Indigenous and Parks Canada Agency Perspectives on the Management of Gulf Islands National Park Reserve

by

Andrew Fitzsimmons

B.A. (Distinction), Concordia University, 2016

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We acknowledge with respect the Lekwungen peoples on whose traditional territory the University stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt, and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical Relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Abstract

In the Gulf Islands and Salish Sea Regions of British Columbia the Parks Canada Agency (PCA) currently operates Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (GINPR) and is in the development phase for the proposed Southern Strait of Georgia National Marine Conservation Area Reserve (SSGNMCAR). Protected areas such as these are meant to protect the ecological and cultural heritage of the region on behalf of all Canadians. As the government runs and expands their protected areas in the region it is important to look at their relationship with Indigenous communities in particular, as the PCA mandate requires the agency to work in "partnership" with Indigenous communities (Parks Canada 2017). The region is home to nearly 20 First Nations groups including the three W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations of the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council (WLC). The WLC is an Indigenous government that has publicly stated their perception of a strained relationship with the PCA beginning before the formal establishment of GINPR in 2003. Through historical analysis; interviews with employees from the PCA and members of the W̱SÁNEĆ community; and a review of several aspects of site management and establishment in the region – this thesis explores the changing relationship between the PCA and W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. Through this thesis I collect and discuss recommendations from W̱SÁNEĆ community members, and develop several myself, for the PCA to consider developing to improve the partnership between the two bodies. Potentially a partnership could lead towards formalized and lasting co-operative decision-making practice in the region's cultural and natural heritage management.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

At the Conference of the Parties meeting in 2010 (COP 10) of the Convention on Biological Diversity, the Canadian government made bold commitments to protecting "at least 17% of terrestrial areas and inland water, and 10% of coastal and marine areas" (Canada 2015, target 1). One of the ways the Canadian state goes about working to conserve environments is through the establishment of protected areas. These protected areas include, but are not limited to: National Parks (NPs); National Marine Conservation Areas (NMCAs); National Wildlife Areas; Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas (IPCAs); and more. To meet the COP 10 targets the Canadian government had to take stock of the total area in the country that was already formally protected, as well as looking into establishing new protected areas.

This expansion has coincided with a political and popular movement in Canada to improve relations between settler communities and the hundreds of Indigenous communities spread throughout the country's vast territory (Canadian Parks Council 2018, 11-15). This is often done in the name of reconciliation. In 2018 Trudeau's Liberal government made financial and spoken commitments to better implement self-governance for Indigenous communities in Canada, including support for Indigenous environmental aspirations (Barrera, 2018). Reconciliation and conservation were now intermingled in the Canadian political sphere. The 2018 federal budget announcement means that the many Indigenous communities in Canada are meant to be afforded more control and influence in managing their own communities and traditional lands. However, many of these lands overlap with private or crown property, including NPs and NMCAs.

This leaves the Parks Canada Agency (PCA) in an interesting situation. The PCA is

Canada's governmental agency responsible for the management and establishment of National Parks, Marine Conservation Areas, National Historic Sites, UNESCO World Heritage Sites, and much more. They are legally obliged to continue managing and expanding their network of protected areas, and so are on the frontline of government interactions with many Indigenous communities in their work on protected areas, species at risk, and other concerns core to the PCA mandate. It is key to remember that the PCA interacts with communities as representatives of the federal government and therefore has duties to consult with Indigenous communities whose territories overlap with PCA protected sites to ensure constitutional obligations are met. The particulars of relationships between the PCA and Indigenous groups vary by location across the nation from coast, to coast, to coast. In areas where treaties have been established they must also manage sites with respect to relevant treaties and land claims agreements. Other areas are home to communities who have not yet reached formal legal agreements with the government of Canada. The PCA has continued to establish protected sites in areas without formalized treaties or land claims agreements such as was the case in the founding of Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (Appendix 1) (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, n. d.). The PCA has the mandate to consult and negotiate with Indigenous communities when developing these sites. Understandably the PCA typically does not know the final terms of future treaties or land claims agreements with these communities. In these situations, the newly established NP or NMCA are designated as *reserves*, a designation created in 1974 to acknowledge the need for further lands claims negotiations (Canada 2000; Parks Canada 2017). Reserves are protected sites which acknowledge that more negotiations must occur to finalize the obligations to local Indigenous communities. Reserves can be National Park Reserves (NPRs) or National Marine Conservation Area Reserves (NMCARs) and it is important to note they are not the same as the more well-

known Indian Reserve lands throughout southern Canada. In total the PCA network includes 48 NPs and NPRs; 4 NMCAs and NMCARs; and there are more Parks and Marine Conservation Areas in development (Parks Canada 2019). This protected area development is not only due to the federal government's commitments to protect 17% of terrestrial land and 10% of coastal areas, but the PCA long ago developed, and began implementing, a plan to have at least one protected area representing every major type of region in Canada's vast land and sea borders. This means that eventually they aim to develop at least ten additional NPs or NPRs, three of which have proposed names and are working on delineating their boundaries (Parks Canada 2018). As for NMCAs and NMCARs, there are four planned sites in progress which have names and proposed locations, and another fourteen which will need intensive work so to complete the proposed NMCA system map (Parks Canada 2018).

Whether establishing new protected areas or operating previously established sites, the PCA's mandate requires that staff work closely with Indigenous communities and other stakeholders in the pursuit of the agency's specific goals to "protect and present nationally significant examples of Canada's natural and cultural heritage," and to be "partners, building on the rich traditions of Aboriginal people" (Parks Canada 2018). This is exemplified by the recent establishment of Thaidene Nene NPR. The process to establish Thaidene Nene NPR included an approval vote by members of the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation and nineteen years of negotiations before finalizing (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 2019).

Parks Canada see their agency as filling the roles of "guardians," "guides," "partners," and "storytellers" with respect to their protected areas, according to their mandate and charter (Parks Canada 2018). These roles can be defined as: conserving the sites for future generations, showing and explaining the cultural and environmental history of the sites; working with local

communities who live near the site in their development and management; and finally, they must also communicate the environmental and cultural history of their sites on behalf of the Canadian public to visitors and others who are interested (Parks Canada 2018). To further solidify these roles, the agency has created a list of their commitments: "to protect" natural and cultural heritage; "to present" the natural world and chronical human history in Canada; "to celebrate" historic figures who have inspired national values, and "to serve" Canadians while aiming to achieve excellent competency in their field (Parks Canada 2018). Although each of these roles and commitments is interesting and deserves a deeper analysis it is especially important in the context of this thesis to take a look at their role as a "partner" in the context of Parks Canada's relationships with Indigenous Peoples. Therefore, throughout this thesis I will examine an example the relationship as "partners" between Indigenous communities and the PCA in British Columbia's Gulf Islands National Park Reserve.

The PCA define themselves as partners, working with nearby Indigenous communities, environmental organizations, local communities, and others in the development and management of the sites even if they assert unfettered jurisdiction for legal stewardship and responsibility their sites. The official definition of "partner" they offer implies working together with stakeholders while remaining a distinct entity. The PCA first mention that they specifically in their role as a partner must be "building on the rich traditions of our Aboriginal people…" (Parks Canada 2018). It is key to note the paternalistic and possessive word choice of saying 'our Aboriginal people'. The Canadian government, through Parks Canada, chose not to phrase this role in any way that could leave open an interpretation of recognizing sovereignty or power over sites to Indigenous communities. Mulrennan and Scott noted that within partnerships with Indigenous Peoples governments often, "cling too zealously to monopolistic views of the state's

jurisdiction… on indigenous territories" (Mulrennan & Scott 2005, 199). I contend that the idea of partner may also be understood as valuing reciprocity and in this way it is important that for the PCA to be in partnerships with Indigenous communities include some emphasis on reciprocity and reverence to the lands and waters they are situated on.

In the same portion of the Parks Canada Mandate where the PCA are defining their role as partner they also mention that they build on, "the strength of our diverse cultures and our commitments to the international community" (Parks Canada, 2018). This statement recognizes that in principle, the PCA seeks to draw upon the strength of cultural diversity in Canada within their partnerships. This of course adds additional layers of complexity as their partnerships are mandated to include a variety of stakeholders and perspectives which must be considered by the agency.

The final portion of the Parks Canada Mandate features a short commentary on partnership. It mentions the importance of meeting international obligations with their partnerships. The federal government has taken up many international obligations, but of particular interest to this thesis are the human rights and environmental conservation obligations such as United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and Convention on Biological Diversity commitments, the latter of which include the aforementioned Aichi targets. These two commitments offer a significant framework for the government's conservation goals, but the UNDRIP commitments have ramifications that extend far beyond conservation. The UNDRIP declaration recognizes self-determination to Indigenous Peoples, as well as their autonomy, self-governance, the right to not be forcibly removed from their homelands, run their own education, right to traditional lands, right be consulted when a decision would affect any of their other rights, and much more (United Nations 2007). Soon after

winning his first election in 2015, Justin Trudeau made steps towards implementing the UNDRIP federally (Galloway 2016). Since then, the federal government has been slow to make progress implementing the declaration. As of June 2020, the government has confirmed they are committed to putting the UNDRIP declaration into Canadian law by the end of 2020 (Barrera 2019; Hudson 2020). If this occurs it means that all government agencies and bodies will have to take on legislative and policy changes to make their policies fall within the scope of UNDRIP measures. This will require the complete implementation of all forty-six articles. One of the many relevant articles that the PCA would need to formally adopt is the need to consult on and recognize traditional territory and land usage rights. These changes will likely affect all aspects of Parks Canada's conservation work and relationships with Indigenous communities across the country.

The Aichi targets focus more directly on environmental protections and conservation than Indigenous rights. Canada has commitments to protect 17% of the nation's land and 10% of the coastal and sea regions. In late 2018, Environment and Climate Change Canada calculated that all governments in Canada, whether provincial, territorial, municipal, Indigenous or federal had managed to conserve 11.2% of Canada's terrestrial area, 10.9% of that being in the form of formal protected areas (Canada 2019). This means not all of the conserved land is in the form of a formal protected area, some are government owned lands managed in ways the government deems to be conserving biodiversity even if the land is not specifically dedicated to that purpose. Examples would include military training grounds or any other lands managed in a way which does not disrupt the ecological integrity of the location. Looking at the marine targets, the government claimed to protected 7.9% of Canada's coastal waters, with 3.1% of them specifically marked as protected areas (Canada 2019). These numbers are notably short of the

lofty goals set by Aichi targets, but the government noted that within the past twenty years the amount of terrestrial area in Canada conserved had increased by 66% and the amount of coastal waters conserved in that same period have grown by a factor of five (Canada, 2019). So, it is clear that despite currently falling short of upcoming final targets, significant progress has been made towards the lofty goal of conserving Canada's territorial and coastal claims.

Canada has made it clear they plan to continue to expand the quantity of protected areas as they have yet to reach their goals (Parks Canada, 2020). To achieve these goals in concert with the decision to implement UNDRIP, Canada has stated objectives of improving nation-to-nation relations with Indigenous communities (Canada 2018, 3). The PCA is one agency at the front line of both of these commitments, while also having a clear mandate to engage with Indigenous communities as partners. So, how is the PCA working to respect Indigenous sovereignty and foster collaborative decision-making consistent with UNDRIP while being in their process of managing and expanding their network of protected areas? This type of question is of vital importance as the government moves to expand protected natural spaces while also improving the relationships between the government and Indigenous communities (Canadian Parks Council 2018, 5). These objectives unfold in their work on the management of established sites as well as the establishment of new sites. These sites are also spread out in every region of the country in very different climates politically, culturally, economically, and geographically. To address this question requires acknowledgement that as each situation is unique and some sites have formalized relationships with Indigenous communities, while other sites are still in active or stalled negotiations. Some of these stalled processes are due to waiting for finalizations of negotiations between the federal government bodies and Indigenous communities to be completed before progress for Parks Canada can continue.

To investigate these concerns, I have undertaken a case study of one Parks Canada site to learn how they are adapting to implementing these changing mandates of the federal government. I sought to investigate the history of the relationship between the PCA and Indigenous communities in one site, and also inquire into contemporary PCA practices. The goal of this was to speak with members of Parks Canada and Indigenous communities to track any progress that had been made in the eyes of PCA employees and the Indigenous communities they are in partnership with. Through learning the history and current state of affairs, I felt I would be able to provide documentation of the changes made over time, and can recommend further steps that could be taken to improve decision-making practices in regards to a Parks Canada location, in my case Gulf Islands National Park Reserve and the proposed Southern Strait of Georgia National Marine Conservation Area Reserve.

Positionality and Personal History with Parks Canada

It is very important for me to explain my positionality and personal history in relation to Parks Canada and with Indigenous communities. From 2013 until 2016 I was an undergraduate student at Concordia University in Montréal, Québec studying anthropology. I was not particularly focused on environmental or Indigenous concerns as topics of interest. Although I was aware of some issues as they had come up in my courses and in the media. To be honest these types of concerns had not significantly grabbed my attention. At this point in my studies I did not have a specific academic focus. All I was certain of was that I was interested in cultural anthropology and Canada. To help find some guidance, and potentially a career following the completion of my degree, I decided to join Concordia's Institute for Co-operative Education. I was part of their first cohort of anthropology students. I ended up getting my first co-op job

placement with the PCA in Ontario doing public outreach and marketing throughout the Greater Toronto Area and elsewhere Southern Ontario. This position introduced me to the PCA beyond being an occasional visitor to some of their sites. I quickly gained a passion for learning about the agency and how it ran such a complex and varied operation. I was impressed by their work on diverse goals and challenges in varied locations. This first internship went well and led to a second internship with the agency, this time however my position sparked the curiosity that led to the pursuit of this thesis.

With my second co-op internship, I was lucky enough to earn a position on Parks Canada's prestigious Northern Engagement and Outreach Team. This annually renewed team consists of six university students whose responsibility was to learn about and present information on Canada's most northern protected areas to people in Canada's southern urban centres. Part of this learning process included an educational voyage through parts of the Canadian high Arctic and Greenland's west coast with Students on Ice. For the Northern Engagement and Outreach Team a big focus of our work was this two-week expedition during which we three days spent in and around Sirmilik NP near the community of Mittimatalik, Nunavut. Mittimatalik is more commonly known as Pond Inlet. This time in the park and adjacent community lead me to gain an interested in Indigenous communities in Canada, and how Parks Canada works with them. Part of this arose from learning about Inuit culture and traditional uses of land and waters to sustain life in the harsh Canadian Arctic Archipelago. I also completed a third work term with the PCA in Montréal developing training materials for future outreach teams and summer students. This third work term completed my co-operative education requirements, yet I continued to work for the PCA as both an employee and later as a volunteer. Long after my time up north, the trip still compelled me to learn more about conservation, Parks

Canada, and Indigenous communities in Canada. These factors are important to note for this thesis as they shaped my views of the agency and their work, and it is important for the sake of reflexivity to be aware of any biases, favourable or otherwise, my experience may have led me to hold. Only through a clear communication of my history with the agency can I be transparent in my discussion of the agency as my past experiences shape my opinions, as does the data collected during the research project. Being actively engaged in observation, or having a history in the setting of research, allows for tacit understandings and improved interpretations experiences in conducting in-person research (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011, 35). As the sole researcher on this project my decisions greatly shaped the research for this thesis down to the elements of which questions were asked and so I felt it was important to mention.

In time the interests planted in my mind had developed into early concepts for a Master's research project and thesis looking into Parks Canada's relations with Indigenous Peoples. The first geographical area of interest for me was a recently announced protected area called Tallurtiup Imanga NMCA in Nunavut (Parks Canada, n.d.). This NMCA is situated in the eastern portion of the Northwest Passage in Canada's Arctic Archipelago. The NMCA is quite far along in the establishment process after having been negotiated with Inuit communities. The NCMA's boundaries have been largely defined, and the PCA have produced press releases about the conservation area's existence. Bordering the proposed Tallurutiup Imanga NMCA is the hamlet of Mittimatalik, Nunavut the community I was fortunate enough to visit in 2015. While there, and elsewhere in my Arctic travels I forged relationships with multiple community members from Mittimatalik. Mittimatalik is also the home to the office for the nearby Sirmilik NP. Sirmilik NP was established in 2001 and includes portions of the Borden Peninsula west of Mittimatalik, the lands of the Owen Sound, and also Bylot Island which is just north of the

hamlet. As I had visited the community and had maintained relationships on subsequent trips to Canada's northern territories for conferences and work. These trips kept me in-touch with some families from the community of Mittimatalik, as well as people other northern communities. As I continued to think about PCA and Indigenous relations it felt natural to develop a thesis proposal on Indigenous relationships with government in this area. The fascinating areas around Owen Sound and Mittmatalik, at the northern tip of Baffin Island, are conveniently at forefront of Inuit-Canadian government relations due to Sirmilik NP and a newly establishing Tallurutiup Imanga NMCA. I moved forward with my thesis proposal and submitted it to my supervisor to begin studying the relationships between Inuit and the PCA.

Ultimately, these plans did not come to fruition due to pragmatic concerns such as the extremely high costs of remote northern work. In time doing research in the Arctic was deemed unfeasible by both my Master's supervisor and I, and so I was soon in search of another fieldwork location prime to investigate the changing relationships between Parks Canada and Indigenous communities.

By this point I was an anthropology Master's student at the University of Victoria, and my original research plans fell through due to external funding limitations. Yet I still desired to develop a research proposal that was looking deeper and critically at the relationships between the PCA and Indigenous communities. My MA supervisor, Dr. Brian Thom, works extensively with Coast Salish communities on and around southern Vancouver Island. His years of work and research has covered a variety of topics including NPs and NMCAs in British Colombia. Together we developed the framework for a case study which would look at Indigenous and Canadian government relations in protected areas. This framework was aimed at investigating changes occurring due to the implementation of Canada's recent international commitments such

as Aichi Targets and UNDRIP. Fortunately for me, the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (GINPR) a small NPR situated across several of the Gulf Islands in the Salish Sea is very near to Victoria, the city where I live for my Master's studies. This area additionally was home to the proposed Southern Strait of Georgia NNMCAR (Appendix 1). Therefore, near where I was living was an ideal location to implement a case study and our research framework of examining the PCA's steps to implement international commitments to Indigenous communities and their rights. Unlike the previous region of interest in Nunavut, the proximity meant that the costs to conduct research here would be much lower. Amazingly, this nearby region still offered the unique feature of one location hosting both a NPR and a proposed NMCAR, much like I originally sought to investigate in Canada's far north.

Parks Canada Sites in the Salish Sea Region

GINPR was established in 2003 to represent the Strait of Georgia Lowlands natural region (Parks Canada 2019). The park reserve consists of a patchwork of protected plots of land across several islands and islets. Some islands are completely protected and others only have small parcels federally protected. There is even a small campground on the Saanich Peninsula, on Vancouver Island, which is part of the park. The lands and waters included within the protected area have been expanded upon in several phases since GINPR's inception. As appropriate land becomes available in the area the PCA purchases the land for conservation when feasible. There are even small areas which are "administered for National Park purposes" without being legally incorporated into the park reserve's official boundaries (Parks Canada 2017). The park is being protected not only for the picturesque beauty of the islands and islets that dot the Salish Sea, but also as a rare Canadian example of a Mediterranean climate of

"warm, dry summers and mild winters that rarely see snow" (Parks Canada 2019). There are unique climatic features of the Strait of Georgia Lowlands natural region (Parks Canada 2020). The GINPR is filled with forests which are home to many species including Douglas fir, Balsam fir, arbutus, western cedar, and notably Garry oaks. Garry oak ecosystems are home to many species at risk and so it has been deemed vital to protect these habitats (Parks Canada 2018). Within the Garry oak forests and other habitats of GINPR there are "15 COSEWIC-listed Endangered species, 10 Threatened species, and 13 species of Special Concern" (Parks Canada 2018). The team at GINPR has prioritized work to monitor these species and improve their chances of survival into the future. Beyond this the GINPR team have also been working on improvements to recreation facilities as well as cultural preservation and research (Parks Canada 2018).

For GINPR this means a lot of monitoring and restoration work has to protect the many species at risk and coastal Douglas fir habitat within the NPR's boundaries. The staff monitor eelgrass, bivalves, songbirds, and conduct oystercatcher surveys in addition to developing and running restoration projects for Garry oaks, salmon streams, coastal sand beaches, and more. The factors leading to need all these monitoring and development projects are complex. The Spanish were the first Europeans to arrive in the Gulf Islands in the 1700s, but settlements were not established at this time. By the late 19th century colonial settlement had started with British settlers and even a small number of Hawaiian fur traders and their families began settling in the region (Parks Canada 2019). With these communities' arrivals much of the arable land on the islands was cleared for farming, logging, and fishing purposes (Parks Canada 2018; Parks Canada 2019). Over time the area garnered a reputation for the idyllic views and temperate climate (Parks Canada 2018). This fostered a growing demand from retirees and vacationers to

visit or move to the Gulf Islands (Parks Canada 2018; Weller 2016, 52). Eventually this led to many resorts beginning to dot the islands and with them came a demand for the infrastructure such as ferries. These and other factors were becoming straining to the small islands' fragile ecosystems (Parks Canada 2018; Weller 2016, 53). The islands were further and further subdivided but there was some resistance to further development from locals (Weller 2016, 62).

Coast Salish peoples have a long history of living in and visiting the Gulf Islands and surrounding waters reaching back millennia. The area was utilized for food harvest, leisure, ceremonies, and more. This Indigenous history in the region is often not typically communicated to the general public (Abramczyk 2017, 187). The ties to water and land within the Salish Sea are paramount to Coast Salish communities (Thom 2005, 336 & 339). As a community they have an intimate knowledge of the region including but not limited to its history, natural systems, spiritual significance and more. This knowledge has been carefully passed down generation-to-generation through oral histories. This specialized local knowledge is typically not communicated in other ways (Abramczyk 2017, 186; Parks Canada 2018). Archaeological records support the inhabitance of the area by Indigenous communities. There are notable village sites, shell middens, noted historical clam beds, and more (Abramczyk 2017, 77; Parks Canada 2018). The waters surrounding the islands provided much of the food harvested by local Indigenous communities for millennia. Some of the sea life harvested in waters now included within GINPR boundaries includes but is not limited to, "seals, sea lions, whales, six-gilled shark, porpoise, shellfish, halibut, salmon and other fish" (Chisholm et al 1983, 397; Parks Canada 2018). GINPR lands were also places used by Indigenous communities for, "duck hunting, trapping, hunting deer and small mammals and the harvesting of berries…" (Parks Canada 2018). It is also important to remember that Coast Salish communities from around

Vancouver Island, the Gulf Islands, the Fraser Valley, and even parts of the United States continue to have familial and personal connections to GINPR (Abramczyk 2017, 50; Claxton 2015, 141; Fritz 2017, 201-204). Additionally, the areas included and surrounding GINPR are not traditional territory of just one First Nation, but are an area layered with many nations' traditional territories. Each respective nation has historic rights and title to the areas (Fritz 2017, 201-204). These are significant cultural, historic, and spiritual locations for these people. They also are places core to their cultural identity. To this day the GINPR and the surrounding waters are used for Coast Salish harvest, medicines, traditional practice, and leisure.

Following GINPR's establishment the PCA has been looking to expand the protection of the areas with the proposed establishment of the Southern Strait of Georgia National Marine Conservation Area Reserve (SSGNMCAR). The process of developing the site in to a NMCAR began back in 2003 and continues to this day (Parks Canada 2017). In 2011 the PCA proposed boundary of roughly 1,400 kilometers-squared reached from just north of Victoria at its southernmost point, into the Saanich Inlet, and back out eventually reaching its most northern point at the southern tip of Gabriola Island for the SSGNMCAR (Appendix 1). This area of interest for the NMCAR includes sea waters as well as estuarine areas where fresh and salt waters mix creating a unique and flourishing environment (Parks Canada 2018). Once completed the SSGNMCAR team would be able to leverage federal resources to aid in protecting endangered and potentially threatened marine species such as, "southern resident killer whales, abalone, harbor porpoises, and gray whales" and their habitat (Parks Canada 2017). Many other iconic species occupy the seas, coasts, rivers, inlets, and skies of the proposed NMCAR including: multiple species of pacific salmon, cod, walleye, herring, lingcod, rockfish, seals, river otters, sea lions, harbor porpoise, Dall's porpoise, minke whales, gray whales, humpback

whales, gulls, murres, ducks, loons, and bald eagles. Beyond these there are also ecosystems such as protected bays, reefs, kelp beds, fast water channels, and more which are host hundreds of species of insects, plants, and marine invertebrates such as anemones, sea urchins, sand dollars, sea stars, and even the giant pacific octopus (Parks Canada 2017). This vibrant series of ecosystems has allowed for a flourishing tourism industry in addition to successful businesses focused on kayak guiding, and other outdoor recreation industries to develop in the region over recent decades. It is also important to not neglect that the wide variety of species and ecosystems present in the area are an integral part of the Coast Salish life and have been for millennia.

Nearly twenty Coast Salish communities have historical claim to regions now managed within GIRNPR and the proposed SSGNMCAR's boundaries (Abramczyk 2017, Thom 2005, 386). As the PCA attempts to develop partnerships with local communities and Indigenous Peoples they had established formal 'cooperative working relationships with Coast Salish First Nations that wished to do so" (Parks Canada 2017). It should be noted that at present in GINPR these formal relationships have ceased to exist in their original form, but the PCA continues to be interested in developing partnerships with First Nations. That desire for such partnerships aligns with the agency's mandate (Parks Canada 2017; Bradley Personal Communication, July 9th 2020). In recent years the PCA ran three Cooperative Planning and Management Committees with representatives of ten Coast Salish First Nations. The first committee consisted of several of the member First Nations of the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group which includes Cowichan Tribes, Halalt First Nation, Lake Cowichan First Nation, Lyackson First Nation, Penelakut Tribe, and Stz'uminus First Nation. Next the PCA had a Cooperative Planning and Management Committee that worked with Pauquichan First Nation. The final Cooperative Planning and Management Committee was working with three W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations: Tsartlip First Nation, Tseycum First

Nation, and Tsawout First Nation. It is important to note that these Cooperative Planning and Management Committees are no longer running and have been replaced with contribution agreements for the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations (Bradley Personal Communication, July 9th 2020). GINPR has yet to establish any new formalized relations with Hul'qumi'num First Nations but are in contact with them (Bradley Personal Communication, July 9th 2020).

Due to the limited scale of my research, it is important to note out of all the First Nations listed above who previously had formal committees established with GINPR staff, only the final three have agreed to directly participate in the research and creation of this thesis. Originally, I had reached out to Cowichan Tribes as I had worked with them on another project. However, they were not interested in pursuing this line of research when contacted. This of course limits the scope of my project, which although a limitation was vital to ensure the research project was manageable. It also helps to ensure W̱SÁNEĆ community interests are put to paper as there are many Coast Salish communities with traditional territories in the Salish Sea region. Nations at times will have differing views, and while I do not intend to present W̱SÁNEĆ opinions as the sole Indigenous voices in the region they were the communities willing to participate and offer the unified view of the WLC for three nations instead of working with multiple Nation's organizations with different goals, focuses, expectations, and time frames.

Influences on Methodology

In 2019 I met with the leadership of the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council (WLC) a joint body which is made up of Tsartlip, Tseycum, and Tsawout First Nations. The WLC is an organization that jointly represents each nation, therefore streamlining efforts and resources when working with governments, combining the influence of each nation. This structure also

acknowledges the long interconnectedness of the three First Nations. Importantly, the WLC described itself in its mandate as a group "to promote the interests of the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. As an organization focused on self-determination, the WLC work to enhance recognition of, and respect for, "W̱SÁNEĆ Douglas Treaty rights and W̱SÁNEĆ Aboriginal rights and title" (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.).

In a meeting with the WLC I brought forward the possibility of studying their relationship with the PCA in relation to the management of GINPR and the consulting process which was part of the developing SSGNMCAR. I explained I was specifically wanting to investigate how PCA staff are implementing changes to their relationships with the WLC. I also mentioned how I wanted to apply a novel approach to the work. I explained that building off of the seminal work of Laura Nader, and her concept of 'studying up,' the concept of anthropological study conducted on power holding organizations and their members (Nader 1972, 289). I felt it could be beneficial to conduct a study be on how the staff at Parks Canada reach and maintain good relationships with the WLC. Parks Canada must meet their goals of expanding their network protected areas to help the government achieve ambitious Aichi targets, while at the same time addressing their partnerships with First Nations communities as is stipulated in their mandate. Additionally, the federal government has promised to take steps towards improving the decision-making power and sovereignty of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities in Canada, like those of the WLC. The staff of the PCA have the difficult task of meeting all these dynamic objectives proposed by government while balancing their goals for expansion in the region. After some thought and deliberation, the WLC was on board with the project, and in return I would help them by documenting some of the many goals and aspirations their community members have in relation the management and development of GIRNPR and

the SSGNMCAR. I planned conduct interviews with influential members of Tseycum, Tsartlip, and Tsawout First Nations to document their knowledge, goals, struggles, and desires of the relationship with Parks Canada for both the WLC to note and my own research purposes.

In 1972 Laura Nader released "Up the Anthropologist – Perspectives Gained from Studying Up" a piece that emphasized the importance and potential of social science research on powerful organizations. Nader was not the first to study the topic of organizations, as researchers before had touched on the topic. The famed Hawthorne studies of the 1920s at Western Electric Company conducted by Mayo and Fritz Roethlisberger (Schwartzman 1993) are a key early example of social science research on powerful organizations. What was unique to Nader's line of thinking on organizations was the concept of studying up. This concept was a key influence on the anthropological study of organizations and is focused on studying the colonizer, the powerful, and the wealthy instead of the colonized, marginalized, and poor (Nader 1972, 289). Adapted to my own research focus, I propose that it is important to study how the PCA acts as a powerful decision-making agency of the federal government, which has stewardship over large swaths of land and water which are part of Indigenous territories. It is important to understand how the PCA make decisions. As they make public promises to act as 'partners' using the influences of 'Aboriginal traditions' it is also important to investigate how they aim to act as partners in their work of developing and managing protected areas nation-wide.

