TOURISM, NATURE, AND COMMUNITY: INVESTIGATING THE POTENTIAL OF INDIGENOUS TOURISM FOR FOSTERING CULTURAL RESILIENCE AND RECONCILIATION

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Abstract

This thesis contributes to knowledge by contextualising strategic tourism development to address social inequity, poverty alleviation, and conservation in the contemporary discourse of reconciliation between Canada and its Indigenous peoples. Further contributions can be identified in the implementation of a methodological approach that attempts to overcome dominant Eurocentric knowledge-production systems, which have proven exploitative and harmful to the Indigenous peoples of Canada and therefore lack credibility in the process of advancing mutual understanding and respect between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Tourism has the potential to be a powerful force for positive change in rural and remote Indigenous communities. However, for the full and mutually positive benefits to be realised, a number of policies, principles, and practice gaps need to be addressed. These gaps place responsibility upon leaders to act with a sense of purpose and urgency to meet the growing demand for Indigenous cultural tourism on Canada's west coast, while supporting remote and rural Indigenous community resilience and national reconciliation processes.

This study employs an innovative methodology that integrates Indigenous and Western research paradigms and principles, with a pragmatic approach that aims to achieve maximum benefit for collaborators. Furthermore, the time period of the study coincides with a dynamic and rapidly changing socio-political culture,

resulting in a timely, contemporary analysis of the extent to which Indigenous

tourism can support reconciliation initiatives and cultural resilience for

communities pursuing explicit community aims.

Author's declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed: Date: February 28, 2020

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A special place will always be in my heart for the territory and People of the Heiltsuk First Nation, as I remember the beauty and resilience of the people who welcomed thousands to their small community in the summer of 2014. I am indebted to Frank and Kathy Brown for their generosity in sharing their knowledge and I am awed by the skill, tenacity, and tenderness that they expend for the betterment of others.

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doing, as well as your steady hand when I felt, at times, that I was about to fall into the abyss!

To my children, Noah and Riley, my hope is that you will one day read this and better understand why I was so darn tired for so long! I also hope for you to understand that it is vital to celebrate and be grateful for each moment we are given and for the opportunities these moments present to make positive differences to those around us. Always remember the secret to happiness is gratefulness. My dear wife, Nicole: I love you. Thank you for being my closest friend, biggest supporter, harshest critic, and partner. I promise I will never, ever do this again!

It is with the greatest humility and gratitude that I also acknowledge the many who have influenced me throughout this project and, indeed, from infancy. The content of this document is a reflection not only of the intellectual labour invested in it, but also of the patience, love, understanding, encouragement, wisdom, and at times much needed correction that I have been blessed to receive throughout my life from my family, friends, colleagues and students. Thank you all!

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Chapter One: Thesis orientation

Introducing the storyteller

When first speaking in an Indigenous community setting, I have come to appreciate the importance of 'protocol', which has been explained to me as 'knowing who you are' and sharing. Protocol has many layers. For me, it is to recognize kinship, to signify attachments to place, and to open the channel for respectful honest dialogue. To aid you, the reader, I aim to respect that teaching have positioned myself in the data thus allowing you additional information with which to assess the credibility of the accounts shared.

My name is Rob Ferguson. I am grateful to live on the unceded territory of the Qualicum First Nation in Qualicum Beach, British Columbia, Canada. I am of settler descent, and my parents are Archie and Donna Ferguson. My wife, Nicole, and I are blessed to have two young children: our son, Noah, and our daughter, Riley.

Qualicum Beach, British Columbia has been my home for as long as I can remember. However, while I knew that 'Qualicum' was a Coast Salish word meaning 'where the dog salmon run', that was really the extent of my knowledge of Indigenous perspectives in Canada until much later in life. My formal education was lacking in terms of providing any material depth to this understanding; and as my desire crystallised to teach at the post-secondary level in the field of recreation

and tourism, I saw that I needed to address this knowledge gap. In a region that explicitly markets its Indigenous culture and the wonders of 'Super Natural British Columbia' (sic), I was simply not willing to be a 'teacher' of tourism without a much more rigorous appreciation of the issues facing Indigenous peoples in Canada. After nearly a decade living outside of Canada, I returned in 2010, led by this realisation to pursue a programme of professional development and knowledge mobilisation in my community of practice, as a full-time faculty member at Vancouver Island University (VIU).

This work has been a very long time in the making and it captures a deeply meaningful journey that is both personal and professional. The driving question underpinning this enquiry is simple: does tourism have the potential to contribute to the resilience of Indigenous communities and to reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples? The answer to this question is a firm and resounding yes.

This simple affirmation highlights the extraordinary power of tourism to affect people, place, and environment by means of dialogical encounters, where meaning is negotiated and identities fluid. The touristic encounter thus has the potential to inform transformational shifts in understanding relational proximity to the world around us. These transformative encounters have the potential to reinforce or challenge accepted narratives of identity, existence, and presence in both the physical and metaphysical planes. Forms of tourism that include

involvement with Indigenous culture provide an opportunity for understanding and empathy to grow and the potential for both private, and public acknowledgement of the contemporary impacts of colonisation specifically related to the west coast of British Columbia. This enhanced understanding is a prerequisite for tourism actors and agencies to imagine a better, more respectful, more equitable future, with a profound commitment to taking personal and collective responsibility for harms inflicted upon the Indigenous peoples of British Columbia.

