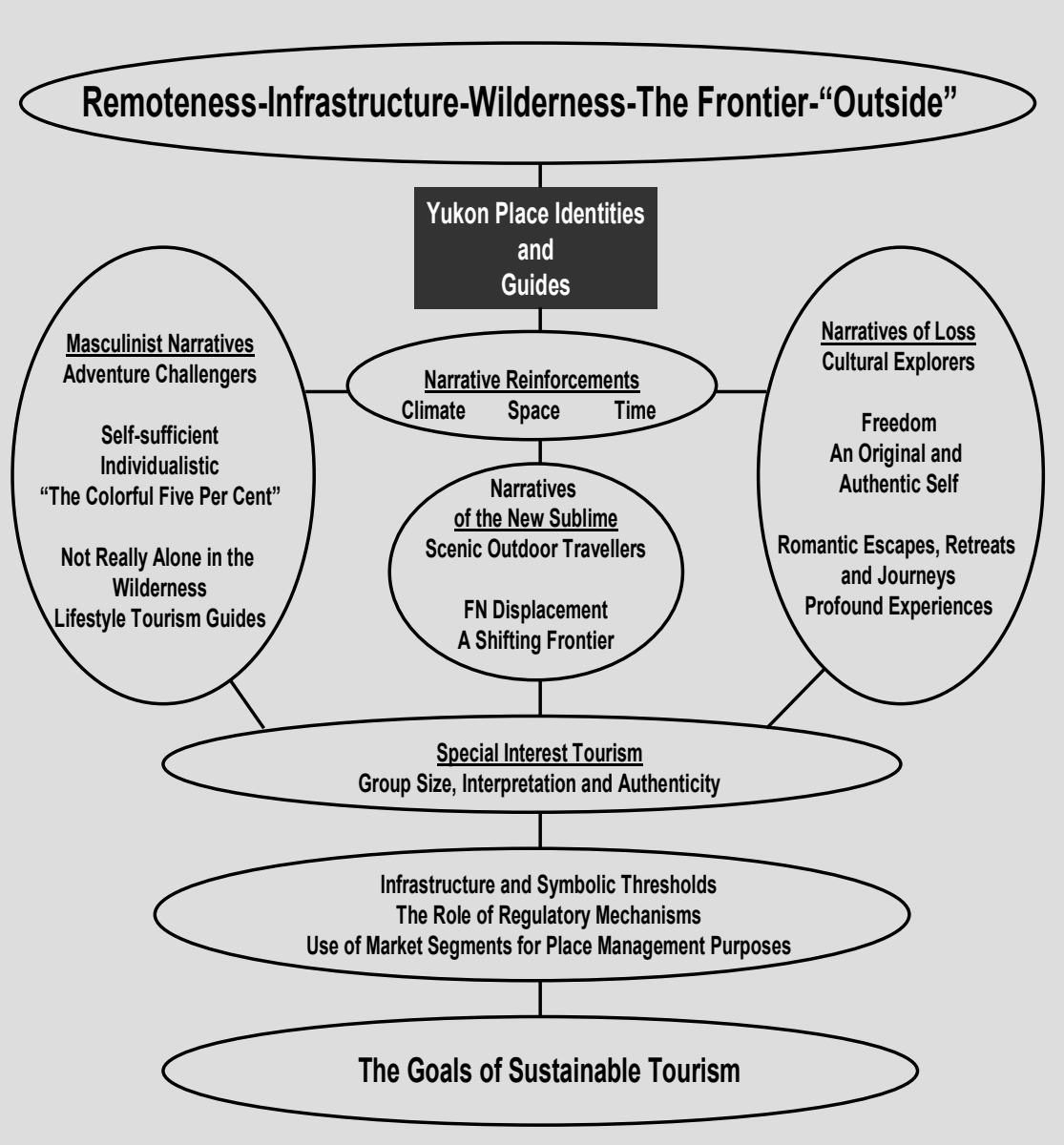
Destination place identities can be used as important beacons that help identify the kind of management strategies that will work best for different market segments while meeting the needs of – or even better – enhancing, local destination place values. Similarly, this study points to the potential to create ways to use market segmentation exercises in association with special interest tourism as a means to attract values-based tourists.

Market segmentation activities also inform tourism marketing strategies. Assessed for the purposes of sustainable tourism planning, these activities and strategies can also be used to promote the appeal of a destination to visitors who will arrive in the Yukon pre-disposed to understand and respect – if not appreciate – local place values. In this way, market segmentation research can be used strategically to target visitors whose place identity values interact with those values that also lie at the heart of the Yukon's "sacred structure," thereby positively engaging with resident place experience.

