

Čaʔak (Islands): How Place-based Indigenous Perspectives Can Inform National Park 'Visitor Experience' Programming in Nuu-chah-nulth Traditional Territory

by

Kelda Jane Helweg-Larsen
HBOR/B.A. Geo., Lakehead University, 2001

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Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Abstract

This research project explores ways in which place-based Indigenous perspectives can inform national park ‘visitor experience’ planning, management, and information delivery. Engaged in collaborative processes with Tseshah First Nation, this project explores knowledge of Tseshah-identified places of cultural significance in Tseshah traditional territory, discussed in the context of creating a web-based digital map. In attempting to explore Nuu-chah-nulth-informed ways in which to more widely share cultural history and knowledge in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, I learned of the many dynamics that are revealed when the depth of Nuu-chah-nulth connections to place are made visible. This research project examines knowledge, power, and place in the context of Indigenous self-representation. Informed by Indigenous ways of knowing and Indigenous principles of knowledge-sharing, this thesis is an ethnography of knowledge-sharing in modern contexts fraught with issues of state power, commodification, and colonialism.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

My research project explores ways in which place-based Indigenous perspectives can inform national park ‘visitor experience’ planning, management, and information delivery. My objective is to explore a Tseshahat case study, facilitating broader discourses of national park reserve management and ‘visitor experience’ programming in ways that are respectfully informed by Indigenous senses of place. Engaged in collaborative processes with Tseshahat First Nation, this research project explores knowledge-sharing and representations of eleven Tseshahat-identified places of cultural significance in Tseshahat traditional territory, discussed in the context of creating a web-based digital map. In attempting to explore Nuuchahnulth-informed ways in which to more widely share cultural history and knowledge in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, I learned of the many dynamics that are revealed when the depth of Nuuchahnulth connection to place is made visible.

Issues of power, secrecy, the commodification of knowledge, and the mobilization of Indigenous law were highlighted during the process of creating the digital map. This case study of a small number of culturally-significant places facilitates understandings of the richness and depth of Tseshahat culture and history in the Broken Group Islands, and has relevance for visitor interpretation, co-management of park reserves, and scholarly inquiry, and for First Nations community engagement in traditional territory. This thesis is an ethnographic reflection on the dynamics of this collaborative cartographic process. The map is intended to be used as a tool for opening conversations and deeper understandings of Indigenous place-based ways of being and knowing, and for exploring the new dimensions and social consequences that occur when deep cultural knowledge interacts with national parks and park visitors. Informed by Indigenous ways

of knowing and Indigenous principles of knowledge-sharing, this thesis is an ethnography of knowledge-sharing in modern contexts fraught with issues of state power, commodification, and ongoing colonialism. While not intended as an inventory and compilation of 20th century ethnographic discourses of Tseshah history in the Broken Group Islands, this research project examines knowledge, power, and place in the context of contemporary Indigenous self-representation.

This project took place mainly in *Hith-wee-is*¹, the Broken Group Islands of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve on southwestern Vancouver Island, British Columbia, which lie within Tseshah First Nation's *hahuulhi*, or traditional Nuu-chah-nulth territory, and contributes to dialogues which mobilize place-based knowledge and insights. In this collaborative, community-based project, I worked with people knowledgeable and experienced in Tseshah community practices to identify the place-names, resource-gathering activities, history, oral histories, myths and legends, and significant events that they wish to share with Parks Canada and with park visitors through the Tseshah-run Beach Keepers program in the Broken Group Islands. Gathering data through Tseshah First Nation archival research, literature reviews, field trips, and interviews, I compiled this information in the form of a digital web map based on the Google Tour Builder platform. I worked with Tseshah community members and the Tseshah Beach Keepers to create cultural interpretive material to be used in contexts of Tseshah collaboration with Parks Canada and engagement with park visitors through the Beach Keepers program, as well as in Tseshah First Nation contexts such as community engagement with homelands, and cultural learning in the education system. This aspect of the work is intended to contribute to

¹ Tseshah name for the Broken Group Islands, as stated by project participant and Tseshah elder Willard Gallic, Sr.

current research problems of how to facilitate the respectful sharing of Indigenous knowledge in national parks, while mitigating the effects of the cultural misappropriation of such information.

1.1 Contextual Background

The combined *hahuulhi*, or traditional territory, of the many separate Nuu-chah-nulth Nations stretch along the west coast of Vancouver Island from Brooks Peninsula south to Point No Point, also extending inland to the mountains of the Vancouver Island Ranges (McMillan 1999:7). The names of the fourteen nations along the 300 kilometer-long coastline are: Ehattesaht, Kyuquot/Cheklesah, Mowachaht/Muchalaht, Nuchatlaht, Ahousaht, Hesquiaht, Tla-o-qui-aht, Toquaht, Ucluelet, Ditidaht, Huu-ay-aht, Hupacasath, Tseshaht, and Uchucklesaht, as well as the closely-related Makah tribe on the Olympic Peninsula (Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council; Huu-ay-aht First Nations 2000:40).



Figure 1: Nuu-chah-nulth Nations mosaic, Commercial Drive, Vancouver, BC. Artist unknown.

Some Nuu-chah-nulth people live in, while others live outside of, and yet connected to, their *hahuulhi*. Approximately 445 people from Tseshaht First Nation, for example, live “on

reserve,” (located in a minutely small fraction of traditional territory), while a larger majority, 715, live “off reserve,” in nearby urban centres (Indigenous and Northern Affairs 2017). By no means is *hahuulhi* limited to the oppressively small sections of land designated by colonial authorities as “reserve.” Nuu-chah-nulth peoples living on the mainland and beyond, like Indigenous peoples everywhere, extend and broaden networks of social and political geography (Watson 2010:271), which connect to *hahuulhi* (Figure 1).

1.1.1 First Nations and National Park Reserves in Canada

Many state, administrative, jurisdictional, and property boundaries established in recent decades overlap traditional Indigenous territorial boundaries and lands and resources. Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (“Pacific Rim NPR”), established in 1970, is currently one of nine federal jurisdictions designated as a park *reserve* (Parks Canada 2008; Parks Canada 2016). This designation is a feature of the Canada Parks Act that allows Canada to operate national parks and park reserves without resolving outstanding Aboriginal rights and title claims within the federal parks (Heritage Canada 1994). Prior to the establishment of the national park *reserve* designation, federal legislation had the intent of extinguishing all titles and interests upon park creation. The reserve designation allows for the possibility of Aboriginal rights and title interests to be accommodated in the establishment of new national parks. While negotiation around these unresolved issues continues (e.g., Goetze 2005; Ha-Shilth-Sa 2012), Parks Canada aims to develop mechanisms to engage Aboriginal partners in meaningful dialogue towards effective park management decision-making (Langdon et al. 2010). Pacific Rim NPR and Tseshaht First Nation have worked together on a number of projects (Parks Canada 2015; Parks Canada 2016), as well as a formal Memorandum of Understanding which both parties signed (Morrow 2012).

Hith-wee-is, the Broken Group Islands and the main focus of this study, comprise a

portion of Tseshaht First Nation's *hahuulhi*, or traditional Nuu-chah-nulth territory. *Hith-wee-is*, the Tseshaht name for the area as indicated by Tseshaht elder and project participant Willard Gallic Sr., now lies, as well, within Pacific Rim National Park Reserve's "Broken Group Islands Unit," one of three such units in the park reserve (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Map of Pacific Rim NPR within Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations' traditional territory.
Map credit: Pacific Rim National Park Reserve

This map is one of Parks Canada's attempts to represent several individual Nuu-chah-nulth territories—without actually delineating any boundary lines—alongside Pacific Rim NPR's

gazetted boundaries. Figure 3, similarly, illustrates Nuu-chah-nulth territory as represented by a collective of all fourteen Nuu-chah-nulth Nations (Nuu-chah-nulth Community Health Services 1995), without making an effort to draw individual boundary lines.

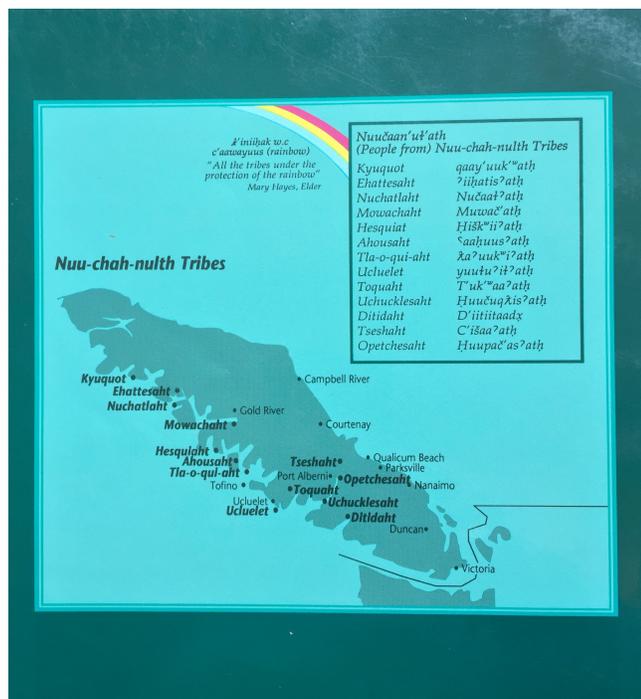


Figure 3: Map created by all fourteen Nuu-chah-nulth Nations, of Nuu-chah-nulth traditional territory. Map credit: Nuu-chah-nulth Community Health Services, from book *"The Sayings of Our First People."*

Since 2012, Pacific Rim National Park Reserve and Tseshaht First Nation have held regular cooperative management meetings in order to determine the priorities and concerns of both groups relating to the management of the Broken Group Islands. Issues surrounding land and title claims are serious and contentious matters at these meetings. However, the parties are committed to working together, in spite of the fact that there continues to be significant unresolved differences with respect to the formal recognition of Aboriginal title and rights between the Government of Canada and Nuu-chah-nulth peoples. In Nuu-chah-nulth culture, as in other Indigenous cultures (Basso 1979), and as I have been told by research participants, humour is often used to alleviate tension. I interviewed Willard Gallic Sr., Tseshaht elder, former

councillor, and long-time consultant acting on behalf of Tseshah First Nation. He told a story of a meeting he had with Parks Canada negotiators, not long after the establishment of Pacific Rim Park Reserve:

Yeah, and then [laughs] I'll never forget, there was three of them, eh, their suits on, their ties on, their briefcases, and they were sitting there, and they said "Well, Mr. Gallic," . . . "where would you like to start?" . . . 'Well,' I said, 'all things considering,' I said, 'you called the meeting,' . . . 'What is your agenda, . . . what do you want?' He says, "Well, we just want to know, . . . we'll start off with easy ones, start off with place names, ah, how do you suggest we go about that?" 'Well,' I says, 'You got one map here,' I said, (you know, shows Effingham [Island]), so I said 'If you wanna know how you can change it . . . the first thing you do is you take your effing name off there!' [laughs]

(Willard Gallic, Sr., 2016)

First Nations' priorities in cooperative management situations with Pacific Rim NPR vary greatly between Nuu-chah-nulth Nations. Some Nations, such as Tseshah, with claims to Aboriginal rights and title in park reserves, are seeking opportunities to participate in national park co-management² conversations which recognize both Aboriginal rights and title on the territories in question, and park management decisions that incorporate Indigenous, location-specific ways of knowing the land and coastal marine environment.

1.1.2 Tseshah FN's and Pacific Rim NPR's Beach Keepers Program

² The term 'cooperative management' describes the current level of First Nations/state interaction. 'Co-management,' referred to above, is not a term used by Parks Canada, as it implies a level of power-sharing and decolonization that is greater than that in which these institutions are willing to participate or endorse (Mulrennan & Scott 2005:198).

The Tseshahat Beach Keepers program, which enables the cooperative Tseshahat First Nation/Pacific Rim NPR management of the Broken Group Islands, was established in April 2012 (Ha-Shilth-Sa 2012). During their May through September work season, Tseshahat Beach Keepers provide safety orientations and incident response for park visitors, assist Pacific Rim NPR park wardens with the enforcement of park reserve regulations, maintain the campsites, and, very importantly, share Tseshahat culture and history with park visitors through presentations, song, and informal conversation.

Overseen by Tseshahat First Nation's Land and Resources Program (Ha-Shilth-Sa 2015), the program builds the capacity of Tseshahat Nation members, increasing connections to Tseshahat territory and providing direct Tseshahat stewardship of Tseshahat homelands (Ha-Shilth-Sa 2015). Hank Gus, a Beach Keeper and participant in this research project, said the following in a letter to his community in 2013, about his experience as a Tseshahat Beach Keeper:

?Uuklaama ?Aapiiquu?is, Tseshahat³. My name is Hank Gus. I am one of the Tseshahat Beach Keepers. I was hired back in May to work in our traditional territory of *Tseshahat*, Broken Group Islands. We are ambassadors for Tseshahat and Parks Canada. We welcome guests from all over the world that come to experience the Broken Group Islands and camp at any of the seven sites. The Beach Keepers can issue camping permits, take care of our islands . . . I'm learning more of our history to share with our guests. . . I feel I am reconnecting with our ancestors, homeland, and wildlife. With these connections I feel my *Kliimaaqstii* (spirit) growing as well as my *tiichma* [heart]. Our guests love our

³ There are many sources and orthographies for the writing of the Nuu-chah-nulth language. For the purpose of uniformity, the place name orthography has been standardized in this study, using the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council's spelling for names for First Nations, and St. Claire (1991) as the source orthography for place names, except where otherwise noted.

history and our islands. Working in the Broken Group Islands I am: 1) learning history 2) sharing history 3) keeping history alive. I love this experience; it's very humbling.

(Tseshah News, 2013)

The Tseshah Beach Keepers program completed the fourth year of its five-year contract in September 2016. The contract is up for renewal in 2018 (Ha-Shilth-Sa 2015). Representatives of Tseshah First Nation state that the extension of the Beach Keepers' contract to include the fall and winter seasons is a priority (Ha-Shilth-Sa 2015). As the Broken Group Islands Unit of Pacific Rim NPR officially closes for the winter on October 1st each year, the archipelago is unmonitored for seven months, leaving vulnerable archaeological sites and places of cultural significance unmonitored and, some fear, unprotected. Through my ethnographic work with the Beach Keepers, I have developed approaches to understanding the complex issues that surround these moments of knowledge-sharing with Parks Canada and park visitors alike.

1.2 Overview

In this thesis, I explore Nuuchahnulth place-based perspectives and their roles in informing cooperative management of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. In Chapter Two, "Methods," I describe my mixed-methods approach to this collaborative ethnographic research. I assert that community-based research must be informed by community goals and priorities, and outline the ways in which I worked with Tseshah First Nation members and affiliates to do this. I draw on Arnold Van Gennep's (1961, cited in Johnson 1984) theory of group dynamic transition sequences and its application to ethnographic research. Using my fieldwork as an example, I illustrate the importance of trust-earning and a non-hurried approach in working with Indigenous collaborative partners. Additionally, I discuss my research with Pacific Rim NPR employees and outline processes involved in the creation of a digital map of places of

significance for Tseshah First Nation.

In Chapter Three, “Senses of Place and Dwelling,” I discuss the relational nature of place, with a focus on the Broken Group Islands. For many Tseshah, identity is inextricably tied to specific places on the land and sea; Tseshah belong *to* the land and are an integral part of it. I highlight Tseshah community members’ strong connection to the Broken Group Islands, their ancestral homeland. I also discuss ways in which common experience, knowledge, and narrative overlap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, occurring at particular places on the land, can reveal commensurability, bridging perceived divides between settler and Indigenous ontologies.

Chapter Four, “Cooperative Management and Co-management Practices,” explores cooperative management perspectives of Nuu-chah-nulth community members as well as Pacific Rim NPR employees and visitors to the park reserve. In this chapter, I propose that principles for effective collaborative research with Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations partners in Pacific Rim NPR be used as a model for furthering knowledge-sharing in cooperative management efforts between national park reserves and First Nations. I also discuss effects of park visitor and park reserve administrative narratives of the Broken Group Islands as a ‘wilderness,’ as it exacerbates tensions and perpetuates colonial relationships between Indigenous peoples and the state.

In Chapter Five, “Knowledge,” I ask what facilitates the respectful sharing of place-specific cultural knowledge, and discuss the current misappropriation of cultural history and knowledge by non-Indigenous commercial tour operators within Pacific Rim NPR. I also discuss Pacific Rim NPR’s interpretive signage and cultural tours in the Broken Group Islands, comparing these to signage and tours in the Long Beach and West Coast Trail units of Pacific

Rim NPR. This analysis leads to elaboration on the related implications and effects on park visitors' understandings of the history and culture of Nuu-chah-nulth peoples.

Chapter Six focuses on the digital mapping of places of significance in *Hith-wee-is*, or the Broken Group Islands. I describe co-generation of the digital map I created with Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr., and the processes involved in making decisions about both its content and the mapping platform choice. I discuss issues of sensitive and private information, in relation to both Tseshaht First Nation and Pacific Rim NPR. Finally, I discuss theories of digital 'meshwork' mapping, and current and future applications of this kind of digital map intended to facilitate dialogues of understanding in national parks contexts.

The research questions explored in this study were co-generated with Nuu-chah-nulth collaborators. This was a relational and dynamic process. Some questions became clear during the first meeting or two with Tseshaht representatives, but the majority of the lines of investigation became apparent over time. The research questions surfaced during interviews, during meetings at the Tseshaht First Nation administration building, and during informal conversation made possible through participant observation.

Tseshaht First Nation Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr. asked what processes facilitate the *respectful* sharing of knowledge. Through conversation, and through demonstration of cultural interpretation delivery, Beach Keepers Aaron Watts, Hank Gus, Frederick Sieber, and Cody Gus highlighted the importance of issues of ownership and appropriation surrounding the sharing of knowledge, leading me to question who can appropriately share Tseshaht cultural history and knowledge, under what circumstances, and for what purposes. Tla-o-qui-aht cultural educator and language activist Gisele Maria Martin shared many important insights surrounding Nuu-chah-nulth connections to the land, prompting

foundational questions that addressed the importance of these often-invisible connections for Nuu-chah-nulth empowerment, identity, and well-being. And, insightfully, Tsessaht elder and former councillor Willard Gallic Sr. highlighted the importance of cultural interpretation in national parks and park reserves. Mr. Gallic stressed that positive exposure of Nuu-chah-nulth peoples promotes increased cross-cultural understanding and leads to all people involved “being better off.” This insight led me to explore the implications and benefits of respectfully sharing knowledge in the context of national parks.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS

Effective collaborative research is not possible without trust between collaborating partners (Tri-Council Policy Statement 2 2010:105). Anthropology has a long and destructive history of studying Indigenous peoples as objects, and of taking knowledge without consent and without beneficial reciprocity to imposed-upon communities (Starn 2011). These actions are carried out under colonial assumptions of superiority, of privilege, and of rights to the access to knowledge in the name of science. Due to this legacy of power abuse that underlies anthropological research and many other aspects of settler/Indigenous interactions, Indigenous communities, community representatives, and research project participants may have deep-seated mistrust of researchers and research institutes. Trust must be earned, and the building of trust between collaborative partners is a process that cannot be rushed.

Trust is built over time, through interactions, shared experiences, and, I believe, through tests passed. Anthropologist Norris Brock Johnson (1984) draws on Van Gennep's (1961) theories of group dynamic transitions to clarify four stages encountered in ethnographic research: *stopping*; *waiting*; *transitioning*; and *entry*. These stages are reflective of relations of autonomy, power, and control in collaborative work. Taking these relations seriously and giving them the time they require contributes to the decolonization of research practices (Lassiter 2005; Kovach 2010). Johnson's now classic 1984 article "Sex, Color, and Rites of Passage in Ethnographic Research" draws on the idea of "rites of passage" to shed light on patterns of experience which researchers and their collaborative partners may encounter when navigating ethnographic research. I found Johnson's (1984) applications of Van Gennep's sequence of *stopping*, *waiting*, *transition*, and *entry* (Van Gennep, in Johnson 1984) in his ethnographic fieldwork to be relevant

to my own anthropological research process over the summer of 2016. In this study, I conclude that the stages in collaborative ethnography can also provide guidance for cooperative management processes in national park reserves. Reflecting on cooperative management relationships in terms of these stages can be helpful for the discovery of common ground and management goals. Figure 4, below, illustrates my navigation through the ethnographic stages with Pacific Rim NPR, with the Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate (Darrell Ross Sr.), and with the Tseshaht Beach Keepers. I do not directly address navigation through ethnographic stages with Pacific Rim NPR, but the inclusion of the park reserve in the diagram is relevant here as trust was a barrier to PRNPR's divulgence of information. Diagonal lines represent a gradual transition between stages, while vertical lines represent a sudden change. These processes are described in detail later in this chapter.

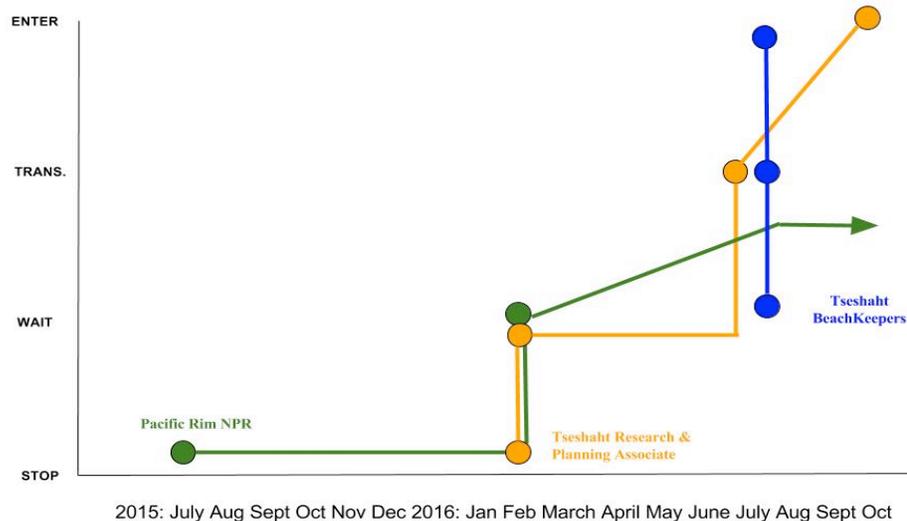


Figure 4. Stages of ethnographic research with various project participants.
Figure by author.

