INDIGENOUS-SETTLER RELATIONS AND THE EMPARKMENT OF THE BROUGHTON ARCHIPELAGO MARINE PARK

BY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research paper is to examine and discuss Indigenous-Settler relationships in the context of the Broughton Archipelago with a focus on the Broughton Archipelago Marine Park. The literature regarding the displacement and dispossession of land from Indigenous peoples in order to create protected and park lands is examined along with the surrounding literature of settler-colonialism. Analyzing current policies and cultural artifacts presented by BC Parks provides the foundation of this paper and is interpreted using concepts from Cronon's (1995) perspective on the creation of wilderness, Braun's (2002) view on tourism and nature, and Harris' (2002) work on the ways that power relations work through dominant geographies. My own experiences as a guide in the archipelago situate the events and actions on the land which adds a personal contextual element to this work. This thesis will aim to highlight the gap that has emerged between what is said and claimed by BC Parks and what actually takes place on the ground. My goal is to offer a discussion of the benefits of these actions taking fruition and the evolving position of First Nations. The findings of this project will not directly recommend actions to be taken by First Nations or governmental agencies but will challenge the perspective and discourse of the Broughton Archipelago Marine Park for both scholars and land users.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this paper to Steve and Karen Charleson for their teachings and inspiration.

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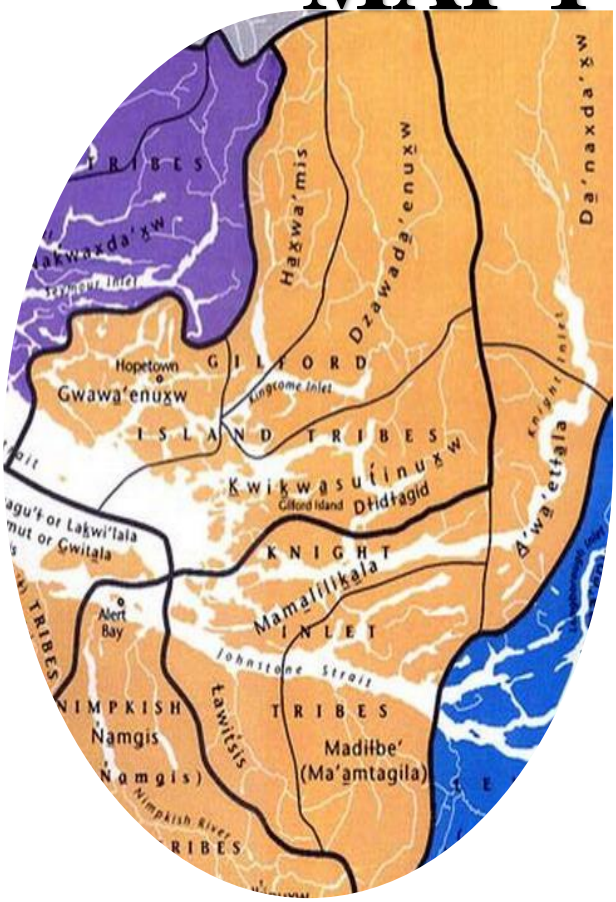
MAP 1



MAP 2

INTRODUCTION

Map 1: Indigenous Territories in what is now more predominantly known as the Broughton Archipelago.

Map 2: Cartesian map of Broughton Archipelago.

The Broughton Archipelago (BA) has a countless amount of passages and waterways between the hundreds of islands that scatter the area. By glancing at Map 2, you can see that the ability to vary your route among them is near infinite. At the same time, Map 1 illustrates

that none of these passages are undiscovered or unoccupied, but rather that there have people been living here since time immemorial. Both maps illustrate how meaning, knowledge, and memory are etched into and held by, places. Maps are visual representations of how we, understand, relate to, and move through the physical world (Braun, 2002). They are also, technologies of power (Harris, 2002). Whose ways of knowing and being are mapped? Whose places? What happens to those who have disappeared off the map (Elsey, 2013)? As I started working on this project I looked for a map that represented *both* the topographical features of the region, as I had come to first know the area as a guide, and the Indigenous territories across whose lands I have spent so much time traveling. The map that I was looking for does not exist. I could find BC Parks maps of the region, Cartesian topographical maps and tidal charts *or* maps of Indigenous territory and place names. This thesis emerges in this *or* —in the space between these two representations of space and place, and the gaps between what is said and claimed by BC Parks and what takes place on the ground in regard to the inclusion of First Nations peoples and cultures. My journey through both of these areas, the landscape itself and ways of thinking about this landscape, has been an influential and mesmerizing experience that I wish to share with you, the reader, in the pages that follow.

The BA has been home to me for the past five summer seasons as I have been employed as a sea kayak guide based out of the seasonal tourist destination, Telegraph Cove. The BA is large group of islands, passes, sounds, and inlets that lie off the north eastern coast of Vancouver Island. The physical beauty and natural resources found within this region have enabled the habitation for millennia of many First Nations bands. Since the time of European

contact, the region has drawn people from around the world seeking both the physical beauty and the extractable resources.

My own connection to the area grows with each summer that I spend in the region whether I am working or recreating amongst the islands. With each trip taken into the islands, I gain more knowledge of the area and what makes it so captivating for visitors and locals. Looking back on my first season spent in Telegraph Cove, I was naïve in my assumptions and knowledge of the area with a limited scope of the amount of learning that could be gained from simply traveling through the region all summer. I studied the (Cartesian) maps, paid attention during my guide training, and headed out. Being from Vancouver Island, I was privileged with the comfort of being near my home and an environment that was natural to me, which enabled me to pursue my goals of being a guide. Along the way, however, in the guiding off-season, I have found myself in university classrooms working towards a Bachelor of Interdisciplinary Studies and a Certificate in Aboriginal Studies. The result is that I have had to challenge myself to be critical of how I know what I know and where this knowledge has come from.

In conjunction with my experiences in the Broughtons and my academic studies of Adventure Tourism, Anthropology, Indigenous Studies, and Geography, this project has come together to create the subject of my undergraduate thesis. The fact that there are two distinct maps clearly reflects this gap. The inability to find a singular and co-produced map signals the need to explore the dichotomy and tension between these two epistemologies, ontologies, and the power relations at work between them in Settler Colonial Canada.

METHODS

The methodological approaches taken in this research were selected in response to the complexities of the subject in question. I have merged reflexive auto-ethnographic observations with a detailed review of literature on the background and history of parks in North America, the concept of wilderness, contemporary parks in B.C. and Canada, and some the challenges and benefits of Indigenous integration into park management. A literature review was first conducted to establish a foundation from where further examination could be made of particular situations and events in the BA could be made. The interdisciplinary approach used throughout this paper offers an effective method of analysing the complexities at work on the ground in the BA. By examining similar situations in Canada, B.C., and in particular the B.C. coast, I offer a comparative analysis of these events to the situation in the BA. As this subject is inherently interdisciplinary, attempting to confine my analysis into a discipline would create the potential for disciplinary bias to become more prevalent.

The literature review that I conducted for this paper analysed a wide variety of subjects, disciplines, and writing methods. This section of the paper forms the foundation from where I make my contributions to the body of knowledge regarding the relationships between First Nations and BC Parks in the BA. The secondary research of the creation and maintenance of parks in Western North America explores the issues surrounding the past and ongoing displacement of Indigenous people from parks. A historical post-colonial perspective was implemented to analyze the history of parks and their evolution into their current state. While keeping the foundation of the parks and the concepts that surround this discourse in mind, modern parks were examined and related to the BA. Recurring themes such as the creation,

displacement, access, and exclusion from management have been supported and contrasted with my personal self-reflections and observations from my time spent working and recreating in the BA.

I conduct this analysis from my unique position as a guide in the area and a student of interdisciplinary, Indigenous, and settler colonial studies. In this thesis I will draw on my own experiences as a guide, recreationalist, and student in the BA and the surrounding region. From the perspective of a guide I have embodied, firsthand, profoundly personal, and vested relationships with the region and events that take place there. As a student, I have adopted a critical and consciously engaged gaze within settler colonial studies. Being that I participate in the tourism industry and benefit from the activities that take place within the current park, the process and conclusions of this project have the potential to put my livelihood and lifestyle in jeopardy. My biases towards a favourable outcome for my findings are difficult to situate in a constructive way. I recognize that this project and thesis runs the risk of countering and problematizing many of the discourses of dominant Euro-Canadian/Settler notions of nature, wilderness, tourism, and adventure in a way that fundamentally threatens the stability and validity of my position as a privileged, white, Euro-Canadian male who makes his living as a sea kayak guide.

SIGNFICANCE OF STUDY

This project holds significance for a variety of reasons, some of which are personal, others are community based, practically grounded, and/or scholarly. By shedding light on a subject and setting that has previously received little attention, I hope to encourage broader conversations about the ways that settler colonial power relations become inscribed in place. In a context like the BA, where dominant ideas of place revolve around ‘nature,’ these power

relations themselves become naturalized and subsequently protected by park boundaries. The results of this study can be integrated into practical and scholarly contexts. Personally, this project pertains to an area that has become an important part of my character and source of inspiration. My employment throughout the summer is the result of the creation of a park and the displacement of Indigenous peoples in the area. I am fully aware of the implications of what I set out to examine here. It is my belief that it is only by fully engaging, however uncomfortable and unsettling this may be, what we know, how we know it, and what this knowing is used for as settlers, can we hold the spaces needed for meaningful conversations about reconciliation and mutually respectful co-existence in the BA, British Columbia, and Canada.

One of the objectives of this research is to contribute to the conversation about how we collectively begin to close this gap. Increasing movement towards First Nations self-determination occurring in BC and Canada signals the need for settler society to better understand the motives and meanings behind the actions of Indigenous groups. As it stands, most of these ideas are immediately interpreted as 'threatening' (to structures of privilege). This presents a potentially volatile situation. As noted earlier, going down this road could stand to challenge the way that I make a living in a place that is deeply meaningful to me. However, what stands to be gained is tremendous to all the groups involved. By getting to know each other better through increased cross-cultural understanding we can close the gap between cultures and find ways of co-existing that are just (Manual & Derrickson, 2015).

This study is my first attempt at articulating a meaningful vocabulary about actualized land based reconciliation and my place in it. As well as my personal employment being affected by the outcomes of this research, I believe that the tourism community (beginning

with the company that I work for) needs to be presented with the information of how the creation and presence of parks on traditional unceded Indigenous lands has enabled the ongoing settler-colonial society to marginalize and disenfranchise Indigenous people across Canada. Disseminating the concepts and findings that are discussed with members of tourism community is one of the goals of this project.

PLACE IN SPACE

Being able to envisage the area of the BA as a physical location as well as a site of concepts and meanings is essential to this discussion and project. Identifying the places that are found within the spaces of the BA aims to situate where the discussion of displacement and park creation takes place. This section will describe the people and place that are the focus of this paper in order to provide context to the ideas that follow. A geographical description of the locations where the events take place will be followed by a brief overview of the Indigenous and non-Indigenous people that reside in and around the BA.

The geography of the BA is a large maze of island that stretches from Vancouver Island to the mainland with many large inlets that pierce deep into the Coast Mountains of mainland Canada. Larger islands are found closer to the mainland and Vancouver Island whereas the smaller groups of islands are spread along the western edge of the archipelago. The Coastal Western Hemlock Biogeoclimatic zone dominates the region, with a moist and temperate climate year round. Large stands of Sitka spruce, red cedar, and hemlock cover the islands with an understory consisting mostly of salal, ferns, salmonberries, and huckleberries with a carpeting of peat moss and pine needles among other flora. The islands are home to many animals, small and large, ranging from black and grizzly bears, cougars, wolves, black-tailed

deer, minks, eagles, and ravens to name a few. The intertidal zone itself provides an enough food to sustain humans and animals alike and is full of clams, barnacles, chiton, sea stars, sea cucumbers, and anemones. The ocean, which provided a large portion of the food for Indigenous populations for thousands of years, has a plethora of fish, most importantly the five species of Pacific salmon. The abundance of salmon and other species have enabled a robust population of marine mammals that include orcas, humpback whales, harbour seals, Steller sea lions, pacific white sided dolphins, and Dall's porpoises.