When market segments and tourism campaigns use place identity dimensions to reach their objectives, they run the risk of commodifying place in ways that alienate locals and undermine the integrity of what Yukoners hold most dear. Conversely, executed with care, tourism market segmentation activities and marketing campaigns can empower or reinforce community identity.

Figure 18 illustrates the elements explored in this study and its research findings. The figure represents also Yukon place making and place marketing processes in relation to place identity and remoteness.

Figure 18. Elements of the study and research findings



Recommendations

The previous discussion on instrumental considerations facilitates the identification of recommendations that may be valuable for the Yukon's tourism development context, as well as for other similar destinations (e.g., northern, remote, peripheral). Two recommendations are proposed and concern: 1) support offered to lifestyle-motivated tourism; and 2) alternative uses for market segmentation research.

Lifestyle-Motivated Tourism

Lifestyle-motivated tourism businesses have not always been understood or deemed important by major tourism industry decision-makers. Considered "too small" and lacking the "sexy" appeal of larger tourism infrastructure, they have been overlooked as valuable tourism assets. However, this study suggests that lifestyle-motivated tourism operators are significant components of the Yukon's tourism development context and can help achieve the goals of sustainable tourism. Without concluding that any large tourism infrastructure will be problematic, it may be worthwhile to consider how the axiom "small is beautiful" has relevance where Yukon tourism development is concerned.

Tourism industry decision-makers should consider increasing the support it offers to lifestyle-driven tourism businesses. This can be achieved through such measures as minimizing administrative requirements and "red tape" needed to start and operate a small tourism business and providing easier access to loans or other incentive type programs. Definitions for "small" may also have to be reconsidered. In the context of Yukon tourism businesses, small is more likely to represent three employees or less. Moreover, it is crucial that ways be found to recognize the importance of lifestyle-motivated tourism experiences, including recognition for the relatively small but significant economic contributions these operations make in the lives of those who choose to combine lifestyle with livelihood.

Given the expectations that surround First Nations tourism experiences – for visitors and First Nations – finding innovative ways to support lifestyle-motivated tourism products may be especially significant for the development of Yukon First Nations tourism products. This is due in part to the fact that lifestyle-motivated tourism can produce non-economic benefits, including social capital and quality of life benefits that contribute to healthy and resilient communities.

It is worth noting the political-economic contradiction that exists between many of the Yukon's lifestyle operators and the wealthy nature of their clients. This paradox may bear little weight given the value-based, voluntary and chosen nature behind the livelihoods of some Yukon guides. However, given the impact this kind of economic

discrepancy might have on host/guest relations, it may warrant future attention if marketing programs aim exclusively or disproportionately at visitors in the highest income brackets.

The Relationship between Resident and Visitor Place Identity and Market Segments

Attention should be paid to the relationship between visitor place identity, market segments and place integrity as a component of sustainable tourism planning. It would be useful to examine ways that market segment research could be used to achieve the goals of sustainable tourism development. Two uses for market segments should be considered. First, market segments can be assessed for how they can contribute to the strategic design of appropriate destination management tools. Second, market segments can be assessed for how they can be used to promote the Yukon to visitors who are most prepared to learn about, or who are already interested in, an ethic of care toward, for example, the territory's northern lifestyles, First Nations cultures, and the Yukon environment. In this manner, market segment research can be used to positively impact host/guest relations while maintaining, or enhancing, place integrity.

Research Contribution

Place Identity and Guides

Broadly speaking, this study contributes to a better understanding of northern tourism processes and confirms place identity as a useful tool for advancing the goals of sustainable tourism. This study underlines the significance of remoteness to place identity, and underscores the changing nature of place and identity, through time and across culture; historically as well as the role it plays in emerging and contemporary Yukon place identities. The latter role is significant given how the north is being transformed by a changing landscape in geographic (including climate), political, cultural, and demographic terms.

Guides are a crucial part of a destination's tourism infrastructure. They also play a critical role in defining how a tourism destination is treated by visitors. This study provides further evidence on the important role guides have in developing tourism products that engage with, and achieve, the objectives of sustainable tourism. Importantly, this study highlights how guides involvement in both place making and place marketing processes provide them with unique perspectives that affect their product development and delivery activities. These perspectives contribute to creating tourism experiences that are compatible with important dimensions of sustainable tourism.

Place Identity and Sustainable Tourism: Paradigmatic Considerations

Hughes' (1995) review of the contributions to the literature on sustainable tourism led him to assess that it has largely been framed as a scientific construction, has been fuelled by rational approaches, and that strategies for addressing sustainability concerns have been driven by instruments that treat the environment as an object system. These instruments include a variety of technical and regulatory management tools such as carrying capacity and stewardship.