I used a mixed-methods approach in order to research how place-based Indigenous perspectives can inform national park reserve co-management practices. Investigating Tseshaht and other Nuu-chah-nulth nations' ways of knowing the coastal landscape and of interacting with the land and waters of their traditional territory, I conducted research involving ethnographic methods of participant observation and interviewing, as well as undertaking ethnohistorical, historical, and archaeological records research to explore the project questions. A mixed-methods approach was appropriate in the context of this collaborative study, as it allowed for the incorporation of decolonizing lenses, the recognition of multiple ontologies, the opportunity to contribute positively to Tseshaht community, and extended relationship-building with participant collaborators, as well as interaction with Pacific Rim NPR employees and exploration into the background provided by ethnographies, archaeological records, and relevant literature.

2.1 Collaborative Research

2.1.1 Requesting Permission

In summer 2015, having informed my then-employer at Pacific Rim NPR of my intention to pursue graduate studies in anthropology, I was directed to speak with Pacific Rim NPR's First Nations Program Manager. The Program Manager then invited me to attend a cooperative management board meeting between Pacific Rim NPR and the Tseshaht First Nation. At this meeting, it was arranged that I would have the opportunity to introduce myself, and request permission from the Tseshaht community to conduct research with community members in the Broken Group Islands, their traditional territory.

The cooperative management meeting took place in Port Alberni, B.C. on February 16th, 2016. After listening for a full day to conversations between the Tseshaht First Nation cooperative management board and Pacific Rim NPR representatives, and noting priorities listed

by the Tseshaht Executive Director, I presented my proposed research and requested permission to conduct the research in the Broken Group Islands, with Tseshaht participation. I suggested some directions in which the project could go, based on my abilities and on stated Tseshaht priorities. The Tseshaht representatives on the board agreed that I could conduct research in the territory, and suggested that I meet with the Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate, Darrell Ross Sr., who was also in attendance at the meeting. Mr. Ross works for Tseshaht First Nation and is Tseshaht himself. A key collaborator in this project, he is a member of the cooperative management board, but is not a hereditary chief, an elected chief, or an elected council member. I make this distinction because of its importance in respect to the particularity of his role, in which he manages and administers Tseshaht research priorities, yet has certain inherent limits in his authority to speak on behalf of the Tseshaht Nation. We met immediately after the end of the cooperative management meeting, and discussed Tseshaht project priorities and directions for this kind of research. A general idea began to form from our discussion for the creation of a web-based digital map that would house the information, place names, history, myths and legends, resource-gathering sites, and other places of significance that the Tseshaht community wishes to share with visitors to Pacific Rim National Park Reserve.

2.1.2 Tseshaht First Nation Goals and Priorities

At the cooperative management meeting, the Tseshaht FN cooperative management board members outlined a number of goals and priorities for the shared management of the Broken Group Islands area of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. Three main priorities listed by the Tseshaht representatives were 1) year-round authoritative patrolling presence in the Broken Group Islands; 2) the monitoring and care of archaeological and culturally sensitive sites; and 3) the respectful sharing of Tseshaht cultural history and knowledge. While priorities 1 and 2 were

issues to be attended to by Pacific Rim NPR, priority 3 was a matter which this research project could address and support.

The Tseshahat board members were concerned about the wide number of non-Aboriginal tour operators (licensed by Parks Canada) presenting incorrect cultural interpretive information regarding Tseshahat place names and history to their clients without the consent of the Tseshahat First Nation. This is extremely disrespectful, and challenges Nuu-chah-nulth values of knowledge ownership and the rights to its distribution. They identified as a priority the need to compile more cultural interpretive information for the Beach Keepers, Tseshahat community members themselves, who could then share the information respectfully and appropriately with park visitors daily at each of the seven campgrounds. As a result, those who share the information are those who own or belong to the information, and are also operating in their home territory. The use of the word ‘sharing’ by Tseshahat representatives rather than other phrases commonly used in this context, such as ‘knowledge transfer,’ or ‘mobilization,’ is significant. ‘Sharing’ rightly implies Tseshahat ownership of the knowledge, and its intentional revealing to external parties. Given the priorities of the Tseshahat representatives in this situation, I devised this project to address priority #3 in context of the dialogue between Tseshahat First Nation and Parks Canada.

The respectful sharing of knowledge is a highly important value for Nuu-chah-nulth peoples. In one of our later meetings, Tseshahat First Nation’s Research and Planning Associate, Darrell Ross Sr., also identified the respectful sharing of knowledge as something he would like to see researched: ‘What processes,’ he suggested I ask, ‘facilitate the *respectful* sharing of knowledge?’ He emphasized the word ‘respectful;’ much knowledge is shared, as well as, too frequently, misinformation, but what facilitates knowledge’s *respectful* sharing? I explore this

important question throughout the remainder of this study.

2.1.3 Collaborative Research Process

This collaborative, participatory, community-based project was driven by Tseshaht First Nation priorities and goals, which overlapped with my own skills and interests. The co-generation of the research question between myself as researcher and Tseshaht community members ensured that the project undertaken would be useful and beneficial to the Tseshaht community.

Collaborative research projects involving Aboriginal participants, or conducted on First Nations territory, must be informed by ethical considerations (TCPS 2 2010; Bruchac 2010). It is necessary to engage the governing authorities and leaders of the community when research is conducted on First Nations territory (TCPS 2 2010:114). Who, then, are the appropriate authorities and leaders, and what is the best way to approach them?

Customs and codes of practice are another consideration; it is very important to show respect for community customs, such as rights to intellectual property (TCPS 2 2010:117-118). What are the customs, and how should they be properly followed by an outside academic researcher? Who should have access to the compiled information, and who determines the recipients of that access (Leopold 2013)? *Hupee-ee-aulth* [to be helpful] is a deeply-embedded Nuu-chah-nulth value, as is *aphey* [being kind] (Atleo 2004:14). *Wiikhey* [an unkind act] is something to avoid (Atleo 2004:15). What is the appropriate way for a researcher in Nuu-chah-nulth territory, to demonstrate helpfulness? What is considered kind, and how does one avoid committing *wiikhey*?

Many of the ethical considerations point, once again, to ontology. In order to conduct respectful, effective research in Tseshaht territory, with the help of the Tseshaht community,

researchers must learn what they can of Nuu-chah-nulth ontologies and epistemologies, and engage with them accordingly. Adherence to appropriate ethical codes of conduct can improve relations between disparate parties, resulting in more effective, collaborative project processes (Watkins 2003; TCPS 2 2010).

The engagement in a collaborative project built on a foundation of the co-generation of research questions allows for a strong focus on ways in which multiple knowledges exist and co-exist (Lassiter 2005). I hoped to participate in processes that overturn colonial assumptions of entitlement to the taking of information and to the access to traditional land and knowledge. The use of story and narrative components, the honouring of oral knowledge-sharing, and the recognition of a situated standpoint are aspects of the research contributing to efforts towards the decolonization of research (Kovach 2010). It was also my hope that the respectful execution of research could strengthen ties between the Tseshaht First Nation and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve cooperative management partners by highlighting aspects of commonality and common ground inherent in both parties, through protection goals, respect for sensitive cultural sites, and a deep sense of caring for *Hith-wee-is*, the Broken Group Islands.

Throughout the course of the research, I engaged in ongoing discussions with Darrell Ross Sr., who is a Tseshaht First Nation community member and the Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate, and with other Tseshaht-affiliated people regarding details of the project; co-generation of the research question was an on-going process. This is the nature of collaborative research; discussion generates action, which generates further discussion. Ideally, goals are accomplished through the synergy of involved partners, for the benefit of all.

2.1.3.1 Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate

It took considerable time for me, as a student with little experience, to establish rapport

with Darrell Ross Sr., Tseshah First Nation's Research and Planning Associate and key appointed decision-maker for Tseshah. After multiple attempts to meet with Mr. Ross, starting in March 2016, I was not able to secure a meeting with him to discuss the research project until the end of July 2016. In July, having just returned from volunteering at the University of Victoria's archaeological field school excavation in Tseshah traditional territory, I contacted Mr. Ross, and it was at this point that we had our first meeting since February 2016. After this initial meeting, it was fairly easy to set up meetings with Mr. Ross on a regular basis. I highlight the difficulties in generating momentum because of their relevance to both the current discussion of the co-generation of a research question, and to the topic of earning trust, which I discuss later in this chapter. Issues surrounding access to sensitive information and knowledge-sharing with Pacific Rim NPR employees and park visitors made it necessary to proceed with deliberation, and with particular attention to the concerns of Tseshah First Nation representatives.

During our July 2016 meeting, Mr. Ross suggested, without my asking, that I go out with one of the Beach Keeper crews, joining them on a work shift. He also approved my request to go out into the Broken Group Islands with Tseshah elder Willard Gallic, Sr. to visit places of cultural significance. We spoke about incorporating levels of privacy into the digital map I would create. There are many places of cultural sensitivity in the Broken Group Islands, including ancestral burial sites, which are at risk for disturbance, desecration, and robbery if discovered by the public. This has happened often in the past, as stated by Haggarty & Inglis (1983) in their archaeological report of the Broken Group Islands; privacy levels within the digital map can ensure that access to this information is controlled. He also mentioned that he would like me to include Dodd Island, a central island in the archipelago, as one of the places mapped, due to its spiritual significance. Additionally, he suggested that an important topic to

examine during my project would be processes that facilitate the *respectful* sharing of knowledge. This is a topic I will discuss further in Chapter Five of this thesis.

After returning from four days of participant observation with Tseshaht Beach Keepers Aaron Watts and his Hank Gus in the Broken Group Islands, I submitted a progress report to the Tseshaht FN Executive Director, as requested. The progress report included a summary of work done thus far, as well as projected research project outcomes and the following questions for further discussion:

- Which places in the Broken Group Islands should be mapped? (Approximately ten)
- Should these mapped places coincide with existing federal campsites, or should the map cover other places in Tseshaht traditional territory that are not near/associated with the 7 campsites?
- Do there need to be layers of privacy built into the map, or should we only map places that may be seen by all?
- If certain places require privacy, who determines the level of privacy for each place?
- If there are varying degrees of privacy, who will have access to each level?

The answers to these questions were decided over the months of August and September 2016, through conversations with all four Tseshaht Beach Keepers and a further meeting with Mr. Ross. The Beach Keepers did not seem to want to participate in the making of the above decisions about the creation of the map; they referred me to Mr. Ross each time I tried to broach the subject. Beach Keeper Aaron Watts did, however, say that the places mapped should not just be campsite-based; such a map would be disproportionately focused on the park reserve, and not on the Broken Group Islands as Tseshaht homelands. Territory must be considered on Indigenous collaborative partners' own terms, not delimited by federal jurisdictional and property boundaries. The final map product reflects this sentiment, and includes places such as *Ho:m'o:w'a:* and *Tl'ih^o:wa*, which are not park reserve campsites but have great significance for

Tseshiht.

When Mr. Ross and I met at the end of August 2016, he provided me with a list of eleven places to map, facilitating the beginning of the mapping process. Of these eleven places, five are designated park reserve campsites as well as being places of cultural and historical significance for Tseshiht. He chose the places based on their roles in the Tseshiht seasonal round, a phenomenon which I discuss in detail in Chapter Six.

2.1.3.2 Tseshiht Beach Keepers

Co-generation of the research question and map content also occurred during the eight days in which I accompanied the Tseshiht Beach Keepers on two separate work shifts in the Broken Group Islands, and during telephone conversations with Beach Keepers supervisor and project participant Fred Sieber. Before I began to work with the Tseshiht Beach Keepers, I had formulated a rough idea of the research question and digital map product, which I knew would be subject to change over time, as I collaborated with Tseshiht FN members and affiliates.

I left the February cooperative management meeting and subsequent dialogues with Mr. Ross planning to find out from the Tseshiht Beach Keepers what they already knew, and then to conduct research in order to gather additional information that was lacking. I realized soon after that this type of thinking was flawed. The Tseshiht Beach Keepers have a very large amount of information about Tseshiht culture and the history of the Broken Group Islands. They have knowledge gained from elders, friends, and family, and access to a wealth of Nuuchahnulth ethnographic literature, as well as to Barkley Sound-specific information compiled by researchers such as archaeologist and ethnographer Denis St. Claire. The Sapir-Thomas Nootka Texts volumes of work, recorded between 1910 and 1923, are also an invaluable resource for the Beach Keepers (e.g. Sapir et al. 2007; Arima et al. 2009).

A more important question to examine, as suggested by Denis St. Claire himself during one of our informal meetings, is how the richness and depth of Nuu-chah-nulth culture can be more widely, and respectfully, shared. Tseshaht Beach Keeper supervisor Fred Sieber, in one of our initial conversations, suggested that what might be most helpful for a research project would be the organization of the existing information into a useful format.

Spending time in the Broken Group Islands, accompanying the two crews of Tseshaht Beach Keepers, was the best way for me to learn about useful formats for organizing interpretive cultural information. During the four days I spent with Beach Keepers Aaron Watts and Hank Gus, I learned that a digital map accessible on a mobile phone would be a very feasible as well as useful resource.

Aaron Watts and Hank Gus rely almost exclusively on a work-assigned mobile phone for communicating and tracking visitor information they gather during the day. Notes on park visitors, park regulation violations, weather, equipment, routes followed, tasks completed, and other information is entered into the phone, and transferred to a physical logbook at the end of the day. The Beach Keepers' cabin at *Qaqmaqimil* (Keith Island) is powered by generator, allowing for the charging of mobile phones, and a waterproof case on the work phone permits its use outdoors in any weather. This means that a digital map could very feasibly be used as a resource in the Tseshaht Beach Keepers' current working conditions.

Tseshaht Beach Keeper Fred Sieber prefers to bring a binder of paper resources out with him during the day, for reference and for record-keeping, rather than using the mobile phone. Additionally, when I asked Hank Gus what he thought of the idea of a digital map as an interpretive resource, he seemed to approve, but not emphatically. Without an example for demonstration, it is difficult to convey the applications of the map. The Beach Keepers' opinions

of the map's value are very important, as they are the only people who actually know what their position, particularly as critical links to respectful sharing of Indigenous knowledge requires. However, I believe that once the Beach Keepers have access to the map, its usefulness as a resource will become apparent. They currently read through ethnographic material at the cabin during breaks and at night, for their own interest and for use in their presentations. With the digital map as a portable tool, this material could be accessible at any time, not just at the cabin. The digital map format is welcomed by Tseshaht Lands and Resources Associate Mr. Ross for its future applications in the Tseshaht Beach Keeper program.

2.1.3.3 Researcher's Background

An effective way of conducting collaborative ethnographic research is through a reflexive approach, considering and being transparent about one's positionality (Kovach 2010; Haraway 1988). Transparency of purpose and motivation, illustrated through personal narrative, establishes positive relationships with research participants and partners (Kovach 2010:115). Where does the researcher stand? How does she relate to others and to herself from that position? For this reason, I will briefly describe my background and where I am coming from.

I am a first-generation Canadian; my parents and grandparents are from England and Denmark. I was born in a rural area outside Mission, a small town in the Fraser Valley, British Columbia, and have lived mainly on Vancouver Island since 1995. At the start of this graduate program, I obtained educational leave from my position as a Visitor Safety Technician at Pacific Rim NPR. I worked for the park reserve for two six-month seasons in 2014 and 2015, running search and rescue operations on the West Coast Trail. In this position, I gained experience working in collaboration with members of three Nuu-chah-nulth nations, Huu-ay-aht, Ditidaht,

and Pacheedaht. I've worked with other First Nations individuals and organizations in my work as an outdoor educator and a provincial park ranger.

I have eighteen years of experience guiding sea kayaking trips, much of it in Nuu-chah-nulth territory, including the Broken Group Islands in Barkley Sound, and have a strong familiarity with and love for the area. Sea kayaking in Nuu-chah-nulth territory, I have come across many places of cultural and historical significance. This led me to my interest in place names, in traditional use mapping, and to my awareness of the depth and importance of Nuu-chah-nulth culture and history.

2.1.3.4 Earning Trust

When I first informed the First Nations Program Manager at Pacific Rim NPR in 2015 of my intention to conduct ethnographic research in Tseshaht traditional territory, he invited me to attend the 2016 Tseshaht FN/Pacific Rim NPR cooperative management board meeting. I could not proceed with any research or any further actions until I had been granted permission from Tseshaht First Nation representatives. I was told that this meeting would be held sometime in the summer, before my master's program coursework began.

I contacted the First Nations Program manager periodically over the summer to check up on the status of the cooperative management meeting. The meeting was postponed, and would be held in September. September came and went, and in October I visited Pacific Rim NPR in order to talk to the First Nations Program Manager in person. He and the program assistant assured me that I would be notified when the meeting date was set. At the end of January 2016, I contacted them again and they told me that the date was being discussed and would be verified soon. A week later I received an invitation to attend the February meeting. At this time, my engagement with Van Gennep's (1961) outline of a group dynamic—in particular the *stopping* and *waiting*

stages—came into effect (cf. Johnson 1984). After receiving permission at the meeting to conduct research in Tseshah traditional territory, the *stopping* stage of trust-earning gave way to *waiting*.

From the time of my February meeting with Tseshah FN Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr. until our next meeting at the end of July, I remained in the *waiting* stage. I learned from Pacific Rim NPR's Cultural Resources Management Advisor that I should not proceed with any research or research participant recruitment until speaking with Mr. Ross. My progress was halted until I secured a meeting with Mr. Ross at the end of July. I am very glad that I was given this information by the Cultural Resources Management Advisor, because she was absolutely correct about the importance of meeting with Mr. Ross. As I learned over the course of the summer, all decisions made about the nature of my research project were made by him or referred by him to the Tseshah FN Executive Director.

It was not easy to set up a meeting with Mr. Ross. I call attention to this because I believe it illustrates the *waiting* stage that researchers must necessarily navigate, and is directly related to the withholding and subsequent earning of trust. I had emailed Mr. Ross three detailed letters, including a project timeline in one of the emails, hoping to initiate discussions about the research project, but did not receive a response. When I returned to Port Alberni after participating in the University of Victoria archaeological field school, I requested a meeting. He said that he was going on vacation the next day. When I asked if we could meet that same day, he said that he had to leave the office in a few hours. Then I asked if I could come to his office and meet with him right then, to which he agreed. Over the course of this meeting, I moved from *waiting* to *transitioning*.

My period of *waiting* with the Tseshah Beach Keepers was not as pronounced as it was

with the Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate. My initial contact with the Beach Keepers occurred at *Tl'ihó:wa*, on Nettle Island, where the archaeological field school was based. (The excavation itself was on a nearby island). Tseshaht Beach Keepers Aaron Watts and Hank Gus arrived by boat in the evening for a quick visit. At this time, I was able to meet them briefly, make some connections, and tell them a little bit about the research I hoped to conduct.

In conversation, Mr. Gus mentioned someone who is a relative of my fiancé's good friend. I told Mr. Gus this and he told me that my fiancé's friend is also his own relative. We proceeded to figure out all the other people we knew in common. I went down to the dock as Mr. Watts and Mr. Gus were preparing to leave, and told them briefly about the research project. They both seemed interested, asked perceptive questions, and said that I should let them know when the project direction was decided. Over the course of the field school, I saw Aaron and Hank a few more times. They brought salmon for a traditional dinner one night, and came to *Hup'kisakuu7a*, where Hank and I dug together in one of the excavation units. I was also in contact with them via texting and telephone about problems they were having with their boat.

These interactions made it easy to connect with Hank and Aaron a few weeks later, and accompany them on a work shift. I felt welcomed and at ease right away, and by the first afternoon we were already sharing experiences that transported me from the *waiting* stage to the *transitioning* stage.

Mr. Ross was receptive to my questions and requests during the July meeting. I showed him photographs of the Tseshaht territory *Hup'kisakuu7a* archaeological excavation in which I participated as a volunteer for twelve days. He was very interested in the excavation and looked closely at every photograph. Something shifted during this interaction; it was during this meeting that Mr. Ross suggested that I accompany the Tseshaht Beach Keepers for the duration of a work

shift. The shift may have been precipitated by my demonstration of genuine interest in Tseshah't history and archaeology, through my 12-day voluntary participation in the excavation. He was also receptive to my idea of going out in the Broken Group Islands for the day with Tseshah't elder Willard Gallic, Sr. At this time, I also asked Mr. Ross if he would like to join us on the trip, to which he responded favourably.

The *transitioning* stage of the research comprised the largest amount of my time spent with the Beach Keepers, and was a very informative and enjoyable time marked by many significant moments. I entered the *transitioning* stage with Aaron and Hank when we stopped at *Tl'ih'o:wa* so that the summer student who had just begun working with them could take a look around. Hank and the summer student and I walked the length of the beach; they were looking for glass beads. Hank found two eagle feathers. He was very pleased to find them; because of this and because he had mentioned eagles a few times when we were at *Qaqmaqimil*, I asked him about their significance to him. He told me they were very significant to him, and told me why. At this point, I told him a personal story about a time when I had an experience with an eagle. It is a story that reveals vulnerability, but I was comfortable sharing it with Hank. When we returned and met up with Aaron Watts, Hank told him my story. Both Aaron and Hank had insights into its significance.

An experience and a test moved me from the *waiting* to the *transitioning* stage with Beach Keepers Cody Gus and Fred Sieber. We visited *Hi:kwis*, Tseshah't territory that is not inside the Pacific Rim NPR boundaries. Cody and I walked across the mud flats to look at a village site, and got very bogged down in the mud on our way across. We sank up to our knees and almost lost our boots many times. We were calling to each other and trying to get across. It was funny and scary at the same time. Later on, I helped Cody dig for clams. Cody said he'd

come recently with a relative, who ate some clams raw, and that he felt that since his relative was doing it, he should do it too. Then Cody asked if I wanted to try a raw clam too. I think this was a test. I said sure, and ate the raw clam, with Fred watching, and with that we moved from *waiting* to *transitioning*.

On the third day of participant observation with Hank Gus and Aaron Watts, we went to *Tl'ihowa* to check up on some friends of Hank's who were supposed to have made the trip by boat that day, and make sure they arrived safely. The family was there when we arrived. One of the children, a girl, asked Aaron who the summer student and I were. Aaron introduced the summer student as "one of ours, Tseshaht." Then he said "And this is Kelda; she's our friend." The girl seemed to be completely comfortable with me after that. She led me far down the beach to look at a waterfall, and gave me a hug when we left. It was at this time that the *transitioning* stage with Aaron and Hank gave way to the *entry* stage.

I also reached the *entry* stage with Darrell Ross Sr. The next time that I emailed Mr. Ross requesting another meeting, his response was markedly different. He emailed me back immediately, offering to meet the next day. When I arrived, he opened a very comprehensive map on his computer of all the archaeological sites in the Broken Group Islands, accompanied by detailed information about each site. This is information that is not shown lightly.

