Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing as a Framework for Sustainable and Inclusive Tourism Planning and Development

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ABSTRACT

Indigenous voices and philosophies are conspicuously absent from the call to transform tourism planning through regenerative and culturally inclusive approaches. To address this, this work explores collaborative frameworks that can propel the tourism industry forward for all stakeholders in a more inclusive and sustainable way. Examining the role of Traditional Knowledge in Unama'ki Cape Breton Island provides an enhanced understanding of the barriers to and opportunities for Indigenous inclusion in tourism decision-making and can inform a broader world view. Additionally, the philosophy of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing allows for the consideration of two distinct perspectives and could be usefully applied to the tourism industry. Through the lens of reconciliation, Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing provides a path for tourism decision-makers to contribute to a shared decision matrix and, ultimately, to contribute to a new framework for tourism development. Challenging established colonial research norms and exploring the complex dynamic between Indigenous and non-Indigenous decision-making will deliver both a theoretical contribution to existing literature as well as a practical contribution to building tourism on more equitable grounds.

KEYWORDS: tourism, Etuaptmumk /Two-Eyed Seeing, traditional knowledge, tourism planning, framework

Applying traditional oral teachings to modern-day planning and problem solving is an increasing area of research (Ermine, 2006; Corbet, 2023), and research methodology bridging Indigenous and non-Indigenous ways of knowing has launched a new era in Indigenous research (Hayward et al., 2021). A broad range of disciplines such as education, medicine, aquaculture, and wildlife conservation have constructed planning frameworks reflecting both Indigenous and Eurocentric perspectives; however, there is a noticeable gap in similar research related to tourism planning, decision-making, and destination development.

We must begin with an understanding of place. Indigenous teachings and Traditional Knowledge are place or land based—although this is not synonymous with environmental or nature-based learning. Instead, Indigenous pedagogies are relational to Mother Earth: land loss affects Indigenous guardians and stewards, impacting their health, well-being, and self-determination. Additionally, tourism relies on human and non-human relationships that are informed by place. Wildcat et al. (2014) provide a robust discussion of the historical undermining of Indigenous land-based pedagogy by Western society and explore the complexities and nuances of Indigenous land-based education in different contexts, places, and methods. Many destination marketing organizations tout tourism as a way to be a good steward to nature, but is this the reality? Where is the inclusion of Indigenous ways of knowing in tourism planning? Do tourism planners think of land as a source of knowledge and understanding, or do they think of land as the key to unlocking economic development? How do our relationships with land inform and order the way we conduct relationships with each other and other-than-human beings? (Wildcat et al., 2014)

Unama'ki Cape Breton Island, and its tourism sector in particular, represents the place or geographical research area for this project. Modern day Unama'ki Cape Breton Island has four dominant cultures: Mi'kmaw, Acadian (the descendants of French colonists), Irish, and Scottish (Brown, 2004). While the Mi'kmaw people have welcomed visitors and immigrants to the Island for centuries, Indigenous tourism and related product development has been slow to progress. That said, Indigenous tourism offerings are included under the broad umbrella of Destination Cape Breton (DCB), the Island's destination marketing organization. Having launched a ten-year strategic plan in 2021, DCB works to ensure Indigenous representation on its volunteer board of directors and works collaboratively with the Nova Scotia Indigenous Enterprise Network.

Tourism is an area of both established and emerging strength for Unama'ki Cape Breton Island. Like many island-based tourism economies, Unama'ki Cape Breton Island faces unique geographical challenges due to its size, location, limited resources, and historical marginalization (Graci & Maher, 2018). Tourism presented an alternative to declining extractive industries such as coal and fish, and the tourism industry was quickly seen as critical to the economy, with early initiatives in Indigenous tourism such as Membertou Trade and Convention Centre and Eskasoni Cultural Journeys helping to shape the cultural narrative of the Island and contributing to community economic development (Graci & Maher, 2018). The Island's tourism sector is primarily rural based and is comprised of 740 mostly small- and medium-sized businesses (Statistics Canada, n.d.). In 2016, the Island's tourism sector consisted of 5,675 employees, representing 10.56% of the total employment on the Island (Statistics Canada, n.d.); as of 2017, the Province of Nova Scotia estimated the sector's annual value to be \$330,000,000. Approximately 462,000 Unama'ki Cape Breton Island room nights were sold in 2017, representing 17.5% of the provincial total (DCB, 2019). This clearly demonstrates the sector's value from an economic development point of view.