Another layer that can be added to research on government organizations, such as the PCA, is their need to operate as part of the "public good" despite a long history favouring settler society and powerful organizations over the colonized, marginalized, and poor as described by Laura Nader (Bear & Mathur 2018, 21). Many in the Canadian public would see exclusively favoring the wealthy and powerful as not always acting in the best interest of the general public,

or the "public good" and so it is important to analyze how Parks Canada manages to balance the many expectations and influences of multiple stakeholders on decision-making practices. Notably in 1981 Sally Weaver conducted research on how the Canadian government has in the past operated when making important decisions. She noted that a "corporate memory" arises from the meticulous note-taking of bureaucrats which provides governmental organizations a remarkable capability, and tendency, to carry forward very particular wordings from one occasion to the next (Weaver 1981). They then utilize these "corporate memories" to their benefit in future negotiations and discussions (Weaver 1981). This means that during consultation and negotiations on projects specific phrasing from other parties or individuals is regularly used and presented in ways to favour the desires of government agencies rather than the other parties also involved in the negotiation or consultation process.

Previous Research on PCA and Indigenous Relations

A final group of writers who are key to discuss before moving on are those who have already studied the relationships between the PCA and First Nations, Inuit, and Métis groups around the country. Paul Nadasdy has written extensively on comanagement work between Parks Canada and the Kluane people of Yukon territory. He noted despite great intentions joint decision-making and co-operation between Kluane First Nation and Parks Canada devolved in ways which mimicked global development efforts. Nadasdy noted these co-operative situations unintentionally created a plethora of issues for Indigenous Peoples especially in comparison to the small benefits they brought to the table for Indigenous communities (Nadasdy 2005, 218). He found that the benefits of these formal cooperative relationships and consultations did result in empowering Indigenous communities and the introduction of Traditional Ecological Knowledge

(TEK) into park management practices. Both of which were noted as positives, but they also brought on a lot of additional stress and a tendency to co-opt and manipulate traditional ideas and knowledge into western scientific standards that did not always encompass the values of the Kluane community (Nadasdy 2003, 261). In short it seemed that the PCA, in the case of Kluane NPR, were still locked into to a western paternalistic viewpoint in their work. This removed Kluane community agency over their own TEK as it was altered and insufficiently translated into westernized forms of understanding. Other authors such as Mulrennan had also found that at times TEK is blindly accepted and other times completely ignored during consultation and management processes (Mulrennan 2013, 102). Mulrennan also notes that when TEK is applied correctly to environmental conservation projects it can bring great benefits to the projects for both Indigenous communities and the ecosystems being managed (Mulrennan 2013, 95). I feel this is important that when W̱SÁNEĆ TEK is integrated in management of GINPR it allows not only for PCA management to meet their conservation goals but promotes further integrating WLC members and ideas into the direct management of the park reserve. This model of thinking supported by other authors such as Goertze, who has noted despite difficulties that comanagement, or co-operative relations, they can be empowering for First Nations involved in the processes (Goetze 2005, 260-261). Conversely, it is noted by Nadasdy that the state will often corrupt not only the TEK of Indigenous communities, but also Indigenous conservation goals. An example of this skewing of TEK noted by Nadasdy occurred with Kluane community TEK which was used in ways my conservationists to avoid complicated co-operation work rather than complete it as originally intended. These conservation workers were noted to view the TEK as merely useful information to work from for conservation managers rather than as part of a larger perspective to integrate into their conservation work (Nadasdy 2003, 119-122). This

occurs as bureaucrats make efforts to swiftly implement consultation processes and the recommendations and concepts they have noted from communities during these consultations (Nadasdy 2003, 264-265). In summation it is often the case that multiple levels of Canadian governance, and bureaucrats which make up their agencies' teams, regularly fail to take on the full spirit of Indigenous conservation goals and TEK. Instead they have been noted to haphazardly and swiftly implement TEK and recommendations from consultation in the easiest forms possible without deeper consideration and careful execution.

Many authors have put forth that one of the main reasons for consultation and comanagement or cooperative decision-making to fall short is a long-standing imbalance of power between colonial governments and Indigenous Peoples (Feit 2005, 282; Kofinas 2005, 190; Mulrennan & Scott 2005, 202; Rodon 1998, 121). Harvey Feit looked at a provincial case of relations between Cree communities in the Northern Québec and the province. Québec's provincial government have had fraught history over decades in their relations with Cree nations. Early on there were signs of a willingness to work with Cree communities, but nationalist aspirations of self-reliance led to the development of a hydro-electric dam in the 1960s, and the subsequent environmental damage, which greatly soured relations between Cree and the province (Feit 2005, 282). Many years later a land claim agreement began the process to reconciling and starting co-operative relations between the two parties. Gary Kofinas also wrote on Subarctic and Artic regions of Canada in relation to caribou herd management. He noted that herd co-management boards often fell short as the government members of the boards often only look after their agency's needs rather than considering the needs of their partners (Kofinas 2005, 190).

A piece by Mulrennan and Scott investigated co-management relations in both Canada

and Australia. These two countries share many cultural similarities, and both countries were noted to often develop co-management relationships with Indigenous communities which act more as tokenistic gestures rather than fruitful cooperative decision-making and management regimes (Mulrennan & Scott 2005, 202).

Thierry Rodon, noted that even when Indigenous communities are recognized as having wide-ranging legal powers, such as the autonomous region of Nunavut, these Indigenous partners are not treated as equal partners by governments. Instead these co-operative relationships create a system of co-opting Indigenous Peoples instead of cooperating with them as partners (Rodon 1998, 121). It is clear many anthropologists and researchers who have looked into these co-operative decision-making practices come away with results that often show more damage done to Indigenous communities than empowerment.

All of this aforementioned research was done well before Justin Trudeau's Liberal Party government took over the parliament in 2015. Taking both the negative experiences and positive potential forward from these authors, in a new political landscape it seems there is potential for a changed co-operation between the PCA and their Indigenous partners. This therefore demands investigation. Additionally, inspiration can be taken from other points as well. As mentioned Laura Nader offered a novel approach to studying government organizations which can be used in combination with the lessons learned from Sally Weaver on how the government uses 'corporate memory' in their work. This knowledge supports research to further explore how PCA employees are changing their co-operative practices over time. Combining these lessons from authors, with the desire put forth by the WLC to document their side of the research process a series of research questions has crystalized to inform the research project and case study of the

GINPR and the proposed SSGNMCAR.

Initiating Research

Finding people to participate in my project was an interesting ordeal. It started idealistically, like many Master's thesis projects must. I was hoping to get many people wanting to participate in my study and let their voices be heard. However, I may have been naïve in these early stages of formulating the project. To be brief responses were positive, but sparsely translated into formal interviews. People appeared interested in the topic, but cautious about my motives, abilities, and the goals of the project. I believe this came from the sensitivity of the relationships between the PCA and WLC communities, however it seemed participants quickly realized I had good intentions with this work. This type of situation is well noted in ethnographic and other anthropological studies, as researchers are often in search of meeting and gaining acceptance from a "gatekeeper" (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 42). These cautions were all concerns I had been luckily been learning about in my courses for my Master's program, but when faced in person it is often harder to find ideal solutions to problems. I spent months working to set up meetings with the WLC and Parks Canada employees to discuss the possibilities of research. Both parties approved, but requested alterations to the research proposal so their concerns could be addressed. I needed to hear their voices clearly and account for their respective concerns to move forward with this work.

One of the steps I had planned on taking, which was appreciated by both parties, was offering the ability to have their interviews attributed to pseudonyms or their actual names. All of the research participants chose to be identified with pseudonyms. Due to this I have developed the following list of each participant with their pseudonym and a brief description of their

relation to GINPR. I should also note for the sake of this study and thesis a lot of writing on the topic uses the term bureaucrat for a civil servant. In my work I am opting to describe Parks Canada (PCA) employees as merely staff or employees. My study included lengthy interviews with two PCA employees, and two representatives from the W̱SÁNEĆ community. This number is lower than was initially desired as it limits the variety of viewpoints collected. However other aspects of my methodology such as media review, literature review, and interpretation analysis were used to enhance the research. Additionally, other interactions with PCA employees were included to guide research, but not as sources of specific research data, and therefore those employees are not listed as participants below.

Research Participants Table:

Pseudonym	Affiliation	Role
Bradley	Parks Canada Employee	Parks Canada employee, met through my supervisor.
Gary	Parks Canada Employee	Parks Canada Indigenous Affairs Representative.
Peter	W̱SÁNEĆ Community Member	Has relations to W̱SÁNEĆ community and self identifies as part of the community. Also, a member of Cowichan Tribes. Met while presenting Indigenous knowledge and perspectives at a Parks Canada event in GINPR.

William	W̱SÁNEĆ Community Elected Official	Member of the WLC, former Parks Canada employee. Met through contacts at the WLC.

The WLC as a community was largely positive in their formal response to my project. I had been put in contact with them thanks to the help of my supervisor Dr. Brian Thom, who is well known and respected around Southern Vancouver Island for his work with Indigenous communities. I used his connections to bridge to the staff from the WLC and managed to set up a meeting with them. I was privileged enough to visit a band office for this meeting with their chiefs and other officials about my proposed project. After some questioning they said they felt it was important to get their communities' voices put to paper. They felt documenting their communities' aspirations and desires was an important aspect of their goal to pursue a more positive and co-operative relationship with Parks Canada staff.

Now I had their approval and was excited to begin my work, but I did find some difficulty beyond making initial connections. Many of the staff of the WLC and people in the community did not know about my project. Those who did learn about it were slow to respond to requests for interviews. It appeared I had come to need another 'gatekeeper,' (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 42). This time the metaphorical gate was preventing me from forging productive connections rather than accessing the field site itself. In the end I did manage to conduct two lengthy interviews with members from W̱SÁNEĆ communities. This small number was a disappointment to me. Making the best of the situation it instilled in me the importance of working on strong relationships with the participants who did respond. My experience taught me

the lesson that expressed interest in a project will not always lead to participation. The interviews I did manage to collect with members of the W̱SÁNEĆ communities were highly valuable glimpses into the situation at GINPR from the perspective of W̱SÁNEĆ community members.

I was lucky enough with one of my W̱SÁNEĆ research participants, Peter, to not only interview him, but to also watch him present at GINPR about Coast Salish traditional food harvest. He spoke for over a half hour to explain his perspective on Indigenous connection to national parks and the importance of the Clam Bed Restoration Project I will discuss in chapter three. His presence in the park exemplified what both he, and my other W̱SÁNEĆ participant wanted in GINPR: Coast Salish people presenting Coast Salish perspectives to an attentive audience. Authorship over Coast Salish narratives in GINPR, like that offered by the presenter Peter, creates public moments that assert the Coast Salish identity and history of this territory to audiences of park visitors. Importantly it is also happening outside of committee, board rooms, or court rooms which are all too often key venues for Indigenous authorship over histories. Upon reflection, this presentation about Coast Salish traditions in GINPR was powerful and was used as inspiration to continue the pursuit of my research examining W̱SÁNEĆ perspectives of GINPR.

There are however other non-W̱SÁNEĆ stewards of GINPR whose perspectives I needed to understand to learn about co-operative decision-making in the park reserve, the park staff. With PCA staff I was able to conduct research in many ways. I managed to conduct two long recorded interviews with two significant members of the Coastal BC Field Unit team. A field unit is a regional body of PCA sites, a sort of regional management hub for several sites in a similar area to centralize resources. GINPR and SSGNMCAR are both encompassed within the

Coastal BC Field Unit. During these interviews with PCA representatives I recorded audio which I later transcribed. In addition to this I actively took notes during the conversations.

Beyond interviews with staff I was also able to interact with PCA staff at public events such as job fairs at the University of Victoria, during street festivals such as Victoria's Pride festivities, and within GINPR itself. I always informed staff that I was a researcher working on a project about their site. Often, they were curious and expressed excitement about the project. They would ask questions about my work, and happily share anecdotes or personal perspectives. These were informal discussions rather than interviews and were simply used as a chance to learn about some of the programs and efforts within the park reserve, which I could enquire about later. These PCA staff did not become interview participants or key sources for research data. They instead functioned as starting points for lines of inquiry. My reasoning for not using these opportunities for larger discussions is that these people were busy doing their outreach work at events or within the park itself. I felt it was best to not disturb them too much beyond a short conversation. It also ensured I did not put them on the spot, and to also guaranteed I did not cross any research ethics commitments that I had previously made to the PCA, the University of Victoria, or WLC. This was also important as these individuals were not necessarily staff primarily engaged with the park management topics like co-operative management. It would be unfair of me to expect them to understand every aspect of how a park reserve is managed, especially off the cuff.

Beyond these small encounters there are two larger events that were much more in-depth interactions with Parks Canada staff I will be discussing as research data sources. The first was the aforementioned clam garden presentation which took place in one of the GINPR campsites. This was the longer presentation geared towards the public and will be covered in some detail in

in chapter three. The second event was a national event called 'Youth Let's Talk NMCAs' and it took place in many satellite venues across the country. I attended the regional event at the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria. The event was part of a public consultation process for National Marine Conservation Area policy in Canada and was focused on assessing the needs and aspirations of adults in their late teenage years and twenties.

Together with these events and the few interviews I managed to obtain I managed to come together with a multiple methodology research approach which became very fruitful for learning about the situation in the Salish Sea region. As mentioned I had participant interviews and key events in which I could act as a participant observant. Both of these techniques are drawn from the traditional anthropological toolkit. However also utilized other methodologies including policy and document analysis, a review of Parks Canada publications such as signage and brochures, review into current management programs and initiatives, and a review of some historical newsprint media on the location. Through bridging these many approaches, I could account for not just what was said by PCA staff and W̱SÁNEĆ participants but what is currently being done and has been done in the past. A strength of anthropology is the ability to draw on both the words and actions of people. I learned of the PCA's words through interview and document analysis, and learned of the PCA's actions on the ground during participant observation opportunities at PCA events and within observations made in GINPR itself. This ability to account for literal world as well as the most symbolic and representative world of words, notions, and ideas is a strength of ethnographic research noted in Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2009, 3). Others have described this strength of ethnographic research as accounting for the "consciously and unconsciously" complex realities of life and the "complex ways that individual stories are entangled in social processes" (Narayan 2012, x). In other words, this

multi-method approach can account for what is both said and done by those involved in GINPR and draw nuanced truth from complex social situations such as government and Indigenous government relations. This multi-method approach helped me have a more holistic understanding of the contemporary management of GINPR and the proposed SSGNCAR and as will be shown in later chapters these many areas of inquiry truly come together ultimately becoming integral to this thesis and potentially future research looking at similar concerns.

Anthropological Lens

I feel it is important to mention how I feel this work still belongs to a canon anthropological research. This thesis draws on some limited interviewing and participant observation as is made clear in this work. Importantly participant observation has been noted to increase the quality of data collected by researchers but has the added benefit of improving the interpretation of collected data as it is supported by some level of first-hand experience (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011, 10). Additionally, my research also draws on other relevant threads from anthropological canon. For example, as I have worked for the PCA before there is an element to this research program which is reminiscent to an autoethnography. The previously outlined experiences working for the agency have shaped my perspectives and the knowledge base I drew on in my work. They were integral to having a more accurate understanding of the PCA approach to site management including its strengths and weaknesses. Beyond this I also draw on Laura Nader's call to "study up" in anthropological research (Nader 1972, 289). Through looking at the employees and agency in power we can truly understand the forces which impact communities such as the W̱SÁNEĆ communities. Through bridging the more traditional insights of previous anthropological research and methods such as participant observation and emergent

interviews it becomes easier to truly critique and analyze government relations and impacts on communities, something which is enhanced through the deep cultural and personal understandings explored by research participants and ethnographic literature. This knowledge was then built upon with knowledge built from personal experience previously gained when working for the PCA and other methods of data collection including media, historical, and policy review.

It is important to also recognize that anthropology is not the only field who looks at concerns of culture as many other fields look at cultural elements in their work including sociology, literary criticism, history, and more (Dirks, Ely and Ortner 1993, 4). Similarly, I believe cultural anthropology can investigate other areas of interest than just culture, this is because culture is part of all that humans do. Culture is present in power. There is a culture of power. Analyzing at the bodies which wield and use their power is therefore inherently of anthropological concern. So, this work attempts to investigate the people who make up a powerful and inherently political body. The PCA's work with W̱SÁNEĆ community members are both cultural phenomena and political action (Dirks, Ely and Ortner 1993, 4). Anthropology additional has a history of investigating the material world whether that be objects themselves or the solutions to meet goals (Knauft 1996, 10-11). This project investigated material culture in the form of documents but also specifically analyzes the process of developing solutions for managing protected areas in the Salish Sea and Gulf Islands region. My research builds off of research of culture of power and the material world, both of which anthropology has been proven to both record and interpret in a unique way to other fields investigating cultural concerns.

Research Questions

In the time developing my initial research concept three question themes came to mind which would help guide my case-study research on the ever-changing relationship between WLC member nations and the PCA. 1) 'How does PCA negotiate their goals with those of the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council?' (2) 'How does PCA address the priorities and concerns of Indigenous Peoples in their creation, management, and planning of the protected areas?' and (3) 'what new approaches or practices can be adopted by the PCA to ensure they address Indigenous concerns that are relevant to comanagement?' Comanagement was a term I originally approached my research with, thinking it would mean some level of shared management between Indigenous groups and the PCA. In time I discovered comanagement was a specific form of cooperative decision-making only present in the PCA system at Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, and so in time I learned that co-operative decision-making would be a better. Cooperative decision-making is more generalized and allows for the variety of ad-hoc solutions the PCA applies to sites, as is discussed in Chapter Three.

These three question themes focused my research on studying the decision-making employees at the offices of GINPR, Coastal BC Field Unit, and the proposed SSGNMCAR which is in line with Nader's principle of 'studying up'. The focal point in the discussions would therefore be with the PCA employees, while also assisting the WLC in their needs to document their goals, struggles, and desires in their relationship with the teams at the PCA. These two ideas worked hand-in-hand. Parks Canada is attempting to work with and improve their relationship with the WLC, and other First Nations groups in the areas, without neglecting their expansion and conservation goals. Meanwhile, they also are working on making changes to meet the international agreements the government has committed to over recent years. The PCA's

work had to do this in a political climate where the government was making commitments to fundamentally change the direction of nation-to-nation relationships by working towards implementing the UNDRIP into Canadian legal code. Additionally, the government had offered money and promises to Indigenous communities from coast, to coast, to coast so that their relationships would improve. They promised a new emphasis on sovereignty and working together, and stepping away from the historical trend of governments in Canada continuing their tight colonial grip over decision-making processes, consultation, and day-to-day agency activity.

It clearly seemed the appropriate time to begin a study that engaged some of the themes listed above. A case study of the GINPR and proposed SSGNMCA could touch on many aspects of the seemingly everchanging political landscape as the government rushed to protect more of the earth's land and seascapes. The number of questions were expanded over time due to dialogues with my supervisor and in response to emerging issues in parks literature generally. With the three earlier mentioned questions would be expanded on to further elucidate the political realities that PCA employees face on the ground in their day-to-day work. To exemplify this, I have listed some research questions which were used to further explore this exciting and unique situation.

- Question 1: How does the PCA negotiate their strict ecological integrity goals with Indigenous rights including food harvesting and other cultural or political rights within their sites?
- Question 2: How does the PCA feel their current consultation efforts, in light of recent federal commitments to improve self-governance for Indigenous Peoples, meet these commitments to Indigenous communities? Does it actually allow for local sovereignty?

- Question 3: How is the PCA prioritizing and implementing the changes that need to happen to enhance local Indigenous decision-making and sovereignty, especially in regards to the comanagement of PCA sites?

From this initial list of questions there are also many other questions that arise to further expand the inquiries I am attempting to make. The first question for example is largely focused on how the PCA manages to achieve their goals within a cooperative decision-making agreement. Parks Canada operates with a mandate which calls for a high standard of ecological and commemorative preservation, as well as active public presentation (2018). With this type of questioning in mind, these were some of the questions I developed

- Question 4: What are local Indigenous concerns in the comanagement of GINPR or the establishment of the SSGNMCAR?
- Question 5: What other local concerns are there in the comanagement of GINPR or the establishment of the SSGNMCAR?
- Question 6: What new goals does the PCA have to improve Indigenous sovereignty in these sites?
- Question 7: What opportunities does a federal budget with increased funding for Indigenous self-governance give the PCA to improve their comanagement relationships?
- Question 8: How does the PCA monitor the success of their management programs within federally managed conservation areas?

The second question of my three initial research questions is focused on how the PCA and its staff feel they are addressing the concerns of local Indigenous communities in their

cooperative decision-making arrangements for GINPR. It is therefore important to not only have dialogue with the PCA staff, but also the local Indigenous Peoples so to understand both sides of the equation. This opens up lines of questioning such as the following:

- Question 9: What are local Indigenous concerns in the management of GINPR or the establishment of the SSGNMCAR?
- Question 10: What other local concerns are there in the management of GINPR or the establishment of the SSGNMCAR?
- Question 11: How does the PCA take on and attempt to address the concerns of others involved in the cooperative decision-making arrangement?
- Question 12: How does the PCA monitor how successfully they address Indigenous concerns in GINPR or the establishment of the SSGNMCAR? What about other stakeholder concerns?
- Question 13: How do Indigenous communities feel the PCA meets their needs within the co-operative decision-making arrangement?

The third and final of my initial questions investigates what those who are involved in cooperative decision-making arrangements feel can be done to develop and later enhance and improve the to meet their needs. This line of questioning will likely place a greater emphasis on the Indigenous communities' opinions on the management of GINPR and SSGNMCAR. This will also uniquely be the most emergent type of questioning. It will have to respond and react to the Indigenous communities' goals and desires. It will be responsive to their concerns and the areas they perceive short comings from the federal government. The questions that emerged include:

- Question 14: How can the PCA better incorporate TEK into their portion of the cooperative decision-making relationship?

- Question 15: How has the PCA addressed these concerns which come from the community?

- Question 16: Ideally, how would this cooperative relationship function?

- Question 17: How has the PCA responded to the bevy of critiques of their cooperative management practices coming from Indigenous Peoples and academics?

In time I took these questions to the PCA as part of my formal application to conduct research with the agency. I had several meetings with PCA over the course of a year both over phone and in person. Naturally a plethora of emails were also produced in these negotiations to conduct research within their sites. Eventually Parks Canada felt the case-study could be fruitful for them, especially if it came out with a list of recommendations that could be applied in the future to improve their relationships with the WLC. These could be concrete measurable goals, or larger changes which could be implemented during consultation or when working in cooperative decision-making arrangements with WLC. Importantly, these then could be extrapolated further to potentially continue to help improve GINPR and SSGNMCAR staff in their relations with the other First Nations they were in similar arrangements with.

An issue that did arise with my questions in time was the inability to fully address each of their concerns. As I had originally developed such an extensive list of research questions in time became noticeable that they were not all going to be completely addressed, especially due to the emergent semi-structured interviewing process that was used to interview participants. In the Chapter Seven of this thesis I extensively go through the answers to each of these

aforementioned questions, but it is important to note many could be expanded on. Questions one, six, sixteen, and seventeen stand out to me as questions that could be explored further in future work. It would have been wise to scale back the number of research questions I approached this research project with. While I was successfully able to address each question to some extent, not all have been fully explored as the research project started broad, but in time narrowed in focus.

Eventually it seemed that many factors lined up, after a long drawn out process, to culminate in the case study which is at the core of this thesis. The government made many obligations to improve relationships with Indigenous communities and protect the environment. In my local area was a team of Parks Canada employees who were managing and expanding the GINPR and deep in the process of developing the proposed SSGNMCAR. I was living in the area and had a collection of personal experience and knowledge about the agency gained during time working with the PCA as an intern. I also understood I needed to learn more and had a plethora of authors to draw on to investigate the topic of Indigenous and federal co-operation further. First Nations communities in the area were willing to work with me and were eager to document their communities' desires for Parks Canada sites in the region. This research could help to improve relationships and potentially shape the future work between the WLC and PCA teams. Finally, the PCA agency was gracious enough to be the subject of a study which approached their work with a critical glance. They participated to improve their knowledge of their situation in the region and also live up the federal government's commitments to improve nation-to-nation relationships with First Nations and ever-expanding policy goals.

Thesis Roadmap

I also wanted to take some time to outline the chapters of this thesis. Following this

introductory chapter, the second chapter seeks to offer a brief historical overview of context of my research. It briefly covers the history of the W̱SÁNEĆ people, colonial settlement in the region; and the history of protected areas and the PCA. This leads into a discussion of the PCA's mandate and history in the Salish Sea region which was the beginning of the formal relationship between Parks Canada and Coast Salish communities in the region. In my third chapter I look at some of the contemporary management of GINPR including some of their programs in the region and opinions from the W̱SÁNEĆ community participants. Research participants regularly brought up Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site as an example from which they would like to see worked from, and so I discuss the relevant history and management of the protected area before diving into further insights from my interview participants. In the fourth chapter, I investigate some of the current management of GINPR through investigating the signage, staffing, promotional print materials, place name Indigenous usage and discuss a public consultation event for SSGNMCAR. Together these paint a picture of the current state of park management. In my fifth chapter I begin to move towards my research findings discussing recommendations for the future management of GINPR and SSGNMCAR that come from members of the W̱SÁNEĆ community, as well as some of my own recommendations. The penultimate chapter of this thesis discusses the limitations of this research project, as well as future potential of this type of research project. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the thesis and makes argument for the potential of change in the protected area management of the Gulf Islands region.

Chapter 2: Historical Overview

In this chapter I will briefly provide a history of the development of Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (GINPR) and the proposed Southern Strait of Georgia National Marine Conservation Area Reserve (SSGNMCAR) from pre-establishment to the present-day relationship between the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations and the Parks Canada Agency (PCA) employees. I give this history brief context by introducing some pertinent history of the Coast Salish Peoples and their experiences with European colonial settlement in the area. These histories are a critical backdrop to understand how conservation landscapes in this region develop and are managed alongside large-scale land privatization and changing Indigenous relations (Thom 2014). Parks Canada established the world's first national park system eventually leading to the establishment of many parks across Canada including GINPR. To understand the mandate of the PCA in this area, I will discuss the history of the agency, the *Canada National Parks Act* of 2000 and the *Canada National Marine Conservation Area Act* from 2002. These two acts are integral to the management of all Canadian national parks and marine conservation areas including those in Coast Salish territories. These acts lay out their legal expectations and requirements. The agency's mandate denotes the agency's roles as stewards of Canada's federally protected areas. Also, I will discuss the situation of Aboriginal title and treaty rights established in section 35 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, in regards to the management of protected areas. Following this I provide a brief discussion of the history of the establishment of GINPR, a process which was completed in 2003. This process took time and I will draw on an analysis of media coverage from that era to illuminate some of the struggles that occurred in the establishment of the park reserve between First Nations

communities such as W̱SÁNEĆ and the PCA. The SSGNMCAR is still currently in the establishment phase and so while there are some parallel features to be described it will not be explored as in-depth.

Through this chapter I hope to bring to light the complex history of the establishment of the GINPR, especially as these processes are taking place again in the establishment of the proposed SSGNMCAR. This history has led to a situation which has seemingly improved from early days of Indigenous-Parks Canada relations seen in the past but which, measured against ideals of a productive, collaborative and co-governing relationship, still are challenging to live up to the desires of First Nations communities such as the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations.

History of the W̱SÁNEĆ Peoples

The histories of the W̱SÁNEĆ peoples are long and complex, and to completely summarize them is challenging to say the least. Yet it is still important to situate this thesis within the relevant histories of the region and the relationships with lands and waters that the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations have in and around the Gulf Islands and Salish Sea. In this section I will start by discussing a W̱SÁNEĆ history through a story from W̱SÁNEĆ oral histories. This will situate the discussion of their history through their words, starting at the genesis of their community. I feel it is vital to start any Indigenous history from the perspective of the community when possible as it is their story to tell. The following story is drawn from the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council website and is called *The Legend of ŁÁU, WELṈEW̱*. This version closely resembles a version told by the late W̱SÁNEĆ community member YELḴÁTŦE, also known as Dr. Earl Claxton.

"In the beginning it was the Saanich teaching to look after Mother Earth. All of the animals, the birds, the trees and the salmon, even the wind, were, and still are, people.

For many years the people remembered the words of the creator (XÁLS) and there was a long period of happiness and plentiful food. Then they began to forget those teachings.

The creator's feelings were hurt that the people began to forget his good teachings, so the creator told the people that a great flood would come and said: "You prepare yourselves."

The people prepared a cedar rope and gathered their food and all of their possessions. The tide waters began to rise. The people loaded all of their belongings into their canoes.

Some people did not heed XÁLS teachings. They were not prepared and were washed away. Their canoes were destroyed. The water rose higher and higher. The people paddled to the highest mountain nearby. The trees were still above the water. They tied themselves to an arbutus tree on top of the mountain.

Soon the tops of the trees were covered with water. They were afraid and prayed to survive the great flood. They asked XÁLS to take pity on them. After many days, a crow came and landed on the bow of the canoe. He was carrying a stick and was talking to the people. The crow had brought the good news. Suddenly a mountain began to emerge in the distance. One of the men said, "NI QENNET TTE W̱SÁNEĆ", (translated means, "Look at what is emerging"), as he pointed to the mountain emerging in the distance.

> Before they left the mountain, they gathered around the huge coil of cedar rope and gave thanks. They said from now on this mountain will be called LÁU, WELNEW (Place of refuge). They also said, "We will be called the W̱SÁNEĆ" (The emerging people). XÁLS heard their prayers. XÁLS said he would not punish the people by flood again. The people who were saved are the ancestors of the Saanich Tribe today.
>
> This is our heritage." (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, n. d.).

This is seen as the beginning of the world, and the W̱SÁNEĆ people have been present in the region since this event.

The W̱SÁNEĆ are part of the larger body of Coast Salish of Indigenous Peoples. Coast Salish territories, on the Canadian side of the border, extend from the southern portions of Vancouver Island in the west, across the Salish Sea onto the Canadian mainland reaching what is now the Fraser Valley in British Columbia and as far north as Whistler (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, n. d.). The Coast Salish languages and territories extend southwards on the mainland of the United States as far south as the Columbia River, in Washington state. Within this large area there are many distinct Coast Salish communities, but all spoke what modern linguists would call Salishan languages. Salishan languages native to the Gulf Islands include languages include Lekwungen (also known as Songhees), Hul'q'umin'um', hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓, SENĆOŦEN (language of the W̱SÁNEĆ communities) and others (Suttles 2004, xxiv). Coast Salish communities have for millennia been complex societies with extensive trade, widespread familial ties, seasonal travel, and in-depth ecological knowledge. All of which are integral elements of their distinctive cultural practices (Suttles 2004, xxv). Social links between Coast Salish groups on the Gulf

Islands was common and can be seen in that some places share place names in both Hul'q'umi'num' and SENĆOŦEN languages (Abramczyk 2017, 71).