Another sign of reaching the *entry* stage occurred after I'd completed both shifts of participant observation. Hank Gus called me on behalf of the Tseshaht Lands and Resources Associate, Mr. Ross, and Tseshaht Beach Keeper Fred Sieber, inviting me to join Hank and some employees of Pacific Rim NPR for a day's work conducting archaeological site monitoring in the Broken Group Islands. The other Beach Keepers were not available to do the work that day; Fred Sieber and Cody Gus were at marine search and rescue training, and Aaron Watts was occupied

conducting his regular duties as Beach Keeper. Mr. Ross and Fred Sieber put my name forward to accompany Hank in the work, which involves very sensitive information, and at this point I felt I had earned trust.

Connection to and an attempt at understanding important elements of Tseshah culture played an integral part in moving me forward through the stages of ethnographic research. The discovery of friends in common and the Beach Keepers' relatives-as-friends highlighted Tseshah values of family and community connection. Digging together with Hank Gus at the archaeological site was a physical demonstration of my respect for his ancestors and his traditional territory. It also gave me the opportunity to listen to some personal stories he told me, which pointed to his feelings of cross-cultural connection with Maori peoples. My own sharing of personal narrative was valuable in the transition stage, and the Beach Keepers' reception of these narratives highlights Tseshah values of gaining, sharing, and receiving help interpreting wisdom through reflection with others on personal experiences.

2.2 Participant Observation and Interviews

I recruited two participant groups for this research project: people knowledgeable and experienced in Tseshah community practices, including the Tseshah Beach Keepers (Group 1), and employees at Pacific Rim NPR (Group 2). Group 1 is of interest because Tseshah FN manages the Broken Group Islands in cooperation with Pacific Rim NPR, and because the research takes place on their traditional territory, exploring Tseshah relationships to and ways of dwelling in the coastal landscape. Group 2 is of interest because of the role that Pacific Rim NPR employees play in the delivery of Nuu-chah-nulth cultural information to park visitors through the Visitor Experience program. Residing continuously at *Qaqmaqimil* from May through September, the Beach Keepers are currently the most visible and regularly-present Parks Canada

representatives in the Broken Group Islands. The Group 1 participants in this study are self-identified as people who are knowledgeable about Tseshahst cultural practices and history, and familiar with the coastal landscape (the Barkley Sound archipelago). The Group 2 participants are employees of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve who have positions related to the First Nations-relevant and Visitor Experience program-relevant aspects of park reserve operation and management. There ended up being five participants in Group 1. I was not able to recruit Group 2 participants for formal interviews, but observed and spoke with two Pacific Rim NPR employees, and interviewed a former Pacific Rim NPR employee.

Interview questions for Group 1 and Group 2 participants were very similar. I asked both groups about ways to share Tseshahst culture and history to reach a greater number of park visitors, as designated as a management priority by Tseshahst First Nation. I also asked both groups about their connections to the coastal landscape, and ways of being on the land and water. Additionally, I asked Tseshahst-affiliated participants about the appropriateness of the information distributed. What should be shared? What should be kept private? The interviews can more accurately be described as conversations; the questions asked provided starting-points for discussions that led in many directions. Signed consent was obtained before proceeding with the interview, and an honorarium was given at the end of each interview session.

2.2.1 Tseshahst First Nation Members and Affiliates

I received permission to conduct participant observation research with Tseshahst Beach Keepers Aaron Watts and Hank Gus. The research started as soon as I met up with them and their new summer student on the morning of August 9th, 2016, and followed them in my car ninety kilometers to Toquaht Marina, where their work boat was moored. Their cabin at *Qaqmaqimil*, or Keith Island, in the Broken Group archipelago, is a twenty-minute boat ride

away. For the next four days, I accompanied the Beach Keepers everywhere they went, both during the work day and during their evenings off. The days were spent fulfilling their duties: maintaining the campground, providing orientation information for park visitors, enforcing park reserve regulations, and sharing Tseshahst cultural and historical stories and information. At night we shared dinner, sat outside and chatted, watched movies, told stories, and generally relaxed together. I took about an hour of time each evening, after post-dinner hanging out and before watching a movie, to write up everything I could remember about the day in my field notes. I chose this time because we stayed up quite late every night, and as I'm really not a night person, the quality of my field notes would have been compromised had I written them up after we all turned in for the night. I felt that my hour away also gave the Beach Keepers some time to hang out without me, let down their guard, and stop being hosts for a little while.

As this participant observation was very successful, and valuable for my research, I received further permission from Tseshahst FN to accompany the other Tseshahst Beach Keeper crew, consisting of Fred Sieber and Hank Gus, on their four-day work shift. The days and nights were spent in much the same way, and I learned as much again as I did during the first shift. I found my time during both sets of participant observation to be productive, useful, and enjoyable. All four Beach Keepers and the summer student were very accommodating and helpful, and shared as much information as possible for use in the research project.

I conducted two interviews with Tseshahst First Nation members and affiliates. The first interview, on September 14th, was with Tseshahst elder and former councillor Willard Gallic, Sr. I conducted a two-hour interview with him at the Tseshahst FN administrative building. The interview focused on his connection to *Hith-wee-is*, and issues of cooperative management. On October 12th, I interviewed Beach Keepers supervisor Fred Sieber. I asked him about his

personal connections to the Broken Group Islands, and ways of dwelling. I was not able to incorporate this information into the digital map of Tseshaht territory. Mr. Sieber is Ditidaht; Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr. felt that we should be careful to reflect the experiences solely of Tseshaht members, signaling his concern over the potential multitude of power relations involved in cartographic representation.

2.2.2 Pacific Rim National Park Reserve Employees

After presenting my research project goals to Pacific Rim NPR managers at a meeting in mid-August, I was granted permission to contact the PRNPR Interpretation Coordinator. He put me in contact with two park interpreters, whom I accompanied on interpretive walks. On August 25th, I accompanied an Interpretation Officer on an interpretive walk through the rainforest, ending at Schooner Cove. The next day, I accompanied a Heritage Presenter on an interpretive walk with a focus on ‘coastal creatures.’ At the end of both walks, the Pacific Rim NPR employees engaged in informal conversations with me regarding topics related to my research. These conversations were very guarded on the part of the PRNPR employees, for reasons which I consider in Chapter Three.

2.3 Creation of Map for Use by Tseshaht First Nation

The creation of a digital map of Tseshaht First Nation traditional territory was a collaborative process that evolved over time, as described earlier in this chapter. I considered a few main mapping product options, including Google My Maps and Google Earth. Following discussions with my supervisor, Dr. Brian Thom, founder of the University of Victoria’s Ethnographic Mapping Lab, and in consultation with Mr. Ross, I decided to produce the map using Google’s new and user-friendly product, Tour Builder. This interface allowed for the inclusion of photographs, text, audio, and photographic slideshows with or without audio, which

made it suitable for the project because of the many ways in which culture and history is shared by Tseshaht in *Hith-wee-is*.

I divided the places mapped into six categories: Cultural/Sacred; Marine Harvesting; Occupancy; Other Land/Sea Use; Plant/Berry Harvesting; and Story. I used corresponding icons⁴ designed by University of Victoria's Ethnographic Mapping Lab used to map Indigenous land and sea use. Information included on the map was drawn from many sources, including ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature as well as photographs, audio recordings, interviews, and field notes. The mapped places were suggested to me by Darrell Ross Sr., and were then reviewed and entered by me. I also included photographs and audio recorded during participant observation, as well as places of significance shared during formal interviews. Geographic data was primarily mapped using my best inferences from information contained in ethnographies.

2.4 Data Analysis, Dissemination of Information, and Storage

The information gathered through interviews, participation observation, and archival research has been compiled in a digital web-based map. This map can now be used as a resource for the creation of further cultural interpretive products in the park reserve, such as signage and brochures, contributing to the joint Tseshaht/Parks Canada goal of the creation of programming and materials to be used in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve's Visitor Experience program and also by the Tseshaht First Nation in any way that it wishes.

A norm frequently seen in collaborative research with Indigenous communities, and relevant to the Tseshaht community, values recognition of efforts and the acknowledging of sources of knowledge by name as a right and a form of respect. All participants in this project chose to forgo anonymity and requested to be identified; these requests were honoured.

⁴ <https://www.uvic.ca/socialsciences/ethnographicmapping/resources/Indigenous-mapping-icons/index.php>

A section of the consent form addresses future use of the data. This section requests that participants give permission to Tseshah First Nation to authorize use of the data by other researchers, using its own discretion and adhering to Tseshah First Nation policy and law. If permission is given for future use by an individual, the use will still be subject to approval by the Human Research Ethics Board, and permission from relevant groups (agencies, communities, local governments, etc.).

During the project, data has been stored in password-protected files on my personal computer, which is password-protected as well. This includes photographs. Paper materials and audio tape recordings have been stored in my office at home in Port Alberni, BC. After the research project was completed, the data was given to the Tseshah First Nation to be kept in a secure place, for posterity. I will also retain a copy of the data. Transcripts of interviews were given back to the participants interviewed. My field notes are private, and will not be disseminated; I will keep them on my personal, password-encrypted computer.

CHAPTER THREE

SENSES OF PLACE AND DWELLING

Humans have a fundamental need to inhabit meaningful places in the world (Thornton 2008:191). Places are locations imbued with meaning; perceived through social frameworks, they are spaces to which people become attached over time, and therefore transform (Cresswell 2004:7; Thornton 2008:11). In particular places, history and landscape merge in the collective human memory, enabling people to contemplate and sense embedded layers of occupancy and activity (Thornton 2008:17). It is important to recognize and take seriously local understandings of these places (Basso 1996). Doing so provides insight into those who shape and are shaped by the places. It also has the potential to bridge epistemologies, resulting in the recognition of areas of worldview overlap and commensurability. Humans have travelled through, lived in, and interacted with most, if not all, corners of this planet. Therefore, locations on both large and small scales have history and meaning attached (Basso 1996:76).

People render spaces meaningful, transforming them into places through cultural processes and practices such as language, subsistence resource-gathering, and religious ritual (Feld & Basso 1996:7; Thornton 2008:196). This is the action of dwelling, living in a place over time rather than observing it at a distance or briefly passing through (Thornton 2008:25). Lived experiences accumulate in particular locales, layering the locales with memories, stories, and an intimate knowledge which is not necessarily readily apparent to the short-term visitor (Basso 1996:54; Thornton 2008:26). Attachment to place is emotional, historical, and subjective, and involves sensual perceptions of the environment (Feld & Basso 1996:7). This sensing of place is active and engaged, and dwelling is a practice (Basso 1996:54).

People's “. . . modes of relating to landscape include contemplation and physical

experience.” (Harkin 2000:64). These modes of relating are sensation-oriented, and are a form of place-making; personal meaning is established (ibid.). I believe that physical records and experience generate feelings of deep connection to the land or coastal landscape, and can point to areas of shared, mutual understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, or, in this case, between Parks Canada and its First Nations partners, has the potential to occur. Therefore, the sharing of senses of place is an important and powerful undertaking.

The sharing of connections to place happened many times during my research in the Broken Group Islands. When I told Tseshaht Beach Keepers Hank Gus and Aaron Watts of what was to me a significant encounter with an eagle, they each told me of significant encounters they had had with eagles as well. For Hank and Aaron, the eagle’s significance is rooted in connections to culture and to their ancestors, while for me its significance stems from the belief in the potential for relation between humans and non-humans. Although the origins are different, during that conversation the Beach Keepers and I recognized that we share a reverence and respect for the eagle, and a belief that reflecting on it can help us in navigating through life. This reveals an instance of discovered commensurability between the Beach Keepers and me, through a connection to an important non-human being of the Broken Group Islands.

Many employees at Pacific Rim NPR whom I know personally speak of a deep love for the Broken Group Islands. These are people who have spent a significant amount of time living and working in the islands. Experiences, stories, memories, encounters, and lessons learned accumulate and become connected in the employees’ minds to this particular place. They are now *personally* invested in the park reserve’s care and protection; their actions are motivated by this personal feeling of connection to the area, not just by what is dictated by Park’s Canada’s mandates. These mutual connections are the groundwork for shared understandings with those

First Nations peoples who also hold a deep love for the archipelago, which is their traditional territory as well as a national park reserve. Above all, I believe that discovering this common ground works to overturn colonial assumptions and harmful narratives perpetuated through a lack of actual interaction with those who appear to be “other.” I do not want to posit too much of a connection here—there is danger of misconstruing common experience for fully mutual ways of being and knowing. However, the roots of commensurability of worlds and lives emerge from these moments of entanglement (Dussart & Poirier 2017).

3.1 Relational Nature of Place

Place is a way of knowing the land. Land and people act on one another; people, their cultures, and the lands in which they dwell create each other and are images of each other (Wendell Berry 1977, in Thornton 2008:25). This relational nature of dwelling has important implications for Indigenous peoples, as it does for any peoples whose land has been appropriated. Place mirrors cultures; paying attention to place is an important way to engage and catalyze cultural revitalization. Nurturing strong senses of place and tending to place strengthens vital connections to culture. The act of place-making through social, religious, linguistic, and economic frameworks and activities reveals much about cultures over time (Thornton 2008:190).

One way to counter the appropriation of land and sea and the accompanying, intentional destruction of culture is to take seriously once again the significance and meanings of place-names that have developed on the coastal landscape over time. As the naming of places is a universal means of laying claim to space (Basso 1996:76), the unsolicited re-naming of west coast Vancouver Island places by European settlers, of places that had already been named by Nuu-chah-nulth peoples, was and continues to be a colonial act of appropriation, or even violence. Acknowledging Indigenous place names is one way of putting decolonization into

practice. The Tseshaht Beach Keepers make a concerted effort to learn and refer to all places in the Broken Group Islands by their original Nuu-chah-nulth names when speaking amongst themselves and to park visitors.

When people are dispossessed of their land, much knowledge and sensing of the land is diminished (Weiner 2001 in Thornton 2008:191). This knowledge of the land is “. . . closely linked to knowledge of the self, to grasping one’s position in the larger scheme of things, including one’s own community, and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person.” (Basso 1996:34) Thus loss of identity accompanies loss of connection to land. What remains, stripped of deeper meaning, are songs, stories, legends, myths, and dances that were created in the context of place (Weiner 2001 in Thornton 2008:191).

There is a danger, when speaking of Indigenous practices, to freeze them in time (Townsend-Gault 2000). This can be destructive for a number of reasons. Practices are fluid; components of practice, and even reasons for engaging in practice, evolve and change (Clifford 2011). This does not lessen the value or importance of the practices for those who participate. Additionally, Indigenous people should not be held to standards of “authentic” identity and practice from some time in the past. Traditions are dynamic, and change is not synonymous with an end to culture (Clifford 2011:223). I do not wish to search for an authentic ethnographic present, but to highlight cultural senses of place as they continue to be lived and experienced. Paying attention to and engaging in these socio-cultural expressions, however, and tracing them back to particular experiences of place is crucial for the promotion of cultural survival and vitalization (Thornton 2008:198). In their interpretive work in the Broken Group Islands, for example, the Tseshaht Beach Keepers are reviving place names of the area that were first documented by Sapir and Thomas in the early 20th century, bringing them once again to our

attention after a period of relative absence.

First Nations history, culture, and ecological knowledge on western Vancouver Island are deeply rooted in the land, coast, and ocean (Atleo 2004). Islands, coastlines, stands of trees, and other geographical features connect Indigenous peoples to historical events, myths and legends, and resources such as cedar bark and salal berries. The concept of ‘place’ as a particular locale associated with land/human interaction is immensely significant for Indigenous peoples (Feld & Basso 1996; Thornton 1997). Economic, ecological, and socio-cultural interests are also most effective when grounded in a sense of place (Cardwell & Thornton 2015).

The Broken Group Islands, inhabited for thousands of years by Nuu-chah-nulth peoples (McMillan & St. Claire 2005), may be perceived in very different ways by people experienced in Tseshaht community practices and by tourists and other visitors to Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. For tourists and perhaps for many park employees, the Broken Group Islands “Unit” is a stunningly beautiful archipelago marked by clear water, abundant wildlife, white beaches, and dense green woods. It is a remote ‘wilderness,’ accessible only by boat.

For many members of the Tseshaht First Nation, however, the archipelago is their backyard, their homeland, a place rich with history, with old and new stories embedded in specific locations, with reminders of the activities and events of their ancestors, rich with seasonally-available resources, and with creation myths pointing to their ancestral origins (McMillan & St. Claire 2005). For Indigenous peoples, “the past lies embedded in features of the earth— . . . which together endow their lands with multiple forms of significance that reach into their lives and shape the ways they think.” (Basso 1996:34)

3.1.1 Nuu-chah-nulth Senses of Place and Dwelling

There is a tendency to over-romanticize Indigenous people’s relationships to the land,

remarking broadly that “Indians” live in spiritual harmony with the earth (Basso 1996:156). The problem with this type of generalization is that it reduces the infinitely varied Indigenous spiritual practices and relationships to the land to a uniform cliché (ibid.). Beliefs and practices are, in fact, complex, and particular to individuals or to certain groups of people. To avoid reinforcing stereotypes, it is important to approach such discussions in “. . . careful, informed, and fully local ways.” (ibid). This concern is addressed in my work of finding common ground with Tseshaht Beach Keepers. The following discussion of *heshook-ish tsawalk* and of other key Nuu-chah-nulth values surrounding their connections to the sea and land refers to both contemporary times and to time immemorial, is rooted in locality, and is particular to Nuu-chah-nulth peoples of Vancouver Island, shared in several respects with culturally-affiliated Makah peoples on the Olympic Peninsula.

Heshook-ish tsawalk is a complex Nuu-chah-nulth conceptual perspective that has meaning on multiple levels (Atleo 2004; Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel 1995). Translated as “everything is one” and “everything is connected” (ibid.), the concept stems from origin stories and explains the relations between humans and nature, and the relations between humans, non-human persons, and spiritual beings (Atleo 2004; Castleden et al. 2009:794-795).

When sharing a Tseshaht origin story with visitors to Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, Beach Keeper Aaron Watts references Tseshaht values surrounding these relationships. “Kapkimyis [the creator] warned [the tribe]” he recounts, “We’re to be respectful of the land. This is your mother; you respect her. Don’t take anything that you do not need.”

Tseshaht elder Willard Gallic Sr. was taught by his parents to respect living creatures as well. Growing up in the Broken Group Islands in the 1940’s, he and his brothers and sisters would put crabs in containers with sand and water, to watch the crabs release foam when they

fought. “When we got tired of that, we’d put them back in the water, because Mum and Dad would say, you know, don’t kill them, don’t be mean, so we’d put them back where they were.” Although similar instructions may be given by non-Nuu-chah-nulth parents to their children, I believe that there is a difference in the underlying reasons for the instruction. Children from a settler family may be told that one must ‘be kind to animals.’ Many Nuu-chah-nulth families’ values, however, stem from principles such as *heshook-ish tsawalk* and *isaak* (Atleo 2004), much more complex ideas which encompass transformative animistic understandings (Sapir & Swadesh 1955; Atleo 2004), concepts of respect, and obligations surrounding stewardship of the environment to which they belong.

Gisele Maria Martin, a Tla-o-qui-aht woman in her late thirties, is a Nuu-chah-nulth language activist, cultural educator, and naturalist. Nuu-chah-nulth relationships with the land, Ms. Martin says, are widely reflected in language. Many words in Nuu-chah-nulth encompass distinctly Nuu-chah-nulth perspectives about that which they describe. English words, she states, cannot accurately reflect Nuu-chah-nulth reality.

For example, ‘tree’ means ‘tree’ in English . . . doesn’t mean anything else than that . . . it’s like a dead end. But words in Nuu-chah-nulth are based on . . . whatever that thing or person does, or what their relationship to the rest of the universe is . . . So the word for ‘tree’ in Nuu-chah-nulth is *sučas* . . . ‘*Su*’ is to hold onto something . . . *As* is like the land or the ground . . . So *sučas* is like holders of the land; that’s the word for ‘tree.’ (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

Ms. Martin worked as a Beach Keeper in the first year of the program. She is fascinated by what she calls “the intimate relationship of place,” and shares a story of an experience she had with

Huu-ay-aht co-worker Wishkey (Robert Dennis Jr.), as two non-Tseshah people in Tseshah territory:

The first day of [Wishkey's and my] work, we went to one of the outside islands . . . I jumped out with the anchor, the tide was really low, and when I stood on the rock, I just looked down at my feet and was like, ah! Wow! It's all the same species, like it's the same pisaster stars, it's the same rock weed, it's the same giant green sea anemones, I know all of these species, but when I looked at them it was like – it's a different *tribe* of seaweed; it's a different *tribe* of sea stars; it's a different *tribe* of limpets, like there was an energy and a feeling about it that was just different. (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

Heshook-ish tsawalk means more than the environmental biodiversity that is often referenced in conjunction with the phrase (Atleo 2004:xi) in west coast settler communities on Vancouver Island. Rather than referring solely to the physical universe, it is in fact an explanation of all reality, and refers to the unity of the physical and spiritual realms, which are, for many Nuuchah-nulth peoples, experientially one undivided realm (Atleo 2004:10). *Heshook-ish tsawalk* explains the fundamental character of creation; creator and creation are one (Atleo 2004:117). All life is sacred, because all life has a common origin (Castleden et al. 2009:795).

3.1.2 Tseshah First Nation Community Members' Senses of Place and Dwelling

Above all, for Tseshah First Nation community members, the Broken Group Islands are *home*. They are the homeland, the home territory, the place of origin, the birthplace of the Tseshah people. These are the words used by Tseshah themselves when speaking of *Hith-wee-is*. A number of the Tseshah Beach Keepers mentioned to me that they are frequently asked in Port Alberni about the Broken Group Islands by elders and by other people in the community: 'How is it at home?' Many people express a desire to return, or to visit for the first time. Access

is difficult for many Tseshah't who live in Port Alberni or even farther away; transportation by boat is required in order to reach *Hith-wee-is*, but boats are expensive, and are not necessary for daily life outside of the archipelago.

Connections to the Broken Group Islands are very strong for Tseshah't. The connections are not vague, or in the distant past. For thousands of years, Tseshah't people lived in *Hith-wee-is*; only one or two generations separate that time from the present (McMillan & St. Claire 2005). Tseshah't Beach Keepers Aaron Watts, Hank Gus, and Cody Gus all have direct family connections to *Qaqmaqimil*, or Keith Island, the island on which the Beach Keepers' cabin is now based. "If you ask me about mine, I can trace my bloodline all the way back to Keith Island, where we stay today," Aaron Watts told a group of park visitors this summer, during a presentation. "Same with this young man here," he said, indicating his co-worker Hank. The uncle of brothers Hank and Cody Gus lived at *Qaqmaqimil*, as did Mr. Watts' grandfather.