The histories of human habitation and settlements in the BA have and will continue to change over time depending on those who chose to live there. From an Indigenous perspective, there has been occupation of this land since time immemorial and each group has their own Creation story which tells of their coming to this land (U'Mista Cultural Center, 2017). The Indigenous groups who have resided in and around the BA were semi-nomadic people prior to colonization and now are mostly sedentary living in small communities. Many of the bands would have seasonal locations for specific times of year that were dependent upon the availability of resources. Entire villages would change location, at times traveling a considerable distance in order to take advantage of the accessibility to fish stocks, hunting grounds, building materials, etc. Attempting to map this transition between seasonal residencies using a Eurocentric method is mal-adaptive and lacks the ability to capture the intricacies of Indigenous culture. Based on the information provided by the U'mista Cultural Center regarding the primary village sites of bands that live in and around the BA includes eight different groups: the Mamalilikala of 'Mimkwamlis (Village Island), 'Namgis of Xwalkw (Cheslakees), Ławit'sis of Kalugwis (Turnour Island), Awa'etła̱la of Dzawadi (Knight Inlet), Da'naxda'xw of Tsadzis'nukwame' (New

Vancouver), Dzawada̱'enux̱w of Gwa'yi (Kincome Inlet), K̲wikwa̱sutinux̱ of G̲wa'yasda̱ms (Gilford Island), and Gwawa'enux̱w of Hega̱m's (Hopetown) (U'Mista Cultural Center, 2017). Some of the villages, such as 'Mimkwamlis and K̲alug̲wis have been abandoned, for various reason, not least of which are the impacts of forced settlement imposed through settler colonial processes of the creation of Indian Reserves (Harris 2002), but there are still visible remnants of long standing habitation and use left both on the land and in the oral histories of the Mama̱lilik̲a̱la and Ławit'sis people respectively (U'Mista Cultural Center, 2017).

Non-Indigenous settlement in the Archipelago has also resulted in many past and present communities and settlements within the region. Many incoming Euro-Canadians settlers were drawn to the region for the vast potential of resource extraction opportunities. During the early years of the 20th century, many small communities began to appear in response to the increasing forestry and fishery industries. The congregation of float homes around Simoon Sound and more recently Echo Bay has been a hub the Archipelago for many years. Other smaller outposts such as Lagoon Cove, Minstrel Island, Sullivan Bay, Telegraph Cove, Freshwater Bay, and Alert Bay began their existence as centers for those involved in resource extraction, such as logging, fishing, hunting, and trapping. The region emerged in settler imaginations as a settler colonial frontier space—resource rich, not yet discovered and tamed, and free for the taking (Tsing, 2004). As a result, settler communities and resource extraction industries were established. A requirement for this to occur was the systematic and institutionalized dispossession of Indigenous lands from Indigenous peoples in the region (Snow, 1977). The Indian Act and the Indian Reserve system worked (and continue to) together to accomplish this (Harris, 2002; Elsey, 2013). One of themes explored in this thesis

is the role of official state parks (national and provincial) as technologies of this same dispossession, a point that I will return to shortly.

Over the past 70 years many of these settler communities have taken on a role as tourism destinations that appeal to people who come to the Archipelago to enjoy the beauty and the wildlife. As well as the settlements there were many individuals who lived throughout the islands on small plots of land. Similar to the abandoned Indigenous communities, there are physical remains of the activities that Euro-Canadians pursued, such as logging equipment, decaying homes, and the deep scars from the resources that were harvested found in almost every nook and cranny of the BA. More recently, the creation of a provincial park in the BA has been establish to protect the physical landscapes, ecosystems, marine recreation, and the cultural aspects of the region (BC Parks, 2003) from the very resource extractive-based industries that drew settlers to the region in the first place.

One item that is important to note as I set the context for this discussion is that I am not attempting here to provide an ethnographic overview of the cultural specifics of Indigenous groups in the regions. Ever since Europeans arrived in North America they have been attempting to describe Indigenous peoples, cultures, societies, economies, etc. to academics and the general public. Many scholars have forged their careers and reputations pursuing this objective yet their accounts rarely produced more than a stereotyping, racialized, observation of cultures at times of extreme change and movement (voluntary or forced) (Steckley, 2008). As early European explorers settled in Canada, they continued to attempt to understand, from a Eurocentric perspective, Indigenous peoples. Numerous anthropologists and authors have written about the BA and the surrounding region where "Kwakiutl" people live, starting with the (in)famous Franz Boas' *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl*

Indians published in 1897. In stride with settler colonial desires to be the 'first' to 'discover' places and people, anthropologists set out to make their careers on the backs of such discoveries (Steckley 2008; Wolcott, 2003). In the Broughtons, Franz Boas' (1897) studies the "Kwakiutl" people was an examination of a population that were labelled by many as savages. Although Boas' was more interested in their highly developed culture and society making claims that the Kwakiutl were far from savage, he pays no heed to the bias that he introduces into his findings, most notably, as a white, male, European anthropologist (Reid, 2004). In response to the settler colonial ethnocentrism inherent in early ethnographic representation of Indigenous peoples, several have attempted to differentiate themselves. Wolcott (2003) and Spradley (1971) both work to represent their experiences in Indigenous communities in the region as working with community members and not a representation of a cultural group. What both share, however, with Boas is a white, settler, male gaze and narrative attempts at ethnographic description that result in less differentiation than either claim.

Only until relatively recently did any ethnographies or similar studies include the voices and perspectives of Indigenous people as they understood themselves. Once Indigenous people were invited to participate in the writing process, many of these accounts are interpreted and presented with a settler-colonial bias that served to justify the actions taken by settler colonial society and forces. For this reason, in this paper, I will not attempt to describe First Nations cultures or peoples more than a brief explanation of the geographical location and basic information regarding the various First Nations involved. The research necessary in presenting an adequate, respectful, and meaningful depiction of the immensely complex coastal First Nations would consist of nothing short of a life time of learning. And

to be frank, that is not my story to tell. Rather, my story is about my responsibilities, to attempt to decolonize my actions and the actions of those around me, as a settler in this area who benefits from the ways that place has come into being. In this case, specifically the formation of the BA as a park and a tourist destination.

THE CABIN

Situating the sources and events that have led to the creation of this project create a platform from where the research can be conducted. The physical representation of the cabin as well as precedent setting cases in B.C. are important factors that have influenced this project. The ability of Indigenous groups to assert their rights as well as counter-act the settler colonial forces in a variety of forms is displayed through demonstrations of presence, legal actions, and self-determination.

The events that have taken place recently that influenced my decision to study the BA and the relationships that take place there include the recent construction of a cabin by the

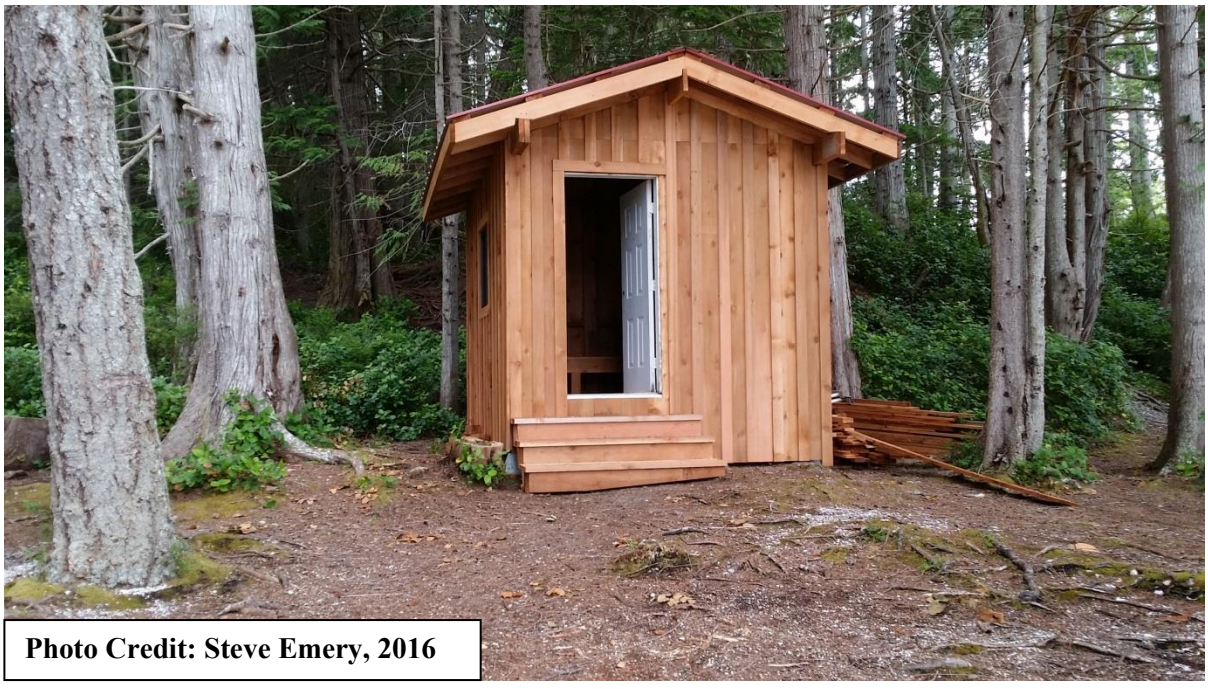


Photo Credit: Steve Emery, 2016

Musgmagw Dzawada'enuxw Tribal Council on the central island of the Burdwood Group (see picture below). This cabin has been erected in the one of the most popular campsites in the northern BA and is a physical display of an assertion of Indigenous / Musgmagw sovereignty within a park. The placement of the cabin was followed with a sign that reads "This site is within unceded Musgmagw Dzawada'enuxw Traditional Territory" which was followed with BC Parks posting their own sign that outlined how parks encouraged the respect of the land and detailed the cultural significance of the park to recreationalists. Soon after the word spread of the cabin and the signs being placed there were rumours that Park officials wanted to remove the cabin**.** Not unlike my apparent incompatibility noted at the start of this thesis of being able to map this region in a way that reflects distinctly different epistemological and ontological relationships with place, BC Parks seems unable to reconcile the tension between its claims to the management of this site and Musgmagw assertions of presence that call it out. This struggle exemplifies the need to hold a discussion of the creation and maintenance of settler park structure upon unceded Indigenous land.

I could not help but put the example of this cabin alongside the recent precedent setting court cases of the Tsilhqot'in land claims that has granted the Tsilhqot'in National Government title "to more than 1,700 square kilometers of land in British Columbia" (CBC News, 2014). For the first time in Canadian history, the Tsilhqot'in Decision acknowledges Aboriginal Title to land on a territorial basis. Up until this 2014 decision, Aboriginal Title has only ever been acknowledged in principle and never on the ground or in tangible expressions of acknowledgement. Rather, land claim and treaty agreements are designed (as they have always been) to extinguish Aboriginal Title in exchange for negotiated settlements (Snow, 1977). As with the Tsilhqot'in land claims agreement there have been other events in

Haida Gwaii and Clayoquot Sound that are challenging the current approach to park management and Indigenous involvement. These cases, informed by increasing settler colonial studies literature challenging dominant land-based power relations work to unsettle Euro-Canadian ways of knowing and being in ways that allow Indigenous groups to use the power of settler colonialism against itself and increase the momentum of the "Indigenization of Canadian society" (Scheffel, 2017: personal communication). I situate this thesis in this momentum towards greater cross cultural understanding.

As mentioned above, this thesis has emerged from the gap between what BC Parks says regarding Indigenous representation, and what it does. The cabin is a good example. Unable to contain its disruptive capacities, BC Parks added their own sign asserting their presence and occupation of the site, without acknowledging that what the Musgmagw sign claims—that this is unceded (meaning unsurrendered land to which Aboriginal Title has never been extinguished). BC Parks has, in their published documents regarding the Broughton Archipelago Marine Park (BAMP), attempted to situate their position towards the acknowledgement of Indigenous culture within the park. The statements and policies pertaining to the BAMP outline that there are places of cultural significance within the park and the task of protecting these locations falls upon them (BC Parks, 2003) but in reality, there appears to be little evidence of any conservation of any village site, middens, or any past or present culturally significant places.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to situate this discussion in the gap between what BC Parks claims and does on the ground in relation to the incorporation of Indigenous representation I will outline the historical and contemporary contexts of state-sponsored parks and Indigenous involvement in the management of protected areas and parks. A short history and background on parks in North America, Canada, and finally B.C., will provide a foundation from which more current approaches to park management will be addressed. The introduction of First Nations co-management and the inclusion of Indigenous groups in various National and Provincial Parks will be analyzed. Tribal parks will be the focus of the next section, where the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park in Clayoquot Sound will be described, with the positive attributes and challenges noted. I am particularly interested in the role that co-management approaches can play in diminishing the gap between Indigenous and settler land-relations as they play out in parks. To this end, I will examine the overall benefits of practices that include First Nations epistemology and ontology for their cultural, legal, social, and economic benefits. Central to successful strategies of co-management is a recognition of the cultural biases and values built into, and reflected by, settler perceptions of space and place that render selected landscapes understandable as 'wilderness' and this wild-ness worthy of 'protection' (Cronon 1995). Literature on the anthropology of space and place, the production of wilderness as a particular kind of landscape, and the ways that power relations are inscribed into and on landscapes will serve as the theoretical framework for this discussion.