W̱SÁNEĆ communities are Coast Salish peoples whose winter homes have long been centered on the northern portion of *W̱SÁNEĆ* also known as the Saanich Peninsula on Vancouver Island in British Columbia, Canada (Suttles 2004, xxiii). Their core territory connects the Saanich Peninsula, the Gulf and San Juan Islands, and also reaches as far as *SELEKTEŁ* (Goldsteam), *W̱QENNELEŁ* (Mount Finlayson) and *PKOLS* (Mount Douglas) in modern-day Greater Victoria (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, n. d.). Their extended territory includes use and occupancy of a larger area for economic and social activities (Jenness 2016, 6-7; W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.). This is evidenced by the well documented SENĆOŦEN place names reaching far into the Greater Vancouver Area (Elliott 1990, 15).

Today Tsartlip, Tsawout, and Tseycum W̱SÁNEĆ communities are represented by the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council (WLC). There is another W̱SÁNEĆ nation called Pauquachin First Nation who is no longer part of the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council. The WLC and other organizations work to represent these communities in the area and on government issues.

A Brief History of Colonial Settlement of Vancouver Island

The Indigenous population on the Vancouver Island is estimated to have decreased by approximately 66% from 15,000 in the early years of the 19th century due to disease (Artibise 2015). By the 1950s the Indigenous population in the region reached as few as 5000 individuals (Artibise 2015). At the same time the European population was growing on the island, and in region generally. This eventually led to the Charter of Grant (also referred to as the Treaty of Washington) in 1849 (Gough 2012, 9). This treaty granted the British, via the Hudson Bay

Company, control over Vancouver Island under the guidance of Sir James Douglas (Artibise 2015). By December of that same year Douglas had been authorized by the British crown to extinguish the property rights of Indigenous People in the newly founded colony through a process of treaty-making (Mackie 1992, 6-7). In 1866 the Vancouver Island colony was merged with the mainland colony of British Columbia (Artibise 2015). In 1871 British Columbia joined Canada as its sixth province.

The Douglas Treaties, also known as the Fort Victoria Treaties, were signed between 1850 and 1854. They were produced by the Hudson Bay Company and several Coast Salish communities on Vancouver Island (Duff 1969, 3). The W̱SÁNEĆ signed their treaties with James Douglas in 1852 in which he describes them as "the Chiefs and people of the Sanitch Tribe" and the "North Saanich" (Duff 1969, 22-23). The Douglas treaties still stand to this day due to a ruling in the 1964 Canadian Supreme Court known as *R. v White and Bob* (Duff 1967, 6-7; Harris 2009, 145). While James Douglas described the treaties as "purchases" and "deeds of conveyance" (Duff 1969, 6-7), the W̱SÁNEĆ thought Douglas was approaching with a peace offering rather than a deed of sale (Elliott 1990, 69-72). These treaties are seen by courts today as valid treaties, yet they are rife with issues to the point that Duff describes them as "faulty as ethnographic records" (Duff 1969, 51). These treaties are still essential to the nature of crown-First Nation relationships today (Duff 1969, 53). One ongoing issue relevant to my case study is that the treaties failed to include explicit recognition W̱SÁNEĆ territories in the Gulf Islands or San Juan Islands, and the descriptions of areas that are included within these treaties "contain a number of minor inaccuracies and confusions as a consequence of being made at the fort and based on imperfect verbal descriptions of imperfect mental maps" (Duff 1969, 53). Indeed, while land purchases were described for Vancouver Island, none of the treaties mention the Gulf

Islands, which were also part of W̱SÁNEĆ territories. The Fort Victoria Treaties also guarantee hunting on unoccupied lands and the right "to fish as formerly" which W̱SÁNEĆ people continue to assert in the Gulf Islands today. In short, these treaties still affect all relations between W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations and the Canadian government, including the PCA, even though they are seen today as documents rife with issues and lacking clear delineation of locations relevant to the communities they affect.

A Brief History of Protected Areas

The world's first protected nature area is Bogd Khan Uul in Mongolia which was established in 1783 by the Qing dynasty due to its beauty and religious significance (Bonnet 2015, 68). This site is significant as it is the first record of a government protected natural area. Bogd Khan Uul is now encapsulated in the Great Burkhan Halfun Mountain and its Surrounding Sacred Landscape World Heritage Site under UNESCO protections (UNESCO 2015). When this mountain near Ulaanbaatar was first protected its protection did not exist in a form that one is likely to use to describe a modern national park or protected area.

The modern conception for a nationally protected natural area can be traced to artist George Catlin who in 1832 noted a desire to protect both Indigenous communities and wilderness of the Great Plains in the western United States (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 357). In March of 1872 land for Yellowstone National Park in modern-day Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho was set aside by the US army during efforts to subdue Indigenous populations in the region (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 357). Yellowstone was the world's first national park, established in 1872 (UNESCO 1978) and set a precedent for a conservation movement that soon spread to Canada and led to the establishment of Canada's first

national park, now known as Banff National Park.

The events leading to the founding of Banff National Park began in 1885 after the discovery of hot springs in the Rocky Mountains of Alberta by employees of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 357). These individuals requested permission to claim the land in which the hot springs were found. The requests were denied by the federal government who would eventually claim the property for themselves (Lothian 1987, 16-17). On June 23, 1887 the *Rocky Mountains Park Act* was passed in the House of Commons. Over the years the site was developed by the government, and even expanded to cover more areas that would encompass modern day Banff National Park (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 4). Following the establishment of Banff National Park, the government began the establishment of reserve lands in 1888 which would later become Yoho National Park and Glacier National Park (Lothian 1987, 28). St. Lawrence Islands National Park (now known as Thousand Islands National Park) was established in Ontario in 1904 making it the first national park in Canada east of the Rocky Mountains (National Geographic 2016, 116-118).

The Canadian government expanded the legal framework for national parks to allow for the establishment of parks across Canada in 1911 when the *Rocky Mountains Park Act* was substituted by the *Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act* (Dearden, Rollins and Needham 2016, 6; Lothian 1987, 33). This moment is significant as it established a government body that is today known as the Parks Canada Agency. Notably, Parks Canada was the world's first national park system, and it eventually also took on the duties of managing national historic sites in Canada (Parks Canada 2011). The scope of the PCA would continue to be revised and enhanced via policy changes until the first Canadian *National Parks Act* of 1930 was passed by Parliament (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 7). This act set out a "dual mandate" for

Canadian national parks to focus on both public use and unimpaired ecological integrity (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 7). Over the following decades additional national parks were added to the system. Notably after Jean Chrétien becoming the minister responsible for Parks Canada in 1968, a five-year period of rapid expansion occurred within Parks Canada adding ten additional national parks including both the first in Québec and first national parks in Northern Canada (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 7). In 1972 an amendment to the *National Parks Act* of 1930 defined the concept of "park reserves," functional national parks which would still require land claim negotiations (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 7). This designations allows conservation efforts to move forward without having to complete formal negotiations between Indigenous communities and the Canadian government. In 1979 the *Parks Canada Policy* was created and it included the concept of "joint management" in which Parks Canada and Indigenous groups would need to come to agreements on some management concerns (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 367). Also, in 1979, in response to popular concern for the environment and ecological integrity the federal government refined the "dual mandate" of Parks Canada to view ecological integrity as a prerequisite to public use of national parks in Canada (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 7). Finally, in 1988 the National Parks Act of 1930 saw a notable revision in the first legal recognition of traditional harvesting of resources by Indigenous Peoples in national parks (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016, 368).

Parks Canada Agency History, Acts, and Mandate

In 2000 a new *National Parks Act* received royal ascent and replaced the *National Parks Act* of 1930. The replacement was deemed necessary as it had become difficult for Parks Canada to manage both the conservation goals of the agency with their goals to offer leisure

opportunities within their sites (Campbell 11, 2011). Under both 1930 and 200 versions of the act, "The national parks of Canada are hereby dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education and enjoyment, subject to this Act and the regulations, and the parks shall be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (Canada National Parks Act, 2000). All three aspects must be accounted for within the management of any national park. What is important about the Parks Act of 2000 is an emphasis is put on environmental integrity as the most important priority for the PCA (Canada National Parks Act, 2000). Additionally, the act also further refined the category of national park reserve. "Park reserves are established in accordance with this Act for the purpose referred to in subsection (1) where an area or a portion of an area proposed for a park is subject to a claim in respect of Aboriginal rights that has been accepted for negotiation by the Government of Canada" (Canada National Parks Act, 2000). This shift in the legal framework for national parks in Canada because it further refined the recognition that the PCA could establish parks in areas where treaties or modern-day land claim agreements were not yet finalized. At the same time, it also affirmed that that the government of Canada still have an obligation to negotiate and reach terms with the Indigenous communities following the establishment of a national park reserve (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020). Many recent additions to the PCA system are national park reserves, opening future possibilities for established protected areas to be adapted to meet concerns from Indigenous communities related to the park (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020). Once title and rights negotiations such as a comprehensive land claims agreement between the federal government and the respective Indigenous community are completed, the park can transition to a national park without the reserve designation (Canada National Parks Act, 2000).

In 2002, Canada enacted the Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act. This affects the waters of the Salish Sea due to the aforementioned process of establishing the SSGNMCAR. As a marine conservation area reserve and a national park reserve are each under different acts, and the legal realities for each type of site are different. One focuses on protecting Canadian waters and coastal regions, while the other focuses on conserving Canadian lands. Marine conservation areas must for also manage themselves, "for the benefit, education and enjoyment of the people of Canada and the world" (Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act 2002). One major difference when compared to the national parks is that marine conservation areas do provide Parks Canada some jurisdiction over the harvest of fisheries within their sites. Under section 16-2 of the Act it notes that the restriction or prohibiting of fishing can only be done under the recommendation of the Minister of Environment and the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans (Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act 2002). As harvesting marine resources is a central part of Coast Salish diets in the context of the Salish Sea, this lack of government authority over fisheries could become a possible point of contention between the PCA and First Nations such as those of the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council once the SSGNMCAR is finally established.

The *Canada National Parks Act* 2000 and *Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act* 20002 provide the framework for the exercise of authority by the minister responsible for Parks Canada, and the PCA has established a mandate to guide themselves in the exercise of said authority. The entire mandate states, "On behalf of the people of Canada, we protect and present nationally significant examples of Canada's natural and cultural heritage, and foster public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment in ways that ensure the ecological and commemorative integrity of these places for present and future generations" (Parks Canada

2018). In practice, the decisions and policies of the PCA hang on every word of this mandate. In addition to this mandate, the PCA has stated that it acts in a role of "guardians… guides… partners… and storytellers" on behalf of their sites (Parks Canada 2018). This means they work to protect the ecological and cultural heritage within the park; guide and teach visitors about their sites; take on a role as partner with Indigenous communities, and proliferate the natural and cultural history of Canada (Parks Canada 2018). Everything the PCA does as an agency is meant to fall within these mandates and policies, all while remaining consistent with the legislative framework of the *Canada Parks Act* 2000 and *Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act 2002***.** Due to this mandated need to act as "partners" throughout this thesis I will refer to the relationship or partnership between the PCA and WLC communities. The term is ill defined in the mandate, it has developed into a series of ad-hoc solutions for partnerships and relationships which is discussed more in-depth in the next chapter.

Establishment of Gulf Islands National Park Reserve

The establishment of GINPR in 2003 was the conclusion to a process which took many years. During the establishment process the PCA had an obligation to reach out to First Nations communities and consult on the relationship of the park and Indigenous rights and interests as is their legal duty as a federal government agency taking on a project of this type. This obligation is laid out in the *Canada National Parks Act* in 2000 (Canada National Parks Act, 2000). From the perspective of the WLC, in regards to GINPR, the organization states, "of specific contention is the 2003 formation of the Gulf Islands Park Reserve which was finalized without any consultation with the Indigenous people in the region. The formation of the park has effectively obstructed Indigenous land use, Indigenous ownership, Indigenous jurisdiction, and Indigenous

management practices" (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.). In contrast to the view that there was no consultation between the PCA and WLC in establishing GINPR, PCA staff member Bradley instead states that the consultation processes that the PCA believes to have taken place has been seen as ineffective or insufficient by First Nations communities (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020). Beyond concerns around a perceived lack of consultation in establishing GINPR, the WLC also noted that they view Parks Canada as continuing to assert land ownership claims that severely impede the exercise of "Douglas Treaty rights, Aboriginal rights and title, as well as the rights and responsibilities gifted by Creator." (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.).

Despite recognition that consultation for the GINPR may be seen as lacking by First Nations and some GINPR staff, the establishment of the park reserve was largely popular with the general public according to newspaper reports from the time. In 2001 Malcom Curtis of Victoria's Times-Colonist newspaper reported on a grass-roots campaign run by residents of Salt Spring Island to have the park established and include a portion of their island (Curtis 2001). Curtis noted in another earlier piece that an environmental lawyer had spoken to the members of the public about establishing a national park in the region and noted that the idea was popular with residents of the Gulf Islands, Greater Victoria and Greater Vancouver (Curtis 2000). In this same piece the lawyer also instilled that, "He underlined that any decisions on a national park should be subject to prior negotiations with the First Nations" (Curtis 2000). News reports at the time make it seem that beyond local settler interests, and environmental interests, a main driving factor of the park's establishment was concerns about managing nature tourism (Pynn 2001).

In short, the park was established with consultation by the PCA with the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council that the WLC feels was severely lacking. If the WLC is correct, the right to consultation was not adequately reflected in practice by the PCA which is out-of-line with the

legal and political realities facing the PCA in the 21st century. Ideally all consultation would be deemed complete when all relevant parties agree they have been sufficient. In the case of GINPR the PCA unilaterally imposed federal jurisdictions on Coast Salish territories without those communities' government feeling there was adequate consultation. This echoes what Youdelis has noted in Jasper National Park that the PCA has a history of problematic consultation practices which neglect important topics such as treaty rights and could be said to lack respect for Indigenous communities (Youdelis 2016, 1383). The W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations see this perceived lack of consultation as the federal government ignoring its Douglas Treaty obligations to the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. Even today one of my participants, an Indigenous Affairs representative from Parks Canada, Gary, recognized that the establishment of GINPR was done at a different time and would fall short of today's standards. "We know now that there's a much deeper understanding of what that legal duty means than we would have in at the time when the park was being established," (Gary Interview, 27th Feb 2020).

He later added, "We could certainly acknowledge that how we approach consultation in 2020 is not the same as we would have in 2004-2005." And that today the agency is "looking to achieve relationships that are much more collaborative and cooperative than is necessarily required," with Indigenous groups (Gary Interview, 27th Feb 2020).

Due to the challenges the PCA now have due to establishing GINPR with a consultation process that W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations' government view as insufficient, the PCA have taken on many initiatives to improve relations with W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations (Fritz 2017, 3) and other First Nations communities such as those of the member First Nations of Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group (Abramczyk 2017, 4-5).

Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed the history of the establishment of GINPR and the establishment of the SSGNMCAR. These protected areas have come around in a modern context along with the legal obligations that have arose in recent decades. Parks Canada must consult with local First Nations in their planning and development of the park as well as its management as per the result of *Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada (Minister of Canadian Heritage)* in 2005 which solidified the need for consultation (Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada 2005). *R. v. Sparrow*, is another important a Supreme Court case, this time from 1990, which established the need for consultation between Canada and First Nations, especially when their Aboriginal or treaty rights may be infringed (Brideau 2, 2019). These protected areas also fall under the *Canada National Parks Act* of 2000 and the *Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act* of 2002. These legal structures, and the previously discussed Parks Canada Mandate, have established goals of cultural and natural conservation that the agency must work towards on behalf of the Canadian people. The management of the parks is required to include consultation with the many Coast Salish First Nations in the region from prior to the establishment of any protected area. At the same time, both conservation areas are specifically demarcated as reserves which delineate the need for further negotiations with local Indigenous nations. The development of GINPR did not meet the desired levels of consultations between PCA and Indigenous communities for the WLC and other First Nations groups, and the team working on the SSGNMCAR is working to ensure a similar situation does not occur with the establishment of that marine conservation area reserve.

Chapter 3: Contemporary Management of Protected Areas in the Gulf Islands

After the establishment of GINPR the PCA staff worked to establish the interim management guidelines (2004), which established the direction for tourism and conservation goals in the park reserve. The interim guidelines were the baseline for the continuing relationship with W̱SÁNEĆ and other local First Nations as the park is managed day-to-day. Parks Canada employees run multiple programs in the park including those that have a close bearing on Indigenous Peoples and interests like the Fur to Forest program, and Clam Garden Restoration Project.

In this chapter I will also be discussing the former existence of the First Nations' committees and their replacement agreements that exist within the PCA system. It is particularly important to examine the unique co-operative management situation at Gwaii Haanas NPR as it was often brought up by participants from both the W̱SÁNEĆ community and PCA as a model that could potentially work with in GINPR. There are also other visitor-experience focused programs and structures within GINPR. One example of which I experienced when attending a presentation offered by Parks Canada and from an Indigenous cultural interpreter and that I will examine.

After this, to provide further detailed context to understanding these contemporary relationships between the PCA and WLC I will also be drawing on some of my extensive interviews with research participants, two from Parks Canada and two from the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations communities. These interviews discussed the potential of new programs being introduced in GINPR. These interviews also touch more generally on co-operative management of GINPR. While discussing programs and First Nations committees does not encompass the

complete management of GINPR these topics do show varying ways that co-operation is included to integrate Indigenous perspectives into the management of GINPR. Ideally, I would have had more interviews to further investigate the state of the park from a broader view, but due to limitations which are described earlier and within the Sixth Chapter of this thesis I could only move ahead with the four interviews. Each interview was extensive and offered important insights as will be demonstrated in this chapter and afterwards.

Programs at Gulf Islands National Park Reserve

Over time the PCA has introduced, and become involved in, several projects within GINPR to help improve the condition of ecosystems within the park. While all of these projects are designed to improve the park's environment, which is typically seen as a benefit by member of the W̱SÁNEĆ communities, a couple of these programs in particular have had more direct links to the PCA relationships with Indigenous communities including the W̱SÁNEĆ Nations. The first of these programs I will discuss in-depth is the Fur to Forest program. This program is one which allows for Indigenous harvest of deer within GINPR by Indigenous communities including W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations and Hul'qumi'num member First Nations. Following this, I will discuss the park's Clam Garden Restoration Project. In addition to these two projects I will briefly mention several of the other projects Parks Canada undertakes in the area.

The Fur to Forest is a program developed by the PCA in partnership with: the WLC, the Province of British Columbia, Hul'qumi'num member First Nations, and private landowners to deal with the vastly growing populations of invasive European Fallow Deer (*Dama dama*) and domestic black-tailed deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*) on Sidney Island situated within GINPR (Parks Canada 2018, Parks Canada 2018, W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, n.d.). Fifty of the

European Fallow deer, native to England, were introduced in the Gulf Islands region starting in the 1910s for hunting, and were then subsequently also introduced to Sidney Island in the mid 1930s where their population has grown exponentially (Parks Canada 2017). These deer eat large amounts of vegetation greatly altering the environment on Sidney Island by grazing away habitat for birds and terrestrial animals (Parks Canada 2017). Another compounding negative impact of the deer population's heavy grazing is that it impedes the regeneration processes of native flora (Parks Canada 2018). The aim of the project from a scientific perspective is to reduce the number of deer on the island so to restore the ecological integrity. Culling deer numbers will allow native plants to re-establish in their habitat and grow to maturity. There are also additional social aims for the project as well. For the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations this program works towards "fostering the transfer of traditional and contemporary hunting knowledge, as well as coordinating hunting activities within the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve," (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, N. d.). In the program, youth are taught to hunt deer on Sidney Island while Parks Canada closes off that portion of the park to visitors (Collins 2014). After being hunted the meat, fur, and antlers are distributed to local First Nations for consumption and use (Glazier 2011).

Another initiative in GINPR is the Clam Garden Restoration Project. This project has been organized by the PCA with the Hul'qumi'num and W̱SÁNEĆ nations, and several Canadian universities starting in 2014 (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.). Clam beds have been noted as an important system of human-managed aquaculture that created unique ecosystems, found throughout the Pacific Northwest, which allowed Indigenous peoples to produce abundant amounts of food (Deur et al. 2015). Through a highly developed traditional process, Indigenous communities removed kelp and sea lettuce, build stone structures, and tilled

sand in order to foster a prime habitat for clam growth (Parks Canada 2018). A study conducted by Groesbeck *et al*, in 2011 found that beaches actively tended with clam gardens in the region produced four times as many butter clams and twice as many little neck clams when compared to non-tended beaches (Groesbeck et al 2014, 7). These sites were also noted places of knowledge transfer between older generations and youth (Parks Canada 2018). The clam gardens in GINPR had not been maintained for well over a century (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.). This restoration project is still ongoing to this day. Participants from First Nations such as Philomena Padaguan, a Hul'qumi'num Elder, said the program has offered opportunities to educate youth about not just traditional clam harvesting skills but the Coast Salish stories and morals. "With all of these things we have, we've got the stories, and all of the stories that we've had, had morals" (Elder Philomena Pagaduan in Parks Canada 2015). A study by Carrie McIntosh also found that a majority of those involved in the GINPR clam garden restoration project, whether Indigenous or PCA staff, view the project as a "central goal of governance" for the region as they deem ecosystem conservation as a vital concern in governing the region (2016, 32). A PCA staff member named Nathan Cardinal said with the project the PCA was, "able to bring First Nations youth, bring Elders to sites of traditional importance and historical importance to them and reinvigorate that ecological and cultural landscape. So for Parks, you know it really is about partnership, about knowledge and combining ecology and culture, which are two prominent mandates of the Parks Canada Agency" (Parks Canada 2015). It has been noted by Lepofsky *et al* that clam gardens were widespread in the Pacific Northwest and for archaeologists the opportunities to learn traditional knowledge from Elders and members of communities such as W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations is vital to understanding mariculture in the region (2015, 252). Augustine and Dearden have also noted that one positive outcome of integrating traditional clam

beds into protected areas such as GINPR could lead to further spread of "values to larger areas as conservation and cultural goals become more closely aligned" (Augustine and Dearden 2014, 311).

Additionally, the PCA runs other programs in GINPR which directly impact their relationships with W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. One of my participants, a Parks Canada employee I will be referring to under the pseudonym Bradley, had mentioned that they run Indigenous language camps within the park, and are in regular contact with the W̱SÁNEĆ School Board. In the early days of GINPR opening the PCA team began assisting a local grass-roots effort to improve the Lyall Creek watershed to promote chum salmon populations in the area (Parks Canada 2018). They have also developed a program to restore Eagle Islet's Garry oak ecosystems, and have used lessons from this site and implemented them on other islets within the GINPR (Parks Canada 2018). Another project in the park involves coastal sand ecosystem restorations on Sidney Island. The project goal is to remove invasive plant species and re-establish a rare habitat within the park reserve's boundaries (Parks Canada 2018). These many programs (archaeology, endangered species conservation, environmental assessments, etc.) also occur within the park and therefore impact the relationship between PCA and the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations, albeit positively.

Since the early days of GINPR Parks Canada employees have worked hard with Coast Salish communities such as the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations on programs such as the Fur to Forest program, and the Clam Bed Restoration Project. Both projects allow for opportunities for Indigenous communities to connect with their territories and learn both modern scientific knowledge as well as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK). These programs have not been the sole efforts by Parks Canada staff as they have also made efforts to reach out to Indigenous run

schools, run language camps in the park, bring Elders into the park, and more as was discussed briefly in this chapter. These have been important steps to improving relationships between First Nations such as those members of the WLC.

First Nations Committees – Comparative Views to Gwaii Haanas Model

These projects, at GINPR were coordinated and vetted through the First Nations committees working as partners in the park. These are bodies put together by both the staff at the National Park Reserve, and within the respective First Nations. There were three "Cooperative Planning and Management Committees" in the area in regards to the park which work with representatives of ten of the Coast Salish First Nations (Parks Canada 2017). The first which ran from 2004 - 2018 is with the member First Nations of the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group which included: Cowichan Tribes, Halalt First Nation, Lake Cowichan First Nation, Lyackson First Nation, Penelakut First Nation, and Stz'uminus First Nation (Abramczyk 2017, 1). The next management committee was with Tseycum First Nation, who has since joined the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council. The third and final committee was formed with three W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations: Pauquichan First Nation, Tsartlip First Nation and Tsawout First Nation. It is important to note that today Pauquichan First Nation is no longer in the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council and the situation has changed. The GINPR team now operates with a contribution agreement with the WLC and are in regular contact, with the goal of re-engaging formalized committees or other form of arrangements again in the future (Bradley Personal Communication, July 9th 2020).

It was clear that there are still issues in regards to co-operatively managing the park as Parks Canada now no longer operates its three Cooperative Planning and Management Committees in the region. Elected WLC member William, had mentioned several times in our

interview that looking at a replacement co-operative model should be considered. One that had caught his attention was that of Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve, and Haida Heritage Site (Gwaii Haanas) whose staff has a unique relationship with their local Indigenous community, the Haida Nation.

My research into the relationship between the PCA and Indigenous Peoples benefited from an in-depth interview with a member of the WLC's Parks Committee. He is an elected official of the First Nation, middle aged, university educated, and had previously worked for the PCA at the GINPR as a maintenance employee many years ago. The pseudonym I have used for him is William. William is from Tsawout First Nation and has been sitting on the WLC's Parks Committee for over five years now. Although he seemed pleased about the committee he made it clear that in his view there was need for changes. One critique that came up multiple times from William was his desire for the relationship with Parks Canada and his nation to look more like Park Canada's relationship with the Haida in Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve, and Haida Heritage Site (from here on out shorted to GHNPR). The relationship between PCA staff and the Haida in Gwaii Haanas is particular and bears closer examination before moving on with William's further recommendations and thoughts about the WLC's relationship with Parks Canada.

GHNPR is in the Haida Gwaii archipelago off the Northwest coast of British Columbia. The islands have been lived in by the Haida for at least 6000 - 8000 years (Kennedy et al. 2018) The Haida name for these islands is X̲aaydag̲a Gwaay.yaaywhich means Islands of the Haida People (Skidegate Haida Immersion Program 2011, 135). By the 1780s European explorers arrived in the area and named the islands the Queen Charlotte Islands (BC Geographic Names, n.d.). In June 2010 these islands became legally known by their Haida name as part of the Haida

Gwaii Reconciliation Act (BC Geographic Names, n.d.). In the 1974 portions of Moresby Island and the surrounding area of the Gwaii Haanas Archipelago had been identified as an area of interest for industrial logging purposes, and some members of the public called out to protect the area (Parks Canada 2019). In 1985 the Haida First Nation declared the area a "Haida Heritage Nation" in resistance to logging developments in the area which even manifested into a blockage on Lyell Island (Parks Canada 2019). Haida resistance was supported by legal and political challenges and in 1987 the governments of Canada and British Columbia marked out a clear path to demarcating some of Gwaii Haanas as a federally protected area with the *South Moresby Memorandum of Understanding* (Haida Gwaii Observer 2012; Parks Canada 2019). The following year a national park was established there, but this was not the end to protections for landscapes and heritage in the area. The Council of the Haida Nation and government of Canada signed the Gwaii Haanas Agreement in 1993 which serves as a constitutional arrangement, between the two governments. As required by this agreement they established the Archipelago Management Board (AMB). This body is responsible for managing GHNPR, and is jointly run by the Haida Nation and PCA. This allows for virtually equal decision making, as long as the environment minister is not 'fettered' by the board (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020). This is important because it means that in Gwaii Haanas decision making is through a unique co-management format. GHNPR is the only national park which has a virtually even split decision-making authority between the PCA and the Indigenous communities they work alongside (Parks Canada 2018). This is done through the aforementioned AMB which was expanded to six positions on the board, three for the Haida nation, two for the PCA and one for the DFO. This means decision making is done by a body of six, three representing federal interests, and another three representing the Haida nation. Other parks in the PCA system operate with co-operation in

mind but not at the same 50-50 split famed in GHNPR.

The AMB appears to be a complicated situation. To begin when looking at the Gwaii Haanas Agreement itself, it becomes apparent that both parties have a different understanding of sovereignty over Haida Gwaii and each sees themselves as the party with true jurisdiction over the archipelago. For one it was a structure put in at the establishment of the national park reserve, instead of being later implemented into an existing park or park reserve established without co-management (Thomlinson and Crouch 2012, 78). The AMB is also not without fault. It there is ever a disagreement for which the AMB cannot come to a majority decision, the decision falls to the minister, or is put off until later – sometimes without a specific time in mind (Hawkes 1996; Thomlinson and Crouch 2012,78). Some members of the Haida Nation find that employment requirements often favour certification over experience and so there are times where they feel disadvantaged when seeking employment within GHNPR (Thomlinson and Crouch 2012, 81). It is also important to note that the AMB also has influence over all aspects of park management from budgets to "management plans, operational policies, and human resources" (Thomlinson and Crouch 2012, 78). This would not necessarily be guaranteed if a similar model was adopted at other PCA sites, unless specifically agreed upon. Despite complications with the AMB co-management format it does seem that many authors feel that the AMB offers, "a workable model for meaningful Aboriginal involvement in the establishment of new protected areas" (Gladu, Brubacher and Meek 2003, 30). Thomlinson and Crouch have also argued that staff from the PCA and members of the AMB have been "easily approachable and numerous connections exist with the local community" in the GHNPR context (2012, 81)

Further to the even split of power in Gwaii Haanas the PCA participates in a Watchman program with the Haida Nation. The Watchmen program in Gwaii Haanas has been running

since the 1980s before the formal establishment of GHNPR. The Haida Watchmen program, sometimes also referred to as guardians or "rangers" is similar to other well-studied programs like those started in Australia during the 1990s (Rostron et al 2012, 163). Watchman programs involve training and employment opportunities for local Indigenous community members within protected areas. They watch over the park to ensure the areas are protected, and also participate as interpreters for visitors to Gwaii Haanas. It is important to note the Watchmen are meant to be seen as "equal partners" in the protection and management of a protected area (Parks Canada 2017). Therefore, based on descriptions offered by the PCA on their website it seems more of a cultural liaison program offered at the site, one in which Watchmen share stories of their home territory, history, culture, and some experiences to visitors such as food and song. The Watchmen do not have power to enforce PCA rules and laws as park wardens or enforcement officers do under sections 18 and 19 of the *Canada National Parks Act* (Canada 2000). Wardens and enforcement officers are the sole and official law enforcement officers for PCA sites.