However, first-hand observations from workers with more than four decades' experience in the visitor economy, as well as statements from the DCB, indicate that Indigenous tourism roles and Indigenous-led visitor experiences are underrepresented (DCB, 2019). Why are Mi'kmaw influences and teachings not incorporated by those individuals and organizations responsible for tourism planning, policy, and action? This question was the impetus for this research.

The Tourism Planning Context

While Unama'ki Cape Breton Island's tourist industry demonstrated significant growth leading up to 2019, the Covid-19 pandemic harmed its tourism sector. As Unama'ki Cape Breton Island develops its tourism pandemic recovery strategies, industry players have pursued a singular goal-increasing revenue to meet and surpass pre-pandemic performance levels. For Indigenous communities, tourism can be a lever to economic growth, and Indigenous knowledge systems and wider Indigenous-informed approaches can positively contribute to transforming business, health, and education for a more positive global society (Carr, 2020). Studies show that the Covid-19 pandemic can act as a catalytic event in which existing economic and political structures are challenged and reshaped, providing an opportunity to redefine the ecological burdens our activities create (Wells et al., 2020). Thus, as the tourism industry resets, Indigenous voices must be incorporated into post-Covid plans if Indigenous aspirations for community development are to be realised (Hutchison et al., 2021). Whether it takes the form of advancing Indigenous Peoples or collaborating with Western approaches, Indigenous inclusion challenges the status quo and could transform the tourism industry during its post-pandemic journey.

Forming innovative partnerships is not a new strategy for the tourism sector, where packaging and joint promotions are commonplace and extensively covered. However, the rush for results can make it challenging to develop innovative long-term relationships, especially in the case of Traditional Knowledge inclusion, where relationships are built through trusting, listening, believing, and understanding. As a result, the current tourism policy and decision-making processes involve a complicated relationship between federal, provincial, municipal, and First Nations governments, communities, and organizations.

Position Statement

I am a settler researcher with significant tourism industry training and experience: the term settler researcher or settler-ally researcher is often applied to researchers who are negotiating the complexities of traditional Indigenous knowledge systems (Snow,

2018). It is important to acknowledge that I have been shaped by the colonial education system in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom: as a result, completing this research required both an unlearning and a relearning before any co-learning would be possible. Awareness and education training gave me a better understanding of traditional knowledge systems and their applicability to tourism planning and policy development and was helpful in navigating cultural protocols.

Since recognizing past wrongs is an important first step in moving forward (Government of Canada, 2022), this work starts with a decolonization of Western methodologies in search for truth, reconciliation, and ReconciliACTION. Decolonizing research creates more empathetic researchers and more active cocreators of knowledge, demonstrating how we can take responsibility for our research and deliver more meaningful and impactful work (Datta, 2018).

ReconciliACTION in Tourism

Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (T&RC) was formed in 2008 and delivered on its mandate in 2015. The goal was to inform all Canadians about the cultural genocide carried out by the federal government through its residential school system. It achieved that goal and more, culminating in 94 Calls to Action. What We Have Learned: Principles of Truth and Reconciliation (2015) was the summary report released by T&RC outlining 10 principles designed to guide reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canada. The Canadian government committed atrocities against Aboriginal Peoples for generations, and the Principles of Truth and Reconciliation aim to identify barriers to reconciliation and opportunities for constructive action by all Canadians. These recommendations are not tourism industry-specific, but many are applicable for tourism planning, policy, and development. Indeed, reconciliation has ignited awareness and action in Canada, the US, Australia, and New Zealand, as manifested through land acknowledgements, inclusion of ceremonies, and tourism development partnerships (Wark, 2021).