BACKGROUND ON PARKS IN NORTH AMERICA

The beginning of the movement to create state-sponsored parks in North America took place in stride with settler colonial nation-building. Beginning around the mid-point of the 19th century when western North America was being developed by incoming colonial groups and settlers (Cronon, 1995; Mason, 2014) and land was being settled and the abundant resources were beginning to be discovered and exploited by settlers, there was a movement to protect the land from further devastation at the hands of anyone (Indigenous or non-Indigenous). Towards the end of the Second World War and a new era of free time and leisure activities ushered in a new movement of considering 'natural' landscapes, in particular those that were being recreated in and upon, as more valuable in their wild-ness than as simply exploitable natural resources (Young, 2011). In other words, state-sponsored parks are rooted in settler colonial desire—first in response to unfettered settler exploitation of resources and then as an exploitable tourist resource (Snow, 1977). What both visions of land require is that space needs to be evacuated of existing inhabitants. For colonialism to succeed it needs to obtain unquestionable access to resources in order to continue the goal of 'progress.' This unrelenting quest for more access to land is in direct threat of any Indigenous populations that existed prior to the arrival of colonial forces. Various tactics were (and are) implemented to enable settler rights to resources (and the subsequent dispossession of Indigenous peoples from land) as Europeans moved westward across Turtle Island. The result, as Cole Harris notes, is that one geography, epistemology, and ontology supersedes and suppresses another (Harris, 2002). Parks are one such technology.

As Cronon (1995) notes, the beginning of conservationism began in the San Francisco area and eventually led to the creation of Yellowstone National Park in the United

States. The birth of Yellowstone National Park gave way to the 'Yellowstone Model' that Stevens (2014) details as having four primary assumptions: parks were understood to be governed by the state; their primary goal was to "protect" "natural" landscapes; they were void of people and uninhabited, and if there were people living there; it was just to remove them from the land in order to preserve the "wilderness". The impacts of these assumptions are built into the roles and power relations that parks possess today. These four pillars of park creation are mirrored by Chief John Snow's (1977) description of the intentions of settlers to civilize, educate, and Christianize Indigenous peoples in order to assimilate them and make way for the expansion of settlement.

The first assumption clearly signifies the notion that the general public were/are unable to manage park land and requires a governmental institution in order to maintain the integrity of the land. In the creation of a branch of government to preside over park land, the future of the "protected" land inevitably caters to the needs and desires of the dominant government over the needs of the public, Indigenous or non-Indigenous. By an official governing body taking ownership of park land, it can be proclaimed as a permanent entity which can then assume characteristics and qualities of its own (Mason, 2014).

Secondly, declarations and practices of "protecting natural" landscapes from the effects of humans suggest that land needs protection from select human activities. While parks are produced for human use, not all humans are excluded by way of this 'protection.' Rather, structures of privilege can be re-inscribed onto space. Patrick Wolfe (2006: 388) wrote of settler colonialism, "invasion is a structure not an event." This structure is built on a foundation of dispossession of Indigenous peoples from land. Language (that turns into policy that turns into a park) that focuses on the need to protect land from human activities

(Cronon, 1995) serves in this effort of dispossession. Select activities like hunting, fishing, and berry picking can be banned in the name of 'protection.' The result is that Indigenous peoples lose access to both space and subsistence strategies. Not only did the establishment of parks preclude certain (read Indigenous) peoples and activities from taking place within parks but they also serve to erase all previous history and meaning that was associated with the land. With space evacuated of people and history, the park can become the beginning of the narrative, and imbued with whatever symbolic value the narrator (i.e., State) desires (Mason, 2014). The assumption that land was void of any settlement falls directly in line with the settler-colonial method of dispossessing peoples from land both on the land and in the mentality that accompanied the governing bodies and greater social discourse of that era, and to some extent, today. From a critical perspective, we can thus examine parks as settler colonial cultural artifacts for what they are and what they do.

The final assumption stated that any existing inhabitants in a to-be-emparked area were to be expelled for the greater good of preservation (Stevens, 2014). This offers a moral justification for the dispossession and displacement (Stevens, 2014) of Indigenous peoples. As Wolfe (2006) notes, "where [Indigenous people] are, is who they are" (388), therefore the forced relocation, displacement and dispossession that was enacted for the "protection" of land completely changed the ability of the displaced to self-identify, and can be seen as an act of incredible violence. The mal-adaptive practices of forced relocations have had a long history of being the root of many pathological conditions that persist in Indigenous communities (Steckley, 2008).

This set of assumptions and corresponding attitude took hold and underpinned the creation of parks in North America (Stevens, 2014). In Canada, this model is articulated first

in the creation of Banff National Park in the Canadian Rockies in 1887. Using the template of Yellowstone, government officials, backing the completion of a trans-Canada railway along with industry support from the Canadian Pacific Railway, Banff was created and designed to accommodate the same class of visitors who were expected to visit of Yellowstone; elite, wealthy, Euro-Canadians tourists (Mason, 2008). The land upon which the town site of Banff was situated was only "empty" or "uninhabited" due to the rapid and extensive signing of numbered treaties that swept across Canada aimed at extinguishing Aboriginal Title to land and containing Indigenous communities on Indian Reserves in an attempt to make way for incoming settler development (Cooke, 2016a; Mason, 2014). This is happening in stride with the Colonial Office in London wanting to wash its hands of the responsibility, fiscally and governmentally, of their many colonies. The best way to accomplish this was to grant them independence (Harris, 2002). Thus, the birth of Canada as an independent Nation State in its own right coincides with timing of both the numbered treaties and the establishment of a national park system (Mason, 2014). One 'freed up' land for incoming settlement and the other symbolically and materially 'protected' land from these same encroachments. This was one of the motivations behind the speed at which the numbered treaties were taking place. Once treaties were signed, settlers could be brought in to cultivate the 'virgin' lands and the colonial motherland could reap its rewards with a new stable source of resources. Not only did the treaties create space for incoming settlers to live but they formalized the contractual agreement in a legal language (of the colonizer) that has been held in court since (Mason, 2008; Harris, 2002)

Similar to Yellowstone, the hot springs in Banff were set aside by government officials in order to protect it from private interests in order to ensure ongoing resource extraction and

profit (Mason, 2014). Buttle Lake on Vancouver Island was the location where one of the first parks in B.C. was developed with the status of a Provincial Park and was inaugurated in 1911. Goals of preservation and state governance were inherited from the Yellowstone Model (Stevens, 2014) as well as the assumption that land was uninhabited according to any officials in Victoria (Wilson, 2002; Young, 2011). Similar to Banff and the expulsion of Indigenous peoples from the land, in Strathcona "the provincial government gave little, if any, consideration to indigenous use of the land" (Young, 2011: 22) which displayed the sentiment of the state in regards to land access and prior occupation. This entitled behaviour was used throughout the province until only recently to expel Indigenous people from land (Turner & Bitonti, 2011; Stronghill, Rutherford & Haider, 2015) and is the one of the root sources of the current struggles found in park policies.

The rationale that large swaths of land required protection from human impact, both non-Indigenous and Indigenous, was a result of broader conservationist movement (Cronon,1995), but it also has roots in a settler colonial narrative process of promoting nationalism across a young nation that was attempting to distance itself from its colonial roots (Cooke, 2016a). The myth of the frontier as Furniss (1999) explains is a selective method of commemorating the "conquest" of the western reaches of the country while simultaneously ignoring its violences. By examining parks as cultural artifacts, as tangible on-land shapes and as cultural expressions of values, meanings, and power we see how they often memorialize feats or discoveries by settler-colonial individuals or groups. Mountains and rivers are named after the settlers that 'discovered' or 'conquered' them first. Tourism infrastructure creates points of interest marking feats of settler accomplishment. Settler colonialism structurally and symbolically inscribes itself onto land. What makes parks

interesting as cultural artifacts is that most often this narrative process of making places significant (to the broader story of settler colonial nation-building) is that this narrative is nested inside a discourse of 'nature' and 'natural landscapes.' This serves to fully naturalize settler colonial power relations into place and out of sight (Cooke, 2017). Examining and exposing parks for what they do in producing and preserving the "myth of the frontier" (Furniss, 1999) we can shed light on the ways that parks serve as a tool of settler-colonialism.

The history of park creation and implementation reveals the foundation upon which contemporary parks are built. The values and mindsets that are used in the management of parks have been steeped heavily project of colonialism and settler colonialism. The recurring topics that underscore these discussions are: creation, displacement, access or the lack of access, and management. These topics are the main issues that authors have referred to repeatedly that have had lasting effects on the relationships between First Nations and park managers and management (Notzke, 1995; Stronghill et al., 2015).

CONTEMPORARY PARK EFFECTS

The relationship between Indigenous peoples and state-sponsored parks in Canada, and British Columbia, is long and complex. First used a way of dispossessing Indigenous peoples of land and access to resources (Cronon, 1995; Stevens, 2014), park officials now need to figure out how to communicate with First Nations as they engage in increasingly sophisticated legal, moral, and political demands for recognition and inclusion. The contemporary creation of parks reflects its roots as mentioned in the previous section while incorporating modern language and methods. The creation of parks has to the displacement of countless Indigenous people and groups all over North America. Displacement from

traditional lands and the creation of park structures upon them has led to restricted access in many situations.

The first theme of creation which was discussed previously as the history of parks in North America and Canada has had one of the largest impacts on the relations of Indigenous groups and Euro-Canadian park administration. At the outset of the creation of parks, such as Banff National Park, the removal and exclusion of First Nations peoples from park land has resulted in the alienation of cultural practices (hunting, gathering, spiritual practices) on traditional territory (Mason, 2008; Nadasdy, 2003; Stronghill, Rutherford & Haider, 2015). In some instances, Indigenous peoples maintained their connections to land through occupation of the land or their invitation to participate in certain events (Mason, 2008; Stronghill et al., 2015). In the case of some First Nations, their connection to land within a park was lost or abandoned (Stronghill et al., 2015) which has had effects on subsequent generations of Indigenous people.

The second topic that resonated throughout many of the articles examined is the "displacement of Indigenous populations" (Cruikshank, 2005: 18) from the land that was once claimed as their traditional territory. In B.C., in contrast with most of Canada, there were very few official treaties signed between the Crown and First Nations (Harris, 2002). Spence (1999) describes this phenomenon as the "wilderness by dispossession" which entails the removal of Indigenous peoples from their traditionally territory in order to coincide with the Yellowstone model's key points of preserving wilderness tracts from any human disturbance (Stevens, 2014). Euro-Canadian society, employing a dichotomous perception of landscapes and nature (Cruikshank, 2005) and interpreted Indigenous peoples as negatively affecting the environment and animal populations through subsistence strategies and land-

based activities (Mason, 2014). This stands in direct contrast to many Indigenous epistemological and ontological relationships with land that make no distinction between humans and non-human / living and non-living sets of relations (Nasdasdy, 2003). Rather, people are enfolded into land, and land into people (Elsey 2013). From this perspective, displacement from land—literally ripping human bodies from the networks of relations through which the world makes sense and is experienced—is not only deeply violent, but often genocidal in its implications (Bussidor, 1996). In relation to parks, the relationships with land have been deeply altered through the actions and emotions that are attached or altogether lost with places and spaces.

As a result of the creation of parks and displacement of Indigenous people from their land, access or the lack of access to the lands that were or are still part of a park have immeasurable impacts, such as a loss of hunting ground, gathering techniques, and an overall connection to land, on affected communities. The sentiment of Indigenous people being denied access to regions that are designated as parks (Mason, 2008; Turner & Bitonti, 2011; Stronghill et al., 2015) has inevitably added to degradation of Indigenous cultures across the province (Stevens, 2014). By denying or limiting access to park lands, settler colonial processes of assimilation was disguised behind a veil of legality and conservation of natural environments (Mason, 2014). Recently, the movement to regain access to parks for gathering, hunting, and spiritual practices has resulted in the creation and modification of park policies and management (BC Parks, 2000; Turner & Bitonti, 2011; Stronghill et al., 2015). Recognising the effects that limited access to traditional land exemplifies and adds strength to the argument for modern calls to BC Parks to include and acknowledge Indigenous traditional territory. This is a point that I will return to later.

The final topic of the exclusion of First Nations from park lands (Mason, 2014) and participation in management within their traditional territory has roots in the Canada's first national park and has been observed in contemporary parks. As this project sets out to examine the difference between what park management claims to do and what happens in actuality, this topic is the transition between past methods exclusion and modern situations where inclusion is considered along with many clauses and conditions. With the creation of the co-management of parks in Haida Gwaii (Takeda, 2015), Pacific Rim (Murray & King, 2012; Carroll, 2014), Stein Valley (BC Parks, 2000), and more recently in many other regions calls for a discussion of the methods of, and approaches to, co-management park spaces between the state and First Nations. A key development in the relationship between parks and First Nations was the change from considering First Nations as stakeholders to acknowledging them as right holders and thus conducting discussions at a government to government level (Notzke, 1995; Stronghill et al. 2015). This signals a huge shift in the terms of the relationship between the state and First Nations, and opens the possibility of nation-to-nation relationships.

As the effects of the creation, displacement, access, and exclusion have been detailed, they present potential spaces for the discussion of Indigenous participation and/or management of parks and park lands. The co-management of parks between government branches and Indigenous groups has the possibility to close the gap between these two groups whereas in reality the relationship is filled with many complexities.