When we spoke, William noted Gwaii Haanas Watchmen and AMB as models of inspiration on a couple of occasions. According to him having an even split in power is vital to true co-operative management in the park. "That's the idea of co-management. We want a big part of making decisions. We want a big part of making things happen in the park."

I further probed exactly what sort of level of decision-making influence he felt First Nations should have when working with Parks Canada in GINPR. William replied, "Most definitely at least 50-50!" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). This is because he felt that this was a major factor in improving the cooperation and relationship between the PCA and W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. "We need to close that gap and we need to be able to work with the other nations and come up with a plan to co-manage the national park. You know, we need a big

part in that, we need a big part like a guardianship like those on Haida Gwaii" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

I feel it is important to take some time and break down this statement from William to give it greater context. Four core things I would like to break down are 1) what he means by "close the gap"; 2) what co-management means here; 3) discuss the need to work with other nations; and 4) the desire for a guardianship like that of the Haida. The first point William is discussing is the gap in decision making power between the PCA and W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations in the management of GINPR. Simply put the power rests today with the PCA, but they attempt to come to a consultation informed system of co-operative decision making with numerous Coast Salish First Nations' who have traditional territories within GINPR's boundaries through the contribution agreements they have established. Co-management in this situation is a complicated word. For Parks Canada currently approach their relationship with W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations as a co-operative decision-making relationship rather than co-management like is seen within GHNPR because in GINPR there are no formal committees or structures to allow the 50-50 decision-making split. Instead they work with formalized contribution agreements that maintain some level of consultation and regular contact, but are not like the split decision-making authority offered by the aforementioned AMB. One of the struggles to reaching this type of arrangement is that nineteen First Nations have territorial claim to GINPR and so a simple split of decision-making power such as is seen in Gwaii Haanas is not easily achievable. This situation gives rise to William's observation that First Nations with territories proximate to the park should formalize their relationship or find another way to work more closely with other First Nations, developing a body inspired by, but adapted from the AMB may be one productive way to move forward. The final point I want to break down is his remark about guardianship. To

me it seems clear that the program in GHNPR is something that William wants to see modelled in GINPR. This is an important issue and will be discussed in further detail later in this thesis.

William states a clear desire to improve Indigenous hiring in the GINPR and also have a program similar to the 'Watchmen' or 'guardians' programs seen in other parks. He spoke about a desire to have W̱SÁNEĆ community members out in the park alongside PCA staff who are enforcing laws and monitoring peoples' use of the national park reserve. These could take form of employees or simply accompanying W̱SÁNEĆ community members, William stated, "They [Gwaii Haanas Watchmen] have their own vessels. They patrol the waterline around the island. We need that. They have Rangers [Watchmen] out there" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). The comparisons to GHNPR are important to note because they were too mentioned by PCA employees who participated in my research in their discussion of the operations of GINPR. Bradley had also brought up the unique situation at GHNPR and the potential it has to offer as a model to inspire practices within GINPR. Bradley has been working for the PCA at GINPR for fourteen years. Bradley however was cautious about simply replicating the programs and processes in place at GHNPR into the context in the Salish Sea. He however had a bit more of a cautious view of these types of programs.

"The Watchman program is one for it's always held up for amongst the Haida and Gwaii Haanas, and then there's a number of guardian programs, 'Beach-keeper' programs and things like that at Pacific Rim and there's other ones across the agency. So oftentimes, we'll be like, 'Okay, well, we're going to start a guardians program at Gulf Islands," Bradley said, "…But you know, in reality that's not sustainable at all. For the guardian programs, we need for them to be sustainable outside of funding envelopes and funding windows, they need to be providing services probably for a range of jurisdictions or a range of things. So how do we kind of think

about that in context?" (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020).

Bradley's discussion of funding concerns and sustainability really stood out to me. He is clearly well aware of the value a program similar to the Gwaii Haanas Watchmen could have in GINPR, but is concerned about making sure it is a program that can last and grow once established. As a government agency the PCA at times will face changes of budgets and focus based on the leadership of the federal government at that time. It appears Bradley believes a vital program such as the Watchmen needs to be set up in a way that it is long-lasting and does not easily come to an end due to funding changes from future federal government budgets. The program must be one with foreseeable staying power before it is established.

This however did not mean, according to Bradley, that they were not interested in the possibilities of a Guardians program at GINPR. He just mentioned there was concern about when starting such a program it needs to be sustainable in terms of funding and other resources. He continued, "When we're capable, we will fund this nation, but how do we fund a dozen nations that are interested in a guardians program? …We oftentimes will be like, well, we don't want to proceed if it's not kind of like fair and equitable. What does that look like?" (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020).

It is clear from our interview that guardian programs are being looked at for the Gulf Islands and Salish Sea but it has been difficult to secure sustainable funding, and deal with the many First Nations who have traditional claims to territories in the Gulf Islands equally, and so the process becomes stalled and stagnates.

"So sometimes those we talk about things and they're an operational thing, but it gets quickly wrapped up in politics… the rights and title stuff. What do the provision of Guardian

programs mean for the rights and title of the W̱SÁNEĆ? What does that mean for the Hul'qumi'num?" (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020).

Further Perspectives from Interviews

It quickly becomes clear that for the PCA the development of these types of initiatives is on the mind but with a unique situation like that of the Coast Salish communities in the Salish Sea they cannot always come to fruition easily. Upon reflecting on the concept of "fair and equitable" relations Bradley spoke of, that communicating with Coast Salish nations about what would they would deem as most "fair and equitable" given the realities of the region, could potentially lead the PCA to break their current pattern of becoming stalled on improving relations with Coast Salish nations. The PCA is often choosing inaction, or small actions, instead of meaningful progress which could be easier achieved by clearly understanding how respective Coast Salish Nations would be feel pragmatic progress could be made between all parties.

Bradley notes while it is important to take inspiration from places like Gwaii Haanas, these structures cannot simply get cut-and-pasted from one national park reserve to another. The historical, ecological, economic, legal, and other factors vary site by site (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020). For example, formerly the PCA worked in multiple committees with First Nations in the co-operative management of GINPR, but that did not include every First Nation with historical claim to territory within GINPR or the proposed SSGNMCAR. This makes the possibility of creating an evenly split decision-making agreement between a First Nations and PCA extremely difficult due to the many stakeholders to consider, especially when considering other non-Indigenous stakeholder groups such as tourism companies, industry, local settler communities and the like. In the same vein, evenly splitting decision-making influence between

so many groups will dilute the power each party has and potentially can create complicated situations as many groups vie for their desires to be taken upon by the agency. Ultimately the fact that without a board such as the AMB from GHNPR each decision still would fall to the PCA to take on. The final call in a tied decision-making process power would still lie with the PCA as the agency stewarding the GINPR on behalf of all Canadians. Bradley was also sure to remind me during an interview that the PCA at all times is legally obligated to meet with First Nations communities for consultations, and that comes before most other obligations of the agency. Yet any co-operative decision making whether at Gwaii Haanas or elsewhere must insure that the Minister of Environment always remain unfettered to complete their work (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020). Bradley said, "So I think it can be argued that even the Gwaii Haanas Agreement, which effectively delivers co-management, is still cooperative management because the ability for the minister is still unfettered in that in that agreement" (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020). To instill the difference a cooperative management and co-management in this context is that co-management would require a truly even decision-making power between the W̱SÁNEĆ Nations and PCA without the reality of a minister that cannot be fettered, such as is the current case in GHNPR and every other PCA protected area including GINPR.

This is a factor that needs to be remembered for any discussion of decision-making between Parks Canada and Indigenous community partners, that without formalized structures like the AMB from GHNPR, any final word on decision-making the government cannot be fettered. Without a formalized and structured system like that seen in the AMB communications between First Nations and the PCA are much more prone to become situational rather than

regularly scheduled through said formalization. This brings into question the level of partnership the government has with Indigenous communities.

Going back to the interview with Tsawout elected official William he also argued that he believed Parks Canada had segregated First Nations communities in the region when working with them. Multiple times during the interview he had critiqued the fact that PCA has dealt with Salish-speaking First Nations one-on-one or in these small segregated groups like the former Cooperative Planning and Management Committees at GINPR.

He noted that in his opinion, this forced separation was as if "they're [the PCA] really fighting against co-management" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

William recounted the interconnectedness of the many First Nations communities in the area from the Hul'qumi'num First Nations on Vancouver Island and the Tsawwassen First Nation whose territory extends onto the Canadian mainland south of the city of Vancouver. He mentioned there was connections in terms of territories. William stated, "The Hul'qumi'num, and the SENĆOŦEN have family members in Tsawwassen too. There's history about some of our Elders that paddled out there fishing right in front of Tsawwassen and they talked about that there wasn't even a reservation there at one point. It was a meeting point" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). Tsawwassen First Nation is interesting in the context of the Gulf Islands as they have a Final Agreement (2007) with the federal government which includes areas in the Gulf Islands where there are W̱SÁNEĆ First Nation Reserves (Fritz 2017, 82-83). This has caused tension between the WLC and Tsawwassen First Nation because Tsawwassen has sent letters of trespass requesting that members of the W̱SÁNEĆ cease harvesting in those waters (Fritz 2017, 83).

These types of political issues that arise between First Nations are one of the reasons the PCA currently meets with First Nations in smaller groups or individually. There are also concerns about the dilution of power of each Coast Salish First Nation would face if they were forced to negotiate with the PCA as a unified block. The Coast Salish First Nations would only muster their influence together when they could agree on a singular vision, something difficult to do with nearly twenty distinct, albeit related First Nations groups.

Despite these types of concerns, William passionately instilled that there was familiar interconnectedness between First Nations groups throughout the region, even extending into the United States with communities such as the Lummi Nation from Washington state. It is clear that the situations between Coast Salish nations can be complicated. There are connections there, but also histories and tensions as I discussed above.

"We have people who have long history and knowledge of our ancestors and what they did and how they travel through the islands and connected with our Lummi relatives. We have family over there that traveled from here to there, and established themselves over there. So, my great-great-grandfather, one of his brothers, when they paddled over that way, he stayed there and he created a family over there. So, we have family in Swinomish and Tulalip. They all travel that way back and forth. We have a lot of history through the San Juan Islands and the Gulf Islands" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

It was clear in William's perspective that the PCA could not have true cooperative management relationship with First Nations with claims to GIRNPR without speaking to all of the nations as one, recognizing the historical, cultural, and familial bonds present in the region (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

Quite to my surprise he even linked the separation of First Nations in their negotiations

and communications with the PCA as a continuation of the segregation started in the colonial Residential School program in Canada. This school program ran from the 1880s until 1996 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 51). Residential Schools were a federal program used to force assimilation on Indigenous populations in Canada by the removal of children from their families and placing them into religious boarding schools. To William of the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, the PCA still insisted on dividing the family and cultural ties he had previously described when they negotiated with Coast Salish nations separately (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). William's stance here is quite bold, and may not be shared by all W̱SÁNEĆ community members, although the interconnectedness of Coast Salish Nations seems to be widely agreed upon. The PCA regularly works with First Nations on a nation-to-nation basis, and this means they often approach each nation individually or through committees. It should be noted that the situation varies by location and can be described as ad-hoc (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016; 382-383). William feels negotiating with all Coast Salish nations with claims to the region at once would be the most beneficial way to cooperatively manage GIRNPR and the proposed SSGNMCA (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

William also reported to me his previous experience as an Indigenous staff member at GINPR. He felt the GINPR would keep him distanced from Indigenous visitors and guests. William told me a story back from when he worked at GINPR between 2005 and 2012. He worked as a maintenance employee, but notably one of the only Indigenous employees within the GINPR. On some occasions First Nations, such as Tsawout First Nation, would bring Elders into GINPR. William wanted to be involved, but felt he was not allowed to do so. Despite being a maintenance team member, he was fully trained in operating the PCAs boats and knew his way around Gulf Islands. Despite this William perceived the PCA as resisting him and another co-

worker from interacting with visiting Elders. “They had Elders and leaders come out to the islands for different occasions - like they would just bring them out to visit, or for ceremonies that needed to be done like burnings or repatriations. And they'd bring the Elders out for visits. It seemed like they wouldn't allow us to transport them. They would always have somebody else transport the First Nations out there” (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

> “Sometimes we would have the opportunity and I know everybody... I know a lot of people from the Nanoose area all the way down this way [to the Saanich Penisnula]. So the people from Parks Canada were surprised, when they did let us drive them, how we made the connection right away. We shared stories on how it was [in the past]. But, mostly Parks Canada would have somebody else non-First Nations transport them out to the ceremonies and other stuff” (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

William recounted that it seemed the Elders preferred having Indigenous transport from the PCA team over other staff from the park.

> “I'm not really sure why, but after a while all the Elders started requesting us. There was another First Nations man, he was my direct supervisor... They started requesting for us to drive them out to these ceremonies. These were maybe just trips to the islands, and stuff like that. So more and more they started asking for us to drive because we're certified to transport people on the boats. And, you

know, they had to start letting us take them out to the islands" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

It seems that having Indigenous staff in the park, especially to guide and assist Indigenous visitors was important to William. This aligns with his previous stance on having an Indigenous Watchmen or guardian program similar to Gwaii Haanas in the Gulf Islands. He stated, "We need to have our park rangers out here. Hmm… I know them [park wardens] personally but, we need to be on that vessel [with them] or we need to have our own vessels" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

William wanted to have people from his communities either working as employees of Parks Canada themselves, or at least in a formalized role working alongside Park Canada's enforcement teams. It is clear that beyond cooperative decision-making powers, in William's view Indigenous People needed to be on the GINPR team. This was mentioned as potentially even taking the form of Indigenous interpreters when possible for the park, although he admitted to some extend what they could share with visiting public would be somewhat limited, "There's only so much that we can share, but we have stories. We have people who have long history and knowledge of our ancestors and what they did and how they travel through the islands and connected with our Lummi relatives" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

It seems that GINPR does at times include some Indigenous interpretation within the Parks' programs. In late July 2019 I met one of my first Indigenous research participants, Peter, at an event called the "Clam Garden Campfire" that the PCA staff were running in a GINPR campground. The event was attended by roughly fifty people, some attendees were Parks Canada staff, but many were there as part of a "Learn to Camp" event the park reserve was hosting in

GINPR for the general public. I had learned of the event as Parks Canada had promoted it on social media sites such as Facebook. They listed it as open the public and free.

Peter did not regularly work for the PCA, but instead was invited by them to participate as a paid traditional food presenter and cultural interpreter for the event. Peter is from Cowichan Tribes, a large First Nation of Hul'qumi'num speaking peoples from further up Vancouver Island near the community of Duncan, British Columbia. Peter however has familial ties to W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations and considers himself and his family intimately connected with W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. He even mentioned that his father's side comes from the Saanich Peninsula, while his mother's side of the family consisted of Scottish and Dutch immigrants from the Nanaimo area. Humorously he even mentioned during an online interview, "All these years later I am still trying to figure out why and how we became "Cowichan" all I can think is that the Indian Act is a weird thing…" (Peter Interview, 2019)

Peter was attending this presentation as I mentioned to support Parks Canada's interpreters in all parts of this presentation. He started the evening's festivities with a traditional song, and then allowed the Parks Canada employees to bring up the evening's topic. They were presenting to the public the role that clam gardens played both historically and today. How these gardens were important for people and also provided valuable habitat for sea life which in turn further supported other marine life in the Gulf Islands and the Salish Sea. The park interpreters often called the clam gardens, 'sea gardens.' Peter added Indigenous history into the presentation and told humorous tales of how rock walls were historically built by youth under the watchful eye of Elders. Peter spoke of the importance of butter clams, littleneck clams, crabs, snails, urchins and more, and how calms and salmon could at times make up approximately 70 - 90% of Coast Salish diets in the past. As he did this he handed around a jar of dried clams and said at the

end of the presentation he would have some dried kelp snacks to share with the onlooking audience. Peter's points were supported by Parks Canada employees who gave nutritional information about the marine life that is used as food for the Coast Salish communities from around the Salish Sea. To teach younger audience members, the Parks Canada interpreters also ran a small game show as a way to teach the nutritional breakdowns of the seafoods. Mostly children and off-shift Parks Canada employees participated in the gameshow. This part of the presentation allowed the crowd to relax while learning about the region and its history, and the onlookers seemed to very much enjoy the evening's events.

Following the gameshow Peter continued the presentation and informed the audience that for the Coast Salish clams were a form of currency and were used for trade as far south as California, and as far east as Edmonton, Alberta. He did mention that the trade was mostly centered around the Fraser River Valley in British Columbia as far as the modern community of Kamloops, British Columbia. Peter mentioned, "food isn't just food. It's the land, the wood. Knowledge too." This statement stuck out with importance to me as it highlights food is not just what is ingested but is interconnected with many facets of life. There are layers of knowledge required to understand what in an environment is a good source of food, how to acquire it, and how to prepare it and acquire the resources to prepare it. Foods also comes from the environment which must be healthy to supply healthy harvests. There are also cultural layers to food such as traditions, personal and community histories, language, and intercommunity connections tied to food. Food truly is not just food.

Peter used this to bridge in that over the past two centuries clam gardens had become dormant, and were no longer maintained due to colonial forces and settlement. Much to my surprise, he specifically mentioned the Canadian Residential Schools system as a core event

which led to a loss of Coast Salish knowledge for maintaining the Gulf Islands' many clam beds. Upon reflection, I found Peter's point to make sense about clam gardens because of when thinking about park co-operative management, it is imperative to see the legacies of Indigenous Residential Schools. It is imperative of the PCA to use co-operative decision-making as an opportunity to challenge these outcomes and rebuild TEK and retrain traditional practices. Prior to hearing this from Peter the net loss of clam bed knowledge was not a topic that I had linked to Indigenous Residential Schools in Canada. It seemed other members of the audience had also taken in Peter's message about the effects of Residential Schooling on the environment and Coast Salish communities as they fell quiet and their expressions changed.

Peter brought back the audience to a state of hope though. He mentioned that the clam bed dormancy was only temporary because Indigenous communities, with the support of Parks Canada, were working to bring them back. The PCA staff then took over the remainder of the presentation telling about the clam restoration program (Parks Canada 2018). Speaking to Peter after the presentation, he was very much proud to bring his Coast Salish perspectives to an audience of tourists and locals. Peter was proud to talk about complex issues such as Indigenous food sovereignty, TEK, and cultural landscape restoration with visitors in a way that was approachable to young and old. Peter was a great presenter who made the evening's events feel grounded, fun, and situated the small McDonald campground in GINPR to the larger Coast Salish history in a way the audience could all appreciate. He did not shy away from difficult topics, and brought his Indigenous perspective to the audience's attention. I feel this was a great encapsulation of the notion that William shared, Indigenous interpretation and representation was vital in the park even for visitor programing (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

Chapter 4: Stories and Representation

In this chapter I will explore some of the main parties involved in my study, the PCA and W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations, especially looking at representations of W̱SÁNEĆ culture within the park reserve, as this is a publicly visible part of their changing partnership in the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve. Through understanding the work done by the PCA, and how they present it, I can better explore how they address W̱SÁNEĆ concerns in their work. Both the GINPR and SSGNMCAR are managed by the PCA, but they also work with many other organizations in their day-to-day operations of the sites. The W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations Tsartlip, Tsawout, and Tseycum are now actively involved in discussions with Parks Canada, but are not the only First Nations doing so. There are different arrangements for dialogue with fifteen other First Nations and PCA staff. Pauquichan First Nation formerly worked on the same Cooperative Planning and Management Committee as the other W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. Each of these W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations has a historic Douglas Treaty dating back from 1852 which sets the base for all discussions with the federal government (Duff 1969, 53). Tsawwassen First Nation engages in dialogue guided by their Final Agreement (a modern-day treaty). Member First Nations of the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group include: Cowichan Tribes First Nation, Halalt First Nation, Lake Cowichan First Nation, Lyackson First Nation, Penelakut First Nation and Stz'uminus First Nation had been involved with a now cancelled Cooperative Planning and Management Committee and have formal consultations and technical discussions separately. Other Coast Salish First Nations on either side of the US-Canada border, are less directly engaged in dialogues and discussions, though the Cowichan First Nations are all included in formal consultations on issues that have potential to impact Aboriginal and treaty rights. Beyond

Indigenous groups PCA staff also work with other groups too such as the local non-Indigenous community, especially as GINPR is situated in a popular tourist area nestled between the large Vancouver Metropolitan Area which as of 2016 encompasses nearly 2.5 million people (Statistics Canada 2016) and the mid-sized area of Greater Victoria which is represented by the Capital Region District. The CRD is a regional government including 13 municipalities and an additional three nearby electoral areas accounting for over 413,000 people (Capital Regional District, n.d.). Within all of these rights holders and community stakeholders, there are particular groups which are to be considered within the PCA's decision-making including youth, local businesses, tourist groups, grassroots environmental groups, academics, and others. I was lucky enough to be invited to attend and take part in an in-person portion of a nation-wide meeting of youth which will also be discussed in the chapter.

This chapter will attempt to look at some of the voices, especially W̱SÁNEĆ voices, that have been historically not been included or have been underserved in the management of GINPR. To do this I will draw on my previously discussed multiple method approaching including interviews I have had with participants, observations from my time spent within the park, observations of the PCA doing outreach at events in Greater Victoria, reflexive notes from my experience and encounters in the park, and also touching on pieces from the media. Through this analysis of stories and representations, I will show that the many groups that are in discussions with the PCA can affect their work as co-stewards of the protected areas of the Salish Sea with First Nations. Hopefully through this discussion of the stories of the GINPR and the Salish Sea it will become clear that the area to this day is not just a protected environmental area, but also a dynamic and ever-changing site of political will in action. The stories that are told in and about the site tell us a lot about the changes to the site. As it will hopefully become

clear through this chapter as well these are not the complete story of the Gulf Islands and the stories which are not being told are vital narratives to the ever-shifting contemporary political landscape that this beautiful region encapsulates. These left-out narratives also show that some of the aspects of the management of GINPR fall short in representing Indigenous perspectives. I will also examine how the proposed SSGNMCA reveals the old adage that history repeats itself, albeit in new ways, despite attempts to change practices on the ground. I saw this first hand when attending a consultation meeting focused on gauging perspectives from young Canadian adults.

The Gulf Islands in general are a very storied place and this is seen in many ways. For one there are the many Coast Salish stories which discuss sites in the Salish Sea (Cryer 2007; Jeness 2016). A narrative from the region that I will be referencing throughout this chapter is the story of how XÁLS, the creator, came to create many of the Gulf Islands as was told by Louis Pelkey of Tsawout First Nation found in a collection of stories originally collected by Diamond Jenness in 2016. In this story a man named Kwinakus. Kwinakus was fishing in a canoe for perch, when he noticed XÁLS and Mink (ĆEĆIḴEN) coming around a hill and towards him (Pelkey in Jenness 2016, 133-134). Kwinakus was very polite and introduced himself to XÁLS, which XÁLS appreciated which the cordial introduction. Kwinakus informed XÁLS and Mink of his difficulties crossing a nearby channel in his canoe so he could continue fishing. XÁLS took a piece of stone, and another of bark, and stamped it over the current drying the channel. Kwinakus also mentioned that the nearby pools where they could get fresh water were quite dangerous due to monsters who lived within. These monsters would attack when people would attempt to fetch water with their pails. XÁLS decided to also remedy this situation. He dipped a pail in the water to attack a monster, and allowed the giant devil fish (an octopus) to pull him under. XÁLS yelled for Mink to help, who was reluctant, and instead of coming to aid XÁLS

suggested he turn the aquatic beasts to stone. This would not work though as XÁLS could not detangle himself from the beasts bellow the waters. And so, he once again requested Mink to act, this time diving in and bringing him a knife. In exchange for bringing the knife, XÁLS would call Mink his older brother and ensure Mink lived longer than he did. This pleased Mink and so he dove into the water to bring XÁLS his knife. XÁLS took the knife and began to attack the aquatic beasts. After removing the devilfish's limbs he brought them to the surface threw them into the distance in various directions. Where they landed became places such as Sooke, Clallam, and Pender Island. This also explains how devilfish arrived in these places XÁLS was careful to not throw any of his assailants' body parts to the Fraser Delta though as that would have harmed the salmon fishing in the delta (Pelkey in Jenness 2016, 133-134)

This story is important for several reasons. It is a story of creation of many places which have long existed within the W̱SÁNEĆ world and are directly connected to the GINPR and SSGNMCA area. As a tale of genesis for these locations it also tells of the Transformer XÁLS and his direct actions. These islands are sacred, created specifically by the Transformer in an act he undertook to help the common people. This is another important factor of the story, it tells of XÁLS willingness to care for the other people in the world. He shows this by helping Kwinakus with the routine task of fishing by changing the channel. Next when asked to help deal with issues of monsters attacking people who attempted to collect water XÁLS acted. These actions led to the creation of the places listed in the story, and of particular interest to me in this chapter will be the creation of Pender Islands, which are part of GINPR, are known in SENĆOŦEN as S,DÁYES. S,DÁYES is a place which name translates literally in English to "wind drying." (First Voices n.d.) Wind drying refers to the practice of drying out salmon (First Voices n.d.), and it is therefore known that North Pender Island was a part of W̱SÁNEĆ salmon fisheries.

Nicholas Claxton has argued the salmon fisheries were vital to W̱SÁNEĆ way of life and is "more than just a fishing method," and that it "formed the core of Saanich traditional society and was an integral component of Saanich governance" (Claxton 2015, 69). S,DÁYES, like other salmon preparation sites, would have been a place teeming with activity as dozens of people set up and use drying racks to prepare dried salmon and jerkies to last the W̱SÁNEĆ peoples several months. Living voices also makes an important cultural note that the Pender Islands are among the places where the first reef net was used for fishing (First Voices n.d.). This is an important historical detail that I would not want to neglect, as it sets the places included within GINPR boundaries as some of the cornerstones of the economic and cultural lives of the W̱SÁNEĆ peoples.

There are many old stories about the Salish Sea region (Claxton 2015, 43-44; Cryer 2007; Jenness 2016) and each has its own importance. It is also important to briefly explain the importance of Coast Salish stories in regards to the now protected areas of the Salish Sea. For one these stories show historical relationships that Coast Salish communities have with these places. Thom argued in 2005 that through Coast Salish stories like this, "ancestors are associated with and embodied in the land." (2005, 77). Stories of genesis, death, and change all occur in areas of that are now encapsulated in GINPR and the proposed SSGNMCAR, but these are often not the stories told today by the PCA. These stories are told within W̱SÁNEĆ communities and families. In the larger world these stories are often ignored, overlooked, or at times even erased. This is shown in a couple of ways. The first I want to discuss is signage within the GINPR, and the next will be in regards to the public sharing of Indigenous place names.

SENĆOŦEN Signage in Gulf Islands National Park Reserve

Parks Canada often includes interpretive and informative signs in their sites. Many of these signs exist for purely practical reasons such as: demarcating boundaries; informing visitors of policies; promoting upcoming events at the site or in the region; or denoting paths so visitors can decide which to take. Signs are often present in areas of parks which see high visitation such as along paths, at the visitor centre, at the park entrance gate, campsites, parking lots, points of interest, at park boundary points, and other locations. Signs like this seem so unremarkable they often are read and then people move on, if they are not completely neglected. These signs tell however how the PCA views the site, and which narratives they often neglect. For many visitors to GINPR signage is one of the main authoritative sources of information on the park reserve (Abramczyk 2017, 202-204). They denote laws, regulations, environmental concerns, history, geographical context, factoids, place names, maps, and other important information to visitors to GINPR. In my time in the park reserve, I began to notice they often did not include Indigenous history or presence within the parks. When they did it was often only a rare cursory reference. One place I often looked for detail and information about Indigenous cultural landscapes, culture, and history within the park was on the many signs that were present in the park, but these topics were not mentioned in most cases. In her thesis, Abramczyk clearly argues that the marginalization of Indigenous perspectives and knowledge on signs unifies and oversimplifies the history and present-day realities of the park (Abramczyk 2017, 202-203). When signs in the GINPR do mention Indigenous content, the PCA often "avoids making any specific commitments with respect to the recognition of Aboriginal rights or title…" (Abramczyk 2017, 207). Abramczyk's sentiment argument about recognition of Aboriginal rights and title in places

managed by the PCA is significant and one I see amplified by my experiences and observations within GINPR.

My first example of signage from GINPR I will examine are the bright and colourful welcoming signs highlighting popular visitor locations within the park reserve. One of those is found on Pender Island at the site for Shingle Bay (X̱EX̱I ̓ÁĆSEṈ) (Mantle, n.d.) and Roe Lake, a popular campsite on North Pender Island (Appendix 2, Figure 1). This place is notable for its proximity to the ferry terminal, having a protected beach, and the prominent remains from a now largely removed twentieth century cannery and its pier (Mantle, n.d.). Popular locations such a point of interests or campsite like Shingle Bay and Roe Lake typically include signs which provide details on the place and some basic regulations, in both English and French. To begin, the sign did not include any SENĆOŦEN or other Indigenous language on it even just in the title or place name. Yet it does briefly discuss Indigenous uses of the site historically or today noting it is part of Coast Salish traditional territory and includes "historical features" (Parks Canada n.d.). Including Indigenous language or places names could be a strong way to have people reassess their understanding of place by introducing the location with its traditional name when deemed culturally appropriate by representatives from those First Nations communities. Townsend-Gault noted in her work on *Skwxwú7mesh* signage elsewhere in British Colombia that Indigenous language signage can denote historical and current realities of "Native space" and marking respective spaces as "political" (2011, 51), a concept that could be applied in GINPR as well. The sign does include some history of the site but this history only starts with the Pender Island Fish Products Company cannery. In addition to the history of the cannery the sign deals with practical concerns such as showing path routes, locations of restrooms, displaying emergency contact information, and a few symbols to inform visitors of regulations on the site.