Even the Beach Keepers' names connect them to the Broken Group Islands. "My name comes from my grandfather's uncle, who was born down here," Mr. Watts explained to park visitors, in another presentation for park visitors. "And it talks about the things in the springtime that fell into the [water] reservoirs. So, unlike American names, our Nuu-chah-nulth names are part of an event that has happened." Similarly, Cody Gus tells a group of tourists, Cody's sister's Nuu-chah-nulth name means 'woman who throws whale oil on the fire.'

Returning home, and spending time in, the Broken Group Islands is often marked by strong feelings for Tseshah't people. The four-day work shift on which I accompanied Aaron Watts and Hank Gus was also the shift that the summer student began his work. It was his first time visiting the area. Hank and Aaron took the student out to *Ts'ishaa*⁵ (Figure 5), the origin

⁵ Orthographic source for this place name comes from McMillan & St. Claire (2005).

place of Tseshaht people. Hank brought us over to the statue of Naasiya7atu, the first Tseshaht man, and told us the Tseshaht creation story. At the end, he welcomed the Tseshaht student back to his homeland, to his traditional territory.

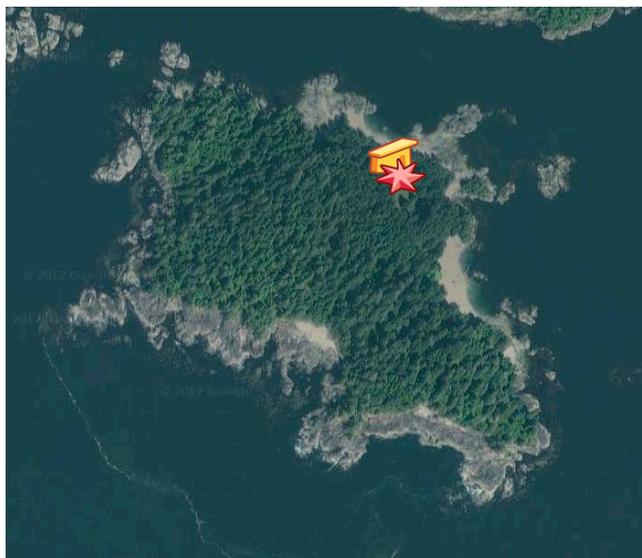


Figure 5. Ts'ishaa

Detail of map created by author on Google Tour Builder.
Map data: Google, DigitalGlobe, IMTCAN; icons from UVic's Ethnographic Mapping Lab.

I asked the student what it felt like to be there, at the place where his ancestors come from. He said that he had a friend who had come out for the same work, and that friend had told him that he had experienced something significant at *Ts'ishaa*, but that he himself had not thought he would feel anything important. He said that he was expecting it to be just another island, but that it actually did feel different and special.

When I asked Cody Gus about his experiences coming to the islands for the first time, he said that when he went to *Ts'ishaa* for the first time, he felt almost sad, but that that didn't quite describe it. He said he felt as if he were coming home, but everyone was gone; no one was home. Cody also described a particular sense he has at *Maqqli*, or Wouwer Island. *Maqqli* is the origin place of the *Maqqli:ʔaht*, a tribe that amalgamated with Tseshaht in the late eighteenth century

(McMillan & St. Claire 2005:17). He said that at *Maqqli*, he feels like he is in someone else's home, and that they are there. He said that he thinks there are still people out in the islands, and that we just don't see them. Both at *Ts'ishaa* and at *Maqqli*, as well as at countless other places in *Hith-wee-is*, Cody and the other Beach Keepers connect with their ancestors, through their presence at the physical locations. The ancestral landscapes are linked to Tseshaht through kin; they are places of power through which the ancestors continue to have agency on their living descendants.

Much of Darrell Ross Sr.'s work as Research and Planning Associate at Tseshaht First Nation revolves around trying to bring as many community members as possible out to the islands, to spend time at home. An annual youth camp brings Tseshaht youth into the Broken Group Islands, but, says Beach Keeper supervisor Fred Sieber, there are not enough resources to bring everyone who wishes to come. For that reason, a new group of youth attend the camp every year, introducing as many young people as possible to the area. Most youth, though, he says, would choose to return every year if they could.

Additionally, the Tseshaht Beach Keepers program has one revolving position, ensuring that Tseshaht members have an annual chance to apply for the job. The position is seen as an honour and a privilege, allowing Tseshaht Beach Keepers to protect and watch over their homelands while learning and sharing more of their culture and history.

Beach Keeper Cody Gus shared his thoughts with me during a hike we did together one evening around the circumference of *Qaqmaqimil*, or Keith Island. He told me of his plans to try to spend more time in the islands. His duties take up most of his time while he's on shift, leaving him little time to explore by himself. Next year, he said, maybe he would stay out alone for an extra day at the end of each shift, returning to Port Alberni when the other crew arrived. In this

way, through active sensing and dwelling, Cody seeks to deepen his connections to place, and thus to his ancestors and his identity, by staying alone in *Hith-wee-is*.

In one of our meetings, Darrell Ross Sr. described his own experience in visiting *Ts'ishaa* for the first time. When he was fourteen or so, he was helping to build the cabins at *Tl'ihō:wa*, on Nettle Island. He'd never been to the Broken Group Islands before, but suddenly there he was, in the islands, learning about the land. One day after work, he and some others went exploring, fishing, and crabbing. They ended up far away, and landed unintentionally at *Ts'ishaa*. Mr. Ross didn't know the significance of the place at the time, but he could feel something special, and thought that something big must have happened at that place, as is indeed correct.

3.2 Nuu-chah-nulth Territory and Identity

Nuu-chah-nulth identity is inextricably tied to the land and sea, and to the inhabitants of the natural world. Not only are Nuu-chah-nulth people an integral part of the land, says Gisele Maria Martin, but they *belong* to it as well.

[Plants] are living beings. This land is a living land and it's an extension of our families that have lived here for thousands of years. And we belong to this land, just like the plants and animals . . . [Our] protection of and commitment to the area is different than owning a piece of land, it's like this is our identity, this is who we are . . . In our own language, we don't own it; we belong *to it* . . . It just wraps us up like this hug, you know, it's awesome. (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

When asked about places in the Broken Group Islands that hold special personal significance, Tseshaht participants in this project invariably named *Ts'ishaa*. 'Aside from the obvious place *Ts'ishaa* . . .' they answered, or 'Well, first of all, *Ts'ishaa*, of course . . .' *Ts'ishaa*, as the origin place of Tseshaht people, is where Tseshaht are taken and welcomed when they come home to

the islands for the first time, and it is where they visit first every time they return. Particular places can serve as ‘chronotopes,’ where history and landscape merge in the collective human memory, enabling people to contemplate and perhaps sense embedded layers of transformation, occupancy, and activity (Thornton 2008:17). *Ts’ishaa* is a chronotope; at *Ts’ishaa* Tseshaht people can stand where their ancestors stood, and they can contemplate and sense the story of their people and the activities, occupancies, and transformations that occurred there over time. A large-scale archaeological excavation took place at *Ts’ishaa* over three years, with the support of Tseshaht FN and sponsored in part by Parks Canada; the excavation and results are documented in McMillan and St. Claire’s 2005 report.

Another place of great significance for Tseshaht people is *Tl’iho:wa* (Figure 6), which, although it has seen different events and incarnations at different times, has always been a place of gathering. *Tl’iho:wa*, located in a protected bay on southeastern Nettle Island, has been in Nuuchahnulth territory since time immemorial, and has been part of Tseshaht territory since at least the early 1800’s (McMillan & St. Claire 2005).

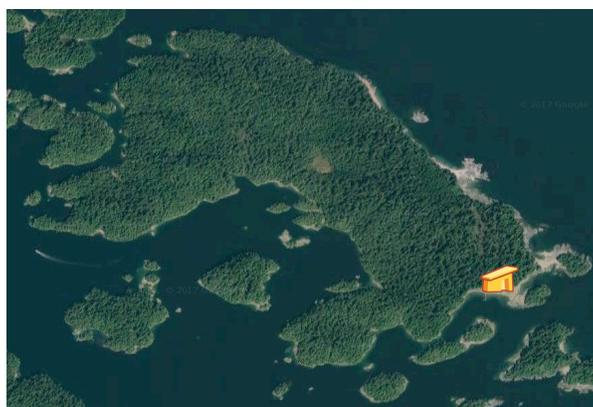


Figure 6. Tl’iho:wa, on Nettle Island

Detail of map created by author on Google Tour Builder.

Map Data: Google Imagery, Cnes/Spot Image, Digital Globe, IMTCAN; icons from UVic’s Ethnographic Mapping Lab.

Tsashaht elder Willard Gallic Sr. was born and grew up at *Tl'ihó:wa*, and other Tsashaht elders have told me of their memories there, and of stories told by their relatives. Fred Sieber, who is Ditidaht himself, told me that his mother, Sally Peters, used to tell him about *Tl'ihó:wa*:

[She] said that her stepdad Mack Robinson had a trap line in the Broken Group Islands, even though he was registered Ditidaht, and they would stay here for three, four months a year at Nettle Island, during the winter, in the longhouse. This was the late thirties, the 1930's. And she said that it was kind of like an international village, there were people would come stay there for a while from all up the coast, you know, Hesquiaht, Ahousaht, Clayoquot, like that. Lots of tribes would come stay there . . . I guess because Tsashahts were so welcoming. (Frederick Sieber, 2016)

Two cabins were built at *Tl'ihó:wa* in the early 1970's, and it now serves as lodging for any Tsashaht community members who wish to spend time in the islands. The annual Tsashaht youth camp is often held here, and it functions as a base camp for archaeological excavations conducted in Tsashaht territory as well.

Gisele Martin, during her work as a Beach Keeper in the Broken Group Islands, was very aware of being Tla-o-qui-aht in Tsashaht territory:

I felt like such a foreigner, working as a Beach Keeper . . . I'm a foreigner! I've gotta be careful, I've gotta be nice . . . Then I learned about this war [Tla-o-qui-aht] had had [in the area], where I think it was my great-great-great-great-great-great grandfather Hish'kaa that wiped out this *Hach'a:ʔaht* Nation that lived on Nettle Island . . . It was so funny to me, because that's where the Parks Canada float house was anchored. So we'd go there for lunch and I'd be like, oh, I'm kind of like, semi quasi at home here! (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

3.3 Towards the Bridging of Worldviews: Researcher's Sense of Place and Dwelling

People's “. . . modes of relating to landscape include contemplation and physical experience.” (Harkin 2000:64). These modes of relating are sensation-oriented, and are a form of place-making; personal meaning is established (Harkin 2000:64). I believe that physical experience and feelings of deep connection to the land can work to highlight areas of shared understanding, where commensurability in our mutual Indigenous and non-Indigenous experiences and entanglements, or, more personally, between myself and willing Nuu-chah-nulth people at these places, can be found.

I care very deeply about the Vancouver Island coast, including the Broken Group Islands archipelago. Most spring and summer seasons since 1999, I have spent more time on the beaches and in the forests of the coast, camping and sea kayaking, than I have at home in town. Through work as a sea kayak guide on trips of up to thirty days in length, up and down Vancouver Island, and work as a search and rescue technician along the coast of Pacific Rim NPR's West Coast Trail, and through my own expeditions alone and with friends, this particular landscape has become a part of my being. I need to be on the ocean regularly, sitting in a small boat feeling the swell and seeing nothing but grey and blue, unable to discern where the ocean stops and the sky begins. I need to nestle down into the gravel of a beach I know well and watch familiar wave patterns. I need to spend days at a time in these places, waking up outside to rain on the tarp and ravens calling overhead. If I never did that again, I would be missing a vital part of myself. I have not inherited this relationship to the land ancestrally, as is the case for Nuu-chah-nulth peoples, and the land is not my kin; rather, I have developed my own sort of relationship with the land through years of embodied dwelling.

One evening at *Qaqmaqimil*, I walked through the woods in the dark on the trail to my tent after a good day out with Beach Keepers Fred Sieber and Cody Gus. Halfway there, I heard something that made me pause. There was a rushing sound coming from the beach, and I had never heard anything quite like it. Was it a large boat travelling at speed? It wasn't the waves; it wasn't the wind. It sounded like a busy highway, or a waterfall, and it was getting louder. I strained to listen in the dark, and when the sound continued to increase, I ran. It turned out to be a very heavy downpour of rain, travelling over the ocean, up the beach, and through the woods towards me. I dove into my tent just in time, overcome with gratitude for the brand new experience that filled me with life and energy.

These are the contemplative and physical experiences that embody place-making. I believe that connection to land involves a certain feeling for the land, one that goes well beyond an appreciation of its beauty or what types of tourism experiences it has to offer. I feel a fierce love for and a need to protect and take care of the west coast waters, islands, beaches, and forests of Nuuchahnulth territory. Certain places I know very well—the views from all aspects, the berries of each month, the curves in the trail, the sedge grass on the rocks, the current at different tides. My experience is only comprised of less than two decades of my life, in contrast with Nuuchahnulth peoples, whose ancestral ties to land are countless generations deep. Nevertheless, I believe that somewhere in this knowing and caring for a particular place that holds meaning, commensurability begins. When shared, cross-cultural understandings are achieved in this way, space opens for new narratives and discourse which can work to decolonize institutional management, overturning dominant power imbalances and introducing Indigenous place-based paradigms, accompanied by unique ontological and epistemological insights (Rowe et al. 2015).

I do not mean to imply that total and complete cross-cultural understandings can be reached through a few months of ethnographic inquiry. The many, varied Indigenous ontological and epistemological standpoints and perspectives are deep and complex; at best, they can be *partially* grasped by those who attempt to do so, not fully understood. However, this decolonizing work needs to start somewhere. In his book *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview*, hereditary chief and academic E. Richard Atleo (2004) contributes to this effort, introducing readers to Nuu-chah-nulth ontology and arguing for the value of combining Western science with Indigenous worldviews. Even a partial step towards common ground and understandings is an important one, as long as the existence of power imbalances and their effects on Indigenous well-being are recognized.

CHAPTER FOUR

COOPERATIVE MANAGEMENT AND CO-MANAGEMENT PRACTICES

Discussions in recent decades surrounding land management in protected areas have shifted from a focus on ownership debates to a focus on questions of jurisdiction (Murray & King 2012). Many First Nations increasingly share governance of previously state-run protected areas. First Nations, formerly managed exclusively by the federal government, are also establishing new protected areas, designing governing systems upheld by foundations of traditional concepts and teachings (Murray & King 2012:393). The Broken Group Islands Unit of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve is an example of such a cooperatively-run protected area, managed by Parks Canada, in consultation with Tseshaht First Nation. Power over staffing decisions, finances, and other elements of management, however, is still retained by Pacific Rim NPR alone.

There is an important distinction between the two governance models of co-management and cooperative management. Both refer to the management of land or a marine area by multiple stakeholders. This often involves one or more First Nations, and government at the provincial or federal level. Co-management is an ideal to strive for, but by and large it has not yet been realized in Canada (Mulrennan & Scott 2005). True co-management involves “. . . shared decision-making power by the partners and requires governments to devolve some of their power to the partners . . .,” going beyond a mere advisory role (Mulrennan & Scott 2005:206; Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada 2011). Because the state fiercely defends its jurisdictional decision-making power, this is more likely to be achieved when Indigenous peoples threaten governmental interests with tactics like litigation or direct action (Mulrennan & Scott 2005:208).

Cooperative management, on the other hand, which is becoming more widespread, does not allow for true power-sharing or decision-making on the part of the Aboriginal representatives (Mulrennan & Scott 2005:206). Under section 35 of the Constitution Act, the ongoing exercise of Aboriginal rights must be accommodated by the state, but the details of exactly how and to what extent these must be accommodated are not specified. Aboriginal rights-holders are consulted, but there is no legal requirement obligating governments to comply with their recommendations (Mulrennan & Scott 2005:206; Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada 2011). In the Mikisew Cree First Nation's 2005 appeal of a decision to construct a road through Wood Buffalo National Park in Alberta, the Supreme Court of Canada directed the Minister of Canadian Heritage to conduct further consultation (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada 2011). However, the Supreme Court of Canada also found that consultation will not always lead to accommodation, and that accommodation will not necessarily result in an agreement.

Pacific Rim NPR works in partnership with nine Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations, through cooperative management boards and working groups. Pacific Rim NPR defines cooperative management as “. . . a management model under which Aboriginal groups work together with Parks Canada on the administration of its protected places” (Pacific Rim NPR 2013). It goes on to state that the cooperative management boards “. . . provide advice, guidance, support, and recommendations to the park” (PRNPR 2013). This advisory role executed by cooperative management boards does not ensure any form of accommodation for the Nations, and falls extremely short of the power wielded by those First Nations partners with co-management agreements, such as Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site.

4.1 Nuu-chah-nulth Nations/Parks Canada: Cooperative Management in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve

As recently as 1990, Nuu-chah-nulth nations “. . . [had] no say in the management of their traditional lands which fall within the park, and there [were] no plans for special consultation with them during the preparation of the park management plan” (Dearden & Berg 1993 in Murray & King 2012:388). Tseshaht First Nation now engages in cooperative management processes with Pacific Rim National Park Reserve to manage the Broken Group Islands Unit, which is in Tseshaht traditional territory. The shared management of the area under the Kwatyaat Agreement (Morrow 2012) is, I believe, a large improvement from the former lack of First Nations’ inclusion in park reserve management (Murray & King 2012:388). The agreement was initiated by Tseshaht First Nation representatives (Morrow 2012) and is one step in the direction towards a shift in the sharing of power (Murray & King 2012).

Other examples of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve partnership with Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations in more recent years include the creation of the park reserve’s ‘First Nations Program’ (Murray & King 2012:388), contractual agreements for maintenance of and guardianship over the park reserve’s West Coast Trail, the ‘*Haahuupa*: Nuu-chah-nulth Cultural Connections’ initiative, and the development of a cultural interpretive trail near Wickaninnish Beach (Murray & King 2012:389).

Pacific Rim NPR representatives still hold the majority of the power and access to decision-making. Cooperative management meetings and First Nations Program initiatives do have some positive impacts, although true co-management is far from being attained. Simply ‘sitting at the same table’ is not enough; inequalities created in social systems need to be examined at a structural level in order to effect true change (Willow 2015:30). Moving Nuu-chah-nulth Nations’ roles beyond advisory to that of equal partner is not an easy process, but collaborative efforts strive to at least partially correct this imbalance (Mulrennan & Scott

2005:208). For instance, dialogue centered on Indigenous place-based knowledge can inform Parks Canada's 'Visitor Experience' programming and project management, and promote the realization of actions based on First Nations' perspectives and priorities. While many contentious issues between partners at the cooperative management table remain unresolved, the meetings provide an opening for dialogue, where place-based insights may be mobilized. How can place-based insights move beyond insight to action? Which insights should be prioritized, and how should this be done? This chapter reviews these challenges, as illustrated by the case study of Tseshaht engagements with Pacific Rim National Park Reserve.

4.1.1 Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations Members' and Affiliates' Perspectives. Tseshaht elder and former councillor Willard Gallic, Sr. remembers the first attempts at negotiation between Pacific Rim National Park Reserve and Tseshaht First Nation, over land use in the Broken Group Islands. Park representatives, he recalls, wanted 'everything,' giving nothing in return. Tseshaht representatives at that time, states Gallic, had to refuse to negotiate, because no good could come of the one-sided propositions for Tseshaht FN. During one such attempt at negotiation for agenda items that Pacific Rim NPR requested be pushed through within weeks, he says:

We didn't get anywhere . . . You know, each one of them had a briefcase, I said 'If you have anything in there that you want me to look at and sign, don't even bother taking it out,' I said, 'Because we'd have to sit and talk about it first; we'd have to look at it, redraft whatever it is, we'll draft it the way we want it,' I says, 'The days of us rubber-stamping things, they're gone,' I said. 'They're not here.' (Willard Gallic, Sr., 2016)

During management meetings which take place at the cooperative level, Tseshaht First Nation representatives repeatedly remind park reserve representatives of what it means to manage the area cooperatively, in an attempt to assert their rights and ensure recognition of their priorities.

Tseshah cooperative management board members emphasize the importance of staying true to ‘the spirit of cooperative management.’ In order to do so, they say, all involved parties must honour decisions once they have been set.

Speaking from a place that holds true to the spirit of cooperative management, believes Tseshah Research and Planning Associate and cooperative management board member Darrell Ross Sr., means speaking in terms of ‘we.’ How are *we* going to protect these resources? How are *we* going to ensure that everyone’s best interests are taken into account? Cooperative management is not an abstract concept. The spirit of true cooperative management must be reflected at the meeting table, where actions are decided that align with cooperative partners’ interests. Additionally, Tseshah values, community concerns, traditions, and the importance of Tseshah culture must be recognized by Pacific Rim NPR.

The taking seriously of multiple ontologies can cause uncertainty and discomfort when differences are not easily reconciled, but all parties involved must be willing to remain in this unresolved state. The search for commensurability is important; I believe that there are many places where common ground can be found and different worlds can be bridged. Equally important, however, is to look towards actions. What actions, rooted in Indigenous values, currently ignored by dominant colonial perspectives, should be implemented within the park reserve, towards genuine respect and reciprocity, and towards co-management of traditional territory which incorporates a true balance of power?

Gisele Martin, a Tla-o-qui-aht activist and former Pacific Rim NPR employee, identifies many such actions that could be implemented at Pacific Rim NPR:

Definitely, [Pacific Rim NPR’s Visitor Experience program could be improved to more accurately reflect Nuu-chah-nulth perspectives] . . . I think that will be an ongoing thing

for a long, long time. Even if they made a massive effort right now, it wouldn't be over. There's so much that needs to be done. It needs to be renewed every year . . . I think not just the Visitor Experience [staff] but all national park employees should have an introduction to First Nations people when they come here. It's a common trend that national park employees float from park to park . . . they should have some sort of introduction to the area that they're operating in and to the people of that place. (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

The orientation, she suggests, should be annual, and provide an introduction to Nuu-chah-nulth cultures for park staff that are new to the area. Increasing park staff's local, Nuu-chah-nulth-informed understandings of place is, I believe, critical for the formation of respectful, informed content-development, prior to the content's wide sharing by staff with visitors to the park.