FIRST NATIONS' CO-MANAGEMNT OF PARKS

An important event that set the stage for the integration and inclusion of First Nations in park management and allocation was the "war in the woods" (Takeda, 2015: 8) that took place along the coast of B.C., primarily in the Stein Valley, Clayoquot Sound, and Haida Gwaii. The resistance to commercial logging operations along the coast rose dramatically in the 1980s and early 1990s so much that large scale protests were held and the provincial government and industry leaders were forced to reform their policies and perspectives (Takeda, 2015). The movement resulted in the creation of parks, in particular Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve in Haida Gwaii and the protection of Meares Island in Clayoquot Sound. These 'new' versions of national and provincial parks in BC welcomed in a new form of park that featured the co-management of parks between First Nations and government ministries negotiated into the inception of the parks themselves. To be sure, however progressive co-management and collaborative or joint management appear, they are no means flawless or equally beneficial for everyone involved (Notzke, 1995). As such, this section will address the literature surrounding co-management ventures, define the terms that surround the concept, and examine some of the complications in practice that are present in such approaches to park management in order to situate the management practices in the BA in the discussion of co-management or inclusion in management.

Co-management and other similar terms for the integration of First Nations epistemology, ontology, and decision making in the management of parks have many and variable definitions. The effectiveness of these approaches in practice seems to depend upon the scenario in which the management is taking place and what other relatable variables are at work in structuring the relationship between First Nations partners and park management

structures. As Smith (2014) elaborates in her chapter from *Aboriginal Peoples and Forest Lands in Canada,* there is a fine line between co-existence and assimilation. Smith's analysis of co-management structures coincides with the critiques and examinations by many other authors (Notzke, 1995; Berkes & Henley, 1997; Pepper, 2011; King, 2004; Murray & King, 2012; Youdelis, 2014) who caution that when dominant agencies, like parks, control the terms of 'integration' of Indigenous perspectives, dominant power relations stay intact. Topics identified in this literature include the benefits of integrating traditional knowledge (TK), traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), local knowledge (LK), or any variation of these while noting the negative impact of differentiating between 'knowledge' and 'traditional knowledge'. This presents the potential to categorize between mainstream knowledge *and* other forms of knowledge that are considered as supplementary not as integral.

Similar to the differentiation and categorization is the concept and interpretation of co-management as an extension of colonial powers that is inherently paternalistic (Smith, 2014). Claudia Notzke's (1995) case studies present a valuable source of events that implemented co-management techniques. What this example, and the literature reviewed highlights is the importance of maintaining a critical perspective of how the relationships in specific co-management scenarios are unfolding. Ensuring cohesion in management strategies and approaches between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups will be the aim of this perspective. This statement will guide the discussion and analysis of specific parks and relationships later in this project.

As multiple authors have highlighted, the power balance within systems of co-management are not as equal as they may seem. Co-management, for the time being, and in

principle, features an unprecedented level relinquishment of absolute power within Canadian settler colonial state. This action is a step towards fundamentally changing the perception of land ownership and management towards one of sharing of land and land-based decision making. In practice, however, as will be discussed further on, new park models such as tribal parks are not yet recognized by the Canadian government as legitimate due to their counter-colonial nature. So while the state appears on the surface to be open to conversations about co-management, in actuality, it lacks the discursive capacity to acknowledge it in any terms outside the established (settler colonial) parks model and structure (Gardner, 2001). The overt and subtle paternalism built into the very structure of the parks system is a major hurdle to overcome for parties involved in conversations about co-management (Stronghill et al., 2015). So far, protected areas in Canada have historically been almost completely governed by state agencies; the task now is to convert/retrofit them to be more inclusive of perspectives that they were in large part designed to erase. Meanwhile the original system of disregard and dispossession remains intact with the addition of co-management getting added to the existing structure. The structure has not been deconstructed and rebuilt from the foundation up. This enables the inherently paternalistic orientation of co-management to continue and where the line between co-management and assimilation gets blurry.

The most prominent aspect of co-management that has arisen through analyses of the topic would be the requirement for negotiations to take place on a government to government level (Gardener, 2001; Stronghill et al., 2015). When First Nation interests started to be recognized by the state in land-based decision-making, First Nations were often identified as stakeholders rather than rights-holders (Stronghill et al., 2015). This is an important difference. As stakeholders, the state has a duty to consult in the same way that they have a

duty to consult all stakeholders, equally. First Nations have long contended that they are not stakeholders in BC, but rather, hold rights to Aboriginal title that has never been extinguished and need to be related to as such (Barsh & Henderson, 2003; Manual & Derrickson 2015; Turner & Bitonti, 2011; Stevens, 2014; Stronghill et al, 2015). By acknowledging Indigenous groups as nations rather than another group with a vested interest in an area, First Nations stand nation to nation with the state in negotiating land-issues. This requires that the state acknowledge Indigenous sovereignty and nationhood in a new way (Manual & Derrickson, 2015). Accepting this notion of equity and sovereignty in future co-management ventures could actualize many of the claimed goals of integrating Indigenous groups.

One of the challenges in co-management relationships is the communication and transfer of knowledge across two drastically different epistemological frames. The use and integration of TK, LK, TEK, and/or any other derivative of these knowledge systems has been championed as the basis of co-management (Nadasdy, 2003). Attempting to implement TK in a broad sense invites immense complexity in terms of ownership of knowledge and the contexts in which the knowledge can be applied and integrated (Barsh & Henderson, 2003; Stevenson, 2013). Although many non-Indigenous groups and people may wish to incorporate TK into their management plans, an effort must be made not to homogenize TK or LK but rather to let specific knowledges stand in their own right, in their own terms as equally legitimate to any other form of knowledge. If the conditions of 'incorporation' do not insist on epistemological equity, Indigenous knowledge will be marginalized. Not only is marginalization a fear, but also the appropriation of Indigenous knowledge systems as well as the land upon which they depend.

One of the potential dangers in the 'incorporation' of TK into co-management approaches is the assimilation and appropriation of Indigenous knowledge into dominant Euro-Canadian epistemologies without fully informed consent (Berkes & Henley, 1997). Indigenous knowledges are the product of millennia of experience and gathering information regarding the surrounding environment and interactions with it produce what Elsey (2013) calls complex "storyscapes". These "storyscapes" help "instruct, guide and teach the people within their own collective ancestral and terrestrial background" (Elsey, 2013: 11) how to understand the world and relate to each other. This knowledge is grounded in place and land and is personally and collectively felt and lived (Elsey 2013). What is often being asked of Indigenous peoples in conversations about co-management and incorporating Indigenous ways of knowing into management approaches is that they need to translate their ways of knowing and being, their storyscapes, into terms understandable by dominant forms (Nadasdy, 2013) of government and management while also needing to protect it from appropriation (Elsey, 2013).

The term co-management, collaborative management, etc. are commonly used terms when speaking to the management of parks and land issues concerning Indigenous groups. By dissecting their meaning and the assumptions that accompany them there is the potential to actualize the supposed goals of co-management. Using the concepts covered in this section, practical examples will be examined in order to highlight the lived implications of co-management claims.

PACIFIC RIM NATIONAL PARK RESERVE

The Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (PRNPR) is a valuable case study of how park management has claimed to be inclusive of the local First Nations whereas research (Murray

& King, 2012) has proven there to be little acknowledgement of Indigenous input. Beginning with the title of park which was changed from Pacific Rim National Park to Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, the Reserve reflected the addition of Indigenous input in the management of the park as a step forward (Murray & King,2012) That being said, the park has and is not as inclusive as the name or current integration may seem. The park was inaugurated in 1970 to preserve the diverse and awe-inspiring ecosystem of the west coast of Vancouver Island (Murray & King, 2012). At the time of creation, there was little to no inclusion of First Nations, even those who lived within the park, in the management of the park. Rather, first the park was created, and later, within the past 20 years, discussions about the participation of local First Nations in park management has emerged (Murray & King, 2012). As mentioned previously, the war in the woods brought about a change in perspective regarding Indigenous co-management and in light of the modern treaties that have the potential to affect the relationship between parks and First Nations; Pacific Rim Park management began an inclusive dialogue with local Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations in the mid-1990s in response. So again, we have a park structure that is being retrofitted to be inclusive of the Indigenous voices and perspectives that it was created to ignore thus creating a paradoxical situation.

Once again, parks are cultural artifacts that emerge out of the contexts of their time. The ulterior motive for the involvement of local Indigenous groups in response to the well-publicized war in the woods suggest that Indigenous inclusion at this precise time was a political gesture aimed at easing tensions in the region (Takeda, 2015). Murray and King's (2012) analysis of PRNPR's move to co-management suggests that the language used in outlining the relationship reflects the lingering issues with co-management scenarios. The

authors mention that Park management "has moved to meaningfully integrate *some* of the values" (Murray & King, 2012: 388) (emphasis added) of First Nations rather than addressing all or the majority of the values. Focusing on the wording of the national park as a structure of the government, it is that clearly stated that it wishes to include a portion and not the complete guidance and values of First Nations partners. The topic of an underlying paternalistic sentiment was apparent in many articles (Notzke, 1995; Murray & King, 2012; Takeda, 2015) and will be discussed further on in this paper as I return to the gap between what BC Parks claims to do in the BA and what is actualized on the ground.

While Stronghill et al. (2015) state that "the Conservancy model was only created in 2006 and management arrangements are still being instituted for many Conservancies it is too early to conduct a full evaluation of the Conservancy model" (40), there are examples that we can look to for their effectiveness, or potentials. Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve in Haida Gwaii is one of the most prominent cases of co-management in Canada and B.C. where the Haida Nation has invested heavily in the management of the park and seems to have attained a position of power within the governance structure in the park (Notzke, 1995; Mabee et al, 2013; Takeda, 2015). Their battle to stop/ reform logging operations in southern Haida Gwaii was a long one (Mabee et al, 2015) that proved to be a precedent setting case and eventually lead to the cessation of logging in order to consult and incorporate Haida management approaches. What this example suggests is that co-management and full Indigenous participation is possible and feasible.

This section reiterates the notion that although there are movements towards the inclusion of Indigenous groups in management processes, they require a degree of scrutiny and revision. Holding park policy and management responsible to their goals and claims to

incorporate Indigenous perspectives and values will begin to move towards parks that can contain and convey a cross cultural approach to management. The PRNPR is not the park of note in the Clayoquot region; the Tla-o-qui-aht tribal park which has been created by the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation has proven to be one of the most innovative parks in B.C.

TRIBAL PARKS

There are few tribal parks in B.C. but they hold the potential to offer a new approach to park management and creation that will allow for more First Nations control over the protected areas. The Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park that was created in the Clayoquot Sound is a move towards complete Indigenous sovereignty over a protected area. The Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, although relatively small in number of members (Murray & King, 2012) have managed to claim the park as within their own traditional territory. Where the park differentiates from other forms of parks and protected areas is that they have managed to blend traditional epistemology with modern forms of ecosystem management in an attempt to produce the most suitable and respectful form of management for the entire region and the people who reside there (Murray & King, 2012; Carroll, 2014). Another key concept is that although many parks are created for the protection of natural landscapes and the wildlife that reside there, tribal parks' objective is to preserve the land and the human processes that traditionally take place there (Murray & King, 2012). A key method implemented by the park managers was to consult the hereditary chiefs before making any final decisions (Murray & King, 2012); this assures that the appropriate parties have been consulted before action is taken. The final key aspect of the tribal park is that they have collaborated with industrial stakeholders to create a sustainable plan for the park (Murray & King, 2012). Certain areas of the park were left aside to heal after many years of intensive resources extraction and others

were allowed to continue as long as strict management goals could be met (Murray & King, 2012); this demonstrates that tribal parks allow for multiple uses of the land to take place while keeping their own values and goals intact. Their integrative method of managing the park could prove effective other regions where multiple activities are taking place on unceded territory while respectfully consulting Indigenous groups. On paper this may seem straight forward but the practicality is not as clear.

The challenges faced by tribal parks in BC are similar to those faced by many parks in Canada, including lack of funding for managerial processes and maintenance of the park. This issue is difficult to assess due to the proclaimed autonomy that the Tribal Park hold (Carroll, 2014) there a certain level of self-sufficiency is likely assumed by governing bodies. The final issue facing the Tribal Park in Clayoquot Sound is that the Courts of B.C. have yet to recognize the park as official and legitimate (Murray & King, 2012) from the perspective of Euro-Canadian laws and regulations. In other words, there is not language in dominant settler colonial terms to reflect the epistemological, ontological, or practical elements of tribal parks. The future of tribal parks and their ability to counter the traditional Euro-Canadian structure of parks is uncertain at this time. Supporting and encouraging more bands to move towards their own envisaged version of tribal parks might put sufficient pressure on the government of B.C. and Canada to recognize these parks as legitimate in the eyes of the dominant legal entity.