This sign is clearly one for basic information for visitors, but it does expand into historical interpretation of the site, yet chooses to only explore a Canadian settler history of the location denoting it as a site of an industrial cannery, beyond mentioning it is part of Coast Salish Territories. Historical canneries in British Columbia often hired local Indigenous peoples as workers. Indigenous employees were originally the backbone of BC salmon canneries, until later expelled from the industry by colonial regulations (Brown 2010, 22). Mentioning this type of Indigenous history, or even other pre-colonial uses of the site could be important for framing the location as an Indigenous space. The area's landscape is so visibly marked by the ruins of the cannery. It is virtually the first thing visitors will notice upon visiting Shingle Bay's beach site. Yet even a brief discussion of Indigenous history at the cannery or otherwise would still stand as a strong framing device for how visitors think of the site. As it stands the narrative presented is that it was an industrial site now reclaimed for conservation. This narrative is neglecting any other history of this location, particularly Indigenous histories. The sign does however include two mentions of Indigenous cultural connections to the location. For one it very clearly denotes that visitors should "respect our heritage" and not remove or collect any cultural or natural items or artifacts from the site which could feasibly include archaeological objects. Additionally, it does note that the area does allow for First Nations community members to "pursue traditional activities including hunting and harvesting of plants and other materials" (Parks Canada, n.d.). This is a notice visible at several locales throughout GINPR. These are important and visible in the first portion of the sign on the left above information such as the emergency contact number (see Appendix 2 Figure 1). The Indigenous archaeological history of the is left obscured on the sign, not engaging visitors with any cultural knowledge of sensitivities of the site. While keeping such information obscure may be seen as protecting these sites, by prompting visitors that there

may be Indigenous artifacts present, visitors may seek out these sensitive materials. Mentioning possible Indigenous archaeological sites can be a double-edged sword to any protection of those archaeological remains. The statements on the sign about ongoing harvest and traditional practices also are very generic and could conversely trigger resentment by those with little understanding of Aboriginal rights and title. The sign's interpretive materials fail to address Indigenous perspectives on the place, its history, Indigenous importance, or other factors. The sign does not attempt to inform visitors on why the protection of artifacts and traditional harvesting are important, only that they are endorsed by the PCA at the location. This can be seen as paternalistic in implying that this location does allow for these practices whilst others within GINPR may not, or that permissions must be given by the PCA to allow for traditional harvest. There is also no recognition of current co-operative decision-making authorities for GINPR for this site or the park in general. This obfuscates W̱SÁNEĆ contributions to the management of the site as well as territorial authority over the location.

Looking at another sign and location is important though because there are similar signs in the park reserve, for other points of interest which do highlight Indigenous history and culture. On South Pender Island I was lucky enough to hike up Mount Norman and visit the Beaumont lookout point. At the base of the trail near the parking lot is another colourful Parks Canada welcome sign (Appendix 2 Figure 2). It is much like the one described above for Shingle Bay and Roe Lake. This second sign covers all the same regulations and emergency contact information as the first, and features a local map to help visitors find restrooms and stay on trails. Just like the first sign it also takes a portion of the sign to interpret the location to visitors. Once again, no mentions of Indigenous language or place names are seen on the sign, but there is a very brief mention that "First Nations have long and continuous ties with this area – it is a place

of great cultural significance" (Parks Canada, n.d., see Appendix 2 Figure 2). I argue this although is a slightly more nuanced use of interpretation of a site, it still largely fails to live up to of the desire of my research participants from the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations communities to have their history and culture more visibly explained and displayed in the park (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). This is a location where evidently there is something to say and generalized vague statements can reinforce stereotypes (such as the 'Ecological Indian') rather than inform visitors about place-based Indigenous knowledges and practice. The sign also includes the same notices that no cultural or natural artifacts can be collected at the site, and that First Nations peoples may use the area for traditional activities including but not limited to harvesting. Once again, the sign continues to leave out any mention of W̱SÁNEĆ or other First Nation authority or co-operative management over the area. By not including Indigenous "partners" on their signs the PCA erasing their presence of a mandated 'partnership' in regards to GINPR (Parks Canada 2018). Without specifically denoting W̱SÁNEĆ authority and influence over the GINPR, the PCA minimizes their current and future contributions to park reserve management.

I noticed another sign which was important at this location to the discussion of Indigenous voice and representation on PCA signs within the Gulf Islands. This was a small sign near the Mount Norman Trails sign, this sign struck me as it was not colourful and bright as the other Parks Canada signs in the park, which are heavily branded in Parks Canada greens with logos and the typical stick-figure information symbols one sees adorned upon signs in Canada's protected areas (See Appendix 2 Figure 3). Instead this sign was quite short, much lower to the ground and wide. It was facing up towards the viewer, instead standing parallel them, unlike the standard vertical information signs on display within GINPR. It was trimmed with glazed wood, and etched into a dark polished marble or other similar stone. In the centre was a bold white

traditionally inspired design. The design which drew on crescent motifs from Salish relief carving traditions. The sign itself denotes that the Mount Norman area which used to make up a regional park, had been transferred to the federal government for inclusion within GINPR. Below that in the highly contrasting white of the Salish-styled carved area was a clear statement in English and French that situated the location as part of Indigenous territories. It reads "Gulf Islands National Park Reserve of Canada lies within the traditional territories of the Coast Salish First Nations" (Parks Canada, n.d.). This sign is striking because it is different from all the others around it. It is one situated as a separate sign, that is presented on a diagonal facing up the viewer instead of face-on. It is also made of a much higher quality material and is much more striking in my opinion despite the more subdued colour palate. It stands out because of the polished stone's black surface with the white etched letters and Salish design motif. The design could be different as it was particularly to commemorate the transferal of land to the PCA, but I do not know for certain as to why it is so different from other signs I saw in the park reserve. This sign importantly overtly and clearly marks the area as Indigenous territory. This is a positive step to meeting the desires of community members of W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations, like a territorial acknowledgement at the start of a public meeting or event, this sign denotes the Indigeneity of the location. It stands as worthy of being presented and important. It feels as one of the main focuses of the sign, especially as it is incorporated in local design elements. This potentially could be an inspiration for a larger site-wide, or possibly system-wide, emphasis on clearly declaring Indigeneity, cultural significance, and history of these locations. In the future it could be useful to discuss with PCA staff about why these signs were placed, and why this one with Coast Salish design motifs is so markedly different than most others within GINPR.

The last type of sign I want to briefly discuss are purely interpretive signs. There are many of these in the park, especially at points of interest. These signs teach information about the area and can cover a wide variety of topics. They often include short but detailed blocks of English and French language text, as well as maps, diagrams, or illustrations to explain complex ideas to the general public. Atop Mount Norman there were two signs placed upon the wooden lookout point. These two signs shared a similar shape and design, and both appeared to be relatively recently produced. The first (see Appendix 2 Figure 5) featured images of some local plants, such as small-flowered lupine (*Lupinus polycarpus*) and hooker's onion (*Alium acuminatum*) (Parks Canada, n.d.). The sign discussed how they lived in endangered coastal bluffs and the importance of staying on the trail. The second sign (see Appendix 2 Figure 4) offered an "eagle eye view" which basically consisted of the same view that you could see from the lookout on a clear day, albeit with names of and short write ups about the locations (Parks Canada, n.d.). This allowed visitors to situate themselves within the islands denoting landmarks that may be well known to locals such as Mount Doug (PKOLS) on Vancouver Island and other places situated in the park reserve such as Russel Island. Each island on the sign offered ideas of things visitors could do in the park, but no mentions of Indigenous practice were present here. One caption touched on the history of Hawaiian settlement, at the Mahoi homestead on Russell Island. There were captions on this sign for D'Arcy Island, Sidney Spit, Princess Margaret Island, and Russel Island, yet none of the accompanying captions noted anything about Coast Salish culture in any of the locations whether it be through text or imagery (Parks Canada, n.d.).

It is important that I recognize not every sign in the park necessarily can or should denote Coast Salish history and tradition through explaining cultural uses of the park. Visitors have a variety of interests and needs when visiting GINPR. What information is interesting for

some will be of less interest to others. Yet it is disappointing, to rarely see any mention of First Nations on park signage. This does not align with the goals of members of W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations to have more presence within the park. Signs can be key places to inform visitors of the Indigeneity within the park reserve. This could be in the form of referencing traditional uses for plants, use of Indigenous language or place names, or even aesthetic elements which frame the area as part of a cultural landscape.

Place Names

Moving on from signs it is important to also discuss place names. Coast Salish communities named thousands of places within their home territories, and these names hold a lot of power (Thom 2005, 232). Many of these names contextualize the history of the location, at times denoting a place with utility to people, such as the case previously mentioned name for North Pender Island, or S,DÁYES, in the SENĆOŦEN language. The name translates to "wind drying", as was previously explained in this chapter (First Voices n.d.). To find many place names for the GINPR area it would be as simple as looking in the SENĆOŦEN section of First Voices, a free online resource, or reading a SENĆOŦEN-English dictionary published in 2018 which is by a university press and available from major online retailer Amazon (Amazon, n.d.), or consulting the standard reference for SENĆOŦEN place names (Elliot 1990). Parks Canada, prior to park establishment in the Gulf Islands, had even commissioned private consultants Kennedy and Bouchard to produce a report on SENĆOŦEN place names (1996) a document that remains in grey literature. Beyond this, place names can often tell of the history of a place on a larger level than the day-to-day life of Indigenous communities. Place names can tell historical and cultural events and are sometimes there to denote places of sacredness or importance to

Coast Salish communities. An example of this will once again be the island of S,DÁYES, or North Pender Island situated in GINPR. The SENĆOŦEN name of course tells of the vital economic and survival activity taking place on the island to prepare salmon for later consumption via drying in the sun and wind. When learning about the place name from resources like First Voices, readers also become aware that it was also the site of the first reef net, a historic moment for the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations (First Voices n.d.). This is only some of the history that becomes present when researching and talking about traditional place names.

Names are important and this has been supported by academics such as Keith Basso who elucidated on this in his discussion of Apache place names in the Southwestern United States. He noted that through listening to local people we can learn about not only the people but the place and the knowledge that is held about it in particular (Basso 1996, 55,). Basso's key insight is that not only that place names act as a kind of container for knowledge or relations to place, but that how names are used and the social contexts when place names are evoked, particularly for land-based cultures, is a poignant linguistic tool to communicate wisdom. In short there is often much storied wisdom in traditional place names.

So I ask, why does it seem that the PCA be hesitant to evoke these names when they are meant to protect the cultural integrity of their sites? What power do they hold that is difficult? What benefits could come from offering Indigenous place names for locations within GINPR? What might a different "partnership" do to changing the dynamic of this power? Why are names present in Squamish territories (Townsend- Gault 2011) but not here? What is different in these public signage spaces? Through learning the names and the stories behind them can a great knowledge of the cultural and natural history of the places be understood by PCA staff and the visitors to the park. I know when I visited the park I would be intrigued by signage denoting

local place names and the history behind them, as it would give me a greater appreciation of the history of a place, and also preserving the story as I would hopefully remember the meaning of the place name for some time, even if I may have forgotten the particular SENĆOŦEN word. It seems a missed opportunity whenever PCA signage and maps do not include Indigenous place names.

Additionally, place names can be viewed on occasion as markers of influence on a place. In other words, who can lay claim to a place or utilize it. Parks Canada presents names for the many places within the park but interestingly their use of place names often highlights a colonial or settler history of these places. The names honour dead white men, such is the case of the Pender Islands. The Pender Islands were named after Daniel Pender, second master on the H.M.S. Plumper in 1859 (Pender Island Chamber of Commerce, 2019). Exclusive use of this name erases the Indigenous place name of SDÁY̓ES (Montler, n.d.). In my time in the park I visited both Pender Islands but was not communicated this name through signage or by any park interpreters. This neglects the Indigenous history of this site. The name is important as well as XÁLS, the Transformer, who named the place in the story of helping Kwinakus in which the location was created by the creator, XÁLS (Pelkey in Jeness 2016, 133-134). The place is sacred. This is only one of the many islands, and of course stories like this exist in other places throughout the Gulf Islands as well. The rendition of the story by Louis Pelkey of Tsawout First Nation names other places such as Sooke also being named at this time by XÁLS. It however is not the only Indigenous name or story for this location, as others exist. These stories are vital and neglected in GINPR's authoritative representation of the place. Personally, I find the XÁLS story much richer and more interesting than it being named by the H.M.S Plumper. Of course, Parks Canada often uses place names officiated by other government bodies. In the case of GINPR the

official names are registered by the Geographical Names Office which is part of the Heritage Branch of British Columbia's Ministry of Forests, Lands, Natural Resource Operations and Rural Development (British Columbia 2017, 1). Even if names are officially designated by the provincial government, the PCA could go so much further in presenting and teaching about traditional nomenclature of places. There is no legal requirement to use the names established by the BC government on interpretive programming whether that's during in-person interpretation or on signage. It should also be noted that W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations and other respective nations be talked to prior to telling these histories. However, adopting a practice of consulting with Indigenous communities over which place names to use would demonstrate that the PCA is taking a step towards reconciling relationships with Indigenous communities in Canada. This was stated in chapter one, is a vital goal of the current federal government. Use of traditional place names can exist as signifiers of these places as Coast Salish places and part of Coast Salish cultural landscapes, instead of *terra nullius* environments.

The recognition of such culturally significant knowledge in the naming of places, and representation on signage can help the PCA work towards improving Indigenous sovereignty in the GINPR in many ways such as marking the space as Indigenous territory, introducing or reminding visitors of Aboriginal title, and taking steps towards reconciliation through PCA signage. This can potentially foster an improved "partnership" with W̱SÁNEĆ communities as well as offering an opportunity for W̱SÁNEĆ communities to participate in any renaming, and signage relating to GINPR, therefore increasing the decision-making opportunities of W̱SÁNEĆ communities.

Staffing

Seeing more Indigenous information on offer in the Parks was something I had heard from research participants from W̱SÁNEĆ communities. They wanted their communities' stories told in the park, whether that be through signage or through having their own people telling the stories. These people could take the form of visiting cultural experts or even regular PCA staff. I personally feel that by hiring staff from W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations and other local Coast Salish communities Parks Canada can better represent these communities. Knowledge holders from W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations can share stories that are appropriate to be shared, with an intimate understanding of how to tell the stories and giving them further authenticity. This can situate visitors to GINPR as being within a W̱SÁNEĆ place with W̱SÁNEĆ history, and a place in which the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations communities are still present. Employment would also be of benefit to the communities as Indigenous Peoples in Canada have been noted to be often underpaid when compared to non-Indigenous Canadians (Statistics Canada, 2015). This would further help reconciliation efforts the Trudeau government has been publicly so eager to make in budgets. For example, in the 2018 federal budget it was noted that there is a need to focus on improving the employment situations for Indigenous Peoples in Canada and increasing the quality of work available to them (Canada 2018, 132). The PCA could be part of this by taking actionable steps towards improving the lives of people in Indigenous communities with unionized government employment.

I also feel that hiring members of the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations opens up other opportunities for W̱SÁNEĆ voice and narratives to be present in the park. Elected officials from the WLC would like to see their community members out there patrolling and working in the park as employees or alongside them. I also feel Indigenous employees at Parks Canada sites

could also help the site teams better understand Indigenous knowledge and perspectives on the land in their planning and management. Instead of simply consulting with Indigenous communities through committees as the PCA used to, they could work with Indigenous perspectives coming from staff integrated into their teams. With this Indigenous decision-making would be further integrated into many daily processes and decisions. Looking back on the story told in the previous chapter by the WLC elected official William. He was specifically requested by Elders to be the one to ferry them from location to location. In my experience it appears that members of the Indigenous communities have largely positive responses to their community members holding employment at sites like GINPR. They wanted to interact with those employees. Hiring members of Coast Salish communities within GINPR would allow for these relationships to flourish with the benefit of having those preferred ties. The team at GINPR and the proposed SSGNMCAR should allow Indigenous staff to be ones to heavily interact with Elders and Indigenous communities when so desired by those elders and community members.

This would hopefully in time foster improvements and changes over time to the management of the park, improving the 'partnership' Parks Canada denotes in its mandate (Parks Canada 2018). Indigenous voices would still need come from committees or some other formal co-operative structure, and even Indigenous visitors to the sites, as they also do now. However, for Indigenous representation coming from within the GINPR team could smooth out bumps in relationships and strengthen bonds with Coast Salish governments. The PCA could also promote Indigenous voices on the GINPR through the implementation aforementioned rangers, Watchmen, or guardians programs. Having Coast Salish people enforcing laws within the park could be another tangible step to addressing socio-cultural and structural issues within the area. It shows the value local perspectives have on the park. These types of actions will show how the

PCA is prioritizing Indigenous decision-making from within, as I sought to discover in my third research question. By including W̱SÁNEĆ community members on GINPR and SSGNMCAR teams the PCA would be applying not just a consultation-based partnership, but instead a much further integrated and entwined level of partnership.

Literature that investigates the impacts of Indigenous employment in natural resource management have noted that while although difficult to monitor, there appears to be 'cascading benefits' to hiring Indigenous staff in natural conservation bodies (Altman and May 2009, 30). Drawing on multiple Australian examples the researchers noted improvements for Indigenous employees' "basic housing, health, food and clothing" as well as a "sense of being" (Hunt, Altman and May 2009, 30). They also noted there were many cultural, spiritual, and social benefits to hiring Indigenous employees in natural conservation bodies such as national parks (Hunt, Altman and May 2009, 33). Beyond this they noted that examples in New South Wales showed that improvements to conservation and restoration work were "clearly evident" (Hunt, Altman and May 2009, 39).

Visitor Guides

In addition to hiring practices and signage there are also many promotional documents produced in regards to GINPR. These come in many forms such as information cards, pamphlets, brochures, websites, and more. These pieces of material culture produced by the PCA clearly display what narratives the PCA is presenting about their sites through the design, images, and text on display. To explore this, I will provide the example of the 2019 GINPR Visitor's Guide. It is important to note these guides have been around since 2006 and were originally twenty to thirty pages long but were drastically reduced in size and scale in 2015 (Abramczyk 2017, 25).

There was also the addition of a digital substitute released in 2014 for smartphones known as the Trail Guide App (Abramczyk 2017, 200). Today's printed material is a twelve-panel folding paper brochure available at the park, online, or at PCA promotional events in British Columbia. It is a colourful guide with many images of locations and activities available for visitors to GINPR. It includes maps and tables, along with vital information for visitors and activities they may desire to participate in such as camping, docking, mooring, and more (Parks Canada 2019). Their visitor guide has an attractive design for an information-dense brochure, but it is however one panel of the brochure which is of particular interest to the study: the panel discussing Coast Salish traditions within the park (Parks Canada 2019). The sense I have is through a relatively small feature, the PCA aligns with what I have heard from Indigenous participants as to what should be included in the discussion and presentation of the site.

This panel labelled merely "Coast Salish Crafts" features two images (Appendix 3 Figure 1), the first on top is an Elder and a youth, sitting on a bench within the park reserve. The young girl has braided hair and is in a traditional scarlet Coast Salish blanket with black figures depicted on it, although they are largely covered in the image. An Elder sits beside her in more modern clothing, and the two of them are prepping wool for textile production with handheld wooden tools covered in small metal teeth to pull and separate the fibres. This is referencing to a highly developed weaving culture Coast Salish communities had using animal hairs from dogs and mountain goats (Tepper, George, and Joseph 2017, 31). These blankets are an important symbol of status and wealth in the Coast Salish world (Tepper, George, and Joseph 2017, xviii). Behind them are many beautifully woven blankets and piled behind them in a basket (Parks Canada 2019). No mention or interpretation of this scene is offered, without prior knowledge it is

very unlikely many visitors would understand this weaving as more than a mere ‘craft’, and by labelling them as such the PCA limits the understanding of this significant cultural practice.

The second picture (Appendix 3 Figure 1) is of a contemporary clam garden in Russell Island being worked by a group of youth and adults, while some appear to be looking at an object in their hands in the mid-ground of the image. There are no clear identifiers for the people working on the site, other than there are two adult men participating with the other six individuals too obscured and distant to describe. Both the PCA and WLC promote that the PCA brings in members of Indigenous knowledge holders and local students to participate on the clam bed restoration work (Parks Canada 2018; W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.) Both images depict modern participation in traditional practices that would have been conducted within the Gulf Islands and Salish Sea region by W̱SÁNEĆ and other Coast Salish communities (Parks Canada 2019). Sandwiched between these two images are two very short paragraphs:

> “The Gulf Islands are part of the homeland of the Coast Salish First Nations. They have lived in this region for thousands of years and their knowledge, culture, and oral history have been passed from generation to generation. Since time immemorial, the land and sea have nourished and sustained First Nations communities and their ties to the natural world can be seen in all aspects of their culture.
>
> Discover these connections first-hand by participating in a Coast Salish Traditions activity this summer!” (Parks Canada 2019)

Together these two images and the accompanying text comprise most of the reference to Coast Salish culture in the visitor guide for GINPR. There are no mentions of a formal

relationship with First Nations of their former committees, current contribution agreements, or desired future forms of partnership. There are also no references to collaborative decision-making, history, or presence beyond this. While intricate details may not need to be discussed in visitor guides a mention to the role Indigenous communities play could be beneficial. This is striking for a park reserve over seventeen years into their "partnership" with W̱SÁNEĆ and other Coast Salish communities and the recent establishment of the formal contribution agreements. While Parks Canada states it is making positive developments to visitors to the park, the relationship should be celebrated as a positive example, but instead the realities of the relationship are all but invisible to visitors. The only further mentioning of Coast Salish presence or influence within the park is that there are also three trails given Indigenous names, as well as short pronunciation guides for English-speakers. These trails are TEMOSEṈ̓ on Tumbo Island; SḴŦÁMEN trail on Sidney Spit; and Xwiwxwyus Trail (Appendix 3 Figures 2 and 3) (Parks Canada 2019). It should be noted the first two are named in SENĆOŦEN and the latter is named in Hul'q'umi'num' writing system.

A final important note on the annual visitors' guides is that it was noted by Abramczyk that between 2006 and 2014 there was a stark reduction in references to "named locales with mentions of First Nations place-based relations," starting at 24.1% of the locations named within the brochure including First Nation place-based relations, eventually hitting 0% in 2014 (2017, 288). Today there are only three mentions of Indigenous place names within the brochure as was discussed above. Abramczyk noted that these guides changed annually, and used to be significantly longer in the earlier guides she read but shrank due to Harper-era budget cuts (2017, 25). Along with the decrease in size, there were reductions to the number of references to

Indigenous place names, land usage, and Indigenous occupation (Abramczyk 2017, 288). A similar multi-year analysis was not undertaken as part of this research project.

Here again when reflecting on my research questions, particularly my second question on allowing Indigenous sovereignty to foster in GINPR, the absence of Indigenous representation, place names, and stories in the park from PCA interpretive materials leads to an environment which does not promote or reference the Indigenous sovereignty and decision-making influence in GINPR. This goes against the federal government's stated desire for reconciliation (Canada 2017, 161-162). Parks Canada has an opportunity to be a government leader in supporting Indigenous sovereignty and decision-making, but falls short in that many of their materials make Aboriginal title, as well as Indigenous knowledge and practice invisible in much of their presentation of GINPR.

Presenting Mandates in Public Consultation

One event I managed to have a prolonged research encounter during was during a large nation-wide information gathering meeting Parks Canada hosted with young Canadian adults. The meeting was an invite only event, and I was lucky enough to obtain an invitation. It was called, 'Youth Let's Talk NMCAs' and the Victoria portion took place at the Royal British Columbia Museum. The local portion of the meeting had one Parks Canada employee hosting, accompanied by a museum staff representative. There were four other youth attendees in Victoria. Our local event was connected to a larger online meeting from communities nationwide including: Vancouver, Ottawa, Thunder Bay, London, Montréal, Belleville, Cambridge Bay, and Halifax. Many of these youth were there on behalf of grassroots environmental organizations in their communities, or through larger networks focused on the environment. I managed to obtain my invitation as I was previously a participant on the 2015 Students on Ice - Artic Educational

Expedition, which has since offered me connections to the larger community of Indigenous and youth environmental activist groups in Canada.

For this "Youth Let's Talk NMCAs" event there were additional PCA staff attending on site in Victoria. PCA staff were also present at the satellite events in Vancouver, Thunder Bay and Halifax. The meeting was to gauge what young Canadians wanted to see included in the management of all of Canada's NMCAs including planned expansions such as SSGNMCAR and the Lancaster Sound – Tallurutiup Imanga NMCA. This was of importance to Parks Canada as they are updating their policies in regards to their goals and management of these marine sites, and this meeting would be considered part of their official consultations with the Canadian public as to how to design a future NMCA policy. The PCA employees said the new policies would ideally offer a "consistent framework" for moving forward, but that the formal creation of regulation would take a significant amount of time following meetings such as these. During this meeting one of the PCA employees agreed this revamping was necessary for protected areas as the agency needed to revise how it protects areas with "new and better practices" to fill in what they had noted to be gaps in their current marine conservation practices.

This meeting was run through a series of presentations from PCA staff. The first was to introduce all participants to what the NMCAs generally are. They started by mentioning how they are operated under the parameters of the *Canada National Marine Conservation Area Act* of 2002, and often include close collaboration with both the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) and Transport Canada. They also mentioned they have nine specific policy foci for their future which they listed in the following order:

1. Collaboration and consultation on the planning and management of Marine Conservation Areas (notably without naming specific groups or partners)

2. To Protect and conserve biodiversity
3. Ecological sustainability
4. Cultural heritage
5. Recognizing Indigenous stewardship
6. Social, cultural, and ecological concerns
7. Visitor experience
8. Promote awareness
9. Advancement of knowledge

(Parks Canada 2019)

The PCA presenter who went over this list also mentioned that they were currently less focused on the establishment of new NMCAs beyond SSGNMCAR, Lancaster Sound – Tallurutiup Imanga NMCA, and the Marine Protected Area in Îles-de-la-Madeleine, but they still had the goal to protect eight to ten percent of Canadian waters whether through NMCA legislation, Marine Protected Areas, or Indigenous Protected Conservation Areas. It was disappointing that there was no discussion of how they would planned to implement any of these foci for their future. Their list of commitments did directly relate to concerns about relationships with Indigenous communities when they say they are focused on "Recognizing Indigenous stewardship," "cultural" concerns, and "Collaboration and consultation" (Parks Canada 2019). It was also concerning to me that they would discuss such broad ideas, but not spend any time further exploring those concepts or offering concrete plans or goals for Indigenous stewardship.

The presenter went into some depth on the importance of zoning within NMCAs. He stated that the PCA felt they needed to revise was their zoning for the management of NMCAs and NMCARs. Zoning is a tool that the PCA has at their hands, to manage NMCAs and should

be thought of as a tool to be used to best serve their co-operative decision-making processes. The presenter could have discussed how the PCA uses their zoning policies as a tool to protect and manage their marine site, but instead went into detail on a new system of zoning without explaining to attendees how they are developed and utilized by the agency to meet their goals. In these proposed operating and conservation zones the PCA would demarcate areas for specific uses. Each sequential zone decreases in the level of protection offered within its purview. The new zone one consists of "restricted access areas," zone two was to be an area of "general protection," zone three would be an area of "multiple use with seabed or lakebed protection", and finally zone four would be an area of "multiple uses" (Parks Canada, 2019). The most important to this paper is zone one, the restricted access zone as it is the most restrictive. It would only allow for two uses of the site by people. The first would be research and monitoring of the region. They note that this would be conditional and must be approved and align with the on-site PCA team's plans for site management. The other practice that would be allowed in these proposed restricted access areas was "traditional use" which they denote no zone restrictions other than for, "conservation, public health, or public safety reasons determined with Indigenous Rights holders" would occur (Parks Canada 8, 2019). All subsequent zones would also allow for traditional use but also an expanded variety of uses depending on the level of access. Zone two restricts all extractive activity, but allows for all types of PCA approved research, recreational activities with permits, permitted commercial tourism, commercial shipping in accordance with Transport Canada regulations, and some permanent mooring locations (Parks Canada 8, 2019). Zone three looks much like zone two, but allows for some approved extraction from the site as long as protection objectives can be met within. Finally, zone four is the least protected area in which a wide range of uses are allowed as long as the PCA does not deem them to "compromise

ecosystem structure and function" (Parks Canada 8, 2019). Following this overview of zones, the presenter wanted to explicitly make clear no sea or lake bottom trawling was allowed in any zone within a NMCAR or NMCA in Canada.

Linking these proposals to my research questions a few things come to light for me. My first question is about how the PCA negotiates their ecological goals with Indigenous rights and needs. It seems as the zones allow for all Indigenous harvest this is a stance that will work to meet Indigenous needs in NMCAs. They however do not address how they plan on working with Indigenous communities to meet these conservation goals. It seems clear that concrete measures such as developing a structure for Indigenous enforcement, or support in enforcing these zoning rules could be one solution. Including Indigenous Peoples in the consultation on where zones are delineated and assessed could be a major step in the right direction. In regards to my second research question on Indigenous sovereignty over local territories and the recognition of Indigenous self-governance, I was disappointed by a lack of clarity on how the PCA would be conducting consulting and seeking approval from Indigenous communities, or how those consultations have impacts on other stakeholder consultations. For example, there was a planned consultation for Indigenous People, but there was not a single Indigenous youth at the general youth event. Indigenous youth were not represented in any way by the PCA or demographics of attendees.

Following this presentation, the youth attending were encouraged to ask questions, and were also phased in an out of periods of brainstorming by facilitators. We were asked as participants to note down ideas of what we wanted within future policies and foci for NMCAs in Canada. The attendees from around the country would then discuss and present their local ideas to the larger collective meeting. Much to my disappointment, Indigenous relations and co-

operative management of NMCAs was not specifically brought up in the meeting until I raised it as a concern. This may have simply have been because it seemed virtually all meeting attendees seemingly had agendas they were expected to bring forward on behalf of the organizations they obtained invitations from. Out of respect and for ethical purposes I did not gather any information on or about other meeting participants. I simply focused on those who were PCA staff. None of the staff were in positions directly related to the scope of this project nor did anyone self-identify as a member of a W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations or any Indigenous group before, during, or following the meeting.