ReconciliACTION offers one model of enacting these recommendations. A term blending Truth and Reconciliation with the Calls to Action, ReconciliACTION advocates for actions or outcomes, not simply words. The Indigenous Tourism Association of Canada (ITAC) has been at the forefront of incorporating ReconciliACTION in the tourism sector. ITAC is an organization with hundreds of members representing Indigenous businesses and individuals from across the country (ITAC, n.d.), providing the tools, resources, and advocacy necessary to bolster the development and promotion of Indigenous tourism in Canada. The National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation also outlines the steps needed to create a ReconciliACTION plan for organizations, teams, businesses, or those responsible for industry sector decision and policy (National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, n.d.).

In addition to philosophies encapsulated in ReconciliACTION, it is important to note that Indigenous perspectives towards tourism development are often rooted in the goal of self-determination and extraction from dependent colonial relationships (Colton, 2005). Additional considerations for Indigenous communities include opportunities to

maintain and/or strengthen land-based activities or to gain greater control over natural resources (Notzke, 1999). As settlers relearn history and reckon with the actions of their ancestors, acknowledging these additional considerations will allow opportunities for co-learning, collaboration, and allyship to grow.

Indeed, the development and execution of place-based co-management frameworks are steps forward for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous stakeholders. While the systematic blending of traditional and Eurocentric research approaches is not common, Unama'ki Cape Beton Island is home to two long-standing and successful Indigenous and non-Indigenous practical collaborations containing a research component: the Cape Breton Highlands National Park Management Plan and the Collaborative Environmental Planning Initiative. Both collaborations are based in environmental education, planning, and action, including wildlife conservation and long-term sustainability.

The Cape Breton Highlands National Park Management Plan is a joint management plan developed by Parks Canada and Indigenous Knowledge Keepers for the management of the Cape Breton Highlands National Park (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2022). It is designed to optimize operations through a shared management and conservation plan that engages and collaborates with Indigenous Peoples (Parks Canada, 2022).

The Collaborative Environmental Planning Initiative has been an active partnership since 2003, prioritizing creative partnerships in action (Bras d'Or Lakes, n.d.). This formalized relationship between the five First Nations on Unama'ki Cape Breton Island and municipal jurisdictions was initiated by the five Mi'kmaq Chiefs of Unama'ki with the goal of joint research and decision making around the Bras d'Or Lake.

Likewise, the Nova Scotia Indigenous Tourism Enterprise Network is a provincial Indigenous-led organization advocating and delivering capacity-building projects designed to strengthen economic development in Mi'kmaw communities through tourism. From Mi'kmaw youth culinary camps to education and relationship building with allies, this group represents Indigenous voices at many decision-making tables, including DCB. Ultimately, these examples demonstrate successful collaborative community and land-based policy and planning environments.

Research Goals and Objectives

Research Goals

The purpose of this research is to critically analyse the process of tourism planning by studying the role of Indigenous knowledge in general and the philosophy of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing more specifically.

By conducting a comparative framework analysis of decision-making based on the best components of both Indigenous and Western ways of knowing, an Etuaptmumk/ Two-Eyed Seeing approach can lead to a greater understanding of the importance and mutual benefits of Indigenous knowledge inclusion in tourism development, planning, and recovery.

Research Objectives

This report has two main objectives:

- 1. To explore the theoretical opportunities related to the Etuaptmumk/ Two-Eyed Seeing philosophy within the context of tourism planning.
- 2. To conduct a preliminary analysis of multidisciplinary decisionmaking frameworks based on Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing as a path to reconcile Indigenous and non-Indigenous approaches to tourism planning across Unama'ki Cape Breton Island and beyond.

However, it is important to acknowledge that hesitation towards applying Indigenous knowledge to current tourism industry policy and development strategies exists, as bringing together Indigenous ways of knowing and Western ways of conducting research can be challenging (Lavallée, 2009). A dichotomy exists between two very different peoples with different world views, especially when one group has occupied a dominant role over the other (Clarkson et al., 1992).