This thesis reflects several years of personal, intellectual, spiritual, and scholarly labour. The journey began with a recognition of my limited awareness of the Indigenous perspective and a naïve desire, as a scholar/practitioner, to gain knowledge of community-based tourism planning in coastal British Columbia. My learning journey is far from over; in fact, in many ways, it is just beginning. Like many adventures, this one has had moments of sorrow, joy, fear, and focus. I am grateful for the opportunity to share this journey with you and I invite you to immerse yourself in the people, places, and stories presented here.

The thesis itself weaves in and out and around the traditions of academic scholarly enquiry and integrates personal accounts of significance that illuminate the trajectory of the research findings. These departures are signposted by the use of italics and indentation. Storytelling and personal narratives are employed to contextualise and honour the personal truth of the encounters that have informed

deeply personal intellectual processes, critical scholarly insights, and ambitious

policy recommendations. I owe a great deal to Regan (2006; 2010) and Wilson

(2013) for demonstrating the power of incorporating personal reflections/stories

to share illuminations of personal tensions, exploration, and discovery. I am also

grateful for Grimwood, Stinson, and King (2019), and I embrace their invitation to

provide new stories that further disrupt tourism's entanglement with settler

colonialism.

This thesis situates tourism as an interdisciplinary applied field of academic study

and a valuable lens through which to examine complex human phenomena. This

study is about the exploration of Indigenous tourism as a particular form and its

potential utility for specific communities (namely, the Heiltsuk and Tla-o-qui-aht

First Nations), in a specific region of the world (coastal British Columbia), as a

contributory force for community resilience and social reconciliation. While the

study is situated in the socio-political context of British Columbia, it is beyond the

scope (and ability) of this study to claim an Indigenous lens on the present issues

or to fully unpack the historic (and ongoing) setter colonial entanglements of

Indigenous tourism.

To the extent of my abilities, I have incorporated Indigenous scholars and shared

perspectives passed onto me through those from whom I have been privileged to

learn. However, I recognise that there are many authoritative voices missing and

stories/lessons that I do not have the right or ability to share. This effort is not an

arrogant claim of universal wisdom, nor a self-indulgent experiment. It is, as it began, an honest and humble effort to explore new ways of knowing, of being, and of doing. In no way is it intended to capture the dynamic and ever-evolving conversation on Indigenous tourism, resilience, and reconciliation in British Columbia. Rather, this study aims to contribute to a growing conversation critically recasting, and centralising, tourism praxis to wider socio-political and socio-cultural debates and developments relevant to Indigenous tourism development.

You may already surmise the ending, but my hope is that you will find value in understanding the story.

Thesis organisation

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, which are followed by references and appendices. Chapter one provides a brief overview of the research context, highlighting the contested nature of Canadian identity and the country's imperial origin story. The contemporary settler colonial dynamics of structural dominance and the rapidly evolving relationship between Indigenous people and Canada as a nation state through the emergent discourse of reconciliation following the Truth Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRCC) findings are also explored. Canada's growing tourism economy is introduced, and a contextual overview of Indigenous tourism is outlined. Orientating characteristics and a brief historical

overview introduce the Indigenous communities of the Tla-o-qui-aht and Heiltisuk First Nations, including geographic locations, basic demographic information, and cultural perspectives that inform their respective internal/external relational governance and worldviews.

Chapter two situates the study in the socio-political context of British Columbia through engagement with settler colonial frameworks, aiming to reposition Settler Canadian identity as a moral and ethical imperative for non-Indigenous peoples with agency of privilege. Personal narratives are used as communicative tools to serve as autoethnographic reflections towards a critical colonial self-awareness as a Settler Canadian, illustrating the complex emotional, intra-personal entanglements and tensions produced by shifts towards epistemological decolonisation. These narratives illuminate a growing, shifting and developing critical awareness that served vital in shaping the study findings and are metonymical of a demanded tourism sector praxis reorientation.

Chapter three begins with a review of the strict disciplinary approaches to academic tourism enquiry and the adoption of an interdisciplinary perspective that embraces knowledge from across academia and various communities, informing a holistic, innovative, and pragmatic path to knowledge production. The discussion then turns to the development of a theoretical construct for the study, underpinned by an analysis of the Canadian tourism delivery sector and a critical investigation of the transformative potential of experience in host-guest

encounters. Tourism motilities are explored as useful tools with which to investigate the potential of tourism to impel movement in the self and the Other, as well as in policy and in practice.

Chapter four examines contemporary perspectives of community resilience and social reconciliation as frameworks through which to understand and proximate Indigenous tourism socio-economic outcomes and processes integrating observations on rural, remote and marginalised communities as comparative to Indigenous community realities.

Chapter five provides an overview of the research paradigms, tools, techniques, and strategies employed to gain insight into the processes and dynamics of Indigenous tourism development in the case study communities. These methodological constructs are informed by an overarching pragmatist epistemology and an attempt to operationalise decolonisation strategies to advance and leverage the broadest range of ways of knowing and relating to the observed dimensions of the research.

Chapter six provides a discussion of the results, presented in narrative and discursive form related to each case study as discrete and immersive research engagements. The reader is thus encouraged to interrogate the research process, the observations, and the insights, becoming an active participant in the interpretation of the data to the fullest measure. The chapter concludes through

a thematic analysis of the immersive participatory engagements coalescing around the socio-economic, community resiliency and social reconciliatory emergent understandings.

Chapter seven concludes the thesis by synthesising the main inferences and contextualising these in the wider body of knowledge, while evaluating the extent to which the study was successful in achieving its overall aims and responding to the research questions. The implications for tourism practice are highlighted, alongside recognition of the study's limitations, recommended future avenues of enquiry, and identification of the key contributions.