Williams (1995) determined that scientific discourse and rational approaches prioritized tangible meanings and, as a result, focus on commodity uses grounded in economic models. Place identity considerations, which depend on the intangible and point to management instruments that are designed in deference to subjective relationships to the physical and cultural environment, provide a means to consider what McIntyre et al. (2004) have identified as difficult to assess "meaning-based" valuation models. Approaches to sustainability that use place identity can be combined with, or inform those approaches that derive from rational and scientific based ones.

Qualitative and interpretive approaches are useful for gaining insight into sense of place related phenomena. Using these approaches, place identity research can advance intangible and subjective knowledge and provide perspectives that prioritize other kinds of meanings. These meanings can highlight how place identity can be used as a means to understand tourism from a destination perspective, and postulate ways to maintain or enhance local place integrity.

Incorporating place identity as a means to achieve the goals of sustainable tourism development also implicates processes that are aligned with community-based tourism approaches. Place issues in tourism as they relate to sustainable tourism development approaches promote different degrees and kinds of community engagement and involvement (Ballesteros and Ramirez, 2007; Hester, 1980; Jamieson, 1990; Kneafsey, 1998; McAvoy, 2002; Power, 1996; Ringer, 1998; Stedman, 1999; Vitek & Jackson, 1996). Arguably, using destination place identities as a tool to develop approaches to sustainability can lead to identifying and increasing understandings for place values related to local identity: historical, emerging, and ever-changing.

As a result, place identity can contribute to creating and promoting "bottom up" tourism development processes that engage local people. As Kneafsey (1998) points out, such processes can be used to regenerate "crumbling senses of place identity," and help mitigate their potential to negatively impact local people, even in the face of commodification processes. In this regard, place identity research holds particular value for vulnerable cultures such as the Yukon's First Nations people. While showcasing place identity issues and concerns at both individual and collective levels, through Narratives of Loss for instance, place identity provides valuable insights into resistance and resilience processes. These kinds of processes are crucial for sustainability planning.

Development processes that move toward community-based tourism approaches are more likely to address issues that relate to the intangible and subjective experience of place as part of the concerns that can be addressed by sustainable tourism development approaches. These processes can help determine types and levels of tourism development, and are crucial to locally-defined approaches. Locally-defined approaches may include advancing a rationale that prioritizes certain dimensions of special interest tourism over others; for instance those dimensions addressed by lifestyle-motivated tourism operations. Place identity may also help ascertain if some areas should not be developed for tourism at all, or should be developed only with a consideration for difficult to measure symbolic thresholds.

The above contemplations benefit from Vilamos' (2006) research on sustainable tourism development. Specifically, the type of tourism development issues presented by the Yukon's remoteness/accessibility paradox can be positively addressed when

sustainable tourism is perceived as an overarching paradigm with several different pathways to sustainable tourism development depending on the circumstances.

Vilamos' "Environment-Led" or "Neotenous" approaches to sustainable tourism development offer particular promise in terms of being able to increase our understanding of sustainability issues and strategies in the Yukon context. Measured against findings in this study, they help build an argument that the Yukon should apply strong sustainable tourism development strategies to its tourism development context.

Future Research

The exploratory nature of this research fosters diverse insights that, alongside additional research, could advance both instrumental and theoretical discussions regarding sustainable tourism development specifically, and place identity more generally. A few of these areas for additional research are presented in this final section.

Instrumental mandates can benefit from additional research aimed at assessing the impact of guides' lifestyle-motivated tourism experiences on destination sustainability. For example, do these kinds of tourism experiences support dimensions of special interest tourism that are more likely to meet the goals of sustainable tourism? In a related manner, further investigation could help determine if, and how, Narratives of Loss are, or can be, used to promote sincere tourism. Such research could further establish if this type of authenticity inspires local place enhancement mandates, benefits hosts in the host/guest encounter, and provides a positive impact on guest place experience.

Additional research is necessary to better understand the ways in which place identity narratives can be used in combination with market segmentation activities to create place-appropriate visitor management strategies. Given the importance of designing appropriate and effective, informal and formal management strategies that advance the goals of sustainable tourism development, place identity research can be used to design or inform strategies used to establish place-based tourism management practices that also consider resident place identity and accommodate visitor place expectations.

Place identity explorations offer a compelling approach to illustrate the multiple ways residents and visitors interact with remoteness as an essential part of the Yukon's

"sacred structure." These kinds of explorations provide a means to identify and analyze the difficult-to-measure and diverse ways that individuals and groups internalize geographies, in both tangible and intangible ways. Identifying and analyzing place identity narratives provides an important and often overlooked way to incorporate individual and community values into planning and policymaking activities, for tourism and other kinds of development.