Methodology

This research is part of an 'Indigenous renaissance' where both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars work toward a common goal (Battiste, 2013). Indigenous epistemologies are not widely taught in academia and, in some venues, may be discouraged. Much work is required to achieve true equity and respect between knowledge production processes (Grimwood et al., 2016). Provincial and federal government leaders have apologized for the history of cultural genocide, but generational trauma and power inequities remain. To ensure the integrity of the research process, research protocols must respect traditional knowledge systems and be designed for knowledge cocreation (Huaman & Martin, 2020). In acknowledgement of this, this study was approved by the Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch, an Indigenous-designed protocol approval process required of any researcher who wishes to study, engage, or survey any Mi'kmaw participant or community. Additionally, this work was part of a doctoral project that received Research Ethics Board approval from Leeds Beckett University in 2024.

This paper explored the three following Indigenous philosophies: ultimately, the decision was made to focus and expand on the Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing approach for tourism planning/framework analysis.

Netukulimk

Netukulimk "is an essential concept for Mi'kmaw people as it embeds understandings of how a person should live their life on earth where Spirit guides the heart, mind, and actions" (Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey, n.d.). Netukulimk weaves together the four core values of respect, responsibility, relationship, and reciprocity (Nova Scotia Department of Education and Early Childhood Development, n.d.). While not explored in detail here, Netukulimk underpins thinking around stewardship and sustainability in relation to tourism development and decision-making.

Seventh Generation Principle

The Seventh Generation Principle is a core value of the Haudenosaunee people but is commonly applied in teachings across Turtle Island/North America and beyond (Haudenosaunee Confederacy, n.d.). Chiefs and Elders consider how future generations will be impacted by the decisions they make today.

Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing

Etuaptmumk is a guiding principle that allows for multiple world views. Developed by Mi'kmaw Elder Dr. Albert Marshall, his wife Murdena Marshall, and Dr. Cheryl Bartlet at Cape Breton University in 1992, Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing is considered a gift of multiple perspectives and has been adopted as a guiding principle to bring Western and Indigenous ways of knowing together in a spirit of respect and reciprocity (C. Bartlett, personal communication, 2024). A pedagogical approach originally developed to teach integrative sciences, it weaves Westen and Indigenous knowledge systems together for a collaborative co-learning ontology (Hatcher et al., 2009)

Next, a comprehensive literature review of multidisciplinary decision-making frameworks developed to blend Western and Indigenous research with tourism planning processes and policies was performed, with the decision to focus on examples based in Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing. The examples chosen in this paper are from a combination of scholarly and trade-related contexts. Established frameworks were examined from across Canada to gain an understanding of the key components necessary when blending two world views.

I have taken what some colonial-based academics may consider extra steps in developing a defensible and inclusive research protocol, but my priority is to take every action possible to decolonialize the research plan. These steps include:

- Initiating an ongoing dialogue with experienced researchers of Indigenous communities and topics including but not limited to education, business, tourism, community economic development, sustainability, and other disciplines that have explored a Two-Eyed Seeing approach.
- Reviewing the work, purpose, and guidance of the First Nations Governance and Information Centre. As home to the First Nations principles of Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession, they offer an online professional certificate program. This training guided the main tenants of my research plan.
- Familiarizing myself with the work of the Tri-Council Policy Statement on Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit, and Metis Peoples of Canada (2018), which offers a nationally

accepted research protocol and ethics framework for studies involving Aboriginal people both in Canada and outside of Canada. This framework is used in awarding national grants and other government-supported projects. It advocates a research approach based on community and Elder consultation (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, & Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2018).

- Exploring and participating in Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch (Cape Breton University, n.d.). Their unique and groundbreaking policy, process, and protocols represent a localized protocol approval process researchers must complete before engaging with Mi'kmaq individuals and/or communities.
- Immersing myself in Indigenous cultural programs, ceremonies, and webinars to gain historical, cultural, and contextual understanding. These activities ranged from volunteering for the North America Indigenous Games in Halifax in 2023, which required three distinct training programs and a considerable amount of volunteer commitment, to participating in numerous Indigenous tourism conferences and both online and in-person training sessions on Indigenous allyship, reconciliation, and Indigenous tourism.