On terms

Canada's historical development and relationship with the earliest inhabitants of the land have been formed through imperialist, colonial, and commercial processes, the impact of which has only recently been given national critical attention. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 set out the guidelines for the settlement of North America and referred to 'several Nations or Tribes of Indians'. It is interesting to note that the document recognises the diversity of the groups in the new colonies yet describes them all as 'Indians'. The British North America Act (Constitution Act) of 1867 also directly refers to 'Indians' when identifying the federal jurisdiction for all legislative aspects of the government's relationship with Indigenous Peoples.

Various government agencies and departments have made repeated reference to 'Indians', including the 1966 Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada, which operated under the name 'Indian and Northern Affairs Canada' (INAC) and coalesced all aspects of the federal government's relationship with Indigenous Peoples under one decanal area. This department was renamed in 2011, becoming 'Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada' (AANDC). In 2015, the department was renamed once again, becoming 'Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada' (INAC), which served as the last iteration, before being dissolved and its functions reshaped and rebranded in two distinct departments: namely, 'Indigenous Services Canada' (ISC), and 'Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada' (CIRNAC). The evolution of this nomenclature illustrates that the language of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations in Canada is both entrenched and also fluid. The descriptor 'Indian' remains a formal legal status in Canadian law (Frideres, 2013).

Other descriptors have emerged in Canadian policy, practice, and discourse, including 'Aboriginal', 'Native', 'First Nations', 'Indigenous', and 'First Peoples'. Each of these has a specific form and function that reflects an understanding of the people being described: and each can be problematic in the way it is used by differing power brokers. For example, 'First Nations' does not include Métis people. In fact, the Métis (those with mixed Indigenous and Euro-American ancestry) were only recognised in Canadian law as rights-bearing Aboriginal people by a 2003 Supreme Court decision; and prior to this, they were excluded

from a range of services and programmes (Métis Nation Council, 2011). The Inuit of Northern Canada are also recognised as distinct and hold a separate legal status.

The Canadian Constitution (1982) recognises three groups of Aboriginal people in Canada: the Inuit, the Métis, and 'Indians' or First Nations people (Fleras & Elliott, 1999). These three groups are increasingly described in public discourse by the inclusive collective noun of 'Indigenous Peoples'. As Canada's relationship with its history has matured, so has the importance of ensuring the language used accurately reflects the significance of the socio-political context.

Where possible and appropriate, I will use specific Nation names; otherwise, I rely on the most current conventions to convey respect for the identities and experiences of Indigenous Peoples in Canada, and, as a sign of inclusive respect, I use capitalisation for all words denoting ethnic identity.

Research background

This study takes a collaborative case study approach to investigate the potential of Indigenous tourism development initiatives to contribute to social reconciliation and the cultural resilience of Indigenous communities in coastal British Columbia, working in cooperation with the Tla-o-qui-aht and the Heiltsuk First Nations. The Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks initiative and the 2014 Qatuwas Tribal Journeys event, and the subsequent legacy initiatives led by the Heiltsuk First

Nation, exemplify the complex political, economic, and socio-cultural processes at the nexus of Indigenous tourism development, socio-ecological conservation, and political agency within the context of Canadian contemporary settler colonial dynamics. These illustrative case studies provide a useful basis on which to analyse the resilience and reconciliatory potential of Indigenous tourism initiatives in rural and remote Indigenous community contexts.

Over the past decade, there has been an increasing awareness in the Canadian consciousness of Indigenous issues, brought to the fore in large part by the enquiry of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRCC) into Canada's Indian Residential School system (IRS), which ran from the late 19th century until the last school closure in 1996 (Fontaine & et al., 2016).

The work of the TRCC began in 2008 and concluded in 2015 with the publication of a multi-volume report, which determined that Canada's residential school system had amounted to attempted cultural genocide and made 94 calls to action to support the reconciliation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples across Canada. Reconciliation has since emerged as the definitive paradigm in public policy debate and Canadian national identity discourse. Despite Canada's celebrated multi-cultural society, socio-demographic diversity, and vast geography, there is evidence of a growing recognition on both the need for social reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and

understanding on the forms that this reconciliation should take (Reconciliation Canada, 2017).

The work of the TRCC corresponded with a period of rapid and accelerated growth for Canada's tourism industry, with 2017 lauded as the most successful to date in terms revenue generation (Destination Canada, 2017). Tourism is a significant driver of the national and global economy, with multi-sectoral links at all levels of spatial analysis (Nickerson & Kerr, 2014). The rising demand for Indigenous tourism, where authentic and immersive experiences are the foci for visitors, has led to increases in attention, public investment, and the profile of Indigenous tourism operators and organisations in Canada (Indigenous Tourism Association of Canada, 2017-2018). Despite positive momentum in terms of reconciliatory initiatives across the local and global spectrum, such as the widely adopted TRCC Calls to Action and the formal adoption of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the Canadian government, in 2016 inequities in virtually all social determinants of health indicators still placed Indigenous communities at a significant disadvantage (Reading & Wien, 2009; Public Health Agency Canada, 2018). These inequities are often compounded by the rural and remote location of many Indigenous communities, which restricts access to the full benefits of Canada's growing tourism economy (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004).