Additional research is required to better understand the importance of symbolic values and the critical role they play in advancing the goals of sustainable tourism development. As an example, the Narratives of Loss identified in this study may hold particular value for understanding a wide spectrum of place-based meanings – including contradictory ones. These meanings can be further assessed for their capacity to assist in the development of a framework for understanding complex and contentious, ever-changing place issues; issues that are made even more complex when they interact with tourism agendas.

Place related values and data are being collected already and analysed through land asset mapping exercises, and are reflected in other land management and planning activities and strategies at play in the territory. These include, among other things, land use agreements such as those reflected in the recently signed Memorandum of Understanding between the territory's mining and tourism sectors (Tobin, 2008). Further research is necessary to inventory and assess cataloguing and land use planning activities and agreements and help determine what kind of strategies already are currently being used that could be considered for, and benefit from, place identity dimensions.

The changing nature of remote areas and the pressures placed on them by increasing infrastructure and other developments, require that the place identity values associated with remote Yukon areas, both in terms of their resident and visitor place identity relationships, be studied in more detail. Not surprisingly, discussions such as those presented here are often foreshadowed by the controversy that surrounds other kinds of development in wilderness areas (e.g., oil and gas, mining). A case in point is the Peel Watershed Region in northeastern Yukon.

The Peel Watershed land use planning exercise provides evidence that place identity values configured around remoteness are being widely scrutinized and debated

(http://www.peel.planyukon.ca and www.cpawsyukon.org). These discussions centre on trying to position wilderness and remoteness characteristics and values for development planning in a largely inaccessible region of the Yukon (Tobin, 2009).

During the Peel Watershed Planning Commission public consultations held in Whitehorse (Westmark Hotel, April 21, 2009), three scenarios were presented. Maps were produced that designated potential protection, management and conservation zones, and access corridors (Documents are available at: http://www.peel.planyukon.ca/documents.html). While not addressed directly, remoteness as a place identity feature is referenced in these discussions as a sought after value by both residents and potential visitors. Indeed, as the debate heats up, tourism is being used as a means to discourage mining development in the region. The rationale proposed for the – increasing – value the area has for tourism is heavily dependent on the unique and globally threatened nature of this kind of wilderness and remote area.

It is significant to note that two other wilderness and remoteness values mapping related activities were carried out in 2008/2009. First, the Tourism Industry Association of the Yukon (TIAY) conducted a Land Asset Identification and Analysis project. The purpose of the project was to build an analytical modeling framework which included a tourism criteria matrix (Draft report and maps were presented at TIAY's Spring Conference in Dawson City, May 1-3, 2009). Second, the Department of Tourism and Culture produced a map titled Yukon Wilderness Tourism: Resources, Infrastructure and Activities. The map identifies existing tourism activities and infrastructure across the territory (Draft map is available for viewing at the Department of Tourism and Culture, Whitehorse, Yukon). Similar to the Peel Watershed Planning Commission map, the maps produced from these two projects also reference the value of remoteness as a place identity feature. Indeed, it might be beneficial to interpret all of these maps for their symbolic and place identity features.

Place identity research can advance theoretical discussions that relate to symbolic thresholds, such as those associated with remoteness, and provide insight into how development trajectories are determined. Conceptualized in this way, symbolic thresholds can be utilized as a valuable planning tool; a tool that can be used to establish desired social and environmental benefits, while mitigating negative impacts. In this study, the

question that emerges for tourism planners and for Yukoners generally, is how much pressure can remoteness withstand before the place identity values associated with it can no longer exist? Critical to answering this question is an assessment of the Yukon's (longer-term) ability to incorporate different kinds of remote experiences. Resiliency models (Perrings, 2006) may offer a promising framework to contemplate these questions. Developing these models for sustainable tourism planning purposes will increase our understanding of loss and renewal processes, change and transformation, and emphasize a reference to – and reverence for – an ever-changing understanding of remoteness as a factor in this equation. Given the diverse place related interests reflected by different place identity values, such processes also may contribute to creating broad-based community involvement in tourism planning, a central principle of sustainable tourism.

While it may be unrealistic to expect that existing vast tracts of remote wilderness will remain pristine forever, or that much of the Yukon will remain "remote," it may be possible to determine how best to manage change by increasing an understanding for, and acknowledging the value of, the identity granting capabilities of remote areas. In light of the above, additional research is required to advance place identity research as a way to provide added value to planning processes and help create more effective sustainable development policy.