The questioned validity of tribal parks may be in part because they can be seen as a direct attack at the current model of governing and maintain parks and park land in B.C. A state acknowledgement of tribal parks as a legitimate entity that holds validity not only on the ground but also in a legal context would set the precedent for ensuing parks to be established

across B.C. The fearfulness of BC Parks and the legal courts of BC are visible in this moment as tribal parks signal a grounded and realized assertion of Indigenous rights and movement towards self-determination.

NOTABLE PARKS WITHIN B.C.

B.C. is home to a wide variety of parks, partly due to the lack of treaties signed within the province which has led to many differences in agreements or lack thereof between government bodies and Indigenous groups. Conducting a review of all the intricately unique parks would require an extensive amount of research and time. This section aims to outline a few of the parks within B.C. that pertain to the issue, situation, and discourse of the BAMP.

At the time that the Stein Valley Nlaka'pamux Heritage Park was created it was a relatively ground-breaking form of park co-management with local First Nations. The parks management plan is an important cultural artifact, as well as the parks itself, that can enlighten the discussion of effective co-management structures between First Nations and park management. The Management Plan (2000) contains statements and language that is contradictory and vague that obscures the position that is held by BC Parks. This ambiguity has effects on the successful co-management as it is played out on the ground.

An interesting set of facts that are referenced repeatedly throughout the document are how the park, through co-management, will pay respect and protect the condition of the petroglyphs (BC Parks, 2000) that are in the Stein Valley. In many cases across the province, there is little regard for the locations that First Nations have identified as culturally significant (Mason, 2008) where little or no tangible "evidence" is found. Through a Euro-Canadian lens using western scientific methods, evidence comes in the forms of tangible

representations and objects that form the basis of factual evidence (Trosper & et al., 2003) The cross-cultural misunderstanding that is occurring where settler officials are acknowledging places containing evidence as significant, from a Euro-Canadian epistemology, of human inhabitation, whereas many deeply significant places are used but are relatively unaltered in visual terms are not recognized (BC Parks, 2000; Elsey, 2013). Elsey's (2013) chapter in her book *The poetics of land & identity among British Columbia Indigenous peoples* on the Stein Valley recognizes and recounts the significance behind many of the more evident signs of historic use in the valley that go beyond the visual. Many of the stories are based on the traditions of countless generations of Indigenous peoples using the area and engraving meaning into not only obvious locations, but more subtle locations that contain the "storyscapes" which can have moral meaning or aid in teaching lessons (Elsey, 2013). This confirms that Indigenous groups often have deeper connections and relationships with land and places than merely physical and visual understandings. This notion is often misunderstood and misinterpreted by settler Canadians, especially in a legal language or official setting. A tactic to avoid to misunderstanding the meaning held in these relationships could be to directly include Indigenous people in the planning and management process in order for first-hand information to be incorporated which is what conservancies, a progressive form of Provincial Park, have attempted to do.

One of the most interesting and potentially integrative approaches that has been established in B.C. as of yet are Conservancies. This new form of a park was born out of the Land and Resource Management Plans (LRMP) that the provincial government enacted to respond to the "war in the woods" in the early 1990s (Takeda, 2015). The LRMP's did not achieve the goals that the government had hoped for in settling the issue of First Nations

claims to land and resources in collaboration with industry and government ministries (Turner & Bitonti, 2011). During the LRMP process on the North and Central Coast, local First Nations bands refrained from negotiations and created their own models of management that they wished to see. As a result, the Province was forced to reform their consultation and collaboration methods and the product was the implementation of Conservancies.

One of the primary benefits of the conservancy model is the ability for Indigenous groups to oppose "industrial forestry and other large-scale development in parts of their territories" (Stronghill et al, 2015: 43) whereas before they were consulted but not able to veto exploitation. Secondly, conservancies adopt a government to government model that grant First Nations the power of veto within Conservancies that acknowledges Indigenous Rights and Title to land (Turner & Bitonti, 2011) and adds to the validity and strength of land claims from the perspective of Euro-Canadian governance methods. Thirdly, within the legal framework and language as stated by BC Parks, Conservancies are designed for the "protection and maintenance of their biological diversity and natural environments" (Stronghill et al. 2015: 44) alongside the preservation of Indigenous cultural practices. The three benefits therefore imply the incorporation of LK, TK, or TEK into the management system that governs the park on a more equalized terrain. In the past, the equality of all participating members in co-management had been a considerable challenge whereas Conservancies differ greatly in relation to the reality of the power balance between government agencies and Indigenous groups (Stronghill et al., 2015). Understanding that Conservancies are relatively new and will thus face challenges in operationalizing is essential in order to continue this discussion.

Alongside the benefits of the power of veto, adopting government to government relationships, and protection of biological diversity, Stronghill et al. (2015) and Turner and Bitonti (2011) note that Conservancies are still a new model and therefore will most likely face implementation challenges that have yet to surface. These challenges include that many of the Conservancies are in remote areas of the province and require a considerable amount of capital to establish them as protected areas. A reoccurring issue that plagues parks at the national and provincial levels is the funding that is required to establish and maintain them. Given the often remoteness of Conservancies, these costs become even greater due to access to the land in order to develop or protect the parks. What the example of the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve in Haida Gwaii highlights, however, is that when settler park governance structures can create and hold space for meaningful Indigenous participation, it becomes possible (Takeda, 2015).

RENOGATION OF INTEGRATION

Having outlined the history of state sponsored park structures and some of the contemporary models for the 'integration' and inclusion of Indigenous epistemologies and interests in park management; it is now worth exploring the benefits to park managers, Indigenous groups, and park users of doing so. To explain the benefits of Indigenous integration in the management of protected areas four categories have been outlined as cultural, economic, social, and legal benefits.

The cultural benefit of the increasing equality and integration of Indigenous groups and knowledge in park management in Canada and in particular B.C. has many obvious attributes as well as innumerable subtle effects for all parties involved and interested in park use. The

most evident advantage would be the strengthening of Indigenous cultural values (BC Parks, 2000) with respect and acknowledgement of Aboriginal rights and title through park management, be it through co-management or complete control of the protected area (Stronghill et al, 2015). The enhancement of sovereignty (Murray & King, 2012) through increasing incorporation into management structures and the establishment of tribal parks for First Nations is a considerable advancement in contrast with the ongoing systems of displacement, exclusion, and limited access implemented by parks. With access to culturally significant regions within protected areas, such as in the Stein Valley Nlaka'pamux Heritage Park, Indigenous tourism, guiding, education, and related opportunities become available to communities (BC Parks, 2000, Butler & Menzies, 2007). The cross-cultural information and experiences that happens as a result of Indigenous tourism can make way for the transfer of information, often including TEK or LK (Butler & Menzies, 2007) from guide to assistant, guide to client, guide to administrators, etc. and from generation to generation (Foote & Wenzel, 2008). All of these benefits are intertwined and are viewed as part of an entire way of life and way of being that differs from the traditional Euro-Canadian model of management and way of life. It is therefore extremely difficult to separate Indigenous management strategies from Indigenous way of life and being. It should be noted too that the cultural benefits are not exclusive to Indigenous communities and peoples. By unsettling dominant settler colonial structures of governance, space opens up for settler cultural learning, about and from Indigenous peoples, and our own histories. Understanding the potential positive contributions of parks and tourism to Indigenous cultures as well as Euro-Canadian culture displays that although there many potential negative effects of emparkment,

positivity can come from parks through diverse and holistic approach to the management and motives while creating and maintaining the park.

Many academic articles and publications devote a considerable amount of time and thought towards the economic effects of protected areas and the involvement of First Nations. There are clear economic benefits in the form of employment or revenue (direct and indirect) (Foote & Wenzel, 2008) for participating First Nations communities when an integrated or Indigenous management structure is established. Indigenous tourism within parks and protected areas are the most popular and the benefits to local communities are well researched (BC Parks, 2000; Butler & Menzies, 2007; Mabee, Tindall, Hoberg, & Gladu, 2013; Stronghill et al, 2015; Mason, 2014). However, tourism does not come without potential for negative effects for Indigenous peoples such as "exoticization, temporalization, and homogenization" (Mason, 2014: personal communication). These negative effects are not unique to Canada. Many cultures that are exploited by tourism around the globe have been subjected to varying degrees of exoticization, temporalization, and homogenization. Exoticization is the action of presenting and imposing a set of preconceived stereotypes on a population. Often contemporary people and communities do not fit the imagery expected by those who are visiting, colonizing, or dominating them leading to discomfort, or pressure from the tourism industry to comply to tourist expectations (Bruner 2004). Being aware of these situations that can occur through the involvement of tourism and park activities can enable future relationships to be critical of their actions going forward. Park management is especially prone to the problem of homogenizing, exoticizing, and temporalizing of Indigenous peoples and culture in the advertisement of parks and park spaces (BC Parks - Broughton Archipelago, 2017).

Resource extraction within protected areas is not common but must be addressed as it is a concern and source of income for certain groups. As Stronghill et al (2015) and Turner and Bitonti (2011) addressed in their examination of Conservancies, the creation of Conservancies can aid in the protection from resource extraction and aid in empowering First Nations with the choice of how and what will be extracted. As with the cases in Haida Gwaii, Clayoquot Sound and the Stein Valley, the protest against resource extraction (primarily logging) has led to creation of parks with various levels of First Nations involvement (BC Parks, 2000; Takeda, 2015; Murray & King, 2012; Carroll, 2014). This creates an inherent tension within the park structure, as Indigenous management may include resource extraction within a model that emerges from resistance to these activities. One thing also to note is that each of these economic benefits supposes a capitalist economy. One area of future research is to examine to impacts and potential benefits of Indigenous governance of protected areas on Indigenous economies beyond and outside capitalist terms.

The social benefit of expanding the incorporation Indigenous partners in parks management has community wide potential, which in turn can lead to more enhanced cross-cultural experiences and understanding (Foote & Wenzel, 2008). With First Nations communities having a more impactful role in the governance of traditional lands that are acknowledged as protected areas can add to the overall health of communities (Carroll, 2014). Processes of governance for protected areas require the support of the community (Takeda, 2015) in order for the implementation of new methods to succeed. With the support and consultation of the community, their needs and concerns are addressed which can lead to the strengthening of the community. Additionally, although the historical relationships between Euro-Canadians and First Nations have been exploitive and oppressive, one of the

primary positive experiences resulting from co-management ventures are the "relationship building and trust building" (Mabee et al, 2013: 253) between the two groups.

From a legal perspective, the increasing presence that First Nations are asserting within protected areas strengthens and adds to their recognition by provincial and federal governments as legitimate, capable governing bodies. Tribal parks (Murray & King, 2012; Carroll, 2014) have been established in B.C. and present an Indigenous managed structure that does not include Euro-Canadian governance; these parks could present the legal precedent with their recognition and could create the opportunity for more parks to be created in the same or similar spirit and structure (Murray & King, 2012). Ideally, First Nations would take over management of parks within traditional areas, which would contribute to the project of self-determination and a step towards meaningful reconciliation could be made. However the current system of government will most likely subvert this movement because of the implications it will have for settler colonialism as an ongoing structure. Conservancies offer the next most progressive system of co-management in Canada (Turner & Bitonti, 2011; Stronghill et al, 2015). The legal support and funding that Conservancies have received are testament to a change in perspective and potential for the continuation of the paradigm shift that is slowly occurring in Canada (Stevens, 2014).

Identifying the four primary areas where the integration of Indigenous peoples and cultures in the creation, management and maintenance of parks in B.C. and Canada. There are other benefits aside from cultural, social, economic, and legal but for this project I have consolidated the topics into a management format. I have approached this section with the assumption that it is possible for a healthy co-existence between Indigenous people and Euro-Canadian society. Although I do believe this to be true, the road there will likely be

long and full of obstacles. Moving forwards and identifying these themes as they emerge or have the potential to emerge may better enable those involved with parks to begin to make the changes necessary to correct them and celebrate their successes.

CONCLUSIONS FROM LITERTURE REVIEW

The many concepts and overarching themes will be summarized and compiled in this section. Drawing on topics such as wilderness and the creation of parks that form the foundation of this discussion and transitioning into more contemporary situations and adaptations of parks in B.C. will support further examinations, later on in this paper, of the BA and the BAMP through my own lens and perspective as someone who has spent time in the region.