There have been recent valuable contributions by scholars examining Indigenous tourism in a Canadian context (Graci , et al., 2019; Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). For example, the Whitney-Squire, Wright, and Alsop (2018) examination of the role of tourism development in supporting language revitalisation in the remote region of Haida Gwaii provides a useful analysis of how tourism can support local cultural priorities. Maureira and Stenbacka (2015) analysed the relationships between community networks across spatial levels for supporting tourism development and resilience; while Cassel and Maureira (2017) develop the theme of how Indigenous tourism development can affect representations of identity and culture in a community setting. However, to date, there has been limited academic enquiry into the potential for relationships between Indigenous tourism development, community resilience, and reconciliation in the Canadian context.

There are many possible reasons for the current limitations of this understanding; and these may include the inability of accepted Western scientific methods to confront these intercultural complexities, the specialised interdisciplinary nature of the tourism field, and the limited number of Indigenous scholars in the Canadian tourism academy. Another important factor is the apprehension of non-Indigenous Canadian scholars involved in tourism, who themselves have only recently begun to comprehend the scope and scale of Indigenous concerns and thus feel ill-equipped to engage with them (Grimwood, et al., 2019). This emerged as a theme in this particular endeavour and it is explored further in

chapter two. Whatever the mitigating circumstances, there is a clear and evidenced need for tourism policy and practitioner communities to deepen their understanding of the sector's potential to become an active participant and a force for social change in Canada's evolution into a reconciled and resilient society.

Tribe has been an ardent provocateur, driving debate on disciplinary positioning and the state of knowledge in tourism studies and arguing that tourism is best understood as an applied field of academic enquiry (Tribe, 1997; Tribe, 2006). The current project seeks to affirm tourism as interdisciplinary applied field of study and support the call from Coles et al. for a paradigm shift within the tourism academy in moving beyond perceived disciplinary constraints to better understand 'the complexity, messiness, unpredictability, and hybridity of the contemporary world in which tourism takes place and which tourism reflexively helps to mediate' (2006, p. 313). The multi-dimensional potential of this field provides the impetus to adopt an interdisciplinary approach, drawing upon contributions from across the academy, in addition to Indigenous perspectives on knowing and relating to the world. This requires the blurring of disciplinary boundaries, the respect of localised Indigenous knowledge production and mobilisation processes and recognises alternative enquiry paradigms in a holistic attempt to reconcile distinct and often conflicting Eurocentric and Indigenous world views.

The potential for the growth of Indigenous tourism development in Canada has been noted by several authors (Dearden & Langdon, 2009; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009; Zeppel, 2002; Notzke, 2004).The growing demand for what Higgins-Desbiolles (2009, p. 157) characterises as 'Indigenous cultural-ecological tourism' illustrates the complementary value of Indigenous cultural and nature-based attractions. It is evident, therefore, that tourism can be a powerful force for social change and economic development. The added complexity of environmental conservation management systems and settler colonial tensions between the state and Indigenous peoples, understanding of which is essential to contextualising Indigenous tourism in Canada, demonstrates a need for a holistic and flexible enquiry into the complex, multi-scalar issues – from the individual, momentary, host-guest encounter to Indigenous peoples' pursuit of self-government and Canadian national identity discourse.

In response to the call for a more holistic methodology (Tribe, 2006) and the need for new forms of enquiry into tourism, this study adopts a stranded approach, utilising a variety of methodological tools, thereby maximising the potential for a new hybrid form of knowledge production that is dynamic, reflexive, and fit for purpose (Coles, et al., 2006). Further, this study utilises a pragmatist epistemology, initiating multiple interpretive data gathering strategies, including the following: participatory action research (PAR), in-depth unstructured and semi-structured interviews, auto and accidental ethnographies, and participant observation. These methodological tools were deemed the most

practical for accessing key informants across the range of production and consumption perspectives, while recognising them as autonomous social actors with unique worldviews.

The purpose of the research strategy was thus to explore the research themes in the theoretical framework while gaining the perspective of participants on 'the world from their point of view' (Veal, 2017, p. 107). The intent was to include the perspectives of a breadth of participants, obtained through a variety of means, to gather insights into the complex issues that emerge and to do so in a culturally appropriate manner.

Regardless of their field of enquiry, social scientists have a responsibility to take all reasonable steps to do no harm through their academic practice (Angrosino & Flick, 2007). This study sought to address the ethical concerns of research in an Indigenous community setting by recognising participants as co-collaborators in the research design and output, with proprietary rights over their culture, artefacts, resources, and histories. Where there is explicit understanding and existing social license between myself and co-collaborators these are personally identified with the text, where this understanding is absent pseudonyms or other anonymising conventions are used.

This project has been conducted, in part, in association with a research initiative funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the Social

Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). The wider IRDC- and SSHRC-funded project aimed to enrich understanding of the relationship between protected areas (PA) and poverty reduction, with a focus on designated parklands and adjacent communities in selected cases within Ghana, Tanzania, and Canada. This collaborative research initiative involved 17 partners across the three countries, and was entitled, *Protected Areas and Poverty Reduction: A Canada-Africa Research and Learning Alliance (PAPR)*. I joined the Canadian research team as a Research Fellow in this learning alliance; and while this project remained distinct, independent, and autonomous, the learning was informed by the rich collaborative work of all involved in the PAPR project, which I believe led to a more nuanced understanding of the issues examined.

Research aim

The primary aim of this study is to investigate the potential of Indigenous tourism development to support the processes and determinants of cultural resilience and social reconciliation in select Indigenous communities.