Traditional Knowledge and Tourism

Indigenous knowledge is a growing field of inquiry, both nationally and internationally, particularly for those interested in educational innovation. The question "What is Indigenous knowledge?" is usually asked by Eurocentric scholars seeking to understand a cognitive system that is alien to them. The greatest challenge in answering this question is to find a respectful way to compare Eurocentric and Indigenous ways of knowing and include both into contemporary modern education. (Battiste, 2002, p.3)

The terms Indigenous Knowledge and Traditional Knowledge are often used interchangeably, depending on the context. Traditional Knowledge is most often shared and explained by Elders and Knowledge Keepers. Elders are acknowledged by their communities as having a lifetime of learned teachings and of earned respect. Knowledge Keepers may not always be considered Elders but carry Traditional Knowledge and expertise in different spiritual and cultural areas (Carleton University, n.d.). Traditional Knowledge can take many forms including skills, practices, oral traditions, ceremony and social values, ethics, and relationships with nature (du Cros & McKercher, 2020). The recognition of diversity of knowledge is a positive indication of change across the research landscape, even though the legacy of colonialism remains (Smith et al., 2023).

Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed seeing as a Tourism Planning Framework

Almost 20 years ago, on Unama'ki Cape Breton Island, a new concept based in colearning and collaboration emerged. Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing rapidly gained multidisciplinary recognition and adoption. Elder Dr. Albert Marshall has been cited hundreds of times as the founder of the Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing principle, yet he has stated publicly that he is not its originator. At a 2019 Global Symposium hosted by the Samuel Centre for Social Connectedness in Toronto, he clarified that he did not develop Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing: instead, it is a concept inherent to Indigenous people as a guiding principle of how everyone should coexist (Samuel Centre for Social Connectedness, 2019). Rather, he and his late wife Murdena Marshall, as well as Dr. Cheryl Bartlett, can be credited with the first formal action of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing in Canada via the establishment of an Integrative Science Program at Cape Breton University in 2010 (Bartlett & Marshall, 2017).

Since that time, the Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing principle has been researched, applied, cited, and widely shared across disciplines and geographical locations. This principle has been used in research not only within Indigenous communities but in policy and procedures related to wildlife management, health, medicine, education, and diverse other areas (Matthews, 2021)¹. The proliferation of planning and decisionmaking frameworks developed to date is evidence of the widespread adoption of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing. For example, the Aboriginal Children's Hurt and Healing Initiative (ACHH) is based in Nova Scotia, Canada, and led by Indigenous communities with the purpose of sharing Indigenous knowledge about the health and wellness of Indigenous youth. They have recognized and embraced an Etuaptmumk/ Two-Eyed Seeing perspective that combines both Western and Indigenous worldviews (ACHH, 2021). Likewise, Debbie Martin (2012) wrote about the numerous applications of Indigenous knowledge in the public health, healthcare, and nursing professions. Martin acknowledges that Indigenous perspectives are often ignored or dismissed but that discussions of alternative methods led to a new way of combining diverse viewpoints. These studies apply the Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing philosophy to practical issues and problem solving, inviting the government, wider community, and educators to collaborate with Indigenous Elders and communities in a co-learning context that acknowledges Indigenous values, experiential knowledge, and traditions.

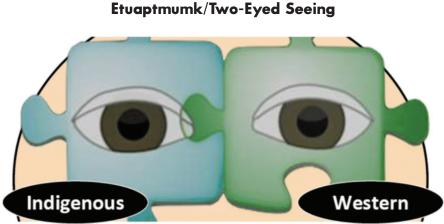


FIGURE 1

Note.Two-Eyed Seeing represents an informed vision using both eyes. From Two-Eyed Seeing: An Overview of the Guiding Principle by C. Bartlett & A. Marshall, 2017, Integrative Science, slide 19, (http://www.integrativescience.ca/uploads/files/TwoEyedSeeing_ECC%20 Canada_2017.pdf)

These are useful references when developing a similar approach for tourism applications. Current tourism and hospitality management research overlooks how traditional knowledge systems can contribute to policy and planning. Unfortunately, the continued marginalization of Indigenous people in tourism planning and decision making is not helped by academic researchers' indifference to the contribution Indigenous populations can make to the wider community (Jamal & Dredge, 2014). In this light, this study offers a new and innovative approach to a previously colonial process and an important knowledge contribution with widespread applications.