Current protected areas and parks' primary goal is to protect the environment within a specific region or ecosystem, although early parks in Canada, such as Rocky Mountain Park (later Banff National Park) were established with ulterior motives in mind (Mason, 2015). From their inception, parks were premised on a set of values and assumptions about land and human-land relationships. Firstly, which environments are deemed worthy or in need of 'protection' and then from whom are they being 'protected.' Originally parks were created under the guise of protecting "wilderness" environments for the betterment of society or more accurately for certain classes and groups within society (Cronon, 1995), true intentions were often guided by the notion of resource exploitation and continued access by government branches (Mason, 2014; Snow, 1977). The term "wilderness" is heavily used in fields relating to protected areas and parks, especially in tourism circles where the term can be used

as a promotional tactic and a justification tool in the argument for protection. Cronon's (1995) critique of the history and creation of wilderness landscapes, particularly in the emergent west of North America exemplifies the attitude that was adopted by many politicians and officials who sought to protect the large swaths of land that are now considered national treasures in the U.S as "wilderness" spaces. Similar principles were enacted similarly in Canada in the later 1800's and early 1900's as the creation of parks was beginning to take shape. As Cronon (1995) discusses, the meaning was removed from the park land to make for new parks had a deep influence.

Cronon (1995) draws attention to the spiritual and holy values invested in mountains and physical geographic features in the production of spaces into wilderness places. Once land was 'tamed' enough not to be seen as threatening, it could be admired for its spiritual beauty. As certain landscapes came into view as 'wilderness' their significance was often framed in holy terms (Cronon, 1995). What is notable is that in so doing, Indigenous spiritual relationships with these same physical features were erased or minimized. Aside from the petroglyphs found in the Stein Valley Nlaka'pamux Heritage Park, which hold obvious importance, there are a numerous other places which have little or no physical alterations but are equally significant (Elsey, 2013). The meaning held in places as explained by Cronon (1995) is very similar to the topics raised by Elsey (2013) where she describes the "enfoldment, storyscapes, and poeisis" (9) that Indigenous groups have within their culture and surrounding environment. Poeisis can be understood as the "symbolic expressions of the lived body as they emerge directly from experience" (Elsey, 2013: 126) whereas enfoldment attempts to connect the body and its experiences to the world and place through which it moves. Storyscapes relates the previous two terms into a physical region through oral

traditions and learnings of a culture. Together these concepts form the foundation of Indigenous knowledge and the epistemological foundation behind it.

Where the concepts of Cronon and Elsey diverge is when Cronon (1995) is describing the dualistic nature of settler-colonial newcomers who arrived in North America to 'conquer' and 'dominate' the land and Indigenous people. Settler appreciation of nature and the beauty of the landscape arose only once they had established cities and created a 'safe' distance between wilderness' wild-ness and themselves. A longing for wild spaces emerges from this safe distance. In direct contrast with Elsey's (2013) suggestion that Indigenous peoples existed within the landscape (in her context B.C.) and are a part of the ecosystems rather than outside the process of "nature." The non-dualistic ontological approach that First Nations have developed situates them within the places that they live (Elsey, 2013) in an entirely different, enfolded way. The present structure of parks is failing to successfully integrate Indigenous peoples and cultures on a meaningful level. Therefore challenging the current method of perceiving nature as outside the human experience, could open the doors to the cross cultural experience and learning that could strengthen the relationship between Indigenous groups and peoples and Euro-Canadian society.

While they are rooted in entirely different cultural notions of relationships with land, thinking about the intersection between Cronon's (1995) "wilderness" and Elsey's (2013) non-dualistic enfolded nature of being, perhaps offers a point of understanding between groups. By seeking similarities instead differences we might begin a constructive conversation of cross-cultural understandings are not as oppositional as they are often seem on the surface. As it was presented earlier in this paper, one of the benefits of co-management of protected areas in B.C. has been the cross-cultural learning, understanding,

and trust in new kinds of relationship building that have occurred (Mabee et al., 2013). Perhaps by looking to the land itself and the meanings and values that it comes to hold for what they share, rather than how they differ we stand to nurture mutually respectful discussions about inclusive land-relations.

THE BROUGHTON ARCHIPELAGO

Having scanned the literature on the history of park creation and management in Canada, and B.C. in particular, we return now to the area on (settler maps) known most dominant as the BA. Examining closely the area and the concepts that support parks throughout North America, Canada, and B.C., here a further look at the BA and the BAMP will highlight the policies and actions that are localized in the region.

Margaret Rodman (1992: 641) writes, "[p]laces are not inert containers. They are politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions." In other words, places are culturally specific and produced. Social, historical, political, economic, and cultural meanings come together to carve places into space (Casey 1996; Basso 1996; Escobar 2001; Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 1997). As Bruce Braun (2002) suggests, places are events, they happen—*take place*. From this perspective, multiple places can occupy the same space. Situating this concept in the BA enables Indigenous people and groups to engage in a discussion where their perspective is not considered as past, over, or extinguished. Their histories are what have led to contemporary life. The ongoing connection to places exists today and is competing with Parks for access and inclusion.

The area known most dominantly as the BA is home to eight different Indigenous groups: the Mamalilikala of ’Mimkwamlis (Village Island), ’Namgis of Xwalkw

(Cheslakees), Ławit'sis of K̲alug̲wis (Turnour Island), A̲wa̲'etła̲la of Dzawadi (Knight Inlet), Da̲'naxda'x̲w of Tsadzis'nukwame' (New Vancouver), Dzawada̲'enux̲w of Gwa'yi (Kincome Inlet), K̲wikwa̲sutinux̲ of G̲wa'yasda̲ms (Gilford Island), and Gwawa'enux̲w of Hega̲m's (Hopetown) (U'Mista Cultural Center, 2017). Since 1992, it has also been home to a BC Provincial Park, The BAMP that encompasses an approximate 11,571 hectares (BC Park, 2017).

The primary legal documents pertaining to the park are the North Island Straits (NIS) Coastal Plan (2002) which outlines the management plans for all the regions outside of the Marine Park and the Broughton Archipelago Provincial Park Purpose Statement and Zoning Plan (2003) which deals with spaces inside the park boundaries.

The purposes of the establishment of BAMP, as stated by BC Parks (2003) are:

> "**Primary Role**
> The primary role is to contribute to the protection of marine ecosystems…
>
> **Secondary Role**
> The secondary role of Broughton Archipelago Park is to provide a marine recreation experience for boaters traveling the Inside Passage
>
> **Tertiary Role**
> The tertiary role is to protect cultural features." (1)

Although the plans both acknowledge the First Nations presence in the area, they both place several other goals and aspirations ahead of Indigenous issues or the park's relationship with the Indigenous communities upon whose traditional territories the park sits. Park descriptions and documents pay considerable attention to the nature and "undeveloped" (BC Parks, 2017) qualities of the park while subtly temporalizing the Indigenous presence into artifacts and spaces that once had meaning and value. The archipelago is divided into many

sections in the NIS Coastal Plan, each one mentions whether the region in question is traditional First Nations territory, yet there are industrial and commercial tenures and land uses that continue to occur on this land with or without the permission of the First Nations (NIS Coastal Plan, 2002). The presence of this form of legal language that continually attempts to obstruct Indigenous people from obtaining a position of power or at least as a stakeholder in the discussion of management within the parks is an example of how settler colonial structures of dispossession continue to operate, and underpin governmental bodies within B.C. and Canada. Once again, BC Parks is an active participant in this dispossession.

THE CABIN

"This is Traditional Unceded Territory of the Musgmagw Dzawada'enuxw Tribal Council"

Photo Credit: Rob Watson, 2016

Examining the presence and meaning of the cabin beyond its physicality allows for a more in depth of review of the cultural tension and assertion that have been observed. My experience guiding in the Burdwoods has contributed heavily to my analysis of the metaphor

of the cabin. The Tribal Council that has created the cabin has created a potential situation where they could assert their rights from within an established park. The unofficial nature of the cabin has influenced a response and perception from local operators and park managers as it has disrupted and challenged the structure of the park. While the cabin can serve to create a gap between BC Parks and Indigenous groups, it also facilitates and creates discussions among guides and guests, recreationalists, BC Parks, and First Nations.

The symbolism of the cabin that was constructed in Burdwood Conservancy carries with it the deeply rooted issues that are apparent in parks and "protected" areas in B.C. as a whole and BAMP in particular. The placement of the cabin on arguably one of the most popular and scenic beaches in the entire BA was by no means coincidental and can be interpreted as an act of asserting sovereignty by the Musgmagw Dzawada'enuxw Tribal Council (MDTC), which is comprised of the Gwawa'enuxw Tribe, the Kwikwasut'inuxw Haxwa'mis First Nation, and the Dzawada'enuxw Band. The cabin was clearly built as an act of opposition and assertion of presence in a contested space.

The placement of the cabin on the island and the reaction that was felt through the guiding community, by other tour operators, and park officials is a perfect example of how settler colonial relations *take place* on contested grounds (Braun, 2002). I am not sure where the rumour originated, but as news of the cabin spread through the guiding community, talk began of BC Parks wanting to take it down. The argument went something like, the MDTC had claimed the land as their own "without consulting or seeking permission" and thus the cabin was illegal, and threatening. Once the cabin on the Burdwoods had been constructed, rumours began to circulate that the MDTC wished to build approximately 75 cabins around the archipelago. This was accompanied by many uncertain comments and concerns regarding

the lack of camping that will occur if they are built. The irony is not lost on me. The entire territory of the park had been claimed as needing protection by the state, resulting in the establishment of the BAMP. The fear of the unknown of an incoming entity that is planning on occupying or claiming land mirrors the sentiment that would most likely have been felt by the same families, nations, and councils during the influx of Euro-Canadians into the archipelago. According to the MDTC website and their December 2016 Newsletter, they were planning on building three cabins total, one in each tribes' territory (MDTC, 2016).

Whether or not BC Park's actually plans to remove the cabin, or any future cabins will be built remains to be seen. What is especially notable is that this site is not inside the BAMP boundaries, but rather part of The Burdwood Conservancy, a co-managed Conservancy on the edge of the provincial park. Managed in cooperation between BC Parks and local First Nations groups the Conservancy was created to protect the land, ecosystem, and cultural heritage that exist in the small cluster of islands just outside park boundaries. On the ground, however, it is very difficult to note where park boundaries end and the Conservancy begins, translating into BC Parks having the largest presence in the area and users (guides, tour operators, and visitors) thinking the whole space is part of the park.

The BC Parks webpage that details the Burdwood Conservancy does mention that the park has been established to "protects culturally significant sites and traditional use areas of the Mamalilikulla-Qwe'Qwa'Sot'Em and other First Nations in the area" (2017) which may have acted as the catalyst of the erection of the cabin. The BA's various and complex First Nations' traditional territories often overlapped. According to the Musgmagw Dzawada'enuxw Tribal Council and the Nanwakolas Council webpages their territories overlap (Nanwakolas Council, 2011, Musgmagw Dzawada'enuxw Tribal Council, 2012). As

this project does not have the resources and time to conduct interviews with members of both groups and analyze the relationships, I will refrain from making assumptions and drawing conclusions without sufficient information. What is of interest is the choice of Parks to corroborate with the Nanwakolas Council and not explicitly mention the Musgmagw Dzawada'enuxw Tribal Council, who are comprised of Bands in the immediate vicinity. Whether or not this was the intention of Parks to exclude one group while working with another is unclear and would be difficult to ascertain, but what is evidenced by the building of the cabin is the Musgmagw Dzawada'enuxw Tribal Council is asserting a presence on the land.

The cabin and accompanying sign can disrupt this assumption through its presence. My experiences guiding trips to this island has revealed the confusion and mixed emotions towards the cabin's presence and meaning. The counter colonizing tactics employed have attempted to disrupt the "wilderness" and "natural" setting that parks wished to inscribe on the island. The cabin manages to break the notion of "temporalized" First Nations who do not use, harvest, visit, or inhabit the old village sites anymore. The cabin aims to represent the ongoing Indigenous presence in the archipelago as well as contemporary Indigeneity and assertions of recognition of land rights. Most of the campsites in the BA are found in places that were heavily used at one point in time for harvesting, hunting, fishing, or seasonal villages by Indigenous peoples. This makes sense as they are the best camp sites. Those who have lived in the area since time immemorial know where to live. Their displacement from these sites by way of the creation of the park needed to protect the "marine ecosystems" for "recreational users" (BC Parks, 2000) comes at the expense of their stated tertiary goal of "protecting cultural features."

At the site of the cabin on the Burdwoods, BC Parks posted their own sign months after the cabin appeared. The small brown sign mentions that the campsite area was once a harvesting site for local First Nations and that removing or modifying the land in anyway is not permitted. This sign was placed after and beside the MDTC sign and seemed to be a response to the cabin and an assertion of jurisdictional power from Parks made in a way that does not contradict the MDTC claim to territory, but does not overtly acknowledge it either. This sign, from my observations and experience in the BA is one of two signs that BC Parks has erected with relation to Indigenous presence. As a side note the other sign is hidden by trees as signifies a cave that was used for burial by a local Indigenous community.

The Tribal Council that allowed and/or enabled the cabin to be erected on the central island in the Burdwood Group made a demonstration of their rights and title to unceded land, even within the boundaries of a Conservancy. In contrast with my previous analysis of the Conservancy model of park management, which presented Conservancies as the most progressive park thus far, the apparent displeasure with this attempt at such a model has been made clear. It was noted by Stronghill et al. (2015) and Turner & Bitonti (2011) that the future of Conservancies was unclear and at the times of their research it there was too little information to draw conclusions. To assume that Conservancies would exist without any conflicts between governing groups or rights holders is unrealistic, but the knowledge and learning that can be taken away from this situation can be applied in the future where tensions might or do exist.