Research questions

1. How is Indigenous tourism reflective of the contemporary relationship between Indigenous peoples and 'the state'?
2. Does Indigenous tourism development offer an effective strategy for maximising socio-economic gains for local communities?

3. Can Indigenous tourism initiatives foster cultural resilience for Indigenous communities?

4. Can the development of Indigenous tourism initiatives in Canada support social reconciliation processes?

These questions aim to:

- Critically analyse contemporary characteristics of Indigenous tourism development in British Columbia, Canada

- Advance an interdisciplinary approach to explore the relationship between Indigenous tourism and the cultural resilience processes in Indigenous communities

- Investigate the potential for Indigenous tourism development to support social reconciliation

- Explore the potential for Indigenous tourism encounters to inform cultural resilience and social reconciliation

- Identify policy and practice interventions that could maximise socio-economic benefits and cultural resilience in comparable communities and contexts

A Focus on Canada, British Columbia, and the Pacific Northwest

Many may be unfamiliar with Canada's origins, regional character, and macro socio-cultural dynamics; thus, an overview of the most salient characteristics and milestones are helpful for contextualising this study in space, place, and time.

Canadian nationhood is problematic due to its imperial foundation,

contemporary settler colonial dynamics and diverse political, cultural, and

regional variation. Much has been written regarding the imperial wrestling of

European powers for control of continental natural resources (e.g., fur, timber),

the expansion of the British colonial confederacy from east to west, and the

subsequent birth of the Dominion of Canada on 1 July 1867 – later welcoming the

colony of British Columbia to the confederation 20 July 1871 (Francis, 1997;

Francis, 1992; Fontaine & et al., 2016).

Anderson's eloquent deconstruction of nationalism as an imagined sense of

political community (1991) is helpful in outlining the problem to succinctly

describe Canadian nationhood, without simply listing a series of events,

characters, and dates. Canada is **imagined** in that it is as much an invention of the

mind, a social construct built on assumed shared experience, as it is a

geographical defined, bordered space separating exogenous others. Yet,

experiences have not been shared: benefits to some have been great, while costs

to others have been heavy. Canada is **political** in that there is perceived

agreement on the orderly distribution of power, resources, and control. Yet, from

some, power has been stripped and resources stolen. Canada is a **community** in

that 'the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship'

(Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Yet, for some, the nation may be better characterised as a

hierarchal system of purposeful denial where the depth described is one of inequity, alienation, and dispossession.

Two qualities commonly associated with Canadian nationhood reflect its imperial origins, the disparate identity of its citizens, and the promise of collective value. In Fleras and Elliott, Canada is highlighted as having been moderately successful 'in withstanding the pressures of absorption', in its recognition of the vast ethnic diversity in the country, and its ability to 'weave a remarkably united and distinct society from the strands of diversity' (1999, p. 6). They go on to recognise that the notion of Canada as a multi-cultural utopia is flawed, Canada is 'neither a model of virtue when it comes to engaging with diversity nor the "mother" of all evils; it probably falls somewhere in between' (Fleras & Elliott, 1999, p. 6). That in-between space is marked by significant events with contemporary malleability in how they relate to power and perspective. The first day of July 1867, for some, marked the founding of nation that has provided many with hope and refuge from tyranny; yet, for Indigenous people, 1 July 1867 saw the forces of colonial tyranny enshrined in the reimagined settler state with greater power (see Appendix 1 for a selected timeline of the exploration, settlement, and development of Canada).

The 'in-between' space identified by Fleras and Elliott (1999) reflects that the project of Canadian nationhood is unfinished. Yet, in 2017, Canada's celebrated, contested, and emergent nature as a sovereign nation was on full display, as it

marked 150 years since confederation. The Canada 150 celebration provided the opportunity for the unifying power of discord; and it illustrated the potential for large-scale civic events to be 'mechanisms to reinforce or contest the hegemonic narrative of national identity' (Laws & Ferguson, 2011, p. 126). For example, Vancouver, as the cultural centre of western Canada, saw a variety of events showcasing alternative narratives of Canadian nationhood, including stories of discrimination and inspiring calls to action, such as the Walk for Reconciliation led by Chief Dr Robert Joseph of Reconciliation Canada (see 'Chapter Two – Reflection: Who's with me?').

It is fitting that British Columbia saw a variety of different identities and perspectives of nationhood celebrated on that day, as British Columbia has a pattern of regional exceptionalism in its contributions to Canadian development (Resnick, 2000). For example, in much of eastern Canada, treaty agreements between Indigenous peoples and the state had been ratified by the early 1900s; while, in British Columbia, most of the province's land and water were left in legal dispute, with few recognised agreements (Tindall, et al., 2013). *We are all treaty people*, is a popular refrain meant to convey that all people within the territorial boundaries of Canada have treaty rights and responsibilities. However, the disparate and inequitable forms that these legal agreements take such as: friendship treaties not involving land transfer; treaties over territory where one or more Indigenous Nation assert sovereignty; modern reconciliation agreements with provincial governments that do not address land title; and the vast unceded

Indigenous traditional territories in British Columbia lead Battell Lowman and Barker to unequivocally state, 'we are quite simply *not* all treaty people' (2015, p. 67).

The lack of certainty in regard to Indigenous rights and titles remains extremely problematic in the Pacific Northwest, with its abundant fish, timber, and minerals. Ambiguous land tenure status and resource rights created decades of costly conflict for Indigenous peoples, who sought to assert – in many instances, successfully – their constitutionally enshrined, inherent rights. For most Indigenous peoples in British Columbia, these conflicts are further complicated by multiple and often overlapping disputes and jurisdictional wrangling between local, regional, provincial, and federal authorities.