This study first looks at Indigenous and colonial perspectives as the setting for decision-making, followed by an overlay of academic and practical lenses in the context of the current tourism industry. The overall task is to develop a feasible framework for tourism development that will embody the equity and inclusion of all stakeholders to ensure culturally, ecologically, and economically sustainable communities.

An integrative review of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing undertaken and published in the International Journal of Qualitative Methods describes the systematic literature search and subsequent analysis of 37 published articles: eligibility was based on the requirement that research must be inclusive of interpretations and applications of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing. The analysis noted variances in descriptions of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing, which was variously referred to as a framework, a set of guiding principles, a set of prescriptive guidelines, and a philosophy (Wright et al., 2019). Ultimately, this search and analysis identified the need for researchers seeking authentic relationships with Indigenous people to ensure respectful integration between Indigenous and Western worldviews, drawing on the strengths of each in a holistic way and not simply at steps along the way.

The **Opportunity**

In a post-Covid world, the future is difficult to map, and the planning environment for Unama'ki Cape Breton Island is complex and crowded, with tourism operators, the Destination Marketing Organization, Parks Canada, Indigenous communities, and federal, provincial, and municipal governments, each of whom formulate their plans in silos, with varying and distinct priorities and resources. As tourism planners plot the way back to pre-pandemic revenue levels, the industry disruption could be reframed as an opportunity to rethink destination strategies with a longer-term view.

Visuals can play an important role in mapping Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing onto new industries and contexts. The originating collaborators for Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing developed numerous graphics as the late Elder Murdena Marshall was a strong advocate for the importance of visual learning (C. Bartlett, personal communication, 2024). Figure 2 is the image they developed which showcases the essentials of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing, such as co-learning, knowledge scrutinization, and knowledge validation. These categories then flow into each other through a wholistic element that includes cognitive, spiritual, emotional, and physical considerations (Bartlett & Marshall, 2017). Figure 2 depicts the bridging of Western and Indigenous knowledge as a research/policy process could be used to support the creation of research and policy frameworks in any sector or discipline.

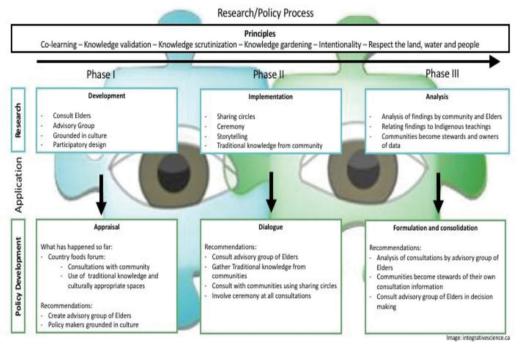


FIGURE 2 Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing

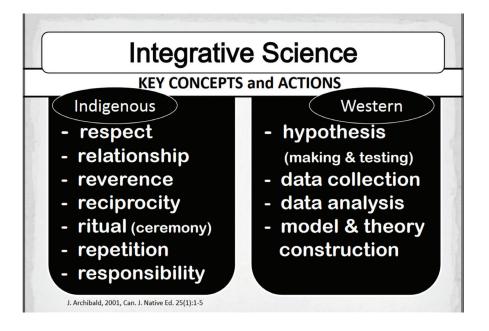
Note: From Bridging Western and Indigenous Knowledges: Two-Eyed Seeing and the Development of a Country Food Strategy in the Northwest Territories. MacRitchie, S. (2018). They advocated a phased approach based on mutual respect and incorporating practices such as sharing circles, ceremonies, and storytelling—uncommon practices in the current decision-making landscape. Important concepts included communities becoming stewards and owners of data, participatory design, and knowledge gardening, a term denoting an organic context and nurturing environment (Marshall & Bartlett, 2018).