First Nations cultural training should be given to all Pacific Rim NPR staff, not just those in the First Nations and Visitor Experience programs. The park reserve, Ms. Martin suggests, should explain territorial ownership of the different park reserve sections, and what the park reserve is doing to be respectful to those nations in whose territory they operate. More complex topics such as the history of park reserve/First Nations relations and interactions should be covered as well, even if they are not yet easily discussed:

What happened previously in the park . . . how has that relationship changed? Let's talk about that . . . It can be something that people or employees are told to steer away from, because it's political. It is political, but a lot of it is the truth. It's reality, and it's happening, and it's shifting . . . Even just acknowledging that there is an effort to bring in more [Nuu-chah-nulth] language and get educated . . . (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

Other recommendations by Ms. Martin for the improvement of national park engagement with

First Nations include increasing Indigenous language use; increasing the capacity of the First Nations program; giving equal weight to all nation partners of the park instead of favouring some over others; hiring youth from local First Nations communities; and supporting nearby tribal parks. Additionally, she says, First Nations peoples must be given the space to tell their own story of who they are:

[Some parks are still] going right to this old school idea of ‘Okay, we’re going to set up a Indian village, and we’re going to have carvers and weavers,’ but meanwhile, what about who we are now, what about the history of who we are now? Can *we* express who we are, instead of just putting ourselves in these roles? ‘Okay, I’m going to put on cedar bark, and I might as well be a giraffe in a zoo!’ Meanwhile, the giraffe has something important to say! [Laughs] (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

I believe that another important action that can be taken by Pacific Rim NPR is to share Nuu-chah-nulth cultural knowledge and histories through *all* aspects of park reserve management and information distribution. This includes the history of Nuu-chah-nulth oppression under colonialism, cultural relationships between Nations and to the land over time, and other histories constitutive of who Nuu-chah-nulth are now. Some schools in North America are changing their curriculum to reflect the relevance of Aboriginal cultural content in a wide variety of contexts (Findlay 2014). This turn towards ‘authentic’ education (Redwing et al., in Findlay 2014) infuses the curriculum with Aboriginal content, and could be very applicable to park reserve management as well. This would provide recognition that Aboriginal knowledge and perspectives have important contributions to make regarding ecosystem monitoring, wildlife management, and law enforcement, as well as to other aspects of park management previously relegated to “First Nations’ cultural interpretation and programming.”

Cooperative management of the Broken Group Islands by Tseshah First Nation and Pacific Rim NPR is a complex and sometimes contentious task. As mentioned above, a Memorandum of Understanding was established between the two parties in April 2012, outlining the establishment and operation of the Tseshah Beach Keepers program. The current contract is slated for review and possible renewal in 2018. Although the program began four years ago, there has been no increase in its funding.

A main priority of Tseshah First Nation in the cooperative management of the Broken Group Islands is the respectful sharing of Tseshah cultural history and knowledge. A focus on Aboriginal heritage presentation and interpretation is an area of focus and a stated priority for Pacific Rim National Park Reserve as well (Murray & King 2012:388). During my research, it was important to carefully consider how the history and culture of the Broken Group Islands are imagined and expressed by both Pacific Rim NPR employees and by members and affiliates of Tseshah First Nation (Basso 1996:155).

Tseshah First Nation representatives at this cooperative management table also advocate for greater and more consistent physical Tseshah presence in the Broken Group Islands. Although the area holds hundreds of sensitive archaeological sites and locations of cultural significance (Haggarty & Inglis 1983; McMillan & St. Claire 2005), monitoring of visitor use ceases when the Broken Group Islands Unit closes at the end of September, and remains unprotected until the following May. There is a lack of Parks Canada enforcement in place to prevent prohibited off-season access to the area, which brings added threats of wildlife poaching and cultural site disturbance and desecration.

Beach Keeper supervisor Fred Sieber would like to see an extended Beach Keeper season, and year-round Tseshah presence in the Broken Group Islands, along with regular

archaeological site monitoring. This sentiment is echoed by Tseshah First Nation cooperative management board members. The creation of a permanent Tseshah warden position has been suggested as well, reflecting Tseshah management of traditional lands with actual positions within the park reserve. Another important cooperative management objective of Tseshah FN is the potential delivery by Tseshah Beach Keepers of mandatory cross-cultural training for commercial companies operating inside the park reserve. This has yet to be implemented.

4.1.2 Pacific Rim National Park Reserve Representatives' Perspectives

I was not able to conduct any formal interviews with Pacific Rim NPR employees, as I had hoped to do. At the meeting with the management team, I was encouraged to interview former employees, if any, in order to by-pass the permissions requirements and paperwork that would be involved in conducting interviews with current staff members. As a former Parks Canada employee, I believe that the largest obstacle to research engagement with PRNPR employees is the general climate of fear and the employee perceptions of risk to job security inherent in the current federal government working environment. Affected by drastic federal cutbacks in 2012 (CBC News 2012), and marked by short-term contracts that regularly pitch employees against each other in competition for their next position or position renewal, speaking freely or reflecting openly on sensitive policy issues comes with a risk that many employees are unwilling to take.

I was not able to get in contact with the main person I was hoping to interview, who was a former Broken Group Islands warden when that position still existed. I also had another person in mind to interview, but had to wait until his contract ended. In the end, I secured an interview with former Pacific Rim NPR Interpretive Officer and former Tseshah Beach Keeper Gisele Martin, a Tla-o-qui-aht woman with a great deal of insight into Nuuchahnulth self-

determination, parkland co-management, and connection to place.

4.1.2.1 New Projects as Reconciliation Opportunities

Pacific Rim National Park Reserve is planning the construction of a new trail traversing the length of the Long Beach Unit of the park reserve. Tla-o-qui-aht and Yuułuʔiłʔath⁶ First Nations will be impacted directly by the creation of the trail, which will run through their traditional territories. The new project provides Pacific Rim NPR with an opportunity to prove its sincerity in efforts towards reconciliation and healing between the Nations and Parks Canada, and an opportunity to engage in thorough consultation with the Nations, towards the collaborative development of a trail constructed with respect for Nuu-chah-nulth values, perspectives, and requests.

A detailed traditional use study addressing the nature and scope of Aboriginal rights and title in the area is needed to help guide the consultation with Tla-o-qui-aht and Yuułuʔiłʔath First Nations (Tobias 2009:7) . However, states one park program manager, the new directives from the Parks Canada National Office in Ottawa, which steer park management teams towards respectful engagement and consultation with First Nations, do not allow for the additional time that such a detailed consultation requires. Deadlines for project completion follow dated deadlines set for past projects which did not properly engage with affected First Nations. The discrepancy between consultation procedures and completion expectations is noticeable, and has the potential to create conflict rather than reconciliation between the cooperative management partners. This is a clear indication that despite the intentions of cooperative management, implementation is challenging to achieve.

4.1.2.2 Successful Collaboration

⁶ Nation name orthographic source: Yuułuʔiłʔath (Ucluelet) First Nation <http://www.ufn.ca/>

One instance of successful collaboration between a Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation and Pacific Rim NPR is occurring in the Broken Group Islands. The Tseshah Beach Keepers, as the only park presence in the area, work remotely in tandem with Pacific Rim NPR law enforcement officers (wardens) to maintain peace and order in the park reserve. Tseshah Beach Keepers monitor park user behaviour, and issue warnings to park users who breach regulations. Connected to the wardens via park reserve-wide radio channels, the Beach Keepers and wardens work together to resolve incidents occurring in the park reserve. One drawback to the Beach Keepers performing enforcement duties, however, is that it takes away from time that would otherwise be used sharing Tseshah culture and history with park visitors.

Another positive collaboration that is occurring in Pacific Rim NPR is the strengthening of a cultural resource and archaeological site monitoring program. Work has been done towards this in the past, including the development of a threatened sites monitoring protocol by former Parks Canada archaeologist Nicole Smith. Following the 2012 budget cuts and agency downsizing, monitoring work decreased in the park reserve. But Parks Canada archaeologists and cultural resource advisors are once again developing a plan for long-term threatened site monitoring. Beginning in the Broken Group Islands, this work will eventually cover the West Coast Trail and Long Beach Units as well. Monitoring work of this kind in the Broken Group Islands is now done in close consultation with Tseshah First Nation; Tseshah representatives, often the Beach Keepers themselves, accompany Pacific Rim NPR staff during the fieldwork.

4.1.2.3 The ‘Wilderness’ Narrative

As mentioned in Chapter Three, there is a prevalent misperception of the Broken Group Islands and other national park locations as ‘wilderness.’ Gisele Martin, quoted earlier in this

chapter, believes that the use of the term ‘wilderness’ to describe Pacific Rim National Park Reserve does a disservice to First Nations whose traditional territory lies within the park reserve:

Wilderness . . . the general description is of wasteland, or a wild landscape that humans visit but they don’t live there, they don’t take care of it . . . A place that’s natural, that has not been touched by humans. According to those definitions, there *is* no wilderness on this coast. All of it’s been taken care of by families for thousands and thousands of years, and generations. So that needs to be brought to the forefront, that hey, all this amazing lushness, and natural bountiness, like everything that’s here, it’s not just here by *itself*, it’s here *because* of its relationship with really important creatures . . . including bears that help to bring the salmon into the forest to fertilize everything, including *people*, you know, we had ecological roles that were in place over thousands of years, and it’s only in the recent generations since cultural genocide that those have been kind of dismantled to some degrees . . . So [the false ‘wilderness’ narrative has] got some really really heavy impacts . . . (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

This same issue was brought to my attention by one of Parks Canada’s retired staff members, during informal conversations. He believes strongly that Pacific Rim NPR’s attempt to preserve a perception of wilderness in the Broken Group Islands is misguided and outdated. In 1971, he indicated, at the time of Pacific Rim’s establishment as a national park reserve, the prevalent thought was that ‘wilderness sells.’ As stated by Ms. Martin as well, narratives of parkland as wilderness fail to recognize thousands of years of Nuu-chah-nulth presence and resource management, ignoring the deep history and culture held by the land.

This misinformed narrative of parkland as wilderness continues to be an underlying foundation of Pacific Rim NPR’s values, and informs park management decisions. Two PRNPR

employees told me on separate occasions that the lack of cultural interpretive signage in the Broken Group Islands is due to efforts to preserve park visitors' perceptions of the area as a remote wilderness. How can such a deeply-ingrained concept be updated? A new narrative, created in collaboration with Pacific Rim NPR's Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations partners, can provide park users with a cultural and historical context that aligns much more closely with Nuu-chah-nulth perceptions of the past and present.

“Let's start informing the story of the national park,” says Gisele Martin, of Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation. “And shifting that as well . . . Let's start editing these words out like ‘wilderness,’ . . . let's start adding our own language . . . [and] our own worldview about the land.”

4.1.3 Park Visitor Perspectives

While accompanying the Tseshaht Beach Keepers on their rounds of the Broken Group Islands, park visitors were often curious about the research I was conducting. Occasionally, they provided their own opinions about Tseshaht First Nation/Pacific Rim National Park Reserve cooperative management strategies, and about the Beach Keepers' interpretive role and their role in the care and management of the Broken Group Islands. The following observations are gathered from park visitors, who travelled by canoe or sea kayak into the islands, either independently or as part of a commercial tour group.

4.1.3.1 Colonial Assumptions

Misperceptions of the Broken Group Islands as wilderness are held by many park visitors, perhaps exacerbated by park literature distributed on websites and in brochures, and also by commercial tour companies. One park visitor told me that his guide had told his group all about the good work that the Tseshaht Beach Keepers were doing in the Broken Group Islands. The visitor expanded on his statement, saying that it's good that the Beach Keepers are keeping

the islands untouched and pristine so that park visitors' grandchildren can also come and use the area.

This vision of the Broken Group Islands as “untouched and pristine” is problematic because it reduces Tseshaht traditional territory to a locale that exists solely for the pleasure and recreational use of park visitors and their descendants, to be visited, used, and observed, but not a locale in which dwelling or engagement occurs. Commercial tour company guides are in a unique position; they have the ability to pass on information to large numbers of visitors over the course of a summer. It is important that commercial companies begin to work together with the nations in whose traditional territory they travel, in order to distribute, respectfully, with permission, and without appropriation, messages that align with the nations' perspectives and what they wish to share.

In my experience working over several years for Parks Canada and for provincial parks, park visitors often say things that belie assumptions of cultural uniformity and other misperceptions surrounding First Nations peoples. After Beach Keeper Cody Gus gave a presentation on Hand Island about the origins of Tseshaht people, one of the guests said with confidence, “So, for all First Nations, nothing was owned . . . everybody shared everything . . .”

It was not my place to comment, as Mr. Gus was present and could reply if he wanted to, but it is difficult to hear misinformation, stated assertively, go uncorrected. Nuuchah-nulth nations have a very strong sense of ownership, embodied in the concept of *hahuulhi*. Each Nuuchah-nulth chief owns rights to the lands, rivers, lakes, mountains, foreshore, ocean, air, and the natural and supernatural resources of his or her *hahuulhi*, or traditional territory (Atleo 2004:80; Happynook 2010:22; Huu-ay-aht First Nations 2000:39). Along with these rights of chieftainship comes the obligation and responsibility for the stewardship of the *hahuulhi* and the provision for

the members of the tribe (Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel (CSSP) 1995:67). *Hawiih*, or chiefs, are expected to not only maintain the quality of natural resources within their *hahuulhi*, but enhance them as well (CSSP 1995:67). *Hahuulhi* is declared and reaffirmed at feasts and other ceremonial gatherings, and the sovereign rights are recognized by all neighbouring nations (Atleo 2004:127). To state broadly that First Nations have no concept of ownership, and share everything, as stated this year by a park visitor, is misinformed, and the lack of recognition of Indigenous land tenure and property systems is harmful to the social fabric of Nuu-chah-nulth communities who continue to struggle to overturn these prevalent colonial assumptions.

4.1.3.2 Settler Allies

Many of the park visitors that I came across during my time in the Broken Group Islands were very receptive to the Tseshaht Beach Keepers, and interested in talking to them and learning about Tseshaht history and culture. Some visitors approached me separately after hearing a very brief summary of my research project, and told me their perspectives on the Beach Keeper program and on Tseshaht/Parks Canada cooperative management.

On my last day working with Aaron Watts and Hank Gus, Mr. Watts and I were out by ourselves doing a last round of every campsite before heading back to Toquaht Bay for the end of the shift. We were just leaving *Moq'wa:ʔa*, on Turret Island, and Mr. Watts was already at the boat. A man in his sixties whom we had spoken to earlier approached me, and asked about my research. In response to my explanation, he told me I should “Run this up the pole,” i.e. inform park management of his opinion. He said that he very much approves of Tseshaht First Nation management of the park reserve. He said that he was very pleased when buying his entry pass to see that it was bought through Tseshaht. [He was actually mistaken; Toquaht First Nation distributes park passes at that location]. He said he felt good about buying the park pass from a

First Nation, and that he wants to support and contribute to Aboriginal management of the park reserve.

Another ally to Nuuchahnulth nations spoke with me on Willis Island. He said that he has been coming to the Broken Group Islands annually for ten years, and strongly supports Tseshaht management of the park reserve. He told me that the interactions he has with the Tseshaht Beach Keepers are the highlights of his trips, and that they are what keeps him coming back every year. As interviews with park users were not a focus of my study, I do not have sufficient information from them to provide interpretations or analyses of their statements. Are they speaking in terms of support for Indigenous sovereignty and rights in the Broken Group Islands, or fulfilling internal criteria for “authenticity”? Further investigation in a future study on ‘visitor experience’ and park users’ perspectives could shed some light on these questions. Having Parks Canada incorporate this into their ongoing ‘visitor experience’ data collection would beneficially inform efforts at the cooperative management table.

4.2 Strengthening Relations

Many researchers and academics attest to the positive effects of collaboration. Respectful partnerships that recognize and include the multiple ontologies and epistemologies of all involved parties have the potential to create deeper, more effective results. Management decisions informed by Indigenous as well as non-Indigenous perspectives (Braje & Rick 2013:309); increased Indigenous agency and community empowerment (Watkins 2003:282-283; Liebmann 2012), and greater understanding of long-term cultural and environmental change (Sepez 2008:129; Balée 2006) are just a few of the many benefits of collaboration. I believe that there is much to be learned about effective cooperative management from successful collaborative research processes.

4.2.1 Collaborative Research as a Model for Effective Cooperative Management

In the Methods chapter of this study, I outlined the stages navigated over the course of my collaborative research with Tseshah First Nation. From *stopping* and *waiting*, through *transition*, and finally to *entry*, I slowly earned the trust of Tseshah First Nation representatives and those who participated in the research. The establishment of this trust was needed before my own journey of shared understanding could open up and connect me with my Tseshah collaborators.

I believe that understanding the slow but crucial passage through the stages of trust-building towards entry into true collaboration would be very helpful for Parks Canada representatives engaged in collaborative management projects with First Nations partners. Without trust at the individual and institutional levels, agreements may be made, but larger unspoken reservations and silent amendments may be made by both parties. Trust, as a social value, is also the key to unlocking epistemological and ontological understandings, promoting cross-cultural awareness and commensurability. The ethnographic stages of *stopping*, *waiting*, *transition*, and *entry* can be applied to trust-building in collaborative management partnerships. Referring to the ethnographic stages can help both Parks Canada and First Nations partners understand why things are happening and what will happen next. This can help to curb Parks Canada employees' frustration and unrealistic expectations for immediate action; the model can also provide a common point of reference that allows First Nations partners to indicate where they feel they are in the process and what needs to happen before taking further steps.

In this thesis, I have already outlined some of Tseshah First Nation representatives' ideas of that which comprises true cooperative management. Decisions, once set, must be honoured. Partners must speak as a united entity, in terms of 'we.' The values, community concerns, and

importance of the nation's culture and history must be recognized by federal agency partners.

And, I would add, adequate *time* must be allotted for the building of trust, mutual knowledge, and areas of commensurability with respect to ideas of how the land should be managed, shared, and interpreted.

CHAPTER FIVE

KNOWLEDGE

5.1 Respectful Sharing of Knowledge

The respectful sharing of cultural and historical place-based knowledge is a highly important value for Nuu-chah-nulth peoples. It is also essential for the collaborative management objectives of Pacific Rim NPR and for the decolonization of engagement with park users' experiences. The following examples demonstrate ways that Tsshaht Beach Keepers preface their own sharing of cultural history and knowledge. Invariably, the sharing of knowledge is first set in the context of the speaker's background. Here, Tsshaht Beach Keeper Hank Gus begins a story about Tsshaht creation, speaking to park visitors on Clarke Island on August 11th, 2016:

Before I begin and share these stories with you, I'd like to formally introduce myself in our traditional language, which is Nuu-chah-nulth. *ʔuuklamah Aapiiquuiʔs Tsshaht*. I said: 'My name is *Aapiiquuiʔs*. I come from Tsshaht. It's one of my names that I hold, and I said: 'My name is *Tamaathnii* and I come from Tsshaht, this is . . . my home territory, where my people come from. And my English name is Hank. So I hold onto a couple different names. (Hank Gus, 2016)

Similarly, his brother, Cody Gus, a Tsshaht Beach Keeper who works on the other shift, begins a creation story told on Dodd Island thus:

[Hello] everybody. My name is Cody and I come from the Tsshaht First Nation, and the Broken Group Islands is our traditional territory, and I'm going to share with you our creation story. (Cody Gus, 2016)

Before telling a Tsshaht creation story, it is Cody's responsibility to illustrate explicitly his Tsshaht citizenship, and therefore his right to relay the story. He speaks of 'sharing' the story; it

is a Tseshaht story, and belongs to Tseshaht First Nation citizens. It does not belong to the audience, but he has chosen to tell them the narrative. For the most part, these audiences are not ancestrally and historically connected to the landscape, as Tseshaht are; park visitors generally do not understand the stories shared in quite the same way that Cody and other Nuuchahnulth do. Few park visitors can come to the same understandings of relating to the landscape as those Tseshaht who dwell in these ancestral places. However, park visitors can and very often do listen respectfully to what is being said. In this way, park visitors have an important role to play in standing witness to these Tseshaht expressions of kin-based connections to the land, ownership of knowledge, and authority to speak.

Gisele Martin, from Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, has worked as an interpreter for Pacific Rim NPR in recent years. In leading interpretive ‘plant walks’ for park visitors, she applied Nuuchahnulth values, prefacing her walks with a prologue that situated her in contexts of territory, identity, and her right to speak for other cultures:

. . . I would begin by introducing myself *in* my language, *and* thanking whoever’s territory I’m in, because I’m *often* not in my own territory; I’m often in Yuułu?ił?ath territory, so acknowledging that . . . and clearly saying that I am not from that territory; I’m from the neighbouring nation. And while I’m going to be talking about plants, and our relationship to them as *I’ve* learned from *our* nation, it doesn’t reflect their culture even though we’re both Nuuchahnulth, like they will have their own way . . . Really outlining that from the beginning, every single walk. (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

Respectful sharing of knowledge is inextricably tied to owning the rights to speak about the knowledge. Sharing respectfully also limits the content that the speaker can share; only that knowledge and information that belongs to Gisele, as a Toquaht citizen, may appropriately be

shared. Tseshaht Beach Keepers Aaron Watts's, Hank Gus's, and Cody Gus's introductions establish, at the beginning of every presentation, their right to share the stories and knowledge. Gisele Martin ensures her listeners know where her knowledge comes from, and that she does not speak for other Nuu-chah-nulth nations. What facilitates the respectful sharing of knowledge? The following (Table 1)⁷ is a partial outline that can be used to determine whether the sharing of particular place-based Indigenous cultural knowledge is appropriate.

Table 1.

Guidance questions for decisions surrounding respectful knowledge-sharing and distribution.

<p><u>Can This Knowledge Be Respectfully Shared or Distributed?</u></p> <p>It can, <i>if</i>:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. You own or belong to the knowledge, and are in your home territory, and have the right to share it. OR 2. You own or belong to the knowledge, but you are not in your home territory, and its perspectives may or may not be in agreement with those whose territory you are in, AND <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Your introduction acknowledges this fact. OR 3. You have been asked to or have been given permission to share knowledge that is not your own, AND <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Those giving permission know exactly what you are sharing and approve of the content, AND b. Your introduction acknowledges this fact.

The above outline helps one to determine whether it is appropriate to share knowledge. However, another aspect of the question to examine in more depth is what constitutes 'respect.' After determining whether it is appropriate to share the knowledge, and situating oneself in the context of the territory, I believe that respect is shown by sharing *accurate* place-specific information, in words that honour and take seriously the perspectives of those whose knowledge

⁷ This table is the result of combining Nuu-chah-nulth project participants' assertions surrounding the respectful sharing of knowledge. It has not yet been applied beyond this thesis, and requires further consultation with Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr. before presenting it to tour companies and other relevant parties.

one shares. The purpose for which the knowledge is shared must be considered as well. Will it enrich lives and promote cross-cultural understandings? Care must be taken to ensure that it is not used by commercial companies to satisfy client desires for an “authentic experience,” perpetuating the misguided perception that such an ‘authenticity’ exists or should be sought out.