SIGNS OF CHANGE

https://farm4.staticflickr.com/3814/9674804169_4445072f62

Analyzing the significance of the signs that are present and those that are missing displays the challenges that present themselves in the BA in the representation of Indigenous peoples and cultures accurately and respectfully. Using the BC Parks (2003) Purpose Statement and Zoning Plan as the source of goals and objectives for park management, the actualities are compared and contrasted from a critical perspective.

The cabin is not the only form of resistance to the domination and exclusion of First Nations from areas in and around the BAMP. A very popular campsite on Insect Island is also home to a large weathered sign that interrupts the quiet of the channels with the large red print and forceful wording. Parks has not responded with a sign of their own as they have done in the Burdwoods. This sign is located on one of the oldest village sites in the region and is also one of the most visited islands in the region for sea kayakers, guided or self-guided, as well as recreational boaters.

According to BC Parks (2003), the BAMP was created to protect culturally significant areas among other goals. They have erected a few small signs throughout the park that signify the boundaries and such, but they have not placed any signs that identify any culturally important areas. It is left to the users of the park to deduce and guess which areas

are old village sites, which trees are old harvesting sites, or which places are imbued with specific meaning. There are many locations within the park that have been frequented for millennia by local First Nations groups, none of which have any indications or signs that they are to be respected and not altered. The fact that the only remarkable sign has been posted by a First Nations on Insect Island (see above) may suggest of the lack of commitment by BC Parks to meet their Third stated goal of the park (BC Parks, 2003). Although there have been efforts to include First Nations in management, there appears to be (through the symbolism of the cabin and signage) a gap in effectively co-managing and maintaining the parks. In order to celebrate and protect the vast network of culturally significant sites in the area, much more meaningful collaboration is needed to nurture a working relationship using a different format, as the previous and current methods have been less than ideal. Acknowledging that every band, tribe, and Nation have different methods and desired outcomes of integration of management and cross-cultural learning and it is important to pay respect to the aspirations of the specific group in question. Avoiding the homogenization of Indigeneity by acknowledging the cultural differences between tribes can be actualized through creation of signage that accurately reflects the values that are ascribed to the location of the signs. This might take shape of signs that state where middens or village sites are and how to respect them and best practices.

One suggestion that I have, is to revisit the ways that the region is mapped, named, and signed. As already noted, signs are potentially one of the easiest ways that BC Parks could offer recognition of their stated goal of protecting cultural heritage. Since signs tend to reflect how space is symbolically represented as places, maps and place names need to change too. If places are culturally produced out of space, and spaces can be occupied by

multiple places, we need ways of representing this multiplicity (Cooke, 2017). Indigenous people have been dispossessed of land materially through the Indian Act, Treaties (or lack thereof), and the creation of Indian Reserves (Belanger, 2013; Harris 2002) and by the creation of parks (Mason, 2015). They have also been symbolically dis-appeared by settler colonial creations of maps and charts that have inscribed with new names and meanings into space. In their quest to rid the landscape of any prior meaning and into spaces for people to "explore" these maps have removed the names that were given thousands of years before (Harris, 2002). An aspect that needs to be addressed through the examination of maps and the power that they hold is that maps are incredibly complex. As cultural artifacts they are not empty inert spaces, their complexity runs in line with the intricate meaning that is held in places.

Spence's (1999) concept of wilderness by dispossession of Indigenous people, which he drew from Yosemite National Park in the US, is mirrored in the BA. The labels and names that have overridden Indigenous names are often replaced with the names of people who served the empire loyally, who, today, people have little to no connection with the specific places. Charts are currently perceived as the definitive source of names and if names and places are not present on the charts then they seem to be expunged from existence. Many of the names that were ascribed to the various places in the BA in Kwak'wala have meanings, which have been superseded by English names on the charts and in the dominant epistemology. On the charts, even the First Nations villages such as Gwa-yas-dums or Heghums have been renamed through colonization of the region in to Health Bay and Hopetown respectively. Updating the charts with both names, Indigenous and non-

Indigenous, would better enable the understanding of those who use the charts to acknowledge and appreciate the cultures and residents of these places.

Indigenous groups' willingness to participate and open their culture and traditions to non-Indigenous people as well as parks changes from group to group. The opportunity to work alongside from a respectful standpoint would hopefully encourage both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups to forge new relationships and work towards achieving the goal of an integrated management system. If a respectful relationship exists or is established, the cross cultural learning that can be fostered would be invaluable. With consent and respect, a practical approach to decolonizing the region and society is to begin to refer to places in Kwak'wala rather than their English counter parts. Normalizing the original Indigenous names for places, peoples, and things will inherently acknowledge the ongoing presence of Indigenous peoples and culture which adds to the overall strength of the culture and society. This also allows for the preservation of languages that are unique to the region as well as promoting people to learn languages that are threatened. Using traditional names for places can also move towards reassigning the meaning to places rather than emptying them of their history and reducing them into spaces. This is something that I can do and teach as a guide in the area.

Another action I can enact and demonstrate is to acknowledge the BAMP as a structure that continues to exclude and dispossess an entire population of people. The goals of the park (BC Parks, 2003) supersede any connection that may have been present prior to its inception (Cronon, 1995). The act of placing the needs and desires of one group over another, protecting the environment and enabling a tourism destination (Goals #1 and #2 (BC Parks, 2003)) before recognizing the culturally significant places (Goal #3) symbolizes the

spirit in which the park was created and whose interests it is designed to protect. As a guide (read, beneficiary of Goals #1 and #2) I have a responsibility to this process.

Overall, the signage that is currently employed on the land, charts, and maps represents a dominant settler-colonial way of conceptualizing spaces. By creating and reproducing charts and maps that are used in daily life for visitors and locals, the structure of erasure and domination continues and is normalized. Acknowledging Indigenous places and names by their original name in Indigenous languages can begin the process of cross-cultural learning and respectful acknowledgement of cultures and peoples who have been here since time immemorial. In the next section I outline ways that I can actualize being part of the change that I am calling for.

DISCUSSION & FACILITATION

One way that I can be part of this change is to offer teaching and training material to my fellow guides. The purpose of this section is to create a user friendly and consolidated format of the key points presented throughout the paper that are of particular relevance to people who are employed in and around the BA in the tourism sector. The goal of the information and hopeful discussion that will ensue will be to create more awareness and dialogue regarding Indigenous peoples and cultures in the BA by dispelling myths, providing current and accurate information, and creating a safe environment in which questions and inquiries can be made.

Through discussions with co-workers and those working in the tourism industry, I have found that there is a considerable amount of variation regarding knowledge of Indigenous cultures. I presume that a lack of confidence in the amount of knowledge that some people have has led to avoidance of discussing topics relating to First Nations with guests. Many guides, such as myself, rely primarily upon research that is conducted on our own, or through word of mouth to gather information that we then convey to our guests in a variety of formats. These sources are not limited to peer-reviewed articles that the academic community depends upon to draw sound and legitimized arguments. The proliferation of "white-lies" (2008), as Steckley refers to them, continues when an open dialogue or a critical examination is not conducted of the information. Through creating a source of information regarding the background of parks, contemporary parks, and the relationships that take place in and around them I hope to increase the core knowledge of guides and those who operate and recreate in and around parks. This discussion can potentially change the discourse from the user groups upwards rather than attempting to directly alter the park policy.

TOURS IN PLACES NOT SPACES

From a perspective of a guide who is responsible for bringing guests to these "remote" islands and places, the presence of a cabin on an island that is advertised and mentally conceived as "empty" and "natural" changes the setting immediately. As I am responsible for the interpretation of nearly everything to the group that I am leading, I am required to create a scenario where the cabin is part of the landscape and does not affect visitors' experience in a "natural" environment, or challenge ideas that this place is "wilderness" and thus unpeopled.

Bruce Braun's (2002) analysis of a sea kayaking trip in Clayoquot Sound offers a critical perspective on the activities and actions of a guide and the guests that frequent such trips in order to uncover the possibly damaging effects of Euro-Canadian tourism. Guides are often presented with an itinerary and are instructed to deliver an experience as close to the advertised product as possible (Braun, 2002). A significant draw for many visitors to B.C. is the nature and "wilderness" therefore guides who work all over the province are expected to deliver an uninterrupted (by human presence) experience. Granted that, the knowledge and curiosity of Indigenous peoples and cultures is often kindled on such trips. During Braun's and my own experiences kayaking, the opportunity to discuss and present Indigenous culture occurs often, but the method in which it is presented reveals the meaning conveyed through the discussion. Often, as Braun notes, Indigeneity is to be seen and not heard, where remnants, abandoned sites, etc. can be experienced but to see or speak to Indigenous people in their contemporary form would alter the spatial and temporal experience of the trip (Braun, 2002). As guides are the ones that are on the front lines of representation of Indigenous culture, the challenge can often be placed upon their shoulders to inform their guests of contemporary Indigenous culture in a respectful manner while still delivering a product that conforms to expectations about "wilderness" spaces as unpeopled. The importance of guides performing their jobs from a perspective that they are in places that are multiple (Cooke, 2017), occupied, and alive will influence the way in which they portray information and places to their guests.

Many similarities can be drawn between the events that Braun describes and memories and experiences that I have had as a guide in the BA. Although my actions as a guide, according to Braun (2002), were not intended to yield the damaging effects that they

potentially create, they display how hegemonic forces play out in the tourism industry. Education and expectations of guides often places them in a position where escaping the cycle of potentially damaging representations is seen as going above and beyond rather than standardized. Promoting the concept of lived places rather than empty spaces to guides can help create the discourse required to change the power balance of park spaces and structures.

IMPORTANCE OF THIS DISCUSSION

In order to move the discussion of land management and park creation and maintenance forward, those who are in a position to benefit (socially, culturally, legally, and economically) from the current model of park management need to reassess their connection to the park land places. As it has been highlighted throughout this project, parks are one of many extensions of settler colonial structure of dominance (Mason, 2016; Snow, 1977; Cooke, 2016). Indigenous communities are and have been fighting against the continual oppression since the arrival of colonizers, but as those who reap the rewards of the settler colonial system, how can we help break this hegemonic cycle?

I believe that we do so by placing ourselves in a position of vulnerability, where we question the systems that support our way of life, our homes, or our jobs. By examining how our daily activities serve to empower the existing structures of settler colonialism and placing ourselves in the position to be denied the privilege that we currently enjoy we position ourselves in a place of responsibility for change. By bringing attention to the underlying forces that were created by our forefathers and are maintained unconsciously through our actions. Once there is recognition of our actions that we have inherited or perpetuated, we

can begin to reshape the perception of both Indigeneity and settler colonial privilege in our society. Although parks and tourism is a relatively small section of this movement, it has to begin somewhere and everywhere. To directly tackle the entire foundation that supports our current system is a daunting task but to move against this entire structure from all directions has the potential to bring about a change that will have lasting effects. I intend to be part of this change. Beginning by understanding the history and contemporary issues of a particular area can empower people to make a meaningful and lasting change. From my perspective, guiding is a powerful tool and medium through which this discussion can be held.

FOR GUIDES

The role of the guide in the context of the discussion around the creation, maintenance, and effects of parks on Indigenous peoples and cultures is one of great importance. As experts in the eyes of their guests and the main source of information their responsibility to provide a clear and accurate picture of the topics they discuss is essential. Guides have the ability to shape peoples understanding of the landscape and the meaning that is held there from a historical and cultural standpoint. There is an expert and referent power that surrounds guides once they have a captive audience of guests.

By the end of this section the reader will hopefully be able to engage in discussion regarding Indigenous issues from a perspective that aims to break down the myths and stereotypes that can persist in Canadian society. Raising an awareness of the assumptions that are held in us is the beginning, and slowly moving outwards and guiding others through the learning that is needed regarding both First Nations cultures and peoples and settler colonial cultural forms, like parks and ideas of wilderness.

Although I am a guide foremost, I am also an educator who has anywhere from two hours to eight days to teach people a wide range of skills and knowledge of the region in which I am working. This sentiment varies from guide to guide but at the end of the day, whether or not we intend to, guides teach and affect the lives of those who they interact with. Ensuring that the lessons and knowledge that we are conveying is accurate and interesting is always of concern among the guiding community. I believe that there exists a shortage of information on the current and contemporary status of First Nations issues within Canada, and particularly B.C. This presents an opportunity for research into the availability and quality of information that is presented for guides regarding Indigenous representation, peoples, and cultures.