Since then, many frameworks based on the philosophy of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing at Cape Breton University have been developed, often incorporating visual elements:

- A concept map was generated from the dialogue during an online moderated session of reconciling ways of knowing by land use planners and stakeholders in October 2020. Beginning the dialogue with a prayer demonstrates the inclusion of ceremony and is a sign of respect for Indigenous ceremony and tradition (*Etuaptmumk / Two-Eyed Seeing and Beyond*, n.d.).
- A model for co-advancement was presented via a graphic representation of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing in a summary report from a 2011 Aboriginal Wellness in Canada roundtable in Ottawa. These meetings contained discussions involving two perspectives on Canadian society. The overlay of an Etuaptmumk/ Two-Eyed Seeing approach to dialogue and planning recognized that the colonizer, Canadian society, acts from a history of appropriation and power, while the Indigenous communities are rooted in a history of assimilation. Also important to note is the agreement to come together with respect for, and inclusion of, Indigenous knowledge (Institute of Health Economics, 2011).
- A Two-Eyed Seeing partnership model designed as a stacked diagram demonstrates how the multiple view approach can be applied to a theoretical Indigenous community-based participatory study—in this case a 2021 Developmental Origins of Health and Disease Study in Canada. By including multiple perspectives, the authors recognized the value in building capacity and developed a participatory research process that created a path toward a common purpose. In this example, the goal is to assess a wide variety of health outcomes, but the steps outlined in the process are transferrable to other sectors/disciplines, including tourism (Liberda et al., 2022).

- A proposed Two-Eyed Seeing governance structure was developed to build on and accompany the theoretical Indigenous communitybased participatory 2020 Developmental Origins of Health and Disease Study. As with most examples of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing decision and governance frameworks, the components could be considered for adaptation in tourism planning environments (Liberda et al., 2022).
- A Two-Eyed Seeing: The Uproot Model was designed to bring Western and Indigenous ways of knowing together to strengthen the Faculty of Pharmaceutical Sciences at the University of British Columbia in 2023. The goal was to build a decisionmaking framework that, through its inclusivity, would decolonize and Indigenize pharmacy education. The University of British Columbia has recognized that pharmacy is transactional by nature and rooted in colonial and Western values. This transformational approach to the pharmacy sector and pharmacy education is transferable to the tourism sector (Corbet, 2023).
- A blended approach to delivering Seeking Safety was conceptualized using the Medicine Wheel and discussed in the context of using Two-Eyed Seeing to help those impacted by generational trauma. The Medicine Wheel is a familiar Indigenous symbol with components based on a North-South-East-West configuration and is often used as a framework for guidance, governance, planning, and decision-making, with numerous examples in health, education, and environmental research (Jenkins et al., 2015; Mashford-Pringle & Shawanda, 2023). This approach could be used to help identify critical characteristics for building a tourism framework based in Two-Eyed Seeing (Marsh et al., 2015).
- A framework for decolonizing digital science data that uses a bridge to represent the four Rs of respect, relevance, reciprocity, and reconciliation could act as the foundation for decolonizing climate change research and action. Bridges are often referenced in Indigenous cultures as a path or connector, so it is logical to use a bridge for this visualization because it invokes Integrated Knowledge Translation and co-creation while depicting the way forward through a Two-Eyed Seeing approach toward Indigenous self-determination and governance (Bhawra, 2022).