5.2 Interpretation of Nuu-chah-nulth Culture and History

Knowledge is currently being shared in *Hith-wee-is* (the Broken Group Islands), and in the Long Beach ‘Unit,’ by Nuu-chah-nulth and non-Nuu-chah-nulth Pacific Rim NPR interpreters, through interpretive signage, and by commercial companies and tour guides, in both respectful and disrespectful ways. As a uniform standard of conduct has not been established within the park reserve, there is a wide range of interpretive methods and practices.

Tsashaht elder Willard Gallic Sr. believes that the delivery of cultural interpretation in national parks is important. “I think that the more exposure you give our people,” he says, “Positive exposure, the better off that we’re going to be. The better understanding between us, the better off we’re all going to be.”

5.2.1 *Hith-wee-is* (Broken Group Islands) Cultural Interpretation

The official cultural interpretation conducted in *Hith-wee-is* is delivered by the Tsashaht Beach Keepers. The Beach Keepers, in two crews of two, share Tsashaht cultural history with park visitors while maintaining the seven island campgrounds and assisting park wardens with enforcement (Figure 7).

“The Beach Keepers have been [sharing Tsashaht knowledge] for the last four years,” says Beach Keeper Fred Sieber, “and the visitors just love it . . . Love to hear about it, and it’s not just Parks Canada visitors that are told this, but it’s also Tsashaht youth when they come out, and even some of the adults . . .”

The Beach Keepers' knowledge comes from family history and stories passed down from



Figure 7. Beach Keeper Hank Gus, August 9th 2016.
Photograph by author.

elders, supplemented by ethnographies. Archaeologist and ethnohistorian Denis St. Claire, who has conducted research in the Broken Group Islands since the 1970's (McMillan & St. Claire 1982; *ibid.* 2005; St. Claire 1991), and has worked with Tseshah't elders on locating and translating place names since the 1980's, has a very close relationship with many people in the Tseshah't community (St. Claire 1986). Leading major archaeological projects such as the excavations at *Ts'ishaa* and nearby *Hi:kwis*, and partially responsible for the initiation of projects such as the Beach Keepers program and the building of the cabin at *Qaqmaqimil*, he has played an integral part in providing the Beach Keepers with written ethnographic and archaeological material to supplement their interpretive work. Tseshah't Beach Keeper program head Darrell Ross Sr. also provides the Beach Keepers with reference material. The Beach Keepers conduct their own research and reading as well, and attend talks about Nuuchahnulth culture and history for their own interest, and in order to gather more knowledge.

Interpretation presented by the Tseshaht Beach Keepers may change from season to season, depending on those who comprise the season's crew. In this study, I will speak to the interpretation presented by Hank Gus, Aaron Watts, and Cody Gus. Beach Keeper supervisor and crew member Fred Sieber (Figure 8) does not deliver talks on Tseshaht culture and history. His own explanation for this is that he is not Tseshaht; he is Ditidaht, and therefore it is not his place to speak about Tseshaht culture. Mr. Sieber, however, delivers a map-based orientation of the Broken Group Islands to all park visitors, detailing interesting places to visit and hazards to avoid.



Figure 8. Beach Keeper Fred Sieber delivering orientation to visitors to the Broken Islands, September 2016
Photograph by author.

The Tseshaht Beach Keepers share a limited number of cultural and historical narratives to their park visitor audiences. The main stories that are shared include two versions of the Tseshaht creation story; whale hunting techniques and related rituals, and the significance of whaling for Tseshaht people; and the archaeology of *Ts'ishaa* (which is documented in

McMillan & St. Claire 2005). Aaron Watts also speaks often of Tseshaht cultural “vitalization” and Nuu-chah-nulth language revitalization. The limited number of narratives shared could be due to the Beach Keepers’ many duties that take them away from the cultural interpretation aspect of their job. Preparing a narrative using ethnographies and archaeological records is time-consuming, and requires sifting through multiple versions of many of the stories. The Beach Keepers are in their boat, ready to work, by 7 a.m., and often work until dark. This is an issue I hope to address with the introduction of a digital map containing information intended to be used as a resource for the sharing of stories and information (see Chapter 6).

Other topics of discussion arise from any number of questions posed by park visitors, which the Beach Keepers answer to the best of their abilities. For example, on August 11th 2016, a kayaker on Clarke Island asked Mr. Watts about how Tseshaht people would get their water, as there is very little fresh water in the Broken Group Islands. Mr. Watts’ explanation of reservoir construction led to another story of the meaning of one of his names, which is related to water reservoirs. This story would not have been told without the prompting of the question, and thus the interpretive presentations are both relational and dynamic.

The Beach Keepers have a vast wealth of cultural knowledge, parts of which I was very fortunate to hear anecdotally as relevant occasions prompted their telling. It would be difficult for the Beach Keepers to gather this multitude of small pieces of information into a single presentation or database; the stories are connected to life, lived, and are better presented spontaneously when relevant. It may also be that such knowledge is shared with discretion, after getting to know the listener over time.

When I asked a group of kayakers at *?A:simil* (Hand Island) what they thought about Tseshaht First Nation/Parks Canada cooperative management in the Broken Group Islands, one

visitor, who had been coming to the area regularly for a long time, said that he sees a big improvement in the way that the park reserve is run, because now there is some First Nations' presence. Nothing, he said, can replace hearing information and stories directly from Tseshaht people. This echoes a Facebook Messenger conversation I had with Gisele Martin while arranging our interview. In her own words, she said that "National parks just need to hire more First Nations people from the areas that they operate in . . . There is no substitute for our people representing themselves."

A major source of aggravation for Tseshaht First Nation and for the Tseshaht Beach Keepers comes from larger boat tours that pass through the Broken Group Islands (Figure 9). They pass very close to *Qaqmaqimil*, where the Beach Keepers are based, and to other culturally-significant Tseshaht sites.



Figure 9: MV Francis Barkley passing Qaqmaqimil, August 2016.
Photograph by author.

The proximity of the vessel to islands of cultural significance is not the source of contention. Tseshaht First Nation representatives and the Tseshaht Beach Keepers take offense to the disrespectful way in which essentialized and often incorrect information about their culture and history is conveyed to boat passengers. The information is relayed over a loudspeaker as the

boat travels through traditional Tseshaht territory, not only disrupting those in full hearing range on the islands, but personally offending them because of the content.

Darrell Ross Sr. said to me, in one of our meetings, that the practice has to stop. ‘There’s an old Indian village over there,’ they say. That should simply not be said. They need to change what they say and how they say it, Mr. Ross emphasized. They should be saying ‘There’s a Tseshaht village over there, and it’s named *this*, and *this* is what happened at that place.’

One Parks Canada employee I spoke with in summer 2016 was critical of Pacific Rim NPR’s role in Broken Group Islands cultural interpretation. He said that while the Parks Canada mandate outlines three main management objectives: conservation; protection; and interpretation, the focus is almost entirely on the first two objectives. Pacific Rim NPR, he said, has an ethical responsibility to support interpretation, and yet they rely solely on the Tseshaht Beach Keepers to fulfill this task in the Broken Group Islands.

There is also tension between the Tseshaht Beach Keepers and commercial sea kayak guiding companies, although good relations exist as well between those guides and Beach Keepers who have become acquainted over time. The guides are in Tseshaht traditional territory, but are generally not honouring that fact in appropriate ways. The cultural interpretive talks sea kayak guides present to their clients are delivered without Tseshaht approval or permission. This is offensive for many reasons. The knowledge does not belong to the guides, and is not theirs to share. The knowledge shared has not been vetted by the Beach Keepers, or by other Tseshaht representatives, and is prone once again to error and essentialization. Additionally, unlike the Beach Keepers, the guides may profit at the end of the tour, through tips and gratuities given by clients for the delivery of this appropriated cultural information.

One guide approached Aaron Watts asking permission to share stories of Nuu-chah-nulth

culture with his guests, an unprecedented gesture that was much appreciated. Mr. Watts considered the request, and, although it was difficult for him to do, as he had a good rapport with that particular guide and appreciated the guide's act of request, declined to give permission.

'Those are our stories to share,' Mr. Watts told him. 'They have to come from us.'

Unfortunately, Mr. Watts found the guide sharing cultural interpretive material at a later date, after being denied permission to do so.

Another reason that the commercial companies' telling of Tseshahat stories and history is problematic is that it can overlap and take away from the Tseshahat Beach Keepers's interpretive presentations. One rainy afternoon at *ʔA:lachmaqis*, or Dodd Island, Beach Keeper Cody Gus approached a commercial sea kayak group, offering to share some Tseshahat culture and history. I was surprised by the lukewarm reception given to Mr. Gus and his offer. The guide agreed noncommittally, and took a long time to gather his guests together to listen. As a former sea kayak guide myself, I am well aware of a guide's power to build enthusiasm and interest. This guide was not making an effort to rouse interest in Mr. Gus's presentation; nor was he explaining the significance of such a presentation, and what the group could learn.

Eventually the group gathered to listen, but there was a distinct atmosphere of restlessness and boredom. This surprised me, as it was not typical of most park visitors' reception to such presentations. As a kayak guide and as someone conducting participant observation with the Tseshahat Beach Keepers, I was used to seeing a high level of interest, and a warm welcome given to First Nations' representatives sharing their culture and history.

Mr. Gus explained the cause to me later that evening. He said that he had heard that particular guide summarizing independently some parts of the talks that the Beach Keepers give, and that someone in the group had also said that they had heard the information already. Under

the impression that they had already heard all there was to hear on the subject and could not learn anything new, this guide's guests gathered to listen to Mr. Gus's stories solely out of politeness and obligation. Ultimately, the guide disrespected the Beach Keepers and did a disservice to his guests by inferring that he had the same knowledge to share as that held by the Beach Keepers. The guests arrive from all over North America and internationally, largely ignorant of the area and its culture and history, but ready to soak in everything offered to them on a trip. It is up to the guide to avoid appropriation, and to teach his or her guests to hold Tseshaht culture and history in the esteem that it deserves.

5.2.2 Interpretive Signage in the Broken Group Islands

A third way that cultural interpretation is delivered in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve is through signage. There are two interpretive signs in the Broken Group Islands. One is at *Ts'ishaa*, and provides a very informative and respectful explanation of the site's significance. Written in Nuu-chah-nulth, French, and English, the sign welcomes visitors to the birthplace of the Tseshaht First Nation and tells a creation story from the nation's oral history. At this place there is also a statue created by Tseshaht carver Gordon Dick, of *Naasiya7atu*, the first Tseshaht man (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Wanda Robinson and Denis St. Claire with figure of *Naasiya7atu*, at *Ts'ishaa*.
Photograph by author.

The other interpretive sign in the Broken Group Islands is very large, older, and does not share knowledge in a way that is respectfully informed by Tseshahat perspectives. The sign, located at *ʔA:simil*, or Hand Island, is written in English and French only, and divided into two parts. The first section issues a welcome to park visitors, orients them to the Broken Group Islands with a map, and outlines park reserve regulations and detailed emergency procedures. “Welcome to Hand Island in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve,” the sign reads. “The natural and cultural heritage of the Broken Group Islands have made this unique place worth of Canadian National Park status.” (Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, n.d.) This is the only hint at Nuuchah-nulth presence in the area.

The other section of the sign is titled “Apples, Bats & Alien Invaders.” This section begins thus:

The permanent residents are long gone but around you are clues to Hand Island’s past. At low tide you might see small rock walls that were used to trap fish during low tides. The Tseshahat people, whose traditional territory includes the Broken Group Islands, built and used these traps. Hand Island was one of many native settlements in Barkley Sound.

(*ibid.*)

The section goes on to talk about invasive species and colonial settler history at the site. These signs are problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, if the park visitor reads only the first sign, he or she will not learn anything about First Nations’ history of the area, except that a cultural heritage exists. Secondly, the title of the second sign is strange and misleading. The heading precedes a discourse on past Tseshahat activity; by association, the sign heading classifies Indigenous knowledge under “alien/UFO” stories in an incredibly disrespectful way. Even if that is not the intention, a better title for the display could surely be found.

Thirdly, the sign says that the “. . . permanent residents are long gone.” Which permanent residents? Tseshaht were permanent residents of the area, and are definitely not ‘long gone.’ Many Tseshaht currently spend large amounts of time in the Broken Group Islands. The Tseshaht Beach Keepers live at *Qaqmaqimil* for five months per year, and the cabins at *Tl’iho:wa* are usually occupied during the summer. If the sign is referring to the colonial settlers who lived on the island, it is true that they are long gone, but this wording is still problematic because it discounts the people who were permanent residents for thousands of years, much longer than the brief period of colonial settlement.

It is not only the cultural interpretive material that needs updating on these signs. Much of the emergency procedures are also outdated and no longer functional. As a former Visitor Safety Technician at Pacific Rim NPR, I am aware of current operating procedures. A park visitor radioing for a Broken Group Warden in an emergency, as suggested by the sign, would find that the wardens no longer exist. There is no longer a permanent warden presence in the Broken Group Islands, and they do not patrol in an orange inflatable boat, or collect fees, as the sign suggests.

My reason for pointing this out is not to criticize Parks Canada for outdated material, but to suggest that the signage on Hand Island is overdue for an update based on its emergency information alone. Perhaps such an emergency information update could be accompanied by new signage that respectfully brings Tseshaht culture and its very long history in the Broken Group Islands to the awareness of park visitors. These updates to signage could also be applied to the small, very aged and weathered campsite markers in the park reserve. As many of them are now barely legible, replacements could include the Nuu-chah-nulth name for each place.

One Parks Canada employee I spoke with in 2016 feels that giving the public more

information about cultural sites is a double-edged sword. He indicated that while it informs people of culture and history, which could inspire the public's respect for culturally sensitive places, enhancing the chances of protection, it also alerts people to the sites' locations, with the potential to attract pot-hunters.

Another Parks Canada employee and I had an informal conversation about the possibility of creating Nuu-chah-nulth place name signs for each campsite. He indicated that he thought it would be a great thing to do, but that there is resistance from the park reserve to having place names signs in the Broken Group Islands. He said that it is seen as detracting from the sense of wilderness that Pacific Rim NPR is trying to maintain. As explained in Chapter Three of this thesis, this is a problematic perspective that needs further investigation.

5.2.3 Long Beach and West Coast Trail Units Cultural Interpretation

Nuu-chah-nulth cultural interpretation is conducted differently in the Long Beach Unit than in the Broken Group Islands. The Long Beach Unit is accessible by road, and draws a much larger number of visitors. Interpretation in this unit is delivered at the K^wisitis Visitor Centre, which has a permanent cultural interpretive display, as well as through presentations given at Green Point Campground Theatre; a small number of interpretive signs throughout the Long Beach Unit; special forums such as the '*Haahuupa*: Nuu-chah-nulth Cultural Connections' initiative; and occasional Nuu-chah-nulth-related content included in natural history interpretive walks.

The K^wisitis Visitor Centre was renamed as a result of consultation with the Nuu-chah-nulth Working Group and Yuulu[?]if[?]ath First Nation (Parks Canada, 2015). The visitor centre, previously known as the Wickaninnish Visitor Centre, was not an appropriate name for the centre. Wickaninnish was a highly esteemed Tla-o-qui-aht chief; although it is acceptable for his

name to be given to the beach, as it has been for decades, it is inappropriate for a building to be named after a chief. Once this was understood by Pacific Rim NPR, changes were made to accommodate the new knowledge. '*Kwisitis*' means 'other end of the beach,' and is a name that is recommended and supported by Tla-o-qui-aht and Yuułuʔiłʔatḥ First Nations (Parks Canada, 2015).

The 2016 summer guided interpretive walks and the interpretive shows staged at the Green Point Theatre included only a small amount of Nuu-chah-nulth-specific material. The 'Creatures of the Coast' walk is described as being informed by many Nuu-chah-nulth teachings (Parks Canada 2016). Additionally, Canadian animated TV series 'Raven Tales' episodes are shown weekly at the theatre. The summer '*Haahuupa: Nuu-chah-nulth Cultural Connections*' initiative invites Nuu-chah-nulth people to speak about or demonstrate anything they choose that is related to Nuu-chah-nulth culture and history. For example, in summer 2016, Andrew Mack, of Toquaht First Nation, gave a full-day demonstration of Nuu-chah-nulth carving. Park visitors were encouraged to join him in a hands-on learning approach.

One Pacific Rim NPR interpretive officer that I spoke with told me that not much First Nations-related interpretive work is currently being done in the Long Beach Unit. This, he said, is because Gisele Martin, who is Tla-o-qui-aht and had worked as an interpretive officer, is now on leave. Ms. Martin led interpretive natural history walks that she designed herself, with a focus on Nuu-chah-nulth culture. He said that nobody else presently at the park reserve has the authority to share that kind of knowledge. In a positive light, this statement suggests that he is aware of Nuu-chah-nulth protocols surrounding ownership of knowledge and the right to speak and share knowledge. However, as long as Nuu-chah-nulth people knowledgeable in their own cultural practices, who have authority to grant permission for respectful knowledge-delivery, are

consulted, the relative absence of Nuu-chah-nulth employees should not justify a lack of Nuu-chah-nulth-related interpretive content shared in the park reserve. Measures can be taken to ensure that Nuu-chah-nulth interpretive information is respectfully delivered by non-Nuu-chah-nulth park employees in ways and formats consistent with and authorized by Nuu-chah-nulth communities, until such positions can be filled by those with the inherent authority to share knowledge.

Interpretive officers and ‘Visitor Experience’ staff seem to have a large amount of respect for Nuu-chah-nulth culture and knowledge. This is reflected in program protocols as well as in the words and conduct of individual staff members. One interpretive officer I spoke with informally told me that often his staff sit together in their office, which is just a big room filled with chairs, and brainstorm program content. Often these brainstorming sessions occur in collaboration with First Nations program staff, and cultural interpretive content is vetted through the First Nations program as well.

One interpretive officer, who is not Nuu-chah-nulth but learned the work from Ms. Martin, incorporates a small amount of Nuu-chah-nulth-related content into her interpretive walks. By working with Ms. Martin, she learned how to share knowledge in a respectful way. She says that what she incorporates most is an overall change in perspective, a way of looking at things. For example, she said that Ms. Martin taught her to look beyond the question of what plants are used for. In our interview, Ms. Martin mentioned the importance of looking beyond this question as well:

Commonly in any national park I think they’ll talk about plants . . . but often they’ll just talk about uses . . . ‘Native people used this or used that.’ But with every single use, there’s a whole body of . . . practice to relationship with the plant, and *care of* the plant

that is . . . the major part of it, and [is] left out. So those things have to be brought up to speed. When I [worked] in the national park, I was asked to do plant walk . . . but because of the misuse of plants and the abuse of cultural knowledge, I decided . . . I'm gonna start trying to do plant walk without even using the word 'use.' . . . Talk about what that plant needs and . . . has to offer us, and how we need to take care of those plants. And I still get people coming with their little notepads, wanting to scribble 'Oh, this is vitamin C; I'm gonna use this.' (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

In this case, Ms. Martin is making a conscious decision about what she will share based on the intentions of those who receive the information. This decision process is very necessary prior to the divulgence of sensitive cultural information. Those with whom knowledge is shared may have very different reasons for seeking the knowledge, some reasons may be harmful, some benign, some beneficial; for this reason, knowledge shared must be tailored on a case-by-case basis for each audience.

Ms. Martin has many other ideas about First Nations cultural interpretation in national parks as well. The approach itself to cultural interpretive methods is outdated, she says, and needs to be reexamined. Much as First Nations' perspectives and worldviews should be incorporated into every program, and not just into 'Visitor Experience' or through the First Nations program, Nuu-chah-nulth perspectives and worldviews should be infused throughout Pacific Rim NPR's interpretive delivery.

I was asked to help write a sand dune restoration program last spring, and it had to do with pulling the . . . invasive grasses from the sand dunes. There was a little tiny part on 'First Nations' culture,' but then all it talked about was an attack on a ship, but it didn't even talk about why we attacked the ship—because our village was cannonballed and

burnt to the ground, and women raped and people murdered, you know [laughs] Like there's all this history, and they didn't talk about that . . . If we're gonna put First Nations' culture . . . we're gonna get rid of this [kind of selective story-telling]—we don't need to keep [First Nations' content] in a separate box; it's gonna be infused through the whole program, so we need to have that introduction in the front [Nuu-chah-nulth territorial signage at the park reserve's entrance], and we need to change the words and language of the program, and we need to change the *approaches* through each part of the program. (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

When it comes to sharing knowledge with children through interpretive programs, Ms. Martin again suggests foundational changes that incorporate Nuu-chah-nulth worldviews and learning methods.

Instead of having a very scientific approach, where say we're going to have the kids . . . run around and identify three plants as fast as they can, and get the Latin names for them, we're gonna try a slower approach and . . . get the kids to sit with a plant for ten minutes and just be totally quiet and notice everything about it . . . What does it smell like? . . . How does it move in the wind? . . . What does it *feel* like? . . . And then talk about the plants as living beings in relationship with us, how important they are, and *then* we can go around and show and tell, and maybe name . . . But that really comes from our culture, where we need to slow down and really recognize plants as living beings. (Gisele Maria Martin, 2016)

This type of learning about the natural environment and its creatures, inherent in Ms. Martin's Tla-o-qui-aht education by elders and family members, may be what enabled her to discern the difference between “tribes” of intertidal life forms, as described in Chapter Three of this thesis.

Ms. Martin's insights into shifting our focus away from Western categories towards Nuuchahnulth relational experiences with living beings is profoundly important in the search for common ground between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and between Parks Canada and First Nations partners. Exercises such as the children's activity suggested above work to increase commensurability of knowledge and relational worlds, and offer a path towards shared ontological experiences, if only momentarily.

Cultural interpretation in the West Coast Trail Unit is less structured than it is in the Long Beach and Broken Group Islands units. West Coast Trail Guardians from Pacheedaht, Ditidaht, and Huu-ay-aht First Nations share Nuuchahnulth culture and history with park visitors hiking the West Coast Trail. The number of stories told and the nature of knowledge shared is entirely dependent on the inclinations of the individual West Coast Trail Guardians, who have many other duties in addition to their interpretive role. They maintain the campgrounds, help park visitors with any number of inquiries and requests for help, and, importantly, play an indispensable role in the treatment and evacuation of injured hikers on the trail. As a Visitor Safety Technician working closely with the trail guardians during search and rescue operations in 2014 and 2015, I witnessed this aspect of their work first-hand.