A meeting such as this is important to briefly mention in a discussion of Indigenous representation in PCA sites. A meeting such as this it represents some of the other voices and perspectives Parks Canada has to balance when managing their sites with Indigenous 'partners'. It is also important to mention my observation occurred in merely one meeting which was part of a larger consultation campaign. It should not be seen as the entire consultation process, merely one meeting within a larger one focused on youth as they are one of the many of the targeted groups of stakeholders at play in the complicated world of PCA site conservation. Often objectives of multiple groups will align, and so it can make the process easier for the PCA staff, but as was mentioned the concerns of one targeted stakeholder group is not always a focus of others stakeholder groups. This was shown in that none of the youth attending the meeting focused on or referenced Indigenous relationships when talking about their concerns for the management of the Marine Conservation Areas in Canada. Once I had brought up the topic, people felt it was an important aspect of management of NMCAs but it was not something any other Victoria participants brought up during the entire meeting.

Reflecting further on the 'other voices' the PCA must balance in managing their sites it

seems that Indigenous Peoples rights are known to be of high legal importance to PCA staff, but are at times not presented as important to other stakeholders. At its worst this may render Indigenous rights invisible in the larger mass of other stakeholders including private business, youth, environmental groups, and more. There is opportunity for partaking in profound societal transformation in which the PCA could be an important part of facilitation. This is often lost though, or at other times siloed, in weighting the balance of multiple stakeholders. At times facilitation appears to be skewed away from legal obligations the government of Canada has to Indigenous communities through the constitution, UNDRIP, CRD, and even the current government's mandates. In short at times these political mandates are subverted for other voices, this can perpetuate inequalities to Indigenous Peoples and continue to cause Canada to fall short of their potentially positive aspirational mandates.

Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter I have analyzed some of the voices and narratives at play in the management of GINPR, as well as the many voices and perspective highlighted in the relationships and management of GINPR. The importance of place names was discussed as names often denote a history of location. In the case of colonized locales such as that of the Gulf Islands, and honestly much of North America in general, the names chosen to represent the place today tell us about which histories are deemed important and influential to a location. Some places retain Indigenous place names, while others are presented with names from settlers and explorers of more recent times. Settler place names also commonly reference historical and political figures; far away locations form which settlers ventured, or reference significant features of the region. In North America, due to colonization, many places now have multiple

names spread across multiple languages. Favour is typically given to a more recent colonial name rather than traditional names ripe with TEK, mythological significance, and Indigenous history of the site. The inclusion of such names, would be a step towards better including Indigenous views and concerns into the management of GINPR or the proposed SSGNMCAR as it frames these locations with recognition the embedded stories, histories, and ancestors present for the locales.

Signs were also discussed as an important extension to this discussion as signs are often the way visitors come to know the names of specific places amongst other important information. I analyzed a variety of signs within the park including welcome signs at a camp and beach site, a placard with Coast Salish relief-carving art denoting the place being added to the park reserve's territory. This sign also marked that location as importantly part of Coast Salish cultural landscapes. I also briefly discussed two examples of purely interpretive signs at a lookout platform atop Beaumont. This is the type of sign that visitors read while taking a rest on their hike. These signs are material culture highlighting the PCA's concerns, favoured stories, and priorities in site management. They tell the stories that the PCA deems most interesting and important to visitors of GINPR. They also show a variety of forms and purposes that signage can fill, which means that any critique of signage within the park must also accept that different signs serve different purposes. Not every sign should discuss or denote Indigeneity of place, nor would it always be culturally appropriate as at times to name specific places or pieces of cultural information could be sensitive or private. With signs, there is an opportunity to reframe locations within the park to include Indigenous understandings of place, and to better explain ancestral and historical significance of places. This needs to be done only when deemed appropriate by Indigenous partners via consultation. This then frames and informs visitors viewing the signs of

the significant Indigenous history and links to these territories, and allows for their perspectives to be presented within the GINPR to its visitors.

Following this I discussed promotional materials which are another interesting piece of material culture printed or posted online, can be updated regularly to keep up with new concerns and information given to PCA staff. This is where I found Indigenous place names, images of contemporary Indigenous practice within the parks, and Indigenous people. Yet many of these promotional materials also suffer from being very brief and surface-level due to their restrictions, purposes, and standardized government branding. On occasion they did however engage with larger Indigenizing practices such as recognizing Indigenous history and place names. This gives a sense Indigeneity to the locations within GINPR. These materials act as evidence of a change in approach especially when compared to other potentially older signage or print materials from within the park. As Abramczyk noted sometimes these changes are due to larger policy or funding changes that occur within the PCA as a whole (2017, 25). It is also important to remember that materials such as these are also typically designed to be simple and straightforward giving visitors information they want or need in a short and easily understandable format.

Lastly, I discussed in brief some of the actual people who are at play in giving narratives to the park. This mainly focused on the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations and PCA research participants. These two groups, and their relations, are the main focus of this study and the interplay and changing relationship is the focus. The PCA and WLC both state that they want to improve co-operation and the relationship between the two in the management of GINPR. It is important to understand that even with the participation of these two groups there were limits to the participation with each of them, but important information was still gathered, and in a later

chapter I will also include a list of concrete goals gathered from my research that the PCA can work towards to improve relations with W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations.

I also discussed one other demographic of stakeholders at play in the PCAs consideration other than Indigenous communities, youth. Through the discussion of youth, I showed that there were many more actors at play in relations with the PCA other than Indigenous communities. The agency has legal obligations to the rest of the Canadian population, but have particular interest from grassroots and environmental organizations such as those which sought out invitations for youth to attend the consultation session on their behalf.

The PCA is preparing to change and so is in consultation with these bodies, but the question remains that with a legal obligation to consult Indigenous governments such as the WLC, which stories and representations will become strengthened upon the implementation of these future regulation changes? Will the PCA manage to include the concerns of Indigenous communities such as the W̱SÁNEĆ Nations, while also meeting the concerns of others? Will they fall short of one, or many of the groups', needs? Which needs get prioritized? Until the regulations have been consulted upon and drafted it is not clear. However, my interviews with the two PCA staff participants noted an openness to changing their practice in their current development of new NMCA policies (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020; William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

A meeting such as the 'Youth Let's Talk NMCAs' event illuminates that at times the PCA could still view Indigenous consultation and representation as a siloed part of the management processes, instead of integrated throughout. Indigenous title in the NMCAs was recognized in their proposed zoning regulations as was discussed with meeting participants, but there was no further explanation of the intricate and deep historical and ancestral links to their

territory the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations have. Nor did the PCA tell how they plan to better integrate Indigenous communities in the decision-making or management processes of the proposed SSGNMCAR or other NMCAs. This foreshadows a potential future in which the SSGNMCAR develops into a similar situation as GINPR without a formalized partnership with First Nations in the region. In this hypothetical situation there is a willingness and desire to integrate Indigenous rights into management, but no formal frameworks to do it, limiting outcomes and progress towards enhancing W̱SÁNEĆ influence over their territory. This has happened with GINPR and is easily imaginable as something that could happen with the future of the SSGNMCAR.

Chapter 5: Recommendations

Parks Canada has been operating GINPR in the Salish Sea since 2003, and is working to establish the SSGNMCAR in the near future (Parks Canada, 2017). The process to establish GINPR, just like SSGNMCAR, was a long multi-year process. In these early days Parks Canada had not started off fostering a strong relationship with local First Nations communities in the Salish Sea including the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations failing to make the WLC feel they had been meaningfully consulted on park establishment. Since then the PCA has been working to create and develop relations with local Coast Salish nations like the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. This is in line with the larger federal government goals of improving nation-to-nation relationships with Indigenous groups in Canada (Canada 2017, 165). This study worked to connect across the scales of larger policy frameworks and political goals to the examples and frameworks ongoing in the work by the PCA and Indigenous Peoples in the Salish Sea area, where collaborative conservation governance is still evolving. This case study examines how these large government goals are brought to action in one specific region, and between one government agency and a small group of First Nations. I have worked to illuminate both the challenges and promise of these policy and political goals through the case study, and to consider how lessons from this one case study could be applied elsewhere in the future.

In this chapter I will briefly recap the history of the relationship between W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations and Parks Canada before moving onto a fuller examination of the current state of relations between the two. I will cover some of the announced goals discussed in the federal government's annual budgets, policy commitments, as well as the PCA departmental plans. These plans are one way to understand the specific goals the government sets to address the

broader federal government concerns of reconciliation with Indigenous communities stated within their annual budgets.

Assuming the federal government desires to continue the improvements of nation-to-nation relationships it has so actively promoted, I will also be taking the time to put forth some potential ideas for improvements that can be made by the Parks Canada teams in the Salish Sea region. These recommendations have come after long analysis by myself, but also the recommendations of W̱SÁNEĆ community members. While working with the W̱SÁNEĆ communities I have noted down several key goals which have been suggested as things that are desired to have taken place. When interviewing Parks Canada employees' ideas have also been brought to light as potential avenues to further engage with Indigenous communities and improve nation-to-nation relations and the operations of both GINPR and SSGNMCAR. I have also made some recommendations of my own which potentially could be useful, as long as discussion between W̱SÁNEĆ and other First Nations communities happens before pursuit of their implementation.

It is my hope that the staff at Parks Canada take the time to read over these recommendations and reflect on how they have so far acted as an agency when managing their sites. In addition, my analysis will serve as a resource from which they can use to decide on possible projects and new ways of working. If these new ways of working were implemented, reflected upon, and later improved upon with the W̱SÁNEĆ and other Indigenous communities it is possible closer ties could be forged between the PCA and WLC. Only through iterative and reflexive approaches to relationships can their dynamics continue to improve and progress long into the future. And as I have previously stated, my recommendations could potentially serve as guidance for other national parks, marine conservation areas, and even other protected areas such

as provincial and territorial parks to improve their relationships with their local Indigenous communities. It is however vital that I insist that all recommendations be thought of before implementing and adapted to the local contexts, needs, challenges, and cultures. Consultation is always vital.

To begin, I will briefly overview the relationship between the PCA and the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations in the establishment of the GINPR to show how it has changed over time. The *Canada National Parks Act* of 2000 made it very clear that the PCA must consult with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities when developing national parks. I have previously noted that by 2001 there was a well-established grassroots community effort started in the Gulf Islands' non-Indigenous community to protect the area as a national park (Curtis 2001). By 2003 the PCA had established GINPR, an arguably quick turnaround, although some of the area was under provincial protections before GINPR's establishment. It is important to note though that the W̱SÁNEĆ community did not feel as if they had been adequately consulted for GINPR (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.). This meant that the relationship between the WLC and PCA was off to a significantly poor start, a factor that still looms to this day. Since then the staff at GINPR have notably put in much effort to improve relationships with the WLC and other First Nations groups who have territories within GINPR boundaries. These efforts have been mostly limited to their explicit recognition of Aboriginal and treaty rights and title within the park, instead of fundamental shifts in daily practice or site management.

To this end, Parks Canada had a working group of three Cooperative Planning and Management Committees with which they kept contact with and utilized to negotiate with First Nations communities in the Gulf Islands region before the committees folded for reasons which were not explained to me by participants. They noted these were eventually replaced with

contribution agreements with some First Nations such as the three W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council member nations (Bradley Personal Communication, July 9th 2020). These three groups represented ten of the Coast Salish First Nations in the area, and all of the member of the WLC were included within one of these Cooperative Planning and Management Committees. It is clear by their namesake that part of the goal of these committees was to improve co-operation in the planning and management of GINPR. This entails consultation with these Coast Salish nations allowing for input into the decision-making processes for the GINPR site. It is important to note though that ultimately all decisions are made by the federal government whether or not they align with local First Nations' desires. This was made clear in a discussion with Bradley who made it clear that "the ability for the Minister is still unfettered," when working with First Nations rights holders or other stakeholder groups. He noted however that legally the consultation obligations the agency holds to First Nations communities are of the upmost importance to both the staff and legality to the agency (Interview, Feb 25th 2020). The potential for rights is acknowledged, even though Parks Canada does not often formally acknowledge them in co-operative management or co-operative decision-making frameworks.

Linking back to the first chapter it is important to discuss the federal government aims to improve relations with Indigenous communities. They have put emphasis on working towards reconciliation through a variety of policies such as a commitment to take on UNDRIP into Canadian law by the end of 2020 (Barrera, 2019), and making commitments to improve opportunities for Indigenous communities through hiring and education (Canada 2017, 161-162; Canada 2018, 260). Particularly over the past few years the Canadian government's annual budgets have put emphasis on improving Indigenous employment and "closing the gap" through funding educational and training options in addition to improving Indigenous job offerings

(Canada 2017, 64-66; Canada 2018, 132; Canada 2019, 133). This would be one possible step towards the federal government's goals of reconciliation that can be addressed by Parks Canada. They could take direct actions to facilitate through programs, training facilitation, and job offerings within the agency that both cater specifically towards the Indigenous perspective, knowledge, and practice, as well as general job opportunities not based on Indigeneity. The vast majority of positions that exist within the PCA are not based on Indigeneity so this should not be a difficult task. The other area the government is showing a desire to improve relations is with the general work and management of the PCA. In the 2020-2021 Departmental Plan for the PCA, the agency states that they had a "core priority of reconciliation," and that, "the Agency will strive to give Indigenous peoples and Indigenous knowledge a stronger voice in the stewardship of natural heritage places" (Parks Canada 2019, 5). Their desire is to have stronger Indigenous voice in stewardship of both cultural and natural heritage protection while further integrating their role as a 'partner' of Indigenous communities has been particularly stated by the agency (Parks Canada 2019, 5). My research has made evident members of W̱SÁNEĆ communities desire this too. The agency has also stated a desire to improve opportunities for with Indigenous participation in interpretation and storytelling for visitors to PCA sites (Parks Canada 2019, 6). This is also a desire expressed by members of W̱SÁNEĆ communities. It is interesting that Parks Canada has continued to put emphasis on a desire to "advance cooperative management with Indigenous Peoples" (Parks Canada 2019, 12), but still at times creates situations which make Indigenous connections to these places all but invisible to visitors. Stronger and more concrete actions will need to be taken to fulfill the government's budget goals of improving Indigenous relations as well as the specific goals for local PCA teams.

Beyond the former committees to facilitate collective dialogues with First Nations communities, the GINPR program has launched a series of programs and initiatives with Coast Salish First Nations to foster a positive working relationship with the Nations, and foster opportunities to preserve traditional cultural practices within the park. In chapter two I discussed the Fur to Forest and Clam Bed Restoration Project that take place within the park. It was also mentioned that there are occasionally traditional language camps and programs which take place within the national park reserve's limits. The team at Parks Canada makes efforts to facilitate visits from Elders to the park reserve to practice and preserve historical traditions, language, presence, education, and maintain relationships with ancestors believed to be present in the environs within the park reserve's boundaries (Thom 2005, 77). As was discussed by William, in the past they however focused on having non-Indigenous PCA staff members host visiting Elders instead of Indigenous staff who were completely qualified to do so. This in time led to Elders specifically requesting the Indigenous PCA employees to guide them in GINPR. This was important, as William expressed, because the Coast Salish communities in the area have many relations to one another and they value and are well aware of these familial and cultural links.

In sum it seems that the relationship between the WLC and the PCA started out virtually non-existent as the WLC felt they had not been consulted in the process of establishing GINPR (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.) despite a legal obligation to do so. It should be noted I did not manage to contact any PCA staff directly involved in the establishment of GINPR to discuss their opinion on the establishment of GINPR and its respective consultation. They may have disagreed with the stance taken by the WLC. Despite this, in time the PCA took steps to improve their relationship with the WLC and other Coast Salish First Nations who have territories which are included within GINPR by establishing their Cooperative Planning and

Management Committees. These committees were designed to foster regular communication and co-operative decision-making between the PCA and the nations before their demise. Beyond these former committees, the PCA have made significant efforts to improve relations via the implementation of programs which promote Indigenous harvest and cultural practices through the establishment of projects like the: language camps, Elder visits, a deer hunting program, and clam garden restorations. These are all commendable efforts and have seemingly improved the relationships but there is still more room to improve the relationships and further foster a relationship of nation-to-nation relationships, that the federal government states they desire, through truly co-operative decision making.

Suggestions from the W̱SÁNEĆ Community

Speaking to members of the W̱SÁNEĆ community I gathered the following suggestions for ways to further improve the relationship between WLC members and the PCA. These are not listed in any particular order and will be discussed more in-depth following the list.

1. Have a Guardians/Rangers/Watchmen program
2. Hire Indigenous staff
3. Help with Indigenous conservation efforts outside of the GINPR boundaries
4. Develop opportunities in which the PCA work with multiple Coast Salish Nations together
5. Assist in building a longhouse within the Gulf Islands
6. Allow for more traditional food activities
7. In new and existing programs integrate Elders when possible

8. Reduce intervention in traditional harvest practices
9. Continue to integrate TEK, include WLC members in these processes
10. Reduce bureaucratic 'red-tape'
11. Give the WLC more power in the decision-making process

These eleven suggestions came directly from my two Indigenous participants and each offer suggestions as to how to improve the relationship between the PCA and WLC. Now I will briefly discuss each suggestion further so to improve the clarity of the suggestion and then discuss some potential benefits and any foreseen costs.

1. Have a Guardians/Rangers/Watchmen Program

The first suggestion was to integrate a Watchmen or guardians program similar to what is seen within GHNPR. This was discussed in-depth in chapter three of this thesis, but the important factor to the participant was that local guardians or Watchmen were taken on and seen as "equal partners (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019)." William put a lot of emphasis in our interview that "we should have a big part of taking care of our parklands out here." He later followed that statement up saying, "We need a big part, like a guardianship like those on Haida Gwaii. They have their own vessels. They patrol the waterline around the island. We need that" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

I think William made it clear that he would like to see the WLC have a significantly larger role in the protection of the site. Also, he noted that it would be beneficial to have "more of our cultural workers like scanning the islands, making sure there's no culturally sensitive areas that aren't being protected." This would fully align with the PCA's mandate to protect the

cultural heritage of the protected sites and also work as partners (Parks Canada, 2018). This would be a large task and expensive for the PCA but one that is doable and as it fits well within their mandate, it seems to be one they should be able to insist is valuable to their organization living up to the mandate in the Gulf Islands. This will likely require that the PCA support training, the procurement and maintenance of equipment, and other realities. Yet working to form such a program would help put Indigenous communities' members in the park protecting the cultural and natural heritage as true partners.

2. Hire Indigenous Staff

The second recommendation is to have more local Indigenous staff working for the park. Having employees from the W̱SÁNEĆ communities allows for their perspectives to be included in the management of the park reserve, as well as the day-to-day operations as community members are present and actively making decisions whilst likely understanding the needs of both the agency and the WLC nations. Hiring these community members would recognize the vital role they play in the park, and secure income for their time and efforts, which is highly important. Furthermore, this aligns with the federal government's goals made clear in several annual budgets to reduce barriers to Indigenous employment and supporting the development of skills for Indigenous Canadians and ultimately "closing the gap" that Indigenous communities face in funding and opportunities (Canada 2017, 64-66; Canada 2018, 132; Canada 2019, 133). With a clear aim to improve Indigenous employment coming from the federal government with some initiative funding should be available. Then the PCA can strive to be a national leader in fulfilling goals related to Indigenous employment and skill development for the federal government. All employees will be trained, compensated for their work, and will be offered

ample opportunities to hone their skills benefiting the agency through Indigenized cultural resource monitoring, more integrated partnerships with local nations, and additionally helping the federal government reach its lofty goals.

3. Help with Indigenous Conservation Efforts Outside of GINPR Boundaries

Third on the list of suggestions for the PCA is that they could do more to help with natural or cultural conservation efforts that are near the GINPR but were not completely encapsulated within the borders of the park reserve. An example that was discussed was to help with clam gardens outside of their boundaries such as Fulford Harbour, or even helping reintroduce local populations of sea-life to surrounding areas where they used to inhabit. This will ensure the larger Salish Sea region thrives benefiting the entire region. Ecosystems do not simply stop at the park boundaries and so supporting or establishing Indigenous conservation initiatives in the larger region would help the relationship between the WLC and the PCA while also having benefits for the ecological integrity of the entire region. This aligns with literature on eco-system-based management and marine ecosystem-based management which "encourages use of ecologically relevant boundaries rather than political or administrative boundaries…" for conservation efforts (Wondolleck and Yaffee 2017, 3).

4. Develop Opportunities in which the PCA works with multiple Coast Salish Nations together

Next on the list was a topic that William felt very passionately about, but was also echoed by Peter, is reducing barriers between First Nations groups when possible. William passionately discussed how he believe that separating nations in discussions with the PCA echoed the "segregation" of Residential Schools with how they should recognize and promote the

interconnectedness of separate nations such as the Hul'qumi'num and the W̱SÁNEĆ. "I think it kind of brings me back to the Residential School how they segregated. They segregated people. And they [Parks Canada] are doing the same between the two nations. They're keeping them apart. Because, I know one time they brought them altogether too. There was some sort of filming happening on Sidney Island. And it was amazing how the two nations sat there and they shared stories, common stories, about traveling through the islands... camping on the islands... harvesting on the island" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

It is clear that William felt this experience was powerful and could be beneficial to the PCA. His discussions with me did not discuss his thinking on how bringing Coast Salish nations together would work in regards to the complex and changing history of the relationships between respective Coast Salish nor how these could easily impact the discussions or consultation for better or for worse. There may at times be legal reasons as to why specific nations may need to be consulted with separately, if legal realities of negotiation so require, and to me it still feels possible the PCA could meet those legal requirements while negotiating with multiple First Nations communities in the region together. This could take the form of hosting events where all the nations gather, whether that involves partnering with a local nation for a potlatch, or simply an event created solely to gather all the First Nations of the Gulf Islands together with the PCA staff to share stories and connect. This serves the local community, offers opportunities for parks to protect the cultural heritage of the area, and also shows a commitment to reconciliation efforts regularly put forward by the federal government in budgets (Canada 2017, 161-162; Canada 2018, 260). It meets these commitments to reconciliation by being receptive to what some members W̱SÁNEĆ communities are asking for, treating them as a group who can choose their terms of engagement with the federal government. This then helps in nation rebuilding which

was made a clear goal of the federal government in 2019 as they spoke about supporting First Nations in a Nation Rebuilding Program (Canada 2019) through the recognition of Indigenous communities' self-determination on how to negotiate with the government of Canada, and recognizing historic connections within Coast Salish communities. The interconnectedness and links of these communities is an important part of their nations and history and the PCA can make efforts to improve these relationships and network for the further benefit of the PCA and the nations involved.

In an interview I conducted with Gary, a negotiations team member from the PCA's Indigenous Affairs branch, he discussed the importance of working to develop inter-personal relationships with PCA teams and Indigenous partners at sites and, "supporting them in negotiations processes, but also in broader relationship building activities that take place outside of those more formal negotiations, forums and at a site level" (Gary Interview, 27th Feb 2020). This broader personal-focused strategy would open up opportunities to move away from formalized recognition of separate nations at all times, and allow the PCA, at appropriate times, to foster relationships with multiple nations at once. This can align with the goals of bringing together the multiple Hul'qumi'num and W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations with the PCA's efforts to support teams with their Indigenous relations outside of formalized legal negotiations. Knowing that these types of initiatives would have potential support from not only the local team but also the national Indigenous Affairs team should allow these types of unifying activities to take place, and potentially opens up the possibility for group negotiations in ways that are not currently effective. The relationship between the PCA and WLC was early on tarnished by the establishment of GINPR without adequate consultations from the WLC's stated perspective. As things have improved with continued outreach and development of programs it seems that more

emphasis can be placed on the personal relationships being fostered between PCA staff and members of W̱SÁNEĆ communities. This could really improve the agency's relations outcomes in the future. Investing in the inter-personal relationships will set a base from which further bridge building between the PCA and W̱SÁNEĆ communities can be built upon. Starting with stronger base level relationships may help to ease negotiations and relationships in framework and policy as more mutual understandings and personal investment will be shared.

5. Assist in Building a Longhouse within the Gulf Islands

William had mentioned the fifth idea on my list and it seems to be a natural extension of the previous point – the PCA can support and facilitate the building of a longhouse within GINPR. The development of a modern longhouse within the GINPR can serve many purposes. One, it clearly represents the cultural heritage of the region – Coast Salish, while also offering a potential location for hosting of Indigenous focused events in the park. This Longhouse could include facilities for a guardian's program; host gatherings such as potlatches; be used as a centre for interpretive events; and more. This would be a significant capital investment but one that fits in with many of the goals of Parks Canada while offering opportunities to support the W̱SÁNEĆ community and other First Nations in the area. Of course, discussions would need to occur in the planning and development of such plan. Here the PCA could clarify the culturally acceptable uses and general available use for such a facility. With long-term planning in mind this type of infrastructure project can be an achievable goal. It could potentially have the additional function of serving as an interpretive centre for visitors and locals on a regular basis, or simply be a space reserved for traditional cultural ceremonies and events. It could be built in a completely traditional manner and left exclusively for Indigenous use, or highly modern and cutting edge.

Both options, and liminalities in-between both seem like possible useful investments for the agency and the local First Nations of the region.

6. Allow for More Traditional Food Activities

Whether or not a facility such as a Longhouse is built, it was noted that the PCA could do a better job at facilitating Indigenous harvest and processing of foods within the park. Steps have been taken to develop clam bed gardens, and opportunities for Indigenous harvesting are constitutionally protected by those First Nations with Aboriginal and Douglas Treaty rights in the area, as well as Tsawwassen First Nation with modern-day treaty rights. It is also important to recognize the Fur to Forest program as an innovative way to deal with and overpopulation of feral deer while promoting Indigenous hunters to access the park for this purpose. Clearly steps have been made in the right direction in this area but more can be done. Working to enhance traditional fisheries and the processing of foods such as species caught locally, could be possible within park limits. The development of cook-pits and barbeques was also suggested.

7. In Existing and New Programs Integrate Elders when Possible

These could potentially be set up as youth focused opportunities such as camps and workshops which further promote the development of important traditional skills, especially if Elders are included in the process when possible. With some creativity and thought the PCA establish another program to once again meet an ecological need in the park, as was so intelligently done with the development of the Fur to Forest program. Offering space, time, and resources for harvesting and processing foods helps address many concerns of the government including nutrition, public health reconciliation, skills development, and cultural heritage

protection (Earle 2013). Youth from the communities can have opportunities to gain vital skills and experience on the land and in the water so that they can continue traditional harvests, and these gatherings would also meet the goal of further connecting local First Nations as was discussed earlier. Additionally, both the government and local First Nations have noted Indigenous language revitalization as an important area of interest (Canada 2019, 138-139; First Peoples Cultural Council 2018, 27-28). Through expanding opportunities beyond Fur to Forest to other gatherings or camps focused around traditional harvest and food processing there are opportunities for traditional languages to be learned, practiced, and shared between participants. For places such as North Pender Island, or S,DÁYE, which are named after the drying of fish as was discussed earlier, it can at times also bring revitalized meaning to traditional namesakes of these places by continuing and strengthening the meaning. By further developing programs such as Fur to Forest and the Clam Garden Restoration Project, expanding upon program variety, and integration of Elders when possible into these plans and events the PCA can achieve both goals six and seven of the list of recommendations gathered from members of the WLC community.

8. Reduce Intervention in Traditional Harvesting Practices

The eighth point brought forward by participating members of the W̱SÁNEĆ community was that at times PCA staff seem to go too far in their interactions with W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations members' treaty protected harvesting. Not all traditional harvest can or should be developed by the PCA due to limitations to their budget and the legal framework set up by the Douglas Treaties to "carry on our fisheries as formerly" (BC Archives 2012, 37-44). It was mentioned that at times intervention from the PCA staff was however too much, and that PCA employees will check in with fishers and harvesters seen within GINPR. It was noted by participants that

there is nothing wrong with coming up for conversation and checking in. However, it was stated that despite the PCA staff being "nice guys" it sometimes came across as too much intervention in traditional and protected harvest. The issue arose when community members were "questioned" while practicing their treaty rights within the park reserve's boundaries. It was noted that by showing a "communal fishing card" the situation was often dealt with but there was a line between checking in and going too far. Communicating with the First Nations directly on how the appropriate way to approach these types of situations would be important. It seems that participants recognized the role of the PCA wardens and that a check-in and conversation is at times appropriate, but it should not delve into questioning the legitimacy of a protected treaty harvest. I will reiterate that discussions with the WLC may be appropriate to determine the needs of the WLC members, and the legal duties of PCA wardens in the park. It seems likely a middle ground can be met with some discussion which allows harvesters to not be disturbed and the Wardens to enforce the many laws governing GINPR. Looking at examples from elsewhere, it does seem that within GHNPR traditional harvesting is completely included within their local co-operative management framework established between Parks Canada and the Haida Nation (Thomlinson and Crouch 2012, 80). Taking an example such as that is seen in GHNPR and negotiating for a similar framework could be highly beneficial in GINPR and the proposed SSGNMCAR.

9. Continue to Integrate TEK, Include WLC Members in These Processes

Moving on to the ninth point that comes from the W̱SÁNEĆ community was a call for further integration of traditional knowledge into the management of the park reserve. Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) is in some ways already integrated in the park through the

restoration of clam beds and the Fur to Forest program though these are very specific and local. TEK is also a concept that employees at the PCA are well aware of already. When speaking with Bradley he spoke about TEK as something the PCA has been looking at for a long while now and wants to push further potentially with "looking at enforcement or recognition of Indigenous laws and protocols as another place that's kind of on the evolving horizon of stuff to come for sure" (Interview, Feb 25th 2020). This is a positive thing to hear coming from the PCA as they are saying they accept the need for TEK knowledge already and want to look further into possibly integrating Indigenous laws and protocol into their work. That would be a positive step for sure, but I would also say that including TEK into the environmental assessment process and other management, planning, and decision-making frameworks in the park reserve is still vital. Bradley mentioned that in the past it seemed very progressive but now feels "somewhat archaic in… in its approach" (Interview, Feb 25th 2020). If the inclusion of traditional laws integrates TEK then I think this is a step in the right direction, if it comes to fruition. It is important to note as Indigenous legal scholar Clifford pointed out in 2011 that for the W̱SÁNEĆ traditional culture and law are not separate entities but are very much intertwined and viewed as the same in that laws are drawn from culture and the world around the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations (Clifford 2011, 21-22). These laws include maintaining relationships with ancestors who are embodied within the territories (McClay et al 2008, 152). However, it does concern me that participants from the WLC are concerned with further integration of TEK and a participant from the PCA feels that while progressive, the field has moved on. More effort could be made to realign the perspectives of the WLC and PCA to make sure they understand the other's expectations and needs in regards to TEK and whether or not the WLC would like to see the PCA take on Indigenous laws and customs in their work, and if so how they could best do that.