The place identity narratives identified and investigated in this study are not exclusive to this territory. Masculinist, New Sublime and Loss place identity narratives are found across Canada, as well as parts of the western United States and Alaska. Comparative place identity studies that use the central theme of remoteness may uncover further insights that are useful both for understanding symbolic thresholds, as well as for defining strategies for sustainable tourism development. Given the similarities between the Yukon and Alaska, a comparative study focussing on place identity and tourism in these two northern jurisdictions may hold particular value. This is especially true given that similarities between the Yukon and Alaska stand in stark contrast to some of their differences. The latter include the significant decline in remoteness characteristics in Alaska as compared to the Yukon Territory. Among other things, this is in part due to Alaska's much larger population, its more expansive infrastructural development

(touristic, industrial, and other), and its more established position as a tourism destination.

Appendix A
Sample Interview Questions

Interview Protocol

A. Background

1. Let's begin by you telling me about yourself?

Prompts: Do you live in the Yukon? (work in the Yukon)

Prompts: What do you do for a living? What are your other activities here?

B. Place values:

2. What does living/working in the Yukon mean to you?

3. What do you like/dislike about living/working here?

4. What kind of factors do you think shape how other residents feel about living in the Yukon?

Prompts: What sort of things affect how people feel about the Yukon?

5. How would you (do you) describe the Yukon to someone who has never been here?
Prompts: Likes, dislikes, frustrations, celebrations

6. How is the Yukon described by other territorial residents?
Prompts: What do you think other residents say about the Yukon and their experience of living here?

7. Have you seen any changes occur over the last 15, 10, 5 years due to tourism? What is good about these changes? Not so good about these changes?

8. What kind of changes have you seen in the areas where you undertake your tourism activities?

9. Has your view of the Yukon changed over time? If yes, how? If no, why do you think it hasn't?

C. Perspectives on tourism (what activities are identified as tourism?), on tourism product development, and on sustainable [tourism] development

10. How is the Yukon described by tourists?

    Prompts: Why do you think tourists come to the Yukon and what do they remember when they leave?

11. What kind of things influence the design and delivery of your tourism activities?

12. Would you take any tourist anywhere? Why or why not?

Appendix B
Summary Research Description

Special Interest Tourism, Sense of Place, and Sustainable Tourism Development in the Yukon Territory

The Project or "What is your research all about?"

My research looks at the relationship between special interest tourism (SIT) – for instance cultural tourism and ecotourism – sustainable tourism development, and "sense of place" in the Yukon Territory. Sense of place is a broad area of study that looks at people's relationships to places. It considers people's feelings of love and attachment for places and what this can mean for different kinds of purposes, for instance, community development or tourism planning.

The Conceptual Themes Used in the Research or "What are the main areas of study involved in your research?"

As you can see there are three main areas of study involved in my research: **Special interest tourism**, also knows as "niche market tourism" in industry circles, **sustainable tourism development**, and **sense of place**. Let me tell you a bit more about them.

1) Special interest tourism includes activities that are usually small scale, considered "soft" tourism, and allows for a lot of interaction between the guide and guests. They include any tourism activity that is built around a special interest, for instance First Nations Tourism, Wilderness and Adventure Tourism, and Heritage Tourism. I've added an educational component to the activities that interest me. This means that I am also interested in special interest tourism activities that have a formal learning objective of some kind, for instance where visitors learn about the flora, fauna, people, or the history of the Yukon while participating in the tourism activity.

2) "Sense of place" is an idea that comes from cultural geography. Sense of place tries to understand how people experience and express their relationships to places. It considers how people can become attached to places, fall in love with places, and how places help them define who they think they are. As an example, people often say they feel freer in the wide open spaces of the Yukon. This could be said to be a Yukon sense of place. It is through these kinds of things that places take on values. You could call these "place values."

As you can imagine, sense of place is very broad and can refer to a lot of different things. I've tried to capture it by looking more specifically at how ideas about "isolation" and "remoteness" are talked about in historical, social, cultural, and geographical ways, and to think about what this means about Yukon sense of place. Basically though, what sense of place helps us to understand is that our relationships to place can help us understand our personal values and how we see ourselves. These relationships will differ across individuals and communities of people. For instance, Yukon First Nations have a very different relationship to the idea of "isolation" and "remoteness" than do settlers to the Territory.