5.3 Sensitive/Private Information

Much Aboriginal knowledge is sensitive, and great measures are taken by First Nations communities and allies to preserve its privacy. Knowledge is inherently powerful, and can be turned in exploitation against First Nations. Conversely, knowledge can be a tool for disrupting colonial power imbalances and promoting Indigenous self-determination (Kovach 2010). Colonial legacies of Aboriginal knowledge appropriation and lack of adherence to cultural norms surrounding knowledge distribution continue to be perpetuated today. Many Indigenous societies

have laws and protocols surrounding ownership of intellectual property, such as cultural identity, ontological perspectives, and traditional ecological knowledge, but the validity of these laws is often not recognized legally in most countries (Nicholas & Bannister 2004). Knowledge can also be very powerful when mobilized in forms such as traditional use studies, leveraged in strategies towards the legal recognition of Aboriginal rights and title in contested territory (Tobias 2009).

Proper care for and use of sensitive and private information is a main point of concern for both Tseshahat First Nation and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. The information both parties endeavour to protect is often the same information, guarded in different ways and for different reasons. There is much agreement between the two cooperative management partners regarding the importance of the information's protection. A current (reinstated 2016) sensitive archaeological site-monitoring joint initiative brings Tseshahat Beach Keepers together with Parks Canada archaeologists and Cultural Resource Management officers with the common goal of protecting Tseshahat sites of cultural significance. However, both partners strive to maintain ultimate control over sensitive information and its public distribution, or lack thereof. In the following chapter, I elaborate on issues surrounding sensitive and private information for both Pacific Rim National Park Reserve and Tseshahat First Nation, as illustrated by the process of digital map creation.

CHAPTER SIX

DIGITAL MAPPING OF PLACES OF SIGNIFICANCE IN *HITH-WEE-IS*

The creation of a digital map of places of significance in *Hith-wee-is* was first identified as a research project goal at the cooperative management board meeting I attended between Tseshaht First Nation and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve in February 2016. The map was originally intended to facilitate the respectful sharing of Tseshaht culture and history and to provide a digital resource for Tseshaht Beach Keepers in their roles as cultural interpreters. As mentioned in previous chapters, the map's content and details of its execution were determined in collaboration with Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr. and with Tseshaht First Nation cooperative management board members. At the time of this writing, in April 2017, map content generation and execution discussions continue to be an ongoing process, and the draft is not approved for public circulation.

Anthropological research has been conducted in the Barkley Sound area since the early 20th century, and continues today (e.g. Sapir and Swadesh 1955; McMillan 2009). Edward Sapir, Alex Thomas, Frank Williams, Morris Swadesh, and Philip Drucker worked with many Nuuchah-nulth collaborators in the first decades of the 20th century to collect, record, and translate Nuuchah-nulth oral histories and knowledge (McMillan 2009). Sapir and Drucker both worked in the Boasian tradition and salvage ethnography paradigm (ibid.). Drucker produced an “authoritative ethnographic monograph” of Nuuchah-nulth culture, contributing a static narrative which, while recognized as a major anthropological contribution, freezes Nuuchah-nulth peoples in a 30-year window of time just prior to the 20th century (McMillan 2009:618). Sapir, in collaboration with Tseshaht assistants and translators Alex Thomas and Frank Williams,

and assisted by student Morris Swadesh, recorded oral histories from the emic perspective of Nuu-chah-nulth peoples themselves (ibid.).

From the 1970's until the (2017) present, this work has been supplemented and synthesized by archaeologist and ethnographer Denis St. Claire (St. Claire 1991, 2009) whose maps of 134 Nuu-chah-nulth place names in Tseshaht Barkley Sound territory alone contribute significantly to our understandings of Nuu-chah-nulth histories and ways of being. These maps now help inform current archaeological excavation and research in Barkley Sound (eg. McKechnie 2015), as well as the sharing of Tseshaht culture and oral histories by the Tseshaht Beach Keepers in Pacific Rim NPR. Tseshaht and other Nuu-chah-nulth Nations circulate related maps and literature widely, and continue to build upon this work of gathering and interpreting oral histories and stories of cultural significance.

6.1 Power and Sensitivity of Ethnographic Cartographies

An emic, locally experienced and interpreted approach to mapping (Usher 2003), informed by Aboriginal peoples' own description of their land use and occupancy, can incorporate cultural and historical perceptions of the territory from the people who have a history with and connection to the land (Tobias 2009). This type of ethnographic mapping is powerful, and promotes Indigenous self-determination and governance, opening space for Indigenous peoples to exercise their rights to making independent and important decisions about the management of their traditional territory (Willow 2013:872).

The attempt to portray Indigenous perceptions of territorial ownership and connection to the land through the engagement of ethnographic cartography has strong implications and potential to contribute to Aboriginal rights and title claims (Tobias 2009). This becomes very important in the mapping of territory with outstanding rights and title claims, such as Parks

Canada's national park reserves. Counter-mapping, which uses "geographical techniques to augment awareness of unique relationships to inhabited landscapes, get territorial claims recognized by dominant settler societies, and challenge disadvantageous political circumstances," (Willow 2013:872) is a way to communicate territorial claims, and to counter competing claims to land. Counter-mapping necessarily takes place within the existing dominant western socio-political system, which is built on inequality and power imbalance (Willow 2013), but can be a very empowering process for Indigenous communities seeking out methods for disrupting power relations.

The collaborative mapping processes which I engage in this research project are not intended to be a form of counter-mapping as described above. The map does indeed challenge public ignorance, and the commodification and misappropriation of cultural knowledge by federal agencies and commercial tour operators, but does not execute this through any attempt at a traditional use study of Tseshah First Nation's territory. Rather, the map explores in depth a small number of Tseshah-identified places of cultural importance and ancestral connections that are encountered on a regular basis by summer park visitors.

Ethnographic mapping can also provide a common cartographic language for knowledge-sharing in cooperative management or co-management contexts, allowing for increased understanding of partners' values and concerns. Nuu-chah-nulth perspectives of land management practices emphasize the value of *heshook-ish tsawalk*, or 'everything is connected' (Clayoquot Scientific Panel 1995:6). A principle inherent in this value explains that ecological sustainability is foundational to long-term harmony on the land and ocean, as are the cultural, spiritual, social, and economic well-being of Indigenous peoples (ibid; Atleo 2004). Ethnographic mapping provides a modern form for visually illustrating Nuu-chah-nulth

connections to the land, supporting Indigenous-informed knowledge sharing, intergenerational transfer of Indigenous knowledge, and cultural education. Increasing understandings of the many ways Nuu-chah-nulth peoples are connected to the land fosters in turn an increase in intergenerational relationship-building, youth empowerment, community cohesiveness, and cultural vitalization.

It is important to examine the motives behind map creation (La Salle 2013; Eades 2015). What is being mapped, and how, and for what purpose? Once created, how will the map be used? La Salle (2013) cautions consultants preparing traditional use studies to be aware of the consequences involved in gathering information from a community to be used for the purposes of industry. Although this research project does not attempt to conduct a traditional use study, La Salle's emphasis on the dangers of working with sensitive material are relevant. Traditional use studies, she warns, can quickly turn from being a tool of empowerment to being something that paves the way for the attainment of a developer's goals on a community's territory, regardless of the values and goals of the community (La Salle 2013:84). This warning can also be applied when mapping traditional territory marked by outstanding Aboriginal rights and title claims, such as *Hith-wee-is*, which is currently designated as a park reserve.

As I was not contracted by an industrial company, or even by Parks Canada, to create this map, there is no immediate danger that the map could be used for the expediting of unendorsed development of Tseshaht territory. However, there is still the potential for information owned by Tseshaht to be appropriated by non-Indigenous commercial tourism operators, as we have seen in Chapter 5. For this reason, it is very important to protect and control access to the information contained in the map. Although the ethnographic material that comprises the map is entirely available to the public already, it is not easily compiled, which keeps it fairly hidden. Now that

the information is in digital map form, with details stored in a database, it is much more readily comprehended, which could be detrimental if acquired by a party who takes it for their own gain, without the knowledge and permission of the Tseshahst First Nation. Although Pacific Rim National Park Reserve holds a cooperative management agreement with Tseshahst FN, there is still the danger that Parks Canada could potentially benefit from the mapped information in ways that are not in agreement with the goals of the Tseshahst Nation. In this project, much care has been taken to work in close collaboration with Tseshahst representatives in the creation of a map, with full ownership being held by Tseshahst First Nation. The information belongs to Tseshahst First Nation; thus, the map containing and presenting the information is necessarily controlled by Tseshahst, to be shared where appropriate.

Eades (2015:124) asserts that “the crucial operation of countering hegemony is *critique*.” ‘Scientific’ cartography does not exist; mapping itself is a lie (Eades 2015:127). Maps can misportray reality, and are in danger of reifying mistakes and partial truths. Once information is set on a map, it will be read as an absolute truth, rather than the approximation that it is.

Thom (2009) also stresses the importance of the critical examination of cartographic methods and results. The solidified, non-permeable boundaries drawn on most maps today naturalize ‘western’ perceptions of territory, and do not allow for the representation of Indigenous ways of experiencing and owning the land (Thom 2009:181). Central to his discussion is an alternate cartography, which recognizes and illustrates Indigenous people’s movement over the land, and their ties through kinship and socio-economic activity to widespread territories (Thom 2009).

Nuu-chah-nulth ways of life are and were in the past marked by connections and travel to widespread locations (Atleo 2004; McMillan & St. Claire 2005). Ethnographic accounts such as

Sapir & Swadesh (1955)'s *Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography* are filled with stories of Tsessaht travel, far away from their 'bounded' territory, to visit, stand witness at ceremonial feasts, and gather resources with the permission of neighbours. Tsessaht oral accounts describe the inclusion of drifting foreigners, rendered homeless by floods, into the community, thus drawing ties that cannot be depicted through the standard cartographic system (McMillan & St. Claire 2005:12). However, Nuu-chah-nulth territorial boundaries are strictly understood by *hawiih*, or hereditary chiefs, (Hoover 2000:43) as constituting the *hahuulhi*, and are marked on the land and strongly defended (ibid. 2000).

With a focus on Coast Salish territories, Thom (2009:198) describes the use of arcs in digital mapping to convey such connections, as well as lines radiating from individual convergence points. Attempting to incorporate radical cartographic methods into the digital map I've created would be difficult (Thom 2009:199), but has the potential to weaken the primacy of western definitions of territorial boundaries and strengthen Indigenous self-determination and relations between communities. The 3D version of Google Tour Builder, the platform I used for the creation of the map, allows for connective arcs and line radiations not easily made possible through other platforms.

Tobias (2009) is a proponent of extensivity-mapping, the recording of as much data as possible in use-and-occupancy mapping, followed by the drawing of a territorial boundary around the data. Willow (2013), however, urges us to consider the consequences of creating maps with boundaries that essentialize territorial ownership at the expense of more complete and complex understandings of land usage. Thom (2009:187) agrees, highlighting the divisive potential of boundaries that act as fences between communities that have always travelled freely from place to place, connected by kinship and descent. Additionally, Sterritt et al. (1998), in their

critique of Nisga'a treaty negotiation processes and resulting land claims, demonstrate conflicts that can arise between territorial neighbours when disputed boundaries are depicted on maps created by one nation without the agreement of other nations. The Gitksan and Nisga'a, who have ancient and firmly-established protocols and understanding around territorial ownership, are now entrenched in unresolved disputes surrounding boundaries defined by reifying, cartographic processes (Sterritt et al. 1998).

The places mapped in the course of doing this project, illustrating Tseshaht places of cultural and historical significance, fall within Pacific Rim NPR's delineation of the "Broken Group Islands Unit." Although Tseshaht elder Willard Gallic Sr. states clearly that the area known as *Hith-wee-is* corresponds closely with Pacific Rim NPR's unit boundary, its demarcation does not allow for the illustration of Tseshaht presence and dwelling outside of the territory, or in any of the places to which they are tied through travel and kinship discussed earlier, such as Makah territory in the United States (Coté 2010). As a map of a very small number of Tseshaht-identified places of cultural significance, it also does not attempt to represent the extent of Tseshaht traditional territory in its entirety. All eleven places are inside *Hith-wee-is*; the Alberni Canal and parts of the Alberni Valley are not represented, and it was not my intention to attempt to do so. The map also does not take into consideration the neighbouring nations' perceptions of territory. The digital map, co-created with Tseshaht First Nation, will support Tseshaht-informed cultural and historical interpretation delivery in Pacific Rim NPR, cultural education, language revitalization, community empowerment, connections to homeland, and intergenerational knowledge transfer, facilitating Tseshaht access to knowledge that originated from and belongs to the Nation. The map is informed by a far-reaching legacy of anthropological place names records and research collected by Sapir in the early 20th century,

and synthesized by Denis St. Claire from the 1970's and forward. Regulated by Tseshah, and used with the cartographer's fallibility and the potential fallacy of maps in mind, this map is intended to be a useful foundation on which further efforts towards the gathering, distribution, and Tseshah-informed interpretation of important Nuuchahnulth cultural knowledge can be built.

6.2 Digital 'Meshwork' Mapping

There is much potential for the exploration of digital mapping as a visual tool of mediation for connecting members of Tseshah First Nation to place, to *Hith-wee-is*. Ancestors, non-human persons, sentient plants and trees, and supernatural beings are present on the coastal landscape, along with the layers of thousands of years of lived experience that continues into the present. How can digital mapping make visible the relational entanglement of these diverse forms, and the memories, stories, and experiences held by the land? How can digital mapping contribute to bridging the distance between Tseshah members' residency in Port Alberni and their archipelago (self-defined) homeland, which is accessible only by extensive marine travel?

Ingold's theories of meshwork (Ingold 2000, 2015) could be used as a framework for the discussion of these questions. Meshwork is an entanglement of human and non-human entities; Ingold urges us to view each living being as a "bundle of lines" (Ingold 2015:3). Considering the "correspondence of lines" (Ingold 2015:154) rather than interactions between subjects, and thinking in terms of meshwork rather than human relationship, suggests Ingold, has the potential to transform our investigations into social lives, erase nature/culture distinctions and "change the ways we value and purpose our work and the responsibilities that attach to it" (Ingold 2015:154). What implications do these changes of value and purpose have for making visible the layers of lived experience in *Hith-wee-is* and for the facilitation of access to ancestral landscapes via

digital mapping applications?

Making visible the unseen layers of dwelling currently not available to visitors to *Hith-wee-is* will encourage an increase of respect in park visitor encounters with Tseshaht ancestral landscapes. If the work that Ingold suggests may be undertaken through engagement with meshwork theory facilitates this process, this may further non-Nuu-chah-nulth peoples' understandings of Nuu-chah-nulth connections to the land, potentially transforming public and state narratives. It may also be used to create opportunities for communication across multiple perspectives, highlighting areas of commensurability overlap between user groups in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve.

How can digital meshwork mapping inform Indigenous well-being and vitality? This may include a strengthening of identity, self-determination, empowerment, language revitalization, youth engagement, intergenerational knowledge transfer, and cultural vitalization. How can it mitigate the currently prevalent misappropriation by non-Aboriginal tour operators of cultural history and knowledge in *Hith-wee-is*? And finally, especially important because of its identification as a necessary area of investigation by Tseshaht First Nation community leaders, how can digital meshwork mapping facilitate the *respectful* sharing of cultural history and knowledge?

6.3 Mapping Process

Through discussion during meetings with Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr., many potential objectives became clear for the creation of a digital map. The possibilities of use are extensive, and it was necessary to narrow our scope for the purposes of this research project. We decided to focus on one objective for the map, with the understanding

that Tseshah First Nation representatives could address the other objectives and map applications in the future.

As one of Tseshah First Nation's priorities for management of the Broken Group Islands is to more widely promote the respectful sharing of cultural and historical knowledge, Mr. Ross and I identified this as the current primary objective for creating a digital map. By mapping places of cultural and historical significance for Tseshah First Nation, knowledge that is currently in binders, files, and ethnographies could be gathered in one easily-accessible place. This could be applied practically in the Broken Group Islands, as a resource supporting the Tseshah Beach Keepers as they share Tseshah knowledge and oral history with visitors to the archipelago. Later in this chapter, I outline the additional objectives which are planned for future mobilization on the map.

There are a wide range of platform options available when planning the creation of a digital map. Pacific Rim National Park Reserve offers a link on its website to download the Explora app for Android or iOS download. This allows park visitors to explore two places in PRNPR's Long Beach Unit, a shore pine bog, and the sand dunes at Wickaninnish Beach, through digital self-guided tours. At the February 2016 Tseshah FN/Pacific Rim NPR cooperative management meeting, where I first proposed the idea of a digital map incorporating cultural interpretive material, the Visitor Experience Manager suggested that I use the Explora platform for the work, adding the Broken Group Islands to the two currently-available tours. When I discussed this option with Darrell Ross Sr. at a later meeting, he declined. He wanted the digital map we produced to be independent from a Parks Canada-run platform, offering much more autonomy and control over the product.

After ruling out the Explora app, I considered developing an app myself, but decided that that was beyond the scope of this project, and would prove to be too time-consuming. I wanted to be able to have a platform already in place for working on the map, giving me the ability to apply immediately and physically the ongoing process of co-creation of the research project and decisions surrounding the map structure and content.

The last three options for digital map platforms were those offered by Google. I experimented with Google Earth and Google My Maps, and discussed my findings with Mr. Ross. We initially decided to work with Google My Maps rather than Google Earth; the My Maps interface is more easily navigated and unlike Google Earth, does not require the extensive use of KML coding. One objective was to make the map accessible for community members to possibly add their own information in the future, as well as providing ease of navigation for community members with varying levels of computer skill, including elders and elementary school students.

In August 2016, my supervisor, Brian Thom, founder of the University of Victoria's Ethnographic Mapping Lab, made me aware of Google's newest geospatial technology, Google Tour Builder. After further investigation and discussion, Mr. Ross and I decided it was an ideal web mapping platform for the creation of a digital ethnographic map. This user-friendly platform allows for a dynamic and visually-rich presentation of mapping data, including slideshows with interactive maps, video, and text, which can be explored in a linear narrative format designed for telling and sharing stories. This fit very well with our objective of digitally sharing Tseshaht cultural and historical knowledge, in the form of oral histories, origin stories, and contemporary stories of Tseshaht on the land. This software has an impressive depth of capacity to tell a story enriched with many kinds of supportive media associated with each placemark.

Google Tour Builder content is stored in the cloud, and is visible in a variety of formats. A KML network link can be generated which allows the map to be exported and viewed on a desktop in a more conventional digital atlas format, via Google Earth. As mentioned above, another key factor in choosing to build the digital map in Tour Builder is the low technical threshold for viewing and adding information in the future by Tseshaht community members and affiliates. The map of places of significance in *Hith-wee-is* presents data using text, photographic slideshows, participant audio, and place-marker icons from the University of Victoria's Ethnographic Mapping Lab. Information in the text section is categorized by heading, and the following data categories have been used to organize the information for each placemark: 'Indigenous [Place] Name,' 'Settler Name,' 'Name Meaning,' 'Description,' 'Use,' 'Street View [Yes/No];' 'Nation,' 'Time Period,' 'History/Story,' 'Informants,' 'Original Data Source,' and 'References.' Figure 11, below, is a mock-up of how the digital map and place-associated data appears in Google Tour Builder. A mock-up rather than the actual map-in-progress is displayed here to protect the confidentiality of this information; at the time of this writing in April 2017, permission for the map's distribution has not yet been given by Tseshaht First Nation.

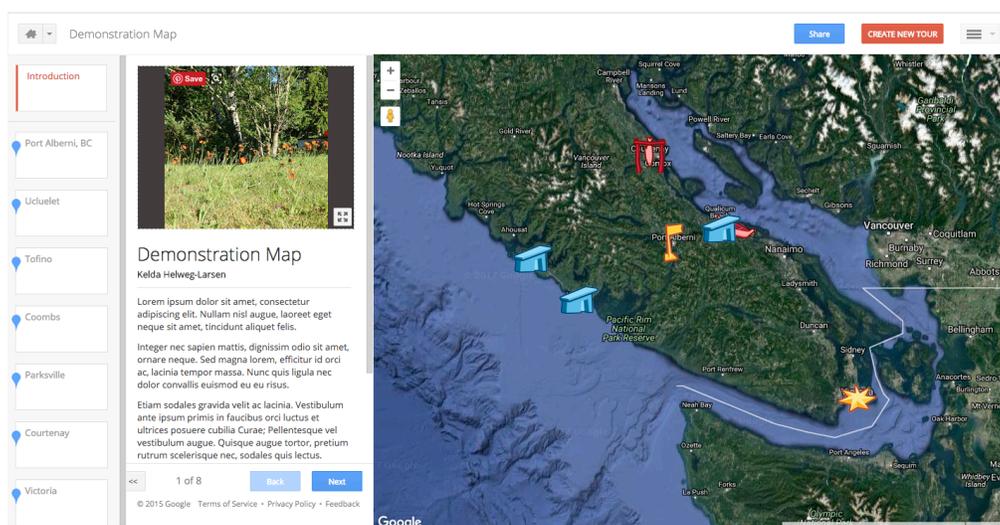


Figure 11. Example of Google Tour Builder mapping application. Map data: ©2017 Google Imagery. TerraMetrics.

In August 2016, Mr. Ross gave me a list of eleven places of cultural and historical significance for Tseshah, in *Hith-wee-is*, that he wished to see represented in a digital map. I also mapped relevant information shared with me during participant interviews. It was very important to work closely with Darrell Ross Sr., as a representative of Tseshah First Nation, when deciding on the content of the digital map, tightly incorporating Tseshah FN objectives and creating structure informed by Tseshah ontologies. I originally attempted to consult with the Tseshah Beach Keepers as well about which places should be mapped, but they referred me to Mr. Ross, who oversees the Beach Keepers program. I believe that the Beach Keepers' reluctance to become involved in map content decision-making may be due in part to the fact that ethnographic cartography is governance work. The maps, once created, have the power to support future Tseshah rights and title claims in *Hith-wee-is*; therefore, content decisions go beyond the responsibility of knowledgeable people active in the territory, such as the Beach Keepers, and are taken on by Nation associates such as Mr. Ross, who is responsible for land and resources issues. It is also important to note that this map is by no means intended to serve as a land use and occupancy reference; the intent, rather, is to explore in depth a small number of culturally-significant places in Tseshah traditional territory, in order to facilitate discussions of respectful cultural knowledge-sharing informed by Nuuchahnulth ways of knowing and being.