FIGURE 3 Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing Key Concepts and Actions: Indigenous Strengths + Western Strengths



Note: From Integrative Science and Two-Eyed Seeing: Enriching the Canadian fisheries and oceans sectors through cross-cultural collaboration. Institute for Integrative Science & Health, slide 66, (http://www.integrativescience.ca/uploads/articles/2010March-Bartlett-Marshall-Integrative-Science-Two-Eyed-Seeing-traditional-Aboriginalknowledge-fisheries-species-at-risk-AFSAR.pdf)

Conclusion

In research, as in life, words matter. This was recognized and represented by the Integrative Science Team at Cape Breton University in 2009 when the Etuaptmumk/ Two-Eyed Seeing philosophy was being conceived and led to viewing key concepts and actions from two perspectives: the Mi'kmaw approach and the Western approach.

Likewise, a critical analysis of tourism planning through a combined lens of Western and Indigenous views requires an integrated knowledge system approach as well as the application of ethical and cultural protocols. Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing offers a meaningful framework to reconcile both Western methods and theory with Indigenous knowledge (Peltier, 2018). An examination of Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing in a variety of contexts and across disciplines demonstrated how it could act as a feasible framework for destination tourism planning. As such, this work applies Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing to tourism research, an underrepresented topic of study, with the hope of furthering academic and industry discussion of Indigenous roles in key

decision-making processes across tourism and related sectors, making both a practical and theoretical contribution.

For tourism destinations and for Indigenous communities, traditional teachings and knowledge inclusion in the decision-making process holds many economic, social, and cultural benefits. As ReconciliACTION is more visible, destination management and marketing organizations are supporting, developing, and marketing authentic historical and cultural visitor experiences while ensuring that cultural exploitation does not take place.

While it does not necessarily follow that systematic changes in the colonial tourism landscape are taking root, this could change with the creation and adoption of a feasible policy framework based in Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing. Exploring the contributions of Indigenous knowledge across multiple destinations allows for a broader world view and an enhanced understanding of the benefits and barriers to Indigenous inclusion in tourism decision-making. Simply put, if an effective framework based on Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing can be created and implemented successfully in Unama'ki Cape Breton Island, it could be adapted to other locales.

This work adds to the body of academic tourism research and supports the development of practical lessons for tourism industry practitioners on Unama'ki Cape Breton Island and beyond. While two successful examples of Etuaptmumk/ Two-Eyed Seeing in conservation planning were presented earlier—the Cape Breton Highlands National Park Management Plan and the Collaborative Environmental Planning Initiative—the intentional inclusion of Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing for tourism planning requires a workable framework and this study asserts that Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing could provide that model.

This report concludes with the following insights and suggestions:

- Examining the role of Traditional Knowledge in Unama'ki Cape Breton Island demonstrates the potential for a more inclusive decision-making process based in co-learning.
- Applying Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing to both Unama'ki Cape Breton Island and the world beyond can lead to an enhanced understanding of barriers and opportunities for Indigenous inclusion in tourism decision-making.
- Employing an Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing approach to tourism planning can create a shared vision of ecological stewardship, cultural preservation, and reconciliation.
- Using Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing as a collaborative and colearning based-planning model is a wise move, as it is capable of integrating ethical principles, experiences, reflections, multiple ways of knowing, long-term planning, and cultural understanding.

Further research opportunities in the field of tourism planning, policy, and decision making include examining holistic success indicators such as spiritual, social, and ecological factors rather than Western-based economic measurements. Research that contributes to practical management practices is also needed to ensure meaningful Indigenous engagement and to enable Indigenous leadership in the development, implementation, and evaluation of tourism policy and planning.

END NOTES

¹ Additional examples of research based on Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing include Littlechild and Sutherland's "Enacting and Operationalizing Ethical Space and Two-Eyed Seeing in Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas and Crown Protected and Conserved Areas" (2021), Reid et al.'s "Two-Eyed Seeing': An Indigenous Framework to Transform Fisheries Research and Management" (2021), Kutz and Tomaselli's "Two-Eyed Seeing' Supports Wildlife Health" (2019), Marsh et al.'s "The Impact of Training Indigenous Facilitators for a Two-Eyed Seeing Research Treatment Intervention for Intergenerational Trauma and Addiction" (2020), and Hatcher et al.'s "Two-Eyed Seeing in the Classroom Environment: Concepts, Approaches, and Challenges" (2009).

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