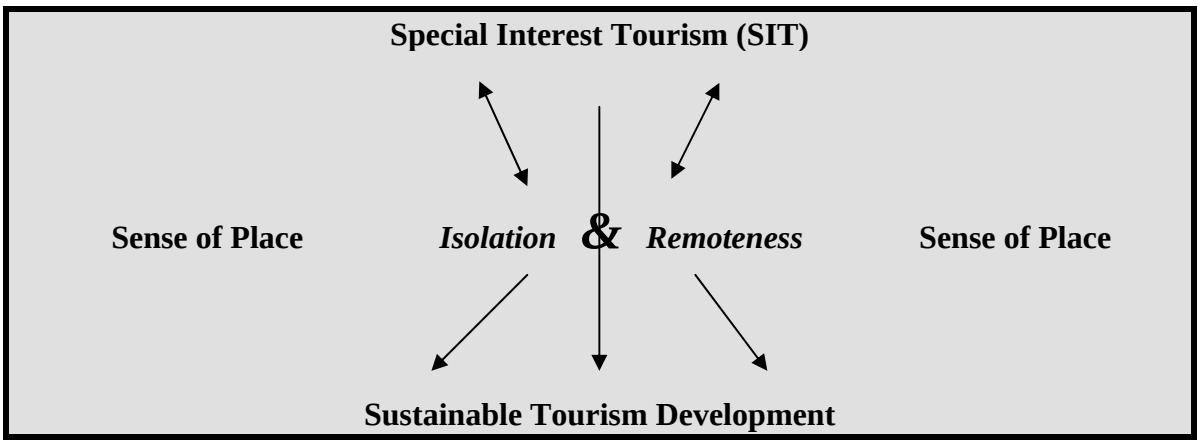
3) Sustainable tourism development can be understood as part of the broader "sustainable development." Definitions for sustainable development commonly make reference to the World Commission of Environment and Development's [WCED] report entitled "Our Common Future" published in 1987 (WCED, 1987). That report defined sustainable development as a "process by which the needs of the present are met without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (p.8).

If you want to know more about these three areas, please refer to the list of additional references at the end of this document.

The Research Question or "What is the question you are trying to shed light on?"

The central question that is of interest to me is: Can Yukon **sense of place**, especially as it may be defined in relation to ideas about isolation and remoteness, help us to better understand if there is a link between **special interest tourism** and **sustainable tourism development in the Yukon? The** Figure below illustrates my research question:

Figure 1. Research encounter zone.



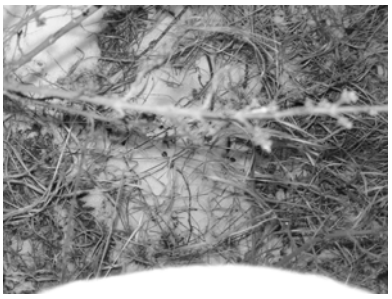
Other questions that interest me include:

A. What are the senses of place (isolation and remoteness) held by Yukoners in general? How do these differ across communities of people?

B. What are the senses of place (isolation and remoteness) held by special interest tourism guides

C. How are these senses of place (isolation and remoteness) expressed in special interest tourism products
    i) Design
    ii) Delivery

Project Goals or "What's the purpose of your research?"



The primary goal of my research is to figure out how the importance of places can contribute to sustainable tourism development in the Yukon Territory. My research will help us to develop what is being called "place-based policy." Place-based policy recognizes the importance of places when developing policy. It recognizes place uniqueness, and the hard-to-measure non-economic values that places have for people, for instance, the spiritual, psychological and emotional impacts that places can have on people.

Yukoners will benefit from my research because it will increase our ability to define what sustainable development means to us from a variety of place-based perspectives. This will include considering how place can contribute to, among other things, community and economic development initiatives or tourism planning. My research will also help to promote tourism development that is based on the principles of community-based and sustainable development.

Methods or "How are you going to look into this?"

I use what is called a "qualitative approach," which means that I can do an in-depth study and look closely at the areas of interest to me. My research focuses on special interest tourism operators, guides and interpreters in the Yukon and I will be talking to many of them over the course of the summer. I will look closely at the relationships they have with the places they bring visitors to. I'm focussing on this specific group of people because it is an accessible and easily defined group of people for me to collect data from and analyse it in light of my research question. I will use four different methods to collect data:

1. Content analysis assesses documents and visual materials (e.g. newspapers, literary works, films, etc.) and looks for patterns and themes. I will also look at a variety of tourism research and promotional materials.

2. Participant observation – or being an "**observing participant**" – is a method that is particularly effective for investigators who want to collect rich data that comes from local perspectives and that can best be collected through community involvement and recurrent contact with people. This method will involve my participation in special interest tourism activities.

3. I will **interview** guides and other key people. I'll ask them questions that relate to my three theme areas: Special interest tourism, sustainable tourism development, and sense of place.

4. I'll organize one or more "group interviews" or "**focus group**" sessions. A focus group will enable key people to come together so that they can discuss the three theme areas together.[27]

Other Information

I will do my research under the guidelines set out by the University of Alberta's Ethics Review Board as well as the Yukon Scientists and Explorers Act (1958) (my research license # is: 06-04S&E). Results will be disseminated in a doctoral dissertation, scholarly journals, academic, tourism industry and public conferences, as well as through local newspapers and informal gatherings, including invitations to speak to members of organizations or communities.