Community orientation: the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation

Introduction

This section provides contextual and background information on the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation. Wherever possible, publicly available information is used to provide the reader with an understanding of the salient characteristics of the community and the nature of events and interactions relevant to this initiative.

Where aspects of culture, politics, spirituality, or other intrinsically sensitive elements of Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation cultural identity and development are

discussed, it is done with deep sensitivity and respect for privacy. The principle taken here is: unless these elements have been publicly and explicitly shared by a knowledgeable source with the authority to do so, they will not be included. The decision to omit specific stories, historical events, and culturally sensitive perspectives has been taken to avoid exceeding the social license associated with this research and perpetuating intrusive and ethically problematic historic relationships between Indigenous peoples, commercial actors, academic researchers, and agents of the state.

Community profile

The principal residential concentration of the Tla-o-qui-aht people is in the villages of Esowista, Ty-histanis, and Opitsat, near Tofino, British Columbia.

The following is an excerpt from an internal research orientation manual developed by the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation and designed to provide a sense of who the Tla-o-qui-aht people are. It is cited here in totality to respect the voice of the community in how they choose to describe themselves.

> *Tla-o-qui-aht is the confederation of historic native groups that once lived*
> *all around the lake system called Haa'uukmin (Ha-ooke-min), now known*
> *as Kennedy Lake. Tla-o-qui-aht has been translated to mean 'different*
> *people'. However, it means much more than that. To begin with, aht*
> *means people, and Tla-o-qui is a place in Clayoquot Sound presently*

known as Clayoqua. In this way Tla-o-qui-aht can be understood to mean the 'people from Clayoqua'.

Tla-o-qui-aht governance is integrated into our culture and society and its laws are based on respect and ensuring the well-being of our people and the environment. The Hereditary Chiefs are known collectively as Ha'wiih, and each Ha'wiih has complete title and rights within their Ha'huulthii. Ha'huulthii translates as 'all within their traditional territory' and includes certain responsibilities to rivers, food, medicines, songs, dances and ceremonies. Each of these items is passed down to the Ha'wiih through inherent rights or marriage. The Ha'wiih have a responsibility to the Creator to take care of all within the Ha'huulthii.

The Tla-o-qui-aht community is organized according to 'Houses' or family clans. People descending from one lineage belonged to a specific House. Each House has an appointed 'Head of the House'. These individuals served as representatives of their house in the decision-making process and are referred to as 'Ta'ii aqkin'. The House and the people have access to the names, songs, rivers, land and resources that belong to the Ha'wiih Ha'huulthii. Therefore, each House falls under the care of a Ha'wiih and has access to their Ha'huulthii. One Ha'wiih can have many Houses under their care and therefore many Ta'ii aqkin to appease. This clearly distinguishes a Ha'wiih and a Ta'ii aqkin. The Ha'wiih are the stewards of

the Tla-o-qui-aht hal'huulthii, and the Ta'ii aqkin access the Ha'huulthii of their Ha'wiih.

The Tla-o-qui-aht hereditary system is a complex form of self-government that integrates a distinct worldview characterised by a deep understanding of ancestry and evolution. A combination of massive depopulation and the institutionalization of Tla-o-qui-aht children in residential schools had a significant impact on the Tla-o-qui-aht hereditary system. During this time, many of the house structures of Tla-o-qui-aht's hereditary system became obsolete weakening the governance system. Church and government sponsored Residential School system systematically removed the language and deconstructed Tla-o-qui-aht families which were the basic building blocks of Tla-o-qui-aht society. Today, Tla-o-qui-aht is in the process of rebuilding through a combination of restoring functions and adapting to the modern political landscape in British Columbia.

(Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, 2012, p. 8)

In 2018, the Tla-o-qui-aht Nation had 1,146 registered members, with 330 living on-reserve and 816 living off-reserve. In 2011, 44% (145) of the on-reserve population was aged 19 or under, 51% (1045) was aged 20-64, and 6% (n=20) was aged over 65 (Statistics Canada, 2018).

The Tla-o-qui-aht village of Esowista is accessible by car and serviced by a small local airport and sea plane facilities. Esowista is the only Indigenous community within the boundary of the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (PRNPR), which saw an estimated 1.1 million park visitors in 2017. The Tla-o-qui-aht village of Optisat is located at the southwest end of Meares island and is accessible only by boat. In 2014, the Tla-oqui-aht First Nation expanded its tribal park identification to include the entire traditional territory of the Tla-o-qui-aht people, as illustrated in Map 1. The tribal park designation serves to communicate the vision of the local Indigenous peoples for the complete Tla-o-qui-aht *hal'huulthii* and to provide a framework for discussion and negotiation with other Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors on the shared future of the region.

Map 1 - Tla-o-qui-aht traditional territory and the tribal park system

(Clayoquot Action, 2013)

Community insights: characteristics, events, and development

The Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation (meaning the people from 'Clayoqua' or 'Tla-o-qui') have been described as a 'confederacy of Aboriginal groups who historically were independent from one another but that were all around the Haa'uukimum lake system' (also called Kennedy lake) (Murray & King, 2012, p. 387). The Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation have demonstrated their ability to adapt to challenging and changing circumstances of both historical and contemporary shaping.

Prior to contact with Europeans, the region now known as the west coast of Vancouver Island saw a period of tumultuous inter-tribal conflict and political manoeuvring by the diverse groups that wrestled for control of the terrestrial and marine resources. Tied together by a shared social infrastructure and economic interdependence, the competing groups were culturally bound by language and as ethnic Nuu-chah-nulth, meaning 'all along the mountains and sea' (Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council, 2019). Competition and conflicts for territorial dominance and political control persisted and intensified, as newly established trade opportunities with Europeans provided access to wealth and resources not previously available (Clayton, 2000).

To gain access to the relatively limited coastline – and thus unrestricted access to coastal resources – the Tla-o-qui-aht became actively involved in conflicts with

neighbouring groups. Eli Enns, a Tla-o-qui-aht political activist and cultural leader, describes the nature and impetus of these conflicts:

> 'The defining event that changed the face of Tla-o-qui-aht forever is eternalised in the name of the Esowista Peninsula. The war of Esowista was the first Great War that Tla-o-qui-aht engaged in as a single force. The people who once lived on the peninsula from Long Beach to Tofino and further north had kept tight control of ocean resources and had made it a common practice to raid the sleepy fishing villages of Ha-ooke-min to take slaves and other commodities. In our language Esowista means 'clubbed to death' (Enns, 2008, p. 13)'.

The Tla-o-qui-aht maintained their presence in this part of the Sound through to first contact with Europeans in the late 18th century. In summary, Tla-o-qui-aht are the people from Tla-o-qui; they are 'a confederation of many different smaller groups who once lived a very different lifestyle at Ha-ooke-min' (Enns, 2008, p. 13).

The extent of the inter-tribal warfare gave the region a reputation among traders as a space of volatility and 'remained a region of intense inter-Native conflict until the nineteenth century' (Clayton, 2000, p. 146). The forces of smallpox, measles, dysentery, and tuberculosis (all directly associated with European contact during the period of 1850-1870), as well as violent conflict, likely intensified by the trade in firearms, resulted in a massive depopulation of the area (Clayton, 2000; Boyd, 1994). Clayton (2000) estimates that the Indigenous population of the Barkley Sound region (Alberni inlet area of Vancouver Island's west coast) fell from upwards of 10,000 people in 1770 to 1,000 in 1870.

Post-confederation Canada did not lead to improvements for the Tla-o-qui-aht, and the dramatic and unwelcome impact of colonisation only increased from the late 1800s onward. The passage of the Indian Act in 1876 by the Canadian parliament radically changed the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state. The Indian Act served to further entrench colonial structures within Canadian law and inform contemporary colonial dynamics resulting in devastating and ongoing consequences for Indigenous peoples, including the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation.

The residential school system designed to forcibly assimilate Indigenous children into Euro-Canadian culture, the dispossession of traditional land by the state, and the imposition of foreign governance structures through the enactment of the 1876 Indian Act are some of the more easily recognisable impacts of legislative actions of the 1800s. In the mid-1900s, many of the historically disparate, warring, and autonomous tribes on the west coast of Vancouver Island, now forcibly (re)constituted by the racist classification associated with the Indian Act, sought Indigenous allies in resisting the effects of settler colonialism.

Thus, First Nation groups of the region once again forged local political alliances, renewed bonds of solidarity, and established the West Coast Allied Tribes in 1958. In 1973, this was incorporated as a non-profit society called the 'West Coast District Society of Indian Chiefs'; and in 2009, it was reconstituted as the 'Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council', recognised as the governing body of 14 of the 15

First Nations who self-identify as Nuu-chah-nulth due to cultural bonds and language association. Marshal observes that the establishment of the Nuu-chah-nulth allied political structure was motivated by a desire to 'reclaim power and authority back from the Canadian government then return the administration of Nuu-chah-nulth affairs to Nuu-chah-nulth peoples' (1993, p. 343).

The change of name in 2009 is representative of an explicit move to reclaim sovereign identify, as, previously, the accepted and recorded name for the ethnic grouping of Indigenous people principally established on the west coast of British Columbia was 'Nootka', after James Cook misunderstood the instruction from the Indigenous greeting party who paddled out from Yuquot (Friendly Cove) and told him 'to circle around', or, in the Nuu-chah-nulth language, to 'nuutkaa' (Hesquiaht First Nation, 2014).

Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks: A short history

'You are welcome to come ashore and join us for a meal; but you have to leave your chainsaws in your boats. This is not a tree farm – this is Wah-nah-juss Hilth-hooiss, this is our Garden, this is a Tribal Park'
Moses Martin, 1984, Tla-o-qui-aht Chief Councillor

On 21 April 1984, the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, along with their neighbours, the Ahousat First Nation, declared Meares Island (Wah-Nah-Jus/Hilth-hoo-is) to be

Canada's first tribal park, in direct response to planned commercial logging of old growth forests in their traditional territory. The declaration of Meares Island as British Columbia's first tribal park was historically significant. This independent assertion of rights and title against the state's ability to dispossess and pursue exploitive and extractive industries was a watershed moment in the context of British Columbia and perhaps Canada as a whole. The subsequent 1985 British Columbia Supreme Court decision, commonly referred to as 'the Meares Island Court Case', placed the land under injunction until the issues of sovereignty, rights, and title were clarified by the treaty process (Murray & King, 2012).

In a direct response to ecological threats in the Tla-o-qui-aht Ha'houlthee (or traditional territory), the nation used the language of settlers in declaring a 'park', a term without a clear conceptual translation in Nuu-chah-nulth, thus asserting the Nation's relationship with and responsibility for the land. With this declaration of traditional governance of the land through the modern language of tribal parks, the Tla-o-qui-aht demonstrated in practice and in principle the continued occupation and use of the land which continues to have significant relevance for the governmental legal and regulatory framework of land use, treaty negotiation, and relationship with the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation.

This era saw a loose coalition of Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals and groups participate in a series of legal and civil disobedience actions, which continued to increase in intensity until the summer of 1993, when approximately

850 people were arrested for illegally participating in a blockade of logging roads. This remains Canada's second largest act of civil disobedience and mass arrest since confederation. The cycle of protests, legal action, and arrests during the period of 1980-1994 came to be known as the 'War in the Woods' in the Canadian social consciousness, marking an historical shift in the practice of natural-resource extraction on the west coast of Vancouver Island. It also proved to be precursor to a series of legal decisions clarifying the constitutional parameters of Indigenous Peoples' rights, as guaranteed in Canada's constitution.

In response to considerable international pressure, the provincial government created the Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel, charged with making 'forest practices in Clayoquot not only the best on the province, but the best in the world' (Clayoquot Sound Scientific Panel, 1994). Their 127 recommendations were accepted by the government and eventually led to local Indigenous communities forming their own logging entity, with an affirmed interest in the future of commercial logging in their traditional territory. A further significant development occurred in January 2000, when the Clayoquot Sound was declared a UNESCO biosphere reserve, once again bringing international attention to the relationship between people, place, and nature in this specific region.

Map 2 – UNESCO Clayoquot biosphere reserve

(Vancouver Island University, 2009)
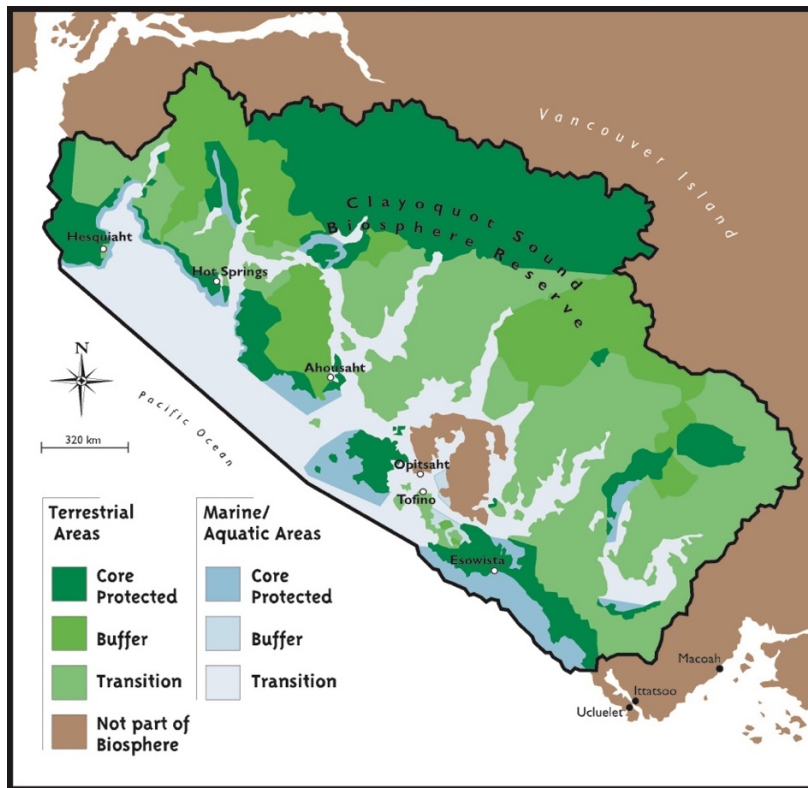
The alternative land management framework of tribal parks for the Tla-o-qui-aht evolved from a one-dimensional conceptual understanding of a PA as having rigid management boundaries and explicit guidelines and interventions on land use, to a much higher plane of integration with the Tla-o-qui-aht assertion of identity and rights.

In the summer of 2009, the Tla-o-qui-aht announced the declaration of the Ha'uukmin Tribal Park (which translates to 'like a feast bowl' in the Nuu-chah-nulth language), encompassing the 500 km^2 Kennedy Lake watershed area. The park was formed to facilitate collaboration between interested parties in the area and to create a cohesive land-use plan, as well as enhancing economic tourism-

related opportunities for local communities. The Tla-o-qui-aht principles of Hishuk ish' tsawalk (*everything is one, and all is inter-connected*) and Huupukwanim (the chiefs' laws and responsibilities), operationalised through tribal parks, serve as the core guiding principles for all activity in the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation traditional territory.

The park had the support of Parks Canada and adopted many of the established concepts of PA-management, such as zoning. The Ha'uukmin Tribal Park was zoned into two distinct areas, informing the intended land usage. The park management plan created the 'uuya tuknis' (*we take care of*) zone, which allowed for limited commercial activity, including tourism and natural-resource extraction activities, whereas the 'qwa siin hap' (*leave as it is for now*) designation of the second zone restricted any natural-resource extraction or other industrial activity (Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, 2010). Following the announcement, Tla-o-qui-aht Elected Chief Francis Frank stated, 'Tribal Parks is a fundamental engine towards not just bringing to life our management practices and beliefs but also revitalizing the strength of our Hawiih's (traditional) governance model so that there are plenty of resources for our generations ahead' (Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, 2010).

Map 3 – Tla-o-qui-aht traditional territory, 2009

(Vancouver Island University, 2009)