The importance of gaining more knowledge on the subject of Indigenous peoples in the BA, and also all the other areas that guides work, is that it not only enhances the experience for guests and visitors, but also has implications for the Indigenous peoples and groups on whose land tours often operate. As guides, you are responsible for interpreting nearly everything that arises throughout the duration of the trip you are conducting. Guests and their questions come from all corners of the globe, social status, knowledge backgrounds, and are accompanied by their biases and expectations but at the end of the day, the way in which you answer these questions is what will stick with your guests. As a guide, the position of power that you hold is immense; guests will often take your word as gospel and take it with them on their travels. Therefore, here lies the opportunity to change the narrative and as such understandings of guests as well as other guides. Not only are you able to teach your guests about various aspects of the region where you guide, but you also hold the power to affect the decisions they make further on in life by the experiences they have on the trip you lead. In

the context of Indigenous culture, education is an extremely effective tool in dispelling the myths that many tourists take for truths. Informing guests that a progressive movement towards Indigenous recognition exists in contrast with the dominant Euro-Canadian narrative can bring a positive tone to this discussion. Spreading this knowledge can have an indirect effect on the lives of Indigenous people; it is up to you to aim to make these effects positive.

Nearly all of the land in B.C. was never surrendered to the current federal and provincial governments by the Indigenous nations living here at the time of contact or newcomer settlement. This means that the vast majority of land in this province is unceded land and that legally belongs to First Nations. Aboriginal Title was never extinguished through treaties the way that it was in all other parts of what became Canada (Belanger, 2013). There have recently been court cases such as the Tsilhqot'in Land Agreement where a declaration of Aboriginal Title was granted on a territorial basis to the Tsilhqot'in Nation in the B.C. Interior but this process is evolving on a case by case basis. One of the first things that we can do as guides is to respectfully acknowledging the Indigenous territories that we move through. It is important to recognize the long relationship that Indigenous groups have had with specific territories, but also to remind everyone that these relationships are ongoing, contemporary, and politically loaded, as title has never been surrendered, despite what the dominant names on the maps we use say.

Often the most uncomfortable discussions that occurs with guests and visitors happens when someone does not have a considerable amount of knowledge in a subject or when a touchy subject is raised, such as politics, race, or religion. There are times when subjects are best left alone and other moments when there needs to be a stand against ignorance or a lack of knowledge. It is important not to be afraid to have these discussions in

order to share knowledge and create opportunities for people to question their assumptions. When speaking with guests it is important not abuse your position of power by making people feel ashamed. At the same time, it is critical that we do not shy away from topics just because they are uncomfortable or unsettling. Shying away from these conversations is an act of complicit participation in a system of oppression and does nothing to effect change. Making an effort to understand where the guest or speaker is coming from (physically and mentally) and where they have acquired their understanding will enable you educate them effectively. As guides can be viewed as teachers, it is important to be able to respond to guests who are making comments that are offensive to you or other guests. There are people that are unconsciously racist or biased, who are unaware that what they are saying, doing, or implying is based on out-dated or discriminatory information. Often people are not intending to discriminate but are doing so by the terms they are using or the concepts they are conveying. Unfortunately, others are aware that the wording or ideology they choose to use is offensive or discriminatory. Either way, as a guide, I have a responsibility to call out offensive, racist, or problematic comments.

While we are speaking to our guests or others, there are few concepts or ideas that continue to exist that can negatively affect Indigenous people through the connotation attached to them to be avoided. Temporalization, which is to describe, view, explain, or reduce Indigenous people to a time frame or period in the past is one. This may be subconsciously employed through the portrayal of only one aspect of First Nations culture, such as abandoned villages, remnants of food harvesting sites as represented by BC Parks. By limiting the existence of Indigenous people to a "past" or "primitive" era, they are denied a presence in contemporary society. This is where the cabin plays a crucial role of presenting

itself as way of instigating a conversation regarding contemporary Indigenous peoples, cultures, or issues. If Indigenous people are continually presented as having existed at one time in the past, they do not need to be acknowledged in the present. This form of symbolic racism is common and needs to be challenged. Many locations that are visited on tours are sites of old villages, harvesting sites, and fishing grounds. It is critical not to limit Indigenous people to that time by mentioning that Indigenous people still live in the area or still practice similar traditions. It would also be worth noting why evidence of continuous occupation and use is not always seen, because in many areas, like parks, they have been displaced and denied access.

In addition to temporalizing, common-sense racism (entails ideas or stereotypes that have been normalized through continual use and repetition which still have racist undertones and origins) is a destructive habit that has real life effects on Indigenous peoples. Common-sense racism, along with "white-lies" have been normalized by Euro-Canadian society to a point where many people do not understand that the "facts" or stereotypes they are repeating are racist have real implications in peoples' lives. The myths that are perpetuated are often known to be "kind of" racist but people often say them in passing or jokingly. As someone who is often a representative of Canada to visitors, it is important to make it apparent that it is not acceptable to marginalize and/or disenfranchise people even if it is in humour (racism is never funny).

Portraying Indigenous cultures and peoples as exotic, or exoticized, can lead to subtle yet lasting negative effects. The world over, Indigenous peoples have been subject to being represented by colonial groups as exotically 'other.' Being a guide, guests often trust us with their lives as well as their primary source of information during the course of their trip. Part

of being a guide is to present an accurate depiction of the objects, experiences, places, and cultures that attracted people to the area where you work, which may include reshaping their perceptions towards Indigenous culture for example. Many guests have only learned about First Nations cultures and peoples through mass media and popular culture. These representations often draw on generalizations and focus on the exotic features of their cultures, which are only a small portion of their overall culture and are in many cases damaging and dangerous. Providing a whole picture of a culture or people that avoids simply highlighting the most fascinating traits of a culture has the potential to move towards a more realistic representation of Indigenous peoples and cultures.

Continuing your education of Indigenous peoples and cultures should not end here, but this section can hopefully provide you with a method and structure through which you can have discussions with guests and coworkers. Fleshing out the assumptions that are often contained within many common-sense ideas or stereotypes as guides can create more wholesome representations of Indigenous people and a more rich experience for guests. Straying away from generalizations or homogenizations of First Nations peoples and cultures through the awareness of temporalization and exoticization can lead to constructive conversations. Using the surroundings often found while guiding to make points clear and tangible can assist guests make sense of a large and complex issue such as Indigeneity in contemporary Canada.

Representing Indigenous peoples and cultures are difficult topics to articulate to guests who may have limited knowledge of the subject that you are speaking of. It is important to keep in mind that the people who you are representing and describing are the only ones who can describe their lives and experiences accurately. You are not responsible for describing

their cultures, stories, traditions, experiences, or way of life unless you have lived these experiences or been invited by specific communities to do so in terms that they provide. That being said you can provide knowledge on how learning about their cultures has affected you and how you have understood the knowledge you have gained from the perspective of an outsider.

Research is a key aspect of being a guide, but being able to find reliable sources of information can be challenging. Often companies will produce a training manual for guides but this should not be considered the limit of the knowledge to be relied upon. One of the most effective methods to find valuable and reliable information can be going directly to the source, the people and bands that you wish to learn about. Many books have been published by First Nations artists, writers, teachers, and scholars that are presented in a format that captures key ideas and information. For example, books found at the U'mista Culture Center would be a great place to begin (http://www.umista.ca/giftshop/books.php), and most cultural centers have their own selection of local publications. An important note to keep in mind is that almost every First Nation, Band, Tribe, or Group has their own story to tell, avoiding sources that generalize and homogenize Indigenous culture will enable you to incorporate a more place specific knowledge base into your repertoire. If possible, visiting cultural centers, talks, meetings, or simply speaking with people from the communities that you wish to learn more about will help in building relationships and gaining knowledge. The most important part of this is that you maintain a position of respect and do not plagiarize their knowledge and claim it as your own.

My last suggestion is while you navigate through your life and work, have the "moral courage" (Blackstock, 2017) to speak up for those who can't, haven't, or are trying. Every

time you seize an opportunity to act against the forces of discrimination, you will feel better. Although the information is dense and the topics can be challenging, the idea of giving back or giving credit where credit is due will help guide us. Indigenous people were/are the guardians of this land, country, province, park, or wherever you are, long before you or anyone else was there. One small piece to the puzzle of reconciliation is to give respect. Creating the space for meaningful discussions, sharing knowledge, being respectful, being critical, and continuing learning will move towards actualized reconciliation between Indigenous and Settler neighbours in the places where we all live.

IN CLOSING

What happens on the ground in the BA seems to change as often as the tides. New developments, events, and actions take place daily, and the importance of each one is not to be overlooked. It is often in the minutiae of details where the "gaps and friction" (Cooke, 2017: personal communication) occurs and the discussion of Indigenous representation and the role of parks takes place. The thoughts, concepts, and experiences that were raised in this project aim to contribute to the ongoing discourse of relationship between settler parks and Indigenous people and groups in contemporary society. Guides play an integral role in the dissemination of the topics covered throughout this paper. Their role as on the ground specialists who are in contact with Indigenous peoples, tourists, park officials, and tourism operators allows for a well-informed discussion to take place and the results implemented.

By examining the literature surrounding the creation and maintenance of parks and protected areas in North America, Canada, and B.C., from their origins to modern co-management or tribal parks, there have been common themes throughout. The history of park

creation had its roots in conservationism that Cronon (1995) relates back to spirituality and Christianity, which is ironic due to the spirituality that Indigenous peoples associate with many landscapes within current protected areas in B.C. The similarity between Indigenous and Euro-North American epistemologies can shift the discussion towards one of coexistence and understanding and not assimilation as Smith (2013) mentions.

Even with the most progressive park approaches, such as conservancies and tribal parks, there are challenges that face management boards. Paternalism can operate in the background of many decisions and the language that is contained within plans and documents. The subtle intonation of First Nations remaining dependent upon the government needs to be addressed, identified for what it is, and how it is structurally maintained. The importance for consent and appropriate representation from Indigenous groups and the incorporation of Traditional Ecological Knowledge, Traditional Knowledge, or Local Knowledge (Berkes & Henley, 1997) enables First Nations to control the discourse regarding at least one aspect of the management process.

With ongoing movement towards more inclusive and meaningful incorporation of Indigenous ways of knowing and ways of life, the concept of plurality (Murray & King, 2012) in places can be instituted within protected areas. The opportunity to understand and share the notion of plurality in places presents a potentially effective method for conveying contemporary Indigenous presence. Being that many parks were previously established without or with minimal thought or consent of First Nations' rights (Stronghill et al, 2015) and that they are often in places that hold significant meaning to local Indigenous populations, there is an obvious potential for conflict over the multiple places occupying the same space (Cooke, 2017). Access that is granted through modern park management

structures are beginning to allow for the plurality of places to exist and for practices to be carried out that give meaning and reinforce meaning into places (BC Parks, 2000; NIS Coastal Plan, 2002; Turner & Bitonti, 2011; Stronghill et al, 2015).

Engaging with the topic of Indigenous-settler relations in the context of parks, it is merely one of the infinite methods of approaching the subject of settler colonialism and post-colonial studies. Our work does not stop here nor is it limited to this discussion. The essence of the Discussion & Facilitation section is to provide a practical tool to aid in the dissemination of this topic to a select crowd that I am familiar with. That being said, the potential exists to apply the knowledge and information to a variety of settings and contexts. Simply having the discussion about the way in which many people envisage Indigenous-Settler relations will begin to raise questions and awareness of the biases that may be present. Returning to Blackstock's idea of "moral courage" (2017), it represents much of the reasoning behind this discussion and the motivation to hold more discussions.

For guides, the call to action would come in the form of three primary ideas. The first idea is to have the courage to speak up when the moment occurs and use your position to educate people about issues facing Indigenous peoples and cultures from a respectful stand point. Secondly, when you are speaking to your guests, be aware of the tenses and tones that are used to speak about Indigenous peoples. Including a contemporary explanation that delivers a complete picture. Lastly, making connections in the place you work, with the people, the land, the stories, and the animals, can bring you closer to the area and build relationships needed to move away from a one culture superseding another.

Adventure tourism's role as a whole, from where I situate myself in this discussion, has had a convoluted history in the creation of spaces and displacement of Indigenous peoples. Banff National Park's began by displacing Indigenous peoples in order to create spaces for various activities to take place (Mason, 2016). This project aims to present the opportunities for anyone involved in adventure tourism and tourism in general to begin reconciling the industries past. Proceeding forward with the understanding that this is a long and winding road with many bumps along the way is essential. As it has been mentioned, the tourism industry might be able to use its influential and on-the-ground position to help repair the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. I believe that through tourism's increasing recognition of Indigenous presence, land, title, and wealth of knowledge there can be change made.

Moving forward from here there exists a great opportunity to forge new and strengthen existing relationships between Indigenous and settler groups. Through engaging with the various groups mentioned, Indigenous or non-Indigenous, the chance to establish a connection in good faith and with respect will prove to be the next step towards actualizing many of the changes discussed here. Engaging in any further studies should be done with the advice of keeping an open mind to new ideas and concepts that may seem uncomfortable, but in this discomfort will be the birth of understanding and progress.

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