A more detailed research statement is available upon request. If you have any questions or want more information, please contact me. I would be pleased to talk about my research and how it might be useful to you, your community, or your organization. Thank you for your interest!

Sincerely,
Suzanne de la Barre
PhD Candidate
Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation, University of Alberta
Residence Phone (Whitehorse): (867) 633-6904
E-mail: sd@ualberta.ca

[27] In consultation with my advisory committee, the focus group was cancelled because it was assessed that additional data was not necessary.

Here are a few resources if you want to know more:

Special Interest Tourism

Read about it:

Weiler B. & Hall, C. M. (Eds.) (1991). Special Interest Tourism. London: Bellhaven Press.

Trauer, B. (2006). Conceptualizing special interest tourism – frameworks for analysis. Tourism Management, 27(2), 183-200.

Go on-line :

The Yukon Government's Tourism department ***Tourism Industry Resource Centre*** *is a good place to go to learn about special interest tourism in the Yukon ("Sundry Reports" at http://www.tirc.gov.yk.ca/))*

Sense of Place

Read about it:

Cresswell, T. (2004). Place: A Short Introduction. Blackwell Publishing. (for on-line information about this book go to: http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/book.asp?ref=1405106719&site=1)

Feld, S. & Basso, K. (Eds.) (1996). Senses of Place. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

McAvoy, L. (2002). American Indians, Place Meanings, and the Old/New West. Journal of Leisure Research, 34 (4), 383-396.

Milne, S., Grekin, J., & Woodley, S. (1998). Tourism and the Construction of Place in Canada's Eastern Arctic. In G. Ringer (Ed.), Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism (pp.101-120). New York: Routledge.

Go on-line:

Research on Place and Space: *An amazing website that looks at place from many different disciplines and perspectives and provides an abundance of resources (http://pegasus.cc.ucf.edu/~janzb/place/)*

Understanding Place *is a website designed to introduce the idea of "place," what it means, and how it can be used by communities and more generally (http://www.ccrh.org/curr/studyofplace.html)*

Sustainable (Tourism) Development

Read about it:

France, L. (1997). The Earthscan Reader in Sustainable Tourism. London: Earthscan Publications Limited.

Richards, G., & Hall, D. (Eds.). (2000). Tourism and Sustainable Community Development. London: Routledge.

World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (1987). Our Common Future. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Go on-line:

Sustainable Travel International (STI) *is "a not-for-profit organization dedicated to providing education and outreach services that will lessen the toll that travel and tourism takes on the environment and local cultures" (http://www.sustainabletravelinternational.org/).*

The well-known ***International Ecotourism Society (TIES)*** *is a non-governmental organization that "is unique in its efforts to provide guidelines and standards, training, technical assistance, research and publications to foster sound ecotourism development" (http://www.ecotourism.org/).*

The ***Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change*** *(CTCC) seeks to generate ideas, stimulate debate, inform policy, develop networks and contribute to best practice in planning, management and marketing relating to tourism and cultural change" (http://www.tourism-culture.com/).*

Tourism Cares for Tomorrow *is "a non-profit organization that preserves, conserves and promotes the responsible use of our world's natural, cultural and historic treasures and supports education and research to help secure the positive future of travel and tourism worldwide" (http://www.tourismcaresfortomorrow.org/tourismcares/).*

Appendix C
Interview Consent Forms

Yukon Territory, 2006

RE: Special Interest Tourism, Sense of Place, and Sustainable Development in the Yukon Territory

Greetings,

My name is Suzanne de la Barre and I am a Ph.D. student in the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta, working under the supervision of Dr. Tom Hinch. I have asked if you would allow me to **interview** you. What follows is some information about what that will entail.

What, When and How:

The interview I will be conducting with you will take between 1 and 1.5 hours to complete and will take place at a time and location convenient to you. I may contact you for a follow-up interview which should take no more than 1 hour.

Data collection technology:

In order to transcribe accurately and have a more interesting recording of the data, I will use a tape recorder. I will also take notes during the interview.

Confidentiality:

I will take every precaution to ensure that sensitive information relating to you or your activities will remain confidential. It should be noted however that it is often possible to identify people, businesses, places, etc. by how a person or place is described in the Yukon. Therefore, you should know that it may be unavoidable that identifiable information may be disclosed in the investigation, analysis and/or writing of results. Notwithstanding these realities, every reasonable attempt will be made to maintain confidentiality.

Risk to you and others:

There are few risks other than sharing of information related to your participation in this study. However, while unlikely, it is possible that information made available about you in the research could have a detrimental affect on you and/or your business and/or your reputation. Discretion will be used and extreme attention will be paid to avoid causing any harm, direct or indirect, to anyone.