10. Reduce Bureaucratic 'Red-Tape'

The penultimate recommendation that I gathered from members of the WLC was that the interactions with the PCA can get caught up in frustrating levels of slowdown due to bureaucracy. The dreaded 'red tape' in colloquial terms. At one point in my discussions with William he was recollecting on an experience he had when working for GINPR and brought forward a suggestion at a meeting that GINPR make more efforts towards equal co-management between First Nations and the PCA. He said they would respond as such, "'okay, we've got that documented. We'll bring the question to management and it has to go to Calgary and then it has to go to Ottawa.' You know, years, years later, I don't think anything's been done about it" (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019).

Bradley from the PCA team even admitted at times when working with the WLC "things all need to develop much, much better and ideally, much more quicker than they are" (Interview, Feb 25th 2020).

What is important here is that both parties recognize the importance of improving efficiency within their work with one another. Things can get slowed down in processes and with effort and adaptation these things can improve. However, it is important to note that Gary from the PCA's Indigenous Affairs team did point out that things need to be done with safety of visitors and conservation concerns in mind, in addition to the legal obligations for First Nations communities. It seems that at times the desire to do things properly and without issue can slow down the efficiency of the PCA to act or respond to concerns from First Nations groups. Efforts

should be made to ensure the health and safety of both the visitors and the cultural/ecological heritage of a site are maintained, without using that as an excuse for overly delayed progress on projects. He also mentioned that the PCA's Indigenous Affairs branch is, "looking to achieve relationships that are much more collaborative and cooperative than is necessarily required" (Gary Interview, 27th Feb 2020). With that in mind there is some optimism to be had that efficiencies can be improved through closer collaboration between the PCA and the WLC.

11. Give the WLC more Power in the Decision-Making Processes

The final recommendation I heard from members of W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations communities was that ultimately, they needed more power in their relationship with the PCA. At one point, William the former PCA employee, who is now an elected member of his Indigenous government, and I were speaking and he mentioned how he wanted a relationship more akin to the Archipelago Management Board at Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve. He spoke of a time when he worked for the PCA and was sent to an Indigenous orientation in Banff National Park in Alberta. He was joined by Indigenous staff from around the country and discovered that the level of co-operation varied between PCA sites, he spoke to them and learned that "involvement in everyday operations of the park was essential," and that this was a sentiment he carried forward to this day.

I inquired about how much decision-making responsibility would the W̱SÁNEĆ community have in a healthy co-operative relationship with the PCA. He instantly responded, "Most definitely at least 50-50!"

I find it interesting that he mentions "at least" as part of his response. This entails there is ultimately a desire for First Nations groups to take the lead in the management and protection of

these sites. This would be a much loftier goal, and not one I imagine the PCA would take on lightly, but there are examples of this being done within the Parks Canada framework. In 2018 it was noted by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), that Torngat Mountain National Park Reserve had reached a one-hundred percent of their staff being made of Inuit from the surrounding communities on the Labrador Peninsula in Newfoundland and Labrador (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 2016). With including more Indigenous hiring within the GINPR team, in addition to aiming towards a truly co-operative decision-making process with First Nations it is actually possible for Indigenous concerns to be truly integrated into the entire management and operations of a place like GINPR. Even if a lofty goal of one-hundred percent Indigenous employment is not likely aiming to achieve significantly higher rates of Indigenous employment within the park could eventually make the wishes of participants such as William a possibility, while also addressing the concerns of federal budgets I have previously covered in this chapter (Canada 2017, 64-66; Canada 2018, 132; Canada 2019, 133).

My Recommendations

Beyond the recommendations that came from members of the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations, I took some time to think of some other suggestions I could make to further improve relationships with the WLC. I will briefly discuss these recommendations following their listing.

1. Integrate more traditional place names within the GINPR
2. Further integrate Indigenous TEK, history, and culture into signage and promotional materials for GINPR
3. Create more culture-focused interpretive activities for visitors

4. More aggressively request funding for Indigenous initiatives by pointing out how they meet specific government objectives

1. Integrate more Traditional Place Names within the GINPR

To start I feel there could be much more done to include Indigenous place names within the park. As was covered in chapter three, it does appear that the PCA has started taking some initiative in this direction already. There are three trails TEMOSEN̲̣ on Tumbo Island; SḰŦÁMEN trail on Sidney Spit; and Xwiwxwyus Trail on Saturna Island (Parks Canada 2019). This can be seen as more than a token gesture as well. It is important to remember that Indigenous place names hold traditional knowledge within them (Basso 55, 1996). Furthermore, this integrates traditional cultural and ecological knowledge within the park, to all visitors who see the trail names, even if they do not understand the language. It creates opportunities to teach the meanings and pronunciations of these traditional names, but also assert the Coast Salish territory within GINPR. This type of recognition would seemingly be appreciated by the WLC and members of other Indigenous communities, would give opportunities for positive press upon the announcement of recognizing Indigenous names or language with the park reserve while also working towards reconciliation efforts that the government is concerned about (First Peoples Cultural Council. 2018, 4; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 2). Furthermore, other park systems such as municipal parks in Vancouver, have already taken steps to further integrate Indigenous place names into their system (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 2018). Of course, municipal parks and federal protected sites are different, but it shows precedent within the field and aligns with practices seen at other PCA sites around the

country, especially in the Canadian North, which is seen in names like Sirmilik National Park in Nunavut or Vuntut National Park in Yukon. There is also the possibility of using a hyphenated name for a location or the park reserve itself as was seen when the PCA established Akami-Uapishk^{U}-KakKasuak-Mealy Mountains National Park Reserve in 2015 (Parks Canada 2018). This would allow for the brand familiarity that Gulf Islands offers with a more progressive inclusion of Indigenous nomenclature while recognizing the sometimes-multiple Indigenous names that can exist for one location.

2. Further Integrate Indigenous TEK, History, & Culture into Signage and Promotional Materials for GINPR

Expanding on this idea, and my experience within GINPR I find that there is an area where steps can be quickly taken to enhance the offering of Indigenous cultural interpretation and story-telling within the park, and therefore enhance relationships and co-operation with First Nations groups. Working to alter or add additional signage within the park could go a long way to further asserting the Indigeneity of these protected areas, while offering a new lens to the park reserve for visitors. Including Indigenous place names on sites is one possibility, but beyond this there are opportunities such as atop Mount Norman to tell Indigenous stories and share Indigenous voices within the park signage. There were signs discussing points of interest, and plants atop this location, but there was nothing speaking of the Indigenous history of the area. Working with members of the WLC and other First Nations groups there is an opportunity to include culturally sensitive interpretation of the park to visitors in a permanent way. This can be applied throughout the park. If budgets allow, there is also the possibility to display SENĆOŦEN and Hul'q'umi'num' writing systems. This would align with stated federal government's goals

of protecting Indigenous language and offering employment opportunities to Indigenous communities in Canada by creating employment opportunities in the development of these translated signs and assert the Indigeneity of the territory within GINPR.

3. Create More Culture-Focused Interpretive Activities for Visitors

Continuing with the idea of employment of Indigenous people, the development of more Indigenous focused interpretive offerings in the park can expand beyond signage. It is important I recognize that the PCA already does work to include Indigenous cultural knowledge in interpretation, but I would recommend the consideration of creating teams, or hiring staff to specifically cover the cultural and historical aspects of GINPR. This could take the form of a Guardians program as was noted by William in our interview, or in simply a team of Indigenous employees, or a team working closely with Indigenous governments to develop programing that specifically aligns with the cultural values, knowledge, and stories that WLC wants to share with visitors to the park. These programs will also help further develop working relationships with W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations, and solidifying their cultural practices as integral to the park, the operations of the park, and offer opportunities for W̱SÁNEĆ youth to practice and develop these culturally specific skills by participating in these interpretive programs as either staff or participants. It also quickly comes to mind, especially as the PCA is a seasonally focused agency to some extent due to tourist seasons, that developing summer student positions specifically for local Indigenous youth to take part in and share their culture could be a great integration of these types of goals with the agency's participation in the national Young Canada Works initiative.

4. More Aggressively Request Funding for Indigenous Initiatives by Pointing Out How They Meet Specific Government Objectives

The final recommendation I can make to the team at GINPR is one of the most vital. There needs to be an emphasis on obtaining the financial, logistical, and human resources to create and develop the relationship with W̱SÁNEĆ communities. Although a lot can be done through formal discussion and negotiation, there was an expressed desire for speed and the removal of bureaucracy's 'red tape'. The ascertaining of funding was expressed to me by Bradley to be of upmost importance to the GINPR team. They did not want to begin a program without the proper funding in place to ensure its permanence. Bradley explained that when launching a program or initiative that the funds for projects can be limited and there was "need for them to be sustainable outside of funding envelopes and funding windows" (Interview, Feb 25th 2020). He did however also mention that he felt these types of issues, although very complicated and at times slowing to progress, he did not "think those issues are insurmountable" (Interview, Feb 25th 2020).

I am not privy to the complete financial discussions in the management of GINPR, nor their requests for funding from the government, but it does appear that initiating starts to programs can open doors to later expansion. If a program is initiated such as a select few Indigenous interpretive summer employment opportunities within the park, and the successes of these programs are documented and measured through a lens where the GINPR team is meeting objectives of not only the agency but the federal government as a whole, they may have a stronger case for sustained or expanding the funding in future years. Much effort needs to be put into obtaining this funding and tracking the positive results, then aligning those with site and federal government goals beyond the oft imagined purview of the PCA. I believe there may be

potential developing a viewpoint that the PCA not only meets cultural and natural conservation goals and visitor experience goals, but also larger concerns such as Indigenous language protection, reconciliation, Indigenous employment, Indigenous education, and more. It is likely that these things are already considered in requests for program funding so I would also potentially suggest working with other levels of government, and other federal government bodies, to see if there are ways to pool funding to meet the goals of multiple parties at once. If Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, and the PCA can find common ground in wanting to improve Indigenous youth employment for example, they may be able to offer supplemental funding for the expansion of these types of programs.

Chapter 6: Project Limitations and Prospects for Future Research

In this chapter I will start with a brief discussion of the limitations of this study. There were several factors which led the scope and results of this research to be more limited than initially intended. Additionally, this research was not able to fully capture complexities of the ever-changing relationship between Parks Canada and W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. Some of these challenges were structural and briefly touched on in chapter one, while others were quite personal and were not predicted.

Following my discussion of project limitations I will also briefly discuss how I see this type of research could be improved upon in the future. I believe the completion of this research offers a framework which can be implemented in the future to examine how governments and community stakeholders, Indigenous or otherwise, manage relationships. Through historical analysis, policy analysis, and interviews with both parties involved in a relationship it becomes possible to develop concrete recommendations to governing bodies to act upon. This serves to document the desires of communities, and offer potential goals to governments to work towards.

Project Limitations

During the research and writing of this thesis several limitations have become significant factors impacting the results of the research project. In this section I will list and discuss significant limitations to this thesis and denote how they have impacted the work. The significant limitations that shall be discussed here are: ethics processes impacting research, timelines, number of participants, and mental health. I will briefly examine how each of these limitations impacted this project.

The first limitation I will discuss is the relationship between research ethics for a project of this type, and how it impacted my project timelines. Conducting research on an active and ever-changing political relationship, like that between the PCA and W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations, is a highly sensitive topic. From the outset of the project I was aware that there would be a multifaceted research ethics approval process for this type of work. Research ethics reviews and approvals would need to come from three separate bodies to make research on an ongoing government and Indigenous community even possible. I needed to obtain ethics approvals from the University of Victoria's Human Research Ethics Board (HREB), a research and collection permit from Parks Canada, and also formal approvals from the WLC to be able to pursue this project. The university's HREB process normally is often an extended process. One needs to both prepare for and obtain approvals for research, but in my situation HREB approval was contingent on obtaining approvals from PCA and the WLC. Naturally and justifiably the PCA and WLC were only interested in participating if the other parties were willing and I had the approval of the University of Victoria's HREB. This naturally makes a tension as to which group will approve first. Before being able to obtain PCA and WLC approvals, I also needed to meet with them and establish a basic relationship and rapport with their organizations to even begin discussions about formal research approvals.

This interrelated approval process took roughly a year to come to fruition. This was much longer than I initially anticipated. As the planned timeline for the Anthropology Master's program at the University of Victoria is two years, an entire year's work developing relationships and obtain research approvals extended my timeline. This extended timeline stretched my limited budgets and negatively impacted my mental health and confidence in the project. There were many times where I felt that it would not be possible to obtain permissions from all three

organizational bodies. Finally, after months of preparations, discussions, and meetings I was able to obtain formal approvals for all three and begin my project. It would be an understatement to say tears of joys were shed following the finalization of all three approvals.

Once I had all required ethical permissions to move forward, it also became apparent my time to actually conduct research would become quite limited if I were to complete my research and accompanying thesis within three academic years. This was multiplied by research agreements that created specific deadlines to collect all data from participants. The academic years and research agreement deadlines compressed my research time to collect all of the required data to develop my thesis. Following this I still needed to codify data, conduct further literature research, and develop a final thesis within my university's academic year system.

This compressed research period forced me to take my formal approvals from the PCA and WLC and develop research relationships with potential participants from both organizations rather quickly. Within both the PCA and WLC I was given assistance in this process from representatives from within each organization. Each provided the name and contact information for several potential participants. It was explained to me that some of these people had expressed a desire to participate in the project upon hearing of it, while others were people that the organizations felt were notable people to seek interviews with for my research. Upon reaching out to each of the provided contacts I found that even those who had indicated an interest in participating in the research were not always responsive to introductions, requests for meetings, or requests for interviews. Each of these people are professionals and their time is quite valuable. Therefore, they were not all able to participate before the deadlines laid out in the formal research agreements and permits. Potentially adding to the difficulty to make time was the looming early impacts of the COVID-19 global pandemic. This situation may have possibly

impacted the availability of research participants for multiple reasons such as preparing their respective organizations and communities for the impacts of a clearly growing concern in early 2020. I sympathize with and respect each potential participant for offering their time and energy.

Eventually only four individuals participated in the research interviews, two from the PCA and two from the larger W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations community. With only four interview participants the scope of the questions that could be answered by participants was restricted. In addition to this my methodology of semi-structured interviews led me to pursue the interview questioning that participants were most responsive and qualified for. These two factors made it so not all of my research questions were addressed in my data as these four participants each had their own perspectives and areas of expertise. It is only natural that these would not cover every research question and concern I intended to explore in my work, especially in only one formally recorded interview per participant.

The final limitation I would like to speak on is my own mental health throughout the project. I am the primary data collection tool for my project as the sole researcher. Beyond the standard stresses of a Master's program my research project faced the aforementioned prolonged ethics approval process. This process was very draining on my confidence in the project. At several points during the process to obtain the ethics approvals I felt it would not be possible. It felt like my project was going to fail before it even began. Once I obtained approval it infused me with a vigor to develop relationships and conduct interviews with potential participants within the short deadline. After seeing the low response rate, it became emotionally taxing on me. Despite having crossed many hurdles it at times hurt that people were seemingly unresponsive to introductions or requests to participate in research on such a sensitive topic, even if they had indicated interest beforehand. This experience left me asking: was this project even

going to meet the expectations of the PCA, WLC, my supervisor, or the high expectations I had placed on myself?

In some ways these are the typical emotional ebbs and flows that a majority of researchers must face. However, I feel it is important their impacts should not be dismissed. Beyond academic stressors there were of course other factors that affected my mental health. I held part time employment, sometimes multiple jobs at a time, to make ends meet and my research possible. I had the typical interpersonal stressors of family, friends, and romantic partners. However, there was an additional layer many but not all researchers face, an undiagnosed mental health condition. Since my teenage years I have struggled with a diagnosed case of major depressive disorder. I will spare personal details, but this condition will likely impact the work of anyone with the condition. At times I felt my depression was quite extreme and highly impacting my ability to work and function in daily life, leading to more than one hospitalization.

One of the reasons this depression was so extreme, beyond the impacts of the factors I have previously discussed in this chapter, is that my major depressive disorder diagnosis did not encompass a full diagnosis of my actual mental health situation. I do suffer from major depressive disorder, but additionally have spent my entire adult life with a until recently undiagnosed and untreated behavioral disorder. This condition has led me to extended periods of inability to focus or be productive on this project. I continually chastised myself for not being able to meet my high expectations for my work, often creating high anxiety around diminished productivity and output. The lack of productivity would then lead to further increasing anxiety and shame, worsening the situation. It felt no matter how much effort I put into this project it would never meet my expectations. I eventually convinced myself I failed to meet the

expectations of everyone else involved in the project too. This lingering shame turned to loathing in my mind.

I was aware that my mental situation was a highly amplified version of standard anxieties most researchers likely face. The situation felt out of my control and so I knew I needed to seek professional help. It took approximately two years of actively seeking professional help from counsellors and medical professionals until I was finally given a formal diagnosis beyond major depressive disorder. With my new diagnosis I could begin receiving proper treatment for my condition. It was only after obtaining multiple months of treatment was I able to even begin to accept the limitations of my work, and continue to push myself to complete this project.

Prospects for Future Research

With these varied limitations in mind, it becomes apparent that this type of research project is quite difficult to pursue. Yet it can be done with persistence. If a similar project is undertaken by others in the future, whether Gulf Islands region or elsewhere, it can hopefully improve in areas where I faltered. I remain optimistic this type of site-specific analysis of changing relationships between and PCA staff and Indigenous communities can assist both the PCA and Indigenous communities with meeting their respective desired outcomes for protected areas. I will first discuss how I feel this project could be improved upon in the context of the Gulf Islands and Salish Sea region. Following this I will also discuss how my research offers a framework that can be used in other parks, or with other government bodies to learn about their relationships with stakeholder groups such as Indigenous nations.

As was discussed in the previous section on limitations of this study there were some structural barriers in place which make this type of research very difficult to start. It is very likely

that any similar project conducted in the Gulf Islands would run into the similar hurdles of needing approvals from First Nations, the PCA, and any other applicable ethics boards. This however is not an insurmountable challenge, as it is one met by many researchers in graduate programs and other research contexts. Once the research permits and ethics approvals are obtained having a longer period to foster and develop relationships with people from both Parks Canada and First Nations would be very useful. As I was working in a compressed timeframe it did not have the luxury of increasing my sample size with the help of research participants. I feel that with more time one would be able to potentially use recommendations and connections from research participants to bring on additional participants. Beyond this any increased sample size would help further refine results.

Beyond this more work could be done to refine research questions with participants. I took on an emergent semi-structured interviewing approach to my work. This was to allow for participants to guide discussions to the topics that were most important to them. In any future similar projects, research participants could help revise research questions further, ultimately leading to an iterative list of questions curated by both the researcher and participants. This would ensure the needs and concerns of Indigenous communities are directly met in the research questions.

Future research in the region could also be more focused on just GINPR or SSGNMCAR. In this project's emergent approach, I had not narrowed down which site would be the main focus of attention as they share a geographical area. This however may have been shortsighted and limiting in that both the GINPR and SSGNMCAR are in different stages of establishment and operations. Additionally, as SSGNMCAR is in establishment the team working on the site is different than the one currently operating GINPR. Future research in the area could focus on one

of the two protected areas or be designed in a way in which two researchers investigate the relationships between PCA and Indigenous groups in the Gulf Islands with one focusing on GINPR and the other focusing on SSGNMCAR. They can then synthesize a shared project. One researcher working on both can feel overwhelming and at times confusing as while they overlap in geographical area they are each mandated by different federal acts which create unique realities for each protected area

Outside of the context of the Salish Sea region this type of studying up project examines the history of relations and the contemporary relationship between Parks Canada and Indigenous communities could be applied at other Parks Canada sites. As each PCA site is run in an ad-hoc manner in regards to Indigenous relations (Dearden, Rollins, and Needham 2016; 382-383), each site will have its own challenges to overcome in regards to Indigenous co-operative decision-making practices. This offers opportunities to apply a similar model of studying up and working with Indigenous communities and PCA employees to study the changing relationship in those sites, and offer a list of recommendations catered specifically to that site and the needs of their respective communities.

Extrapolating the idea further it is also possible to take this model and apply it to non-Indigenous relationships with government bodies such as the PCA or otherwise. Through examining the history of stakeholder relations with government agencies, with an eye towards studying up as this thesis lays out a potential multi-method research model including interviews, participant observation, historical analysis, media analysis, and interpretive program analysis. It may be possible to find insights and recommendations in contexts beyond Indigenous relationships with government bodies and the application of large national government policies by on-the-ground employees in complex and site-specific situations with this model. This

comparative looking up research model is a framework that has been established and could be carried forward and modified to the other situations in which stakeholder's interests and co-operative decision-making are seen as vital.

Chapter 7: Reflections and Conclusion

Reflection on Research Questions

At the beginning of my research I set out to look at the topic of co-operative management in the Gulf Island and Salish Sea with three core research questions which I further expanded into seventeen research questions. For any project to adapt to answer so many questions are quite the daunting task. It arose as originally, I wanted to look at my core three themes but was asked to develop specific questions to better probe into each theme's concerns. Overtime this grew to be a long list of questions. As I was using emergent interview techniques not all questions would even be fully addressed. In this final chapter I will reflect on each question that I set out to answer when designing this research endeavor. Reflecting back on my time in the field and conducting research I am sure if I have not fully answered each of the following questions, but I have definitely gained insights into the relationships between the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations and Parks Canada. This project makes clear that there has been change over the years in regards to relationships between the PCA and W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. As was discussed in the previous chapter any future research on the Gulf Islands and Salish Sea region could seek to re-examine any of these questions, or further refine them.

- Question 1: How does the PCA negotiate their strict ecological integrity goals with Indigenous rights including food harvesting and other cultural or political rights within their sites?

Upon reflection on my research I feel this is a question I have not been able to completely

address. However, participants and policies have made clear the intended approach the PCA is taking to meet their ecological integrity goals without hampering Indigenous rights. The PCA continues to communicate and work with WLC and keep lines of communications open. This has led to the development of programs such as the Fur to Forest and Clam Garden Restoration Project which I discussed in chapter three. Projects like these aim to manage animal populations while also promoting traditional harvest and Indigenous rights. Parks Canada is then highlighting these projects as key tools in their approach to manage the Gulf Islands and Salish Sea region's ecological integrity. Beyond this the *Canada National Parks Act* of 2000 and *Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act* of 2002 have made it clear that Indigenous rights must be recognized, especially in their creation of the "reserve" status for national parks and marine conservation areas discussed in chapter two (Canada National Parks Act, 2000; Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act 2002).

When looking at both the programming taking place within GINPR's management regime and the policies set in place by Parliament there is a need to pursue ecological integrity without hampering Indigenous rights. It is important to note though the WLC have clearly stated that they feel at times these rights are hampered by GINPR (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.). The situation is complex and while I have noted steps in a positive direction, more can be done to ensure the WLC feels their rights are not infringed upon in any manner while also recognizing the need to care for the region's ecological integrity.

Question 2: How does the PCA feel their current consultation efforts, in light of recent federal commitments to improve self-governance for Indigenous Peoples, meet these commitments to Indigenous communities? Does it actually allow for local sovereignty?

To address this question, it seems clear to me that with clear direction from the federal government in budgets to improve relationships with First Nations, and a desire to improve relationships from PCA staff, the agency is making progress, albeit slowly. Part of this was made clear to be a desire to take actions that are sustainable in the long-term despite potential future changes to budgets, but this has created a situation in which the agency seems largely stalled (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020). It was noted they originally had developed the park with contentious Indigenous consultation, and only later established formalize committees to work with First Nations in the Salish Sea region, but have since let those committees lapse (Bradley Personal Communication, July 9th 2020). The PCA is still in regular contact with First Nations but has largely acted without co-operative decision-making and formal W̱SÁNEĆ guidance. This can potentially be remedied though efforts to re-engaged with committees or through their new contribution agreements with W̱SÁNEĆ and other Coast Salish First Nations that meet on the terms of the First Nations, which may mean in a group as was recommended by participants and used to exist in the form of these First Nations Co-operative Planning and Management Committees (Parks Canada 2017). This lack of Indigenous guidance has partly led to a situation where at times W̱SÁNEĆ community members reported desires for efforts to extend beyond park boundaries and to not face as much intervention from PCA staff (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). There is a clear disconnect which prevents steady progress in these areas as the PCA attempts to be responsible in the decision making to the point they are irresponsive and unintendedly hampering possibilities for Indigenous Rights' formal recognition in frameworks and practice.

As for the idea of local sovereignty I feel that under the current framework in place at GINPR there is not a strong opportunity for Indigenous sovereignty to flourish within park

reserve boundaries. As was mentioned in chapter one many authors have argued that co-management is destined to fail by design (Feit 2005, 282; Kofinas 2005, 190; Mulrennan & Scott 2005, 202; Nadasdy 2005, 218 & 261; Rodon 1998, 121). Yet some literature notes that despite difficulties co-management can create positive opportunities for Indigenous communities (Goetze 2005, 260-261). It was noted by participant William that he has a desire for at least an even split in decision making authority between Indigenous communities and Parks Canada (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). Without a formalized framework for this such as is seen in GHNPR formalized AMB, which fostered a positive situation for the Haida where they felt they had shared power of the decision-making process and a board that was approachable (Thomlinson and Crouch 2012, 81). This AMB framework also specifically is structured in a way to prevent management plans to move forward without Haida approval, and touches everything from budgets, to planning, and operational policies (Thomlinson and Crouch 2012, 78). The Gwaii Haanas model is an example from which GINPR can build a localized framework to ensure Indigenous input on all aspects of park reserve planning and management, and hopefully find a formalized way to deal with any split decisions without defaulting the PCA to prevent the Minister of Environment from being fettered as was described is the legal situation by Parks Canada research participants (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020).

Question 3: How is the PCA prioritizing and implementing the changes that need to happen to enhance local Indigenous decision-making and sovereignty, especially in regards to the comanagement of PCA sites?

As for the third research question, I feel the answers to the previous two questions in

addition to the recommendations from the W̱SÁNEĆ community and myself demarcate a path forward for the PCA in the Gulf Islands and Salish Sea. Through establishing a formalized framework, for co-operation and beginning to take quicker action with Indigenous guidance and consultation integrated from the start, it seems the clearest path if offered for Parks Canada. Bringing together the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations to develop a formalized framework to allow for decisions to be jointly made at a faster pace would be ideal. If for whatever reason processes were not faster, at least W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations would be directly involved in the development and negotiations of policy and planning and so can so better have their voices implemented and have their constitutionally protected rights of Aboriginal Title or traditional territory recognized in the Salish Sea region.

Question 4: What are local Indigenous concerns in the comanagement of GINPR or the establishment of the SSGNMCAR?

My list of recommendations from the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations community offers a list of eleven concerns which have come directly from W̱SÁNEĆ community members.

Question 5: What other local concerns are there in the comanagement of GINPR or the establishment of the SSGNMCAR?

Due to the number of limiting factors discussed in chapter six and the emergent semi-structured approach to interviewing I took while conducting my research, my participants and I did not delve deeply into the concerns of other local stakeholders in regards to GINPR and SSGNMCAR. Chapter two did however discuss that there was a popular grassroots movement to

establish federally protected areas in the Gulf Islands region (Curtis 2000; Curtis 2001).

Question 6: What new goals does the PCA have to improve Indigenous sovereignty in these sites?

I did not learn of any new approaches the PCA is taking to improve Indigenous sovereignty in the area. Interviews with both participants from the PCA did reveal that they are regularly reflecting on, reviewing, and conceptualizing ways to improve Indigenous relations within their sites (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020; Gary Interview, 27th Feb 2020). Gary made it quite clear to me that concerns about cooperation with Indigenous communities are expected to be taken on by team members at every site and in every position, and it was important to acknowledge this consideration occurs at every site and within every field unit in the agency (Gary Interview, 27th Feb 2020). This multi-site approach has been described as ad-hoc by Dearden, Rollins, and Needham (2016; 382-383). Despite this there is still the looming question of sovereignty when the minister responsible for Parks Canada cannot be fettered in their actions as PCA employee Bradley described (Interview, Feb 25th 2020). He also noted that concerns about the sustainability of funding can at times hinder the development of new steps towards supporting Indigenous relations and sovereignty within the park in the form of programs and initiatives. This factor was presented in Chapter Three.

Question 7: What opportunities does a federal budget with increased funding for Indigenous self-governance give the PCA to improve their comanagement relationships?

While PCA participants made it clear they are constantly looking to improve relations and therefore self-governance of Indigenous communities in PCA sites, there are always

concerns around starting initiatives without clear funding security (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020). It was noted that the agency can be potentially overly cautious to develop new long-term programs when the funding is not secured beyond an initial period (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020).

Question 8: How does the PCA monitor the success of their management programs within federally managed conservation areas?

The PCA uses regular audits and reports on the state of their sites to monitor success of their projects and sites. There is a focus on a ten-year cycle with their management planning but they also conduct five-year interim highly-localized area plans (Parks Canada 2017). Notable reports that are produced include the "State of the Park Report" and a "Park Management Plan" which is revised every fifteen years (Parks Canada 2017). The regular audits and reports are publicly available upon request from the Parks Canada website.

Question 9: What are local Indigenous concerns in the management of GINPR or the establishment of the SSGNMCAR?

My list of recommendations from the W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations community offers a list of eleven concerns which have come directly from W̱SÁNEĆ community members.

Question 10: What other local concerns are there in the management of GINPR or the establishment of the SSGNMCAR?

Much like my discussion and reflection on my fifth research question, there were a number of limiting factors discussed in Chapter Six which resulted in my not having a complete

answer to this question. My semi-structured interviewing methods did also not lead to in-depth recorded discussions on the topic which my participants. Bradley did note in our interview that if the desires of other stakeholders' conflict with Indigenous rights for GINPR or SSGNMCAR then legally the rights of Indigenous communities are the top priority (Interview, Feb 25th 2020).

Question 11: How does the PCA take on and attempt to address the concerns of others involved in the cooperative decision-making arrangement?

Co-operative decision-making arrangements for the PCA are ad-hoc in nature and vary location by location. Whether formalized or informal structures have been made at a site will impact if other parties are involved in any co-operative decision-making regiments as was discussed in my chapter three analysis of both the former First Nations Committees at GINPR and the existing AMB in the GHNPR

Question 12: How does the PCA monitor how successfully they address Indigenous concerns in GINPR or the establishment of the SSGNMCAR? What about other stakeholder concerns?