6.3.1 Tseshah Seasonal Round

During and prior to the time of European contact in the late 18th century, many different politically-autonomous Nuuchahnulth nations lived in Barkley Sound (McKechnie 2015:195; McMillan 1999). These “local groups” each had their own territory within Barkley Sound, and were comprised of *ushtakimilth*, or kin-based lineage households (Golla 1987; Inglis & Haggarty 1986; McKechnie 2015:204; McMillan & St. Claire 2005, 2012; St. Claire 1991). *Ts'isha:ʔath*,

now known as Tseshaht First Nation, is one of these local groups. In the decades after the time of contact (ca. 1778), Nuu-chah-nulth local groups “underwent a series of political and territorial amalgamations, whereby former autonomous groups amalgamated into larger polities through confederation or as a result of competitive conflict and demographic change” (McKechnie 2015:196).

In this section, I discuss the seasonal round in order to draw attention to factors of time, motion, and shifting territorial boundaries across the landscape. Since time immemorial, Nuu-chah-nulth peoples have had delineations of territorial ownership, which went largely unrecognized by colonial settlers.

Our ownership of land is based on the Nuu-chah-nulth laws of *hahuulhi*, which means the territory of a nation under the stewardship of a King . . . Tseshaht *Tutuupata*, the plural of *tupaati*, refers to the hereditary privileges or prerogatives that governed the ownership and use of practically everything of value in Tseshaht society. These included resources like rivers, fish trap sites, and plant gathering sites, as well as intellectual property resources like names, ceremonial songs, dances, and regalia. (Tseshaht First Nation 2012)

These delineations changed over time, as state boundaries have always done worldwide, and were vastly altered by colonial era dynamics and post-contact conflict and disease (McKechnie 2015). A discussion of the seasonal round and how it came to be is important for understandings of the fluidity of power dynamics in Nuu-chah-nulth territories in Barkley Sound and the Alberni Canal over time. The seasonal round complicates and thickens the way conventional cartographies draw stark, contiguous boundaries, and instead connects people to places across time, described in their own terms.

When I asked Darrell Ross Sr. how he chose the eleven places of cultural and historical significance in *Hith-wee-is* to map, he told me that his choices were based on the seasonal round. The seasonal round as practiced by Tsessaht in *Hith-wee-is* from the mid-19th century and on was a mobile resource-gathering phenomenon that came about as a result of group amalgamations and the expansion of Tsessaht territory (McMillan & St. Claire 2005:23). With a much larger territory to manage, Tsessaht began to move locations based on seasonally-available resources and weather protection (McMillan & St. Claire 2005:24). Each August, they began to move up the Alberni Canal from *Hith-wee-is*, following the salmon spawn. The remainder of the summer and fall, and the winter until January was spent along the canal and in a sheltered winter village at the head of the inlet (McMillan & St. Claire 2005:24). In January, Tsessaht moved back down into sheltered areas of *Hith-wee-is*, including places marked on the digital map, such as *Tl'ihō:wa* and *Qaqmaqimil* (McMillan & St. Claire 2005:24). May through August was spent spread out over all of *Hith-wee-is*, with many previously-autonomous nations returning temporarily to their original villages (McMillan & St. Claire 2005:24).

Willard Gallic, Sr., born in 1940, was born in *Hith-wee-is* in 1940, and lived there until he was five years old:

When we had to move [during the seasonal round as it was carried out in the 1940's], we had the belongings in different places . . . Our houses that we used to go to already had beds and stuff in there . . . Where we stayed was Dodger's Cove. We had a really permanent site there, in the Huu-ay-aht territory . . . That would probably be late November, December, January, then the fishing season started again. [My father] would go fishing winter springs around that time, dog salmon, in November . . . We had little shacks, houses, two-bedroom, three-bedroom . . . at different areas. . . We'd use them

certain months of the year, and then we'd be travelling, two weeks, three, depending on what [my father] wanted . . . then we'd end up in Dodger's Cove. We'd have all the smoked fish, all the stuff we needed for the winter. (Willard Gallic, Sr., 2016)

Places chosen by Darrell Ross Sr. to be included on the digital map of *Hith-wee-is* reflect their importance in Tseshaht seasonal mobility throughout the area, beginning in the mid-1850's. Seasonal patterns of Tseshaht travel between Port Alberni and Barkley Sound, and throughout *Hith-wee-is* continue to have relevance today, for resource-gathering, recreation, and connection with homeland.

6.3.2 Sensitive/Private Information and Tseshaht First Nation

During private meetings throughout 2016, Mr. Ross and I determined that the digital map to be created through my research project would initially illustrate only those places of significance that were appropriate for viewing by a wide public audience. This map provides a foundation and methodological outline for further mapping by Tseshaht First Nation in the future. With eleven sites of low sensitivity mapped initially, many people will have access to learning more about Tseshaht culture and history, an objective for completing this project. Using this map in the future, towards rights and title claims inside the park reserve, will require a much more extensive mapping of resource use, sensitive cultural sites, and past and present occupancy. Multiple layers may eventually become useful, with limited access available to those layers containing culturally-sensitive information.

The idea of three eventual levels of access emerged: 1) information that is appropriate to share widely with a public audience; 2) information that is appropriate to share only with Tseshaht community members and designated affiliates; and 3) information that is appropriate to share only with a select few individuals, for purposes of monitoring, protection, or other specific

reasons. The Tseshaht Beach Keepers would have access to all three levels of information, because of their responsibilities of cultural site monitoring in *Hith-wee-is*. While Google's Tour Builder mapping application is designed for information access at level 1), and possibly 2), a GIS database through an application such as Google Earth is a much more appropriate structure for mapping sensitive information at level 3) as described above.

Another safeguard ensuring the protection of sensitive and private information during the mapping process was the review of the final product by Tseshaht First Nation executive board members. Given approval, the map is owned by Tseshaht First Nation; one of its first applications may be by Tseshaht Beach Keepers as a resource during their interpretive work.

When working with board members and affiliates of Tseshaht First Nation, discussions about the protection of sensitive information preceded permission to progress at each step of my research and the creation of the digital map. When requesting permission at the 2016 cooperative management board meeting to conduct research in *Hith-wee-is*; when meeting with Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr. for preliminary discussions of the research; when speaking with elder Willard Gallic Sr.'s son to arrange a potential interview with his father; and when speaking casually with the Tseshaht Beach Keepers during participant observation, the first question posed to me was always: 'What type of information will be mapped, and who will have access to it?' In many of these discussions, one of the highest concerns in respect to confidentiality was the location of ancestral burial sites, prevalent in Tseshaht traditional territory. There is a long history of grave-robbing and desecration on the west coast of Vancouver Island, perpetrated by curio-seekers, vandals, and museum collectors (Cole 1985; Jonaitis 1999). This does not only affect the Tseshaht historical record of the past,

but violates sites of ancestral power, recognized in Nuu-chah-nulth ontology as places where ancestors continue to have agency and impact the lives of their descendants today.

A 1983 interim archaeological report on the survey of Pacific Rim NPR recognized the sensitive nature of burial sites, and did not include any location information in the report (Haggarty & Inglis 1983). I addressed Tseshaht concerns about sensitive site protection by leaving full control of the mapping content with the Nation and its affiliates. The places I mapped were either chosen by Darrell Ross Sr. or singled out during participant observation and interviews. There was a clear agreement from the beginning of these conversations to avoid completely the representation of burial sites on the map. This approach is directly related to the public-facing nature of the map. Were we to comprehensively map land use and occupancy for the sole use of Tseshaht FN, for example, the inclusion of burial sites would have been very important. In this way, the map's audience is a large factor in determining content.

6.3.3 Sensitive/Private Information and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve

Concerns around the mapping and sharing of sensitive and private information in the Broken Group Islands were also strongly voiced by Pacific Rim National Park Reserve staff and officers. Both the Pacific Rim NPR Cultural Resources Management Advisor and the PRNPR First Nations Program Manager emphasized the need for examining processes for what information can and cannot be shared, as is their responsibility when researchers attempt to access archival Tseshaht cultural information. What processes, they wanted to know, does Tseshaht FN have in place for sharing information? PRNPR staff were also very concerned about the illustration of *particular* places or sites on the map. She suggested that I focus on very broad areas in the Broken Group Islands, or solely on stories. Ultimately, I took direction from Tseshaht FN affiliates when determining mapped locations.

Pacific Rim NPR's obligations in respect to the management of confidential site information and the protection of cultural resources are informed by the Canada Parks Act; The Parks Canada Charter, including its Mandate; the Parks Canada Values and Ethics Code; and the Pacific Rim NPR Management Plan. One objective of the Parks Canada Mandate is to "protect nationally significant examples of Canada's natural and cultural heritage" (Parks Canada 2015). Parks Canada states that this is its *first* priority, ensuring that these heritage examples "remain healthy and whole" (Parks Canada 2015). The Parks Canada Charter, which includes the Mandate, also lists employee roles; two of the four roles are 'guardian' and 'partner building on Aboriginal traditions' (Parks Canada 2017).

Pacific Rim National Park Reserve also addresses Aboriginal partnerships and the management of sensitive sites. Its website literature states that "since 1995 [PRNPR] has been working collaboratively with First Nation partners to achieve long-term conservation and sustainable use of natural and cultural resources within Pacific Rim National Park Reserve," and that they are guided by Nuu-chah-nulth principles of *isaak* and *heshook-ish tsawalk* (PRNPR 2013; Atleo 2004).

A significant step towards concrete guidelines for the cooperative management of culturally-sensitive sites and resources was introduced in Pacific Rim NPR's 2010 Management Plan (see Appendix 1). These time-targeted objectives include the documenting, assessment, and monitoring of cultural features, and the appropriate protection for cultural resources in accordance with Cultural Resource Management policy (Pacific Rim NPR 2010). An updated Management Plan has not yet been released on the Pacific Rim NPR website.

Information of cultural significance in the Broken Group Islands is guarded closely by Pacific Rim NPR. Even after navigating many requirements, obtaining a research permit,

answering questions during both formal and informal meetings, presenting my research proposal to the management team, and having the presumed advantage of being well-known by Pacific Rim NPR staff, I had much difficulty in developing Parks Canada as a fully collaborative research partner for this study. Pacific Rim NPR employees were very cautious in sharing even the most basic information they had on file with respect to important cultural sites within the Park Reserve.

My interpretation of the situation is that Pacific Rim NPR employees were likely acting out of a sense of responsibility to Tseshahst First Nation. Tseshahst FN owns and has access to the same or very similar information, which I had permission to view. However, I only gained this permission through informal conversation over time with Tseshahst Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr. Tseshahst First Nation had not notified Pacific Rim NPR that I had permission to view this culturally-sensitive material, and so Pacific Rim NPR proceeded with deference and caution when sharing Tseshahst information with me, a researcher.

When I presented my research project to the Pacific Rim NPR management team in August 2016, a number of requests emerged. The PRNPR Cultural Resources Management Advisor asked that a draft of the digital map, showing which places will be shared, be presented to the management team for approval prior to its distribution. However, when Darrell Ross Sr., Research and Planning Manager at Tseshahst First Nation, made the same request, he asked that it be presented to the Tseshahst FN executive before its presentation to Pacific Rim NPR. As the information mapped is knowledge belonging to Tseshahst First Nation, I believe that the Nation should have the opportunity to approve the draft first, and I complied with Mr. Ross's request. If Tseshahst First Nation does not approve the draft, further presentations would not be made until the necessary changes had been made. If the Nation does approve the draft, but it is subsequently

not approved by Pacific Rim NPR's management team, further conversations will be required between the two partners until an understanding could be reached.

Although both Pacific Rim National Park Reserve and Tseshaht First Nation are very concerned with the protection of culturally-sensitive information in the Broken Group Islands/*Hith-wee-is*, their cooperative management of the area does not necessarily mean that information and strategies flow freely between the two partners.

6.4 Digital Map Applications

6.4.1 Tseshaht Beach Keepers' Interpretive Resource

The digital map of places of Tseshaht cultural and historical significance in *Hith-wee-is* will be used initially as an interpretive resource for Tseshaht Beach Keepers as they share knowledge with visitors to Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. The data can be accessed from a desktop web browser. Once the tour is shared via email, it is not necessary to sign into Google in order to view the tour. A spectacular 3D viewing option is supported by older browsers, such as the 32-bit versions of Firefox, Internet Explorer, and Safari, or as a KML network link in Google Earth's desktop or online. Any other browser that does not support insecure desktop plugins will default to viewing the Tour Builder atlas in a more conventional, top-down 2D satellite view.

Google Tour Builder can also be accessed by mobile devices, via Google Earth for Mobile. A cached version of the online map data can even be used offline once the file has been loaded in Google Earth for Mobile, for local viewing without an internet connection. The digital map will supplement the Beach Keepers' already-vast store of knowledge, and provide a portable reference for information previously stored in boxes and binders at *Qaqmaqimil* (Keith Island).

The creation of a brief training guide resource to be shown to the Beach Keepers at the beginning

of the work season would be beneficial to the incorporation of this new product into their daily routines.

6.4.2 Other Applications

During numerous meetings with Tseshaht Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr., additional objectives to be mobilized on the map in the future were discussed. In addition to the promotion of respectful sharing of knowledge originally supported by the creation of a digital map, another high priority for Tseshaht First Nation is the monitoring of the many culturally sensitive sites in the area. Tseshaht representatives would like to create a database for this information, which could then be used by the Beach Keepers to monitor site conditions in the months that the park is open to visitors, as well as by designated cultural monitors in the off-season. There are many potential applications for the digital map, which will be initiated at the discretion of Tseshaht First Nation cooperative management board members.

Another future objective for the map is to function as an accessible store of knowledge for Tseshaht First Nation community members and those with connections to Tseshaht First Nation. Mr. Ross is also enthusiastic about the potential for the use of the map as a learning resource in Tseshaht First Nation's Haahuupayak School for students in Grades One to Seven, as well as in all of Port Alberni's schools.

One topic that requires more discussion and consideration is Pacific Rim NPR's role in the use and distribution of the map. The map belongs to Tseshaht First Nation. How much access to the map, if any, does Tseshaht FN wish to allow Pacific Rim NPR staff and managers? As the map was created with the intention to include only that information suitable for sharing with a wide public audience, it is likely that Tseshaht FN representatives will not take exception to the use of the map, in its current incarnation, by PRNPR staff and managers. The larger issue is not

about the nature of the information currently shown on the map, but about Tseshah FN's authority to make decisions about the information—how it is shared, with whom, for what reasons—as well as maintaining the authority and control which will allow the Nation to change its map use requirements as the map itself changes and expands.

A main priority for Tseshah FN is the respectful sharing of Tseshah cultural history and knowledge with visitors to Pacific Rim NPR. How can the digital map assist in this work? Tseshah Beach Keepers express hesitancy over the potential loss of their interpretive role, were the map to be made widely available to park reserve visitors. However, there are many aspects of the Beach Keepers' cultural interpretive work that will not be replicated in the map's content. Spontaneous discourse arising from questions addressed to the Beach Keepers by park visitors is one aspect of their work that cannot be replaced by a digital mapping application. The Beach Keepers also perform dances and songs when they feel that circumstances are appropriate for the performances. This did not occur during my eight days of participant observation, and therefore will not be included on the map. Another element of the Beach Keepers' role that cannot be replaced by a digital map is the in-person encounters between the Beach Keepers, who belong to and own the traditional territory, and the park visitors, who travel through it.

Tseshah Research and Planning Associate Darrell Ross Sr. also expressed his reluctance to make the map openly accessible to visitors to Pacific Rim NPR, preferring that the map's distribution be conducted through Tseshah First Nation. Can the establishment of limits and agreements between the two cooperative management partners provide a framework for the appropriate sharing of digitally mapped information? This question can be addressed at future cooperative management board meetings; new agreements surrounding map accessibility may be

incorporated into the existing Memorandum of Understanding between Tseshaht First Nation and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve.

CONCLUSION

Hith-wee-is, the Tseshaht ancestral homeland in Barkley Sound, is layered with thousands of years of lived experiences. In this traditional territory, ancestors have agency, and make their presence known. Memories, stories, myths, legends, encounters, and a deep knowledge of the land and sea accumulate, largely unnoticed by short-term visitors to the archipelago. As has been identified in Indigenous as well as non-Indigenous contexts, attachment to place contributes foundationally to the strength of personal and social identities (Basso 1996:105;146). “Selfhood and placehood,” Basso asserts, “are completely intertwined” (1996:146). Current Western practices and epistemologies often contribute superficial accounts of what are, in fact, deeply complex Indigenous heritages (Liebmann 2012:33; Watkins 2003:280). The essentializing of Indigenous histories inhibits perceptions of Indigenous identity (ibid.), negatively impacting the effectiveness of efforts towards agency (Liebmann 2012:25; Watkins 2003:279). Conversely, the strengthening of Tseshaht connections to *Hith-wee-is* is also a strengthening of Tseshaht identity, cultural vitality, and selfhood, extending beyond the individual to strengthen Tseshaht communities as well.

Many diverse human and non-human forms are relationally connected on the land, entangled with memories, stories, and experiences. Digital maps such as the one created during this research project can work to make this entanglement visible, both to Tseshaht community members and affiliates, and to the park visitors, park employees, commercial tour operators, and students who visit and work in the area. For Tseshaht, the making visibility of relational entanglements can deepen connections to ancestors, homeland, and culture, empowering self and community. Visitors to the area can also become more aware of relational land-based entanglement through engaging with this map, and the fostering of increased understanding can

foster respectful engagement with the land and with those whose histories and selves belong to the land. As Willard Gallic Sr. stated in Chapter Four, positive exposure of Tseshaht culture and history informs deeper understandings between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, resulting in the increased well-being of all.

Through text, contemporary video, and photographs embedded in the digital map, the diversity of human and non-human forms embodied in the landscape can be brought to the attention of those who engage with the map. Stories of ancestors, creation and origin stories, historical events, place names, places of spiritual significance, and contemporary stories of Tseshaht engagement with *Hith-wee-is* are just some of the interconnected elements that are highlighted, shown, and made available through the map. Ingold's belief that the "making visible" of this meshwork of human and non-human persons, and experiences, can change perspectives on the value of our work and its attached responsibilities (Ingold 2015:154). Engagement with the map has the potential to decolonize Euro-centric narratives, as well as to highlight the depth of the Tseshaht Beach Keepers' role. This role, when viewed through a lens of meshwork and entanglement, shows that not only do the Beach Keepers share culture and history, but that they engage in the work of overturning colonial assumptions, as well as contribute to an ongoing process of relation with the land and ancestors, while simultaneously empowering themselves and their community.

Through the raising of awareness, a digital map of places of significance in Tseshaht traditional territory can mitigate the current misappropriation by non-Indigenous tour operators of Tseshaht cultural knowledge and history. The map, through textual and video-based presentations, traces genealogies leading back to particular places in the islands, shows ownership of territory, and elaborates on individuals' authority to tell particular stories. This

works to raise awareness of Nuu-chah-nulth values of ownership of both tangible and intangible property. As awareness and understanding of the disrespect caused by misappropriation of cultural knowledge increases, it is my hope that non-Nuu-chah-nulth visitors to and operators in the park will work to avoid misappropriation in the future.

A major contribution of a digital map of Tseshaht places of cultural significance is its contribution to bridging the distance between Tseshaht community members and affiliates and their ancestral homeland, both through access to stories, photographs, and videos of *Hith-wee-is*, and through functions of the map itself. As discussed earlier in this work, *Hith-wee-is* is not easily accessible, requiring extensive travel and marine access resources. Google Tour Builder allows for a ‘fly-through’ of the territory, and the inclusion of Street View makes it possible for the viewer to look around as if he or she were standing in the location. This of course cannot replace the actual experience of walking the beaches and trails of *Hith-wee-is*, but it provides a form of access for those who are not able to travel. I have also experimented with Tour Builder’s “Hub” option, which draws lines from a central location to many places on the map. With the hub centred at *Ts’ishaa*, this can illustrate the many connections that have been made from the place of origin, throughout the archipelago, up the Alberni canal to Port Alberni, and beyond.

An area for further research involves dynamic visual meshwork representations of activity inside of, and coming and going from, *Hith-wee-is*. Tseshaht Beach Keepers, in a cooperative management initiative between Tseshaht First Nation and Pacific Rim NPR; park employees; archaeological field school participants and instructors; fishermen; Tseshaht First Nation community members; independent visitors to the park; and commercial tour operators all weave their paths along and across each other. What does this meshwork look like, and what happens when travel routes and activities are included in the representation? Most importantly,

what are the implications for strengthening even further the connections between Tseshaht and their homeland, providing solutions for a sharing of space marked by respect and mutual understanding?

A theme that has become apparent throughout the course of this research project is that of self-representation. No one can better represent First Nations culture, history, knowledge, views, senses of place, connections to the land, co-management strategies, values, and planning than First Nations peoples themselves. Collaborative research and the co-generation of research questions in Nuuchahnulth territory work to identify Nuuchahnulth Nations' goals and priorities, and to follow methodologies that draw on the strengths of Nuuchahnulth values and ontologies. The most effective and respectful way to present cultural interpretation in traditional Nuuchahnulth territories is through the compilation and delivery of the knowledge by the peoples of those territories. And management of parkland that falls within Nuuchahnulth traditional territory, such as *Hith-wee-is*, is best done when representatives of that traditional territory have space to strongly voice and implement their priorities and concerns.

There is much to be learned from place-based Nuuchahnulth ontologies of a connected and interrelated existence shared by all human and non-human persons (Atleo 2004). Each part comprises and affects the whole, or, as so aptly expressed by Nuuchahnulth peoples, *heshook-ish tsawalk*; everything is one.

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Appendix A

Pacific Rim NPR's Objectives for Protecting and Restoring Cultural Resources

Objective 1	The cultural resources within Pacific Rim NPR are protected and maintained through an active cultural resource management program in collaboration with the local First Nations.
Target 1.1	First Nations are actively involved in managing with Parks Canada archaeological sites and cultural resources within the park.
Actions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop a decision-making process and policy with each First Nation in relation to identified archaeological and cultural sites. 2. Relevant First Nation representatives participate in assessments of cultural and archaeological sites. 3. Exchange annual cultural site reports with First Nations partners.
Target 1.2	Cultural landscape and landscape features within the park have been assessed, documented, and are monitored by 2015.
Actions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Complete a cultural resource values statement for the park. 2. Establish a set of monitoring targets for First Nation and Euro-Canadian cultural sites.
Target 1.3	Known cultural resources are appropriately protected and conserved in accordance with the Cultural Resource Management Policy.
Actions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collaborate with First Nations to identify priority cultural resources that should be the focus of conservation efforts. 2. Identify, assess, and protect heritage sites prone to erosion from visitor use and natural conditions. 3. Stabilise and improve objects in the heritage collection.
Target 1.4	The in-park collection of historical objects is identified, maintained, and some are made accessible to the public by 2012.
Action	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prepare a cultural resource conservation and monitoring plan.