Benefits to you and others:

Benefits to participants in my study include: 1) an opportunity to express your thoughts, and feelings about place and ideas about what sustainable tourism development means to you; 2) an opportunity to participate in a study that might provide tourism industry stakeholders and others with valuable insight that may be useful for tourism development policy; and, 3) an opportunity to discuss product development ideas in light of sustainable tourism discussions.

Option to withdraw from the research:

You are completely free to withdraw consent and stop participation in the study at any time, for any reason. You can also request that the data related to yourself be withdrawn if you decide to withdraw from the study.

Other information:

The Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta has approved this study, and I have a Yukon Research License (#06-04S&E). Please do not hesitate to speak with me anytime if you have questions or concerns. You may contact Dr. Tom Hinch at (780) 492-3615, my research supervisor, or Dr. Brian Maraj, Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee at (780) 492 –5910, if you have any ethical concerns with the project. Please note that Dr. Maraj has no direct involvement with this project.

If you are interested in volunteering for this study please return a completed consent form to the principal investigator, me, Suzanne de la Barre. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Principal Investigator:
Suzanne de la Barre
Ph.D. Candidate, Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation, University of Alberta
Ph.: (867) 633-6904 E-mail: sd@ualberta.ca

Supervisor and alternate contact regarding the study:
Dr. Tom Hinch, Associate Professor, Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation
University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB T6G 2H9
Ph: (780) 492-3615

Consent Form

Project Title: Special Interest Tourism, Sense of Place, and Sustainable Development in the Yukon Territory

Principal Investigator: Suzanne de la Barre, Ph.D. Candidate
Faculty of Physical Education & Recreation, University of Alberta (867) 633-6904 (Whitehorse)

Supervisor and Alternate contact: Dr. Tom Hinch, Associate Professor, Faculty of Physical Education & Recreation University of Alberta (780) 492-3615

Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study?	Yes	No
Have you read and received a copy of the attached Information Sheet?	Yes	No
Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this research study?	Yes	No
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?	Yes	No
Do you understand that you are free to refuse to participate, or to withdraw from the study at any time, without consequence, and that your information will be withdrawn at your request?	Yes	No
Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you? Do you understand who will have access to your information?	Yes	No

This study was explained to me by: _____

I agree to take part in this study:

_____	_____	_____
Signature of Research Participant	Date	Witness

_____	_____
Printed Name	Printed Name

I believe that the person signing this form understands what is involved in the study and voluntarily agrees to participate.

_____	_____
Signature of Investigator or Designee	Date

Appendix D
Call Yourself a Yukoner?

What does the Yukon mean to you?

What should it mean for our visitors?

We want your input?

All Yukoners are invited to work with Tourism Yukon to develop a new destination brand for the territory.

What is a destination brand?

A good destination brand is much more than a name, and it encompasses the expectations and experiences associated with the place. Every point of contact between a visitor and the Yukon – before, during and after the visit – assists in building our brand.

Why is a destination brand important?

A great brand is all about a memorable experience. If our brand promise is fulfilled in our visitors' experiences, our brand will truly be effective. A strong brand ensures that all of our marketing programs are much more effective as well.

How can you help?

We're developing Yukon's destination brand through extensive research, both inside and outside the territory. As part of this effort, we are asking Yukoners to fill out an online survey that explores their attitudes. We want Yukoners to play a part in determining what the best and most believable Destination Yukon Brand would be. The deadline for taking part in the survey is September 30.

Source: Call yourself a Yukoner? (2005) [Advertisement]. *Yukon News*, August 16, p. 64.

Appendix E
First Nations Tourism Protocols

It is important when visiting the Klondike that respect is given to First Nations culture, history and protocols.

The Land: The Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in have the greatest respect for the environment. We ask that you step lightly on this ground and its fragile resources. A small, easily plucked plant may have taken many years to grow; even rotten logs and dead trees can be habitat for small animals and birds.

Burial sites: These sites are sacred to the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in and should be respected and left undisturbed.

Artifacts: Territorial regulations forbid the collection of artifacts and other historic resources.

Photos: Some First Nations people feel uncomfortable having their photo taken. This is especially true during ceremonies. Please ask for permission before you proceed. Moosehide Village: Visitors wishing to visit Moosehide must first contact the reception desk at the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Government. Moosehide is a drug and alcohol free village. If you plan to hike the trail to Moosehide, please be advised that the trail is not maintained and can be precarious in some spots. Once there, please refrain from peering in windows as the cabins are private homes. There are no services, so please pack your own food and beverages.

For more information go to: www.trondek.com

Source: Retrieved on March 25, 2008 from
http://www.dawsoncity.ca/klondikeattractions/dänojàzhoculturalcentre/

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