The assessment of success in addressing Indigenous concerns in PCA sites is done internally by the PCA in their management planning cycle outlined in my reflection on question eight.

Question 13: How do Indigenous communities feel the PCA meets their needs within the co-operative decision-making arrangement?

In respect to the GINPR, the WLC has made formal statement on their official stance that "the park has effectively obstructed Indigenous land use, Indigenous ownership, Indigenous

jurisdiction, and Indigenous management practices" (W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council n.d.). An interview participant also noted that there is a strong desire to see at least a "50-50" decision-making arrangement put into place in the GINPR (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). This presents a clear message that all their needs are not being currently met in the co-operative decision-making practices for GINPR.

Question 14: How can the PCA better incorporate TEK into their portion of the cooperative decision-making relationship?

The GINPR programs and interpretation discussed in chapter three show some of the ways the PCA is currently incorporating TEK into their relationships with W̱SÁNEĆ and other Coast Salish communities. PCA employee Bradley also noted in the PCA assessments of Species at Risk western and traditional knowledges are both considered in species monitoring regimes in GINPR (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020).

Chapter Five of this thesis also offers many suggestions as to how the PCA can further incorporate TEK into their co-operative decision-making relationship with W̱SÁNEĆ and other Coast Salish communities. Notably the development of a "guardians" program, further integration of Elders into programming, and increased traditional harvest opportunities were some suggestions originating from W̱SÁNEĆ community members. In addition to these participant-sourced suggestions I also suggested integrating more Indigenous language and knowledge into signage, brochures, and other PCA publications and interpretation tools.

Question 15: How has the PCA addresses these concerns which come from the community?

One clear way the PCA has shown a willingness to address concerns from the W̱SÁNEĆ

community is through a willingness to participate in this research project. It expresses a desire to learn what areas of their developing co-operative management have succeeded and which areas could be further improved. Beyond this the implementation of programs such as Fur to Forest and the Clam Garden Restoration Project have been projects to further traditional harvest and visibility in the park. The agency also brings in local Indigenous interpreters, such as Peter, for paid work as interpreters in the GINPR's campgrounds as was noted in chapter three.

When these many factors are viewed together it is clear the PCA team at GINPR is taking slow, but notable, steps to address the concerns of W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations.

Question 16: Ideally, how would this cooperative relationship function?

My reflection on question thirteen partially addressed that there was an expressed desire for a 50-50 decision-making arrangement for the region (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). As was discussed in my third chapter both William and Bradley discussed the possible merits and limitations of looking at GHNPR's AMB as a model to work from in the Gulf Islands and Salish Sea region (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020; William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). As was also discussed in chapter three, William felt a strong desire to end a perceived 'segregation' enacted by the PCA upon Coast Salish communities in their separate negotiations with Indigenous stakeholders (William Interview, Nov 19th 2019). He would like the park to bring together all First Nations with claims to the region for negotiations at one table. Whether or not this is feasible for the PCA is not clear.

Question 17: How has the PCA responded to the bevy of critiques of their cooperative management practices coming from Indigenous Peoples and academics?

In my interviews with both PCA research participants they noted they were aware of critiques from academic and Indigenous communities, and even agreed the agency can continue to improve on this front (Bradley Interview, Feb 25th 2020; Gary Interview, 27th Feb 2020). As an agency they continue to work on establishing locally specific frameworks for co-operation with Indigenous groups on a site by site basis. Dearden, Rollins, and Needham have even noted that over the past several decades there has been a notable increase in the amount of consultation, communication, and co-operation the PCA undertakes (2016, 376). These locally tailored approaches to co-operative management practices have created a situation in which some protected areas have a much more balanced co-operative relationship with Indigenous communities than others (Dearden Rollins and Needham 2016, 358). It has been noted that parks in Northern Canada in particular typically have more impactful co-operative relationships with Indigenous communities (Dearden Rollins and Needham 2016, 358).

Conclusion

This final chapter sought to weave together the data and experience from my research to address the seventeen research questions that steered my research project. While not all of the questions are completely answered, together they weave a blanket understanding of the changing relationship between the W̱SÁNEĆ community and Parks Canada in the Gulf Islands and Salish Sea region. It is clear that the PCA is aware of concerns and critiques of both Indigenous communities and academics calling to improve their relationships with Indigenous communities. This is reinforced by federal budgets and Parliamentary acts such as the Canada National Parks Act of 2000 and the Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act of 2002 (Canada 2017;

Canada 2018; Canada 2019; National Parks Act, 2000; Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act 2002).

Both the PCA and WLC recognize the need for and desire for improved relationships and through this thesis I have documented the history of this relationship, and also investigated the current realities of the relationship. I've done this through interviewing members of the WLC and employees from the PCA team, analyzing PCA practices and reviewing policy. Additionally, through analysis of current practice in the park as taken from interviews, visiting GINPR, document analysis, and material cultural analysis I have also made some additional suggestions for potential changes that could be made by the GINPR team to improve their relationships with W̱SÁNEĆ First Nations. Although the project was more limited in scope than initially planned I feel it serves the purpose of offering tangible goals that the PCA can work towards which were generated by the W̱SÁNEĆ community, with thought-out and supported critiques of the areas where improvement can be made. It is likely that the PCA and W̱SÁNEĆ communities are both already aware of some of these issues but my hope is by putting an analytical focus on them in this study, and documenting the desires for the W̱SÁNEĆ community for both parties, each can use this information as a tool to further collaborative efforts and meet their mutual goals. My main goal of this thesis is to present realistic goals to further improve the relationship, along with some larger aspirational ideas that can be discussed, adapted and hopefully implemented in a way that benefits both parties.

Through my time working with both the team at Parks Canada at GINPR and the members of the W̱SÁNEĆ community comprised of Tseycum, Tsartlip, and Tsawout First Nations it became clear that both parties shared many similarities in their vision and goals for the management of the sites. The suggestions made in this thesis will be given to both parties and it

is up to them to discuss, reflect on, and potentially attempt to apply these suggestions in ways they each see fit their needs and their relationship. I hope that the PCA can look at supporting similarly modelled survey studies of their many sites and respective relationships with Indigenous communities. Even if the model changes or is completely different I believe it is important for the PCA to in time develop a practice of internally or externally having individuals or teams analyze the strengths and areas for growth within their relationships, particularly with Indigenous peoples. A continued focus on applied research was vital to my approach of this study. I wanted to analyze the difficult bureaucratic balance that the PCA plays in their relationships in trying to ensure as many parties' needs are met as possible efficiently, and on budget, while also meeting legal obligations, in addition to natural and cultural conservation requirements. It is not an easy task the PCA undertakes in its work, nor is it easy for First Nations to have to develop relationships with agencies who they see as having not always acted towards them in co-operative way. Both parties' willingness to participate in a study which would openly critique their relationship and offer suggestions to their relationships shows that both parties see the vital need to continue to foster collaboration and advance the goals of each nation, Canadian and W̱SÁNEĆ respectively. This approaches the oft discussed aspiration of nation-to-nation government relations which has been the express goal of federal governments in Canada for many years.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Maps

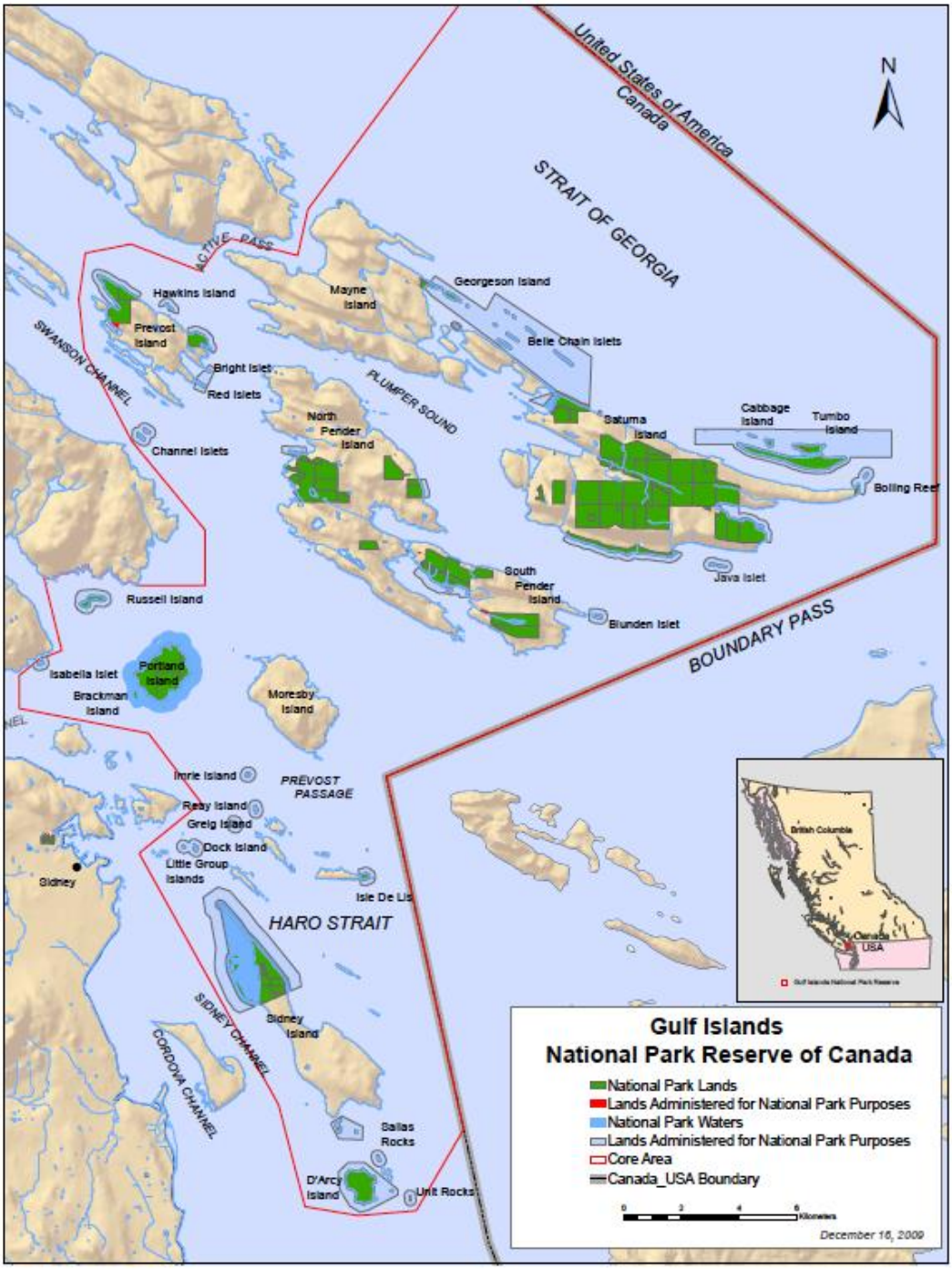

Figure 1 – Map of the boundary for Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (Parks Canada 2017).

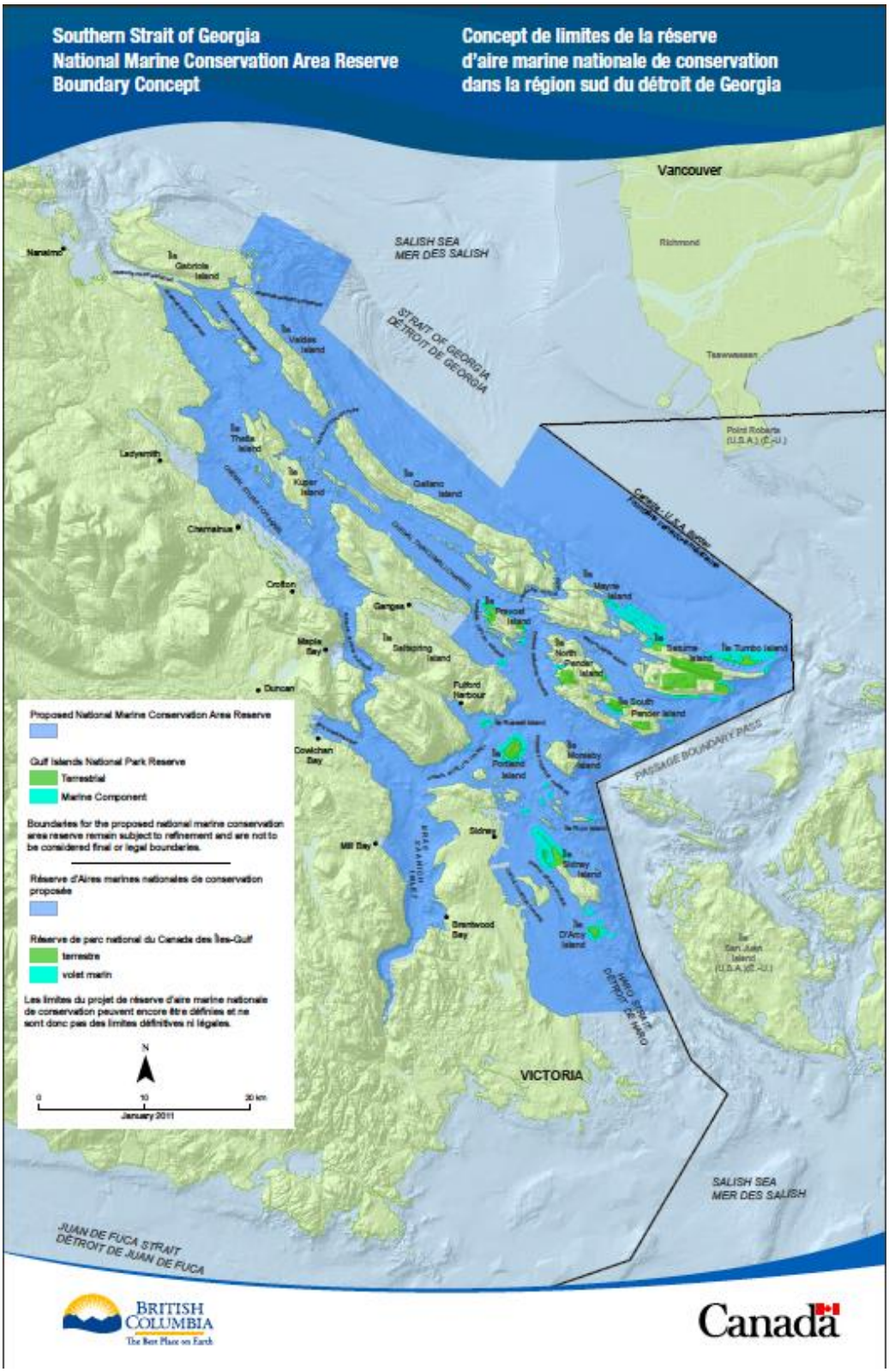

Figure 2 – Map of the boundary concept for the Southern Strait of Georgia National Marine Conservation Area Reserve (Parks Canada 2018).

Appendix 2 - Signs

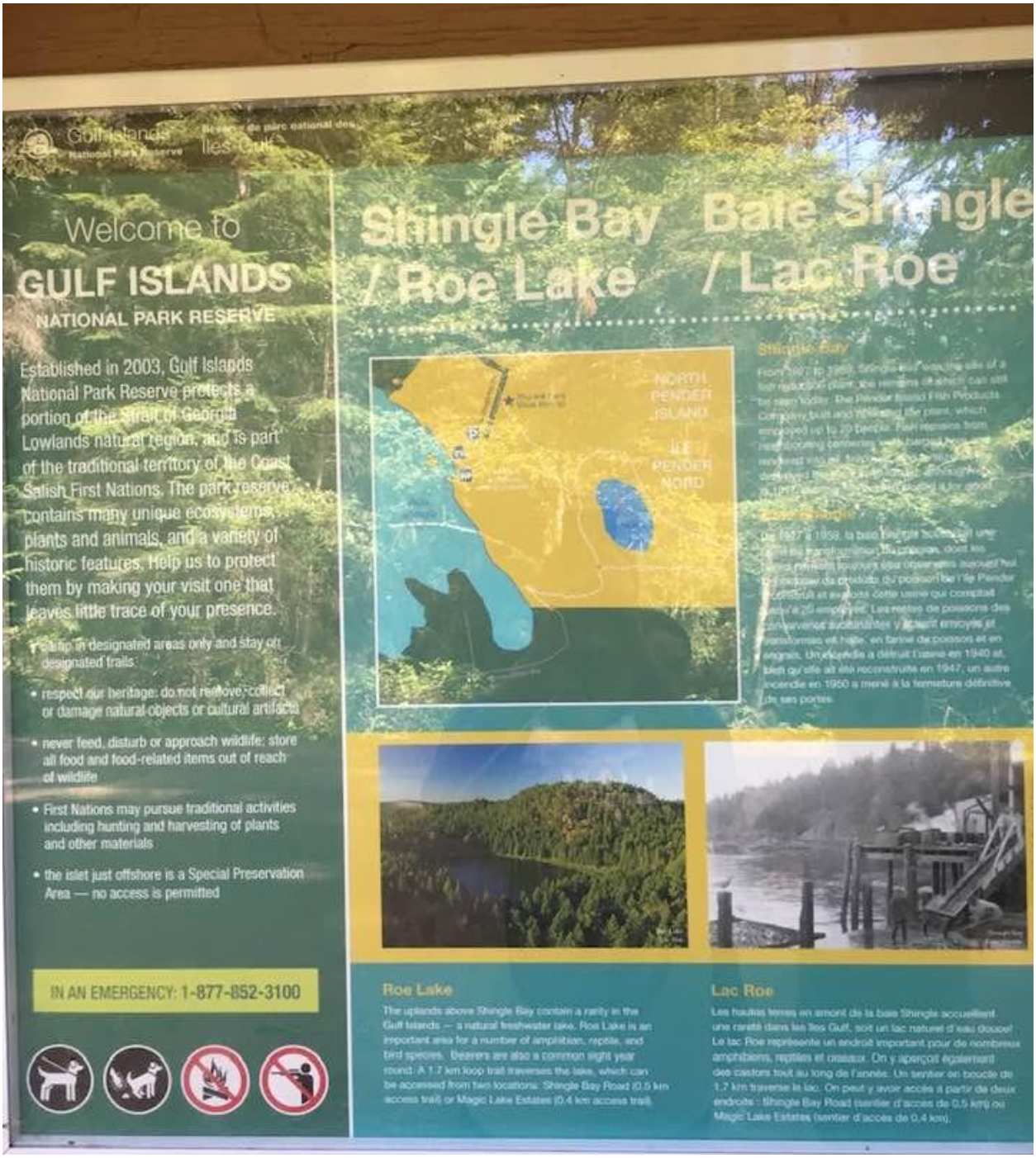

Figure 1: Gulf Island National Park Reserve welcome sign located at Shingle Bay/Roe Lake (Parks Canada n.d.).

Figure 2 Gulf Islands National Park Reserve welcome sign located at Mount Norman/Beaumont (Parks Canada n.d.)

Figure 3: Gulf Islands National Park Reserve Sign, recognizing the land transfer of Mount Norman. Notably it is displayed as other typical Parks Canada signage in Gulf Islands Naitonal Park Reserve (Parks Canada n.d.)

Figure 4: "Eagle Eye View" interpretive sign atop Mount Norman. The sign shows an image of the view with labels and information for some of the many locations visible in the landscape (Parks Canada, n.d.)

Figure 5: "Prepare to be amazed" interpretive sign about plant-life seen atop Mount Norman

(Parks Canada n.d.)

Appendix 3 – Excerpts from GINPR 2019 Visitors Guide

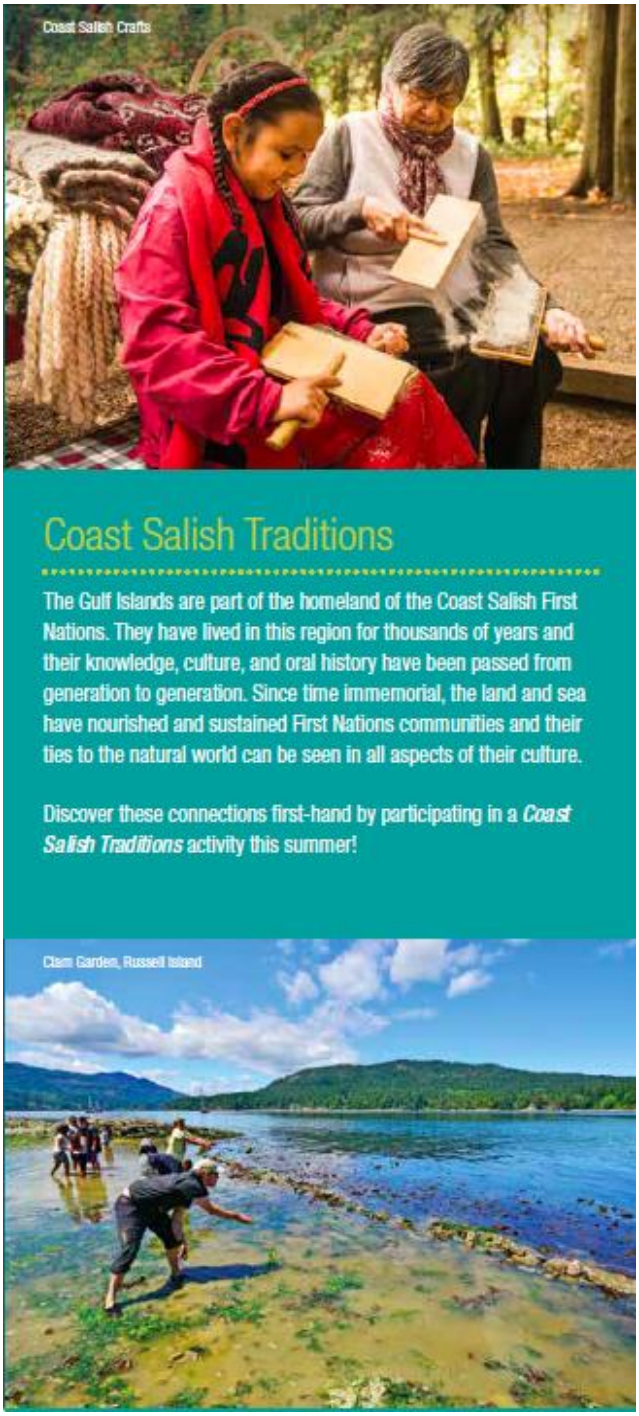

Figure 1 – An excerpt from the 2019 Gulf Islands National Park Reserve Visitor's Guide (English) which displays "Coast Salish Traditions" of weaving and clam garden construction (Parks Canada 2019).

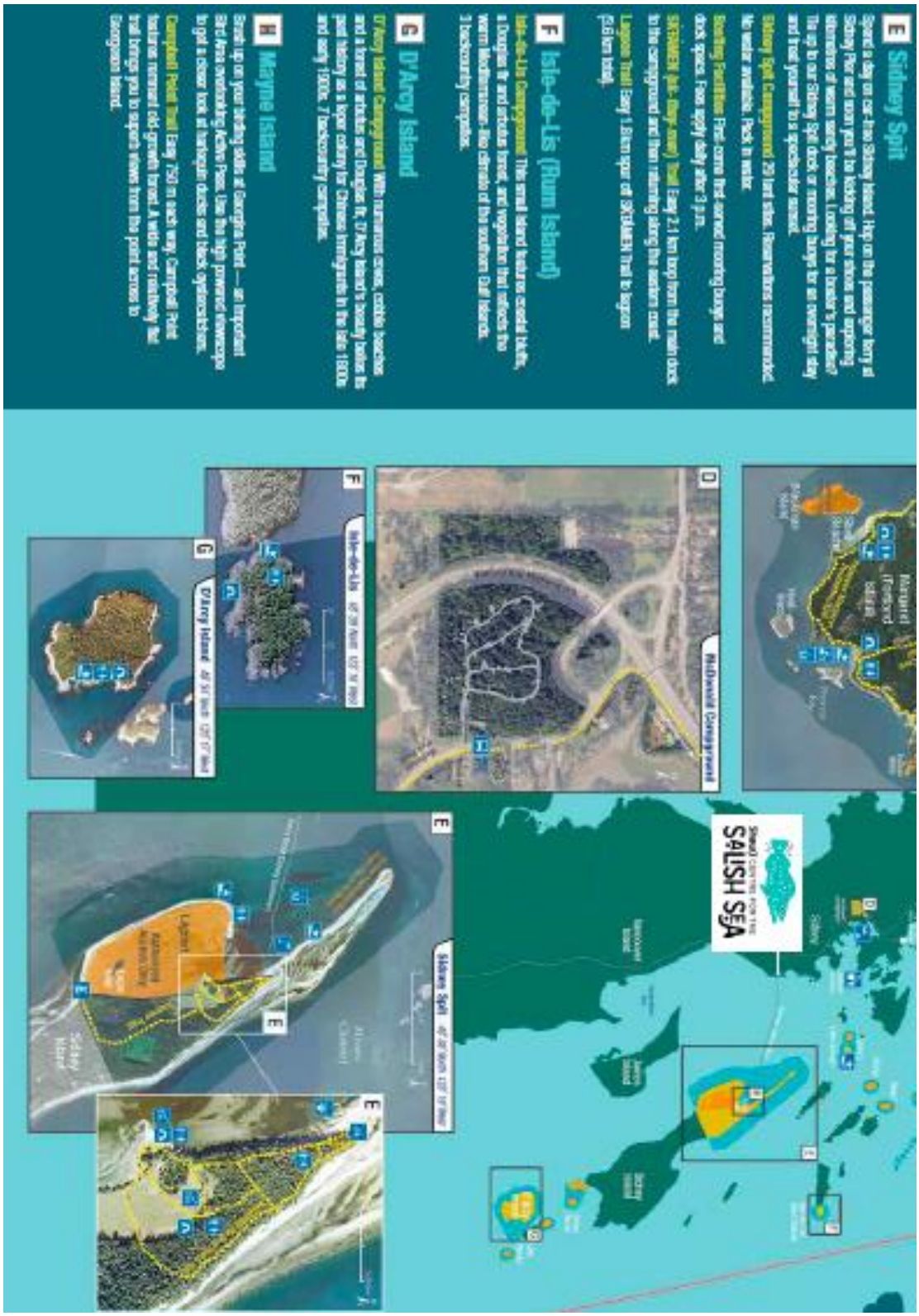

Figure 2 – An excerpt from the 2019 Gulf Islands National Park Reserve Visitor's Guide (English) showing SḴŦÁMEN Trail on Sidney Spit (Parks Canada 2019).

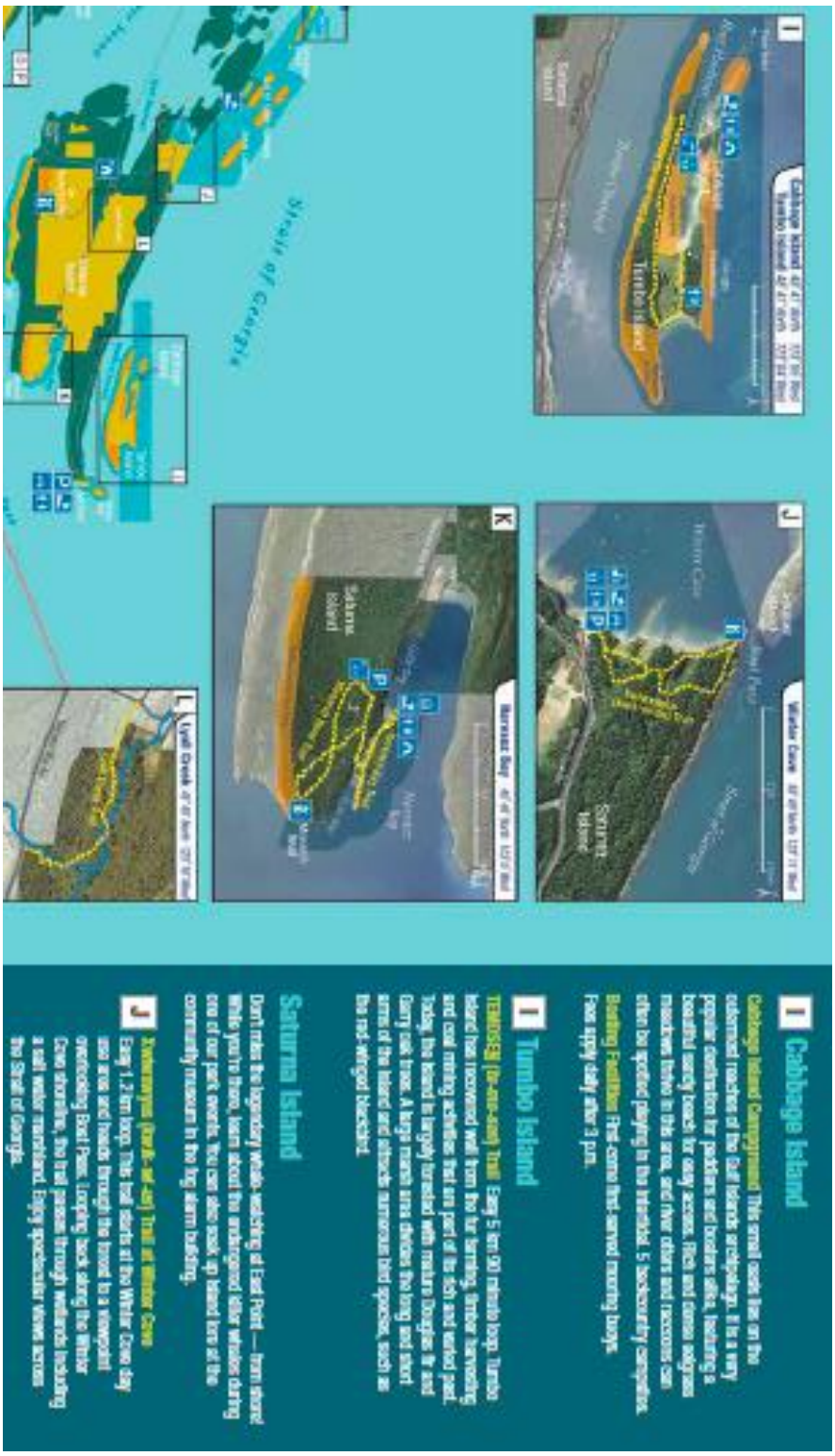

Figure 3 – An excerpt from the 2019 Gulf Islands National Park Reserve Visitor's Guide (English) showing TEMOSEN̲ Trail on Tumbo Island and Xwiwxwyus Trail on Saturna Island (Parks Canada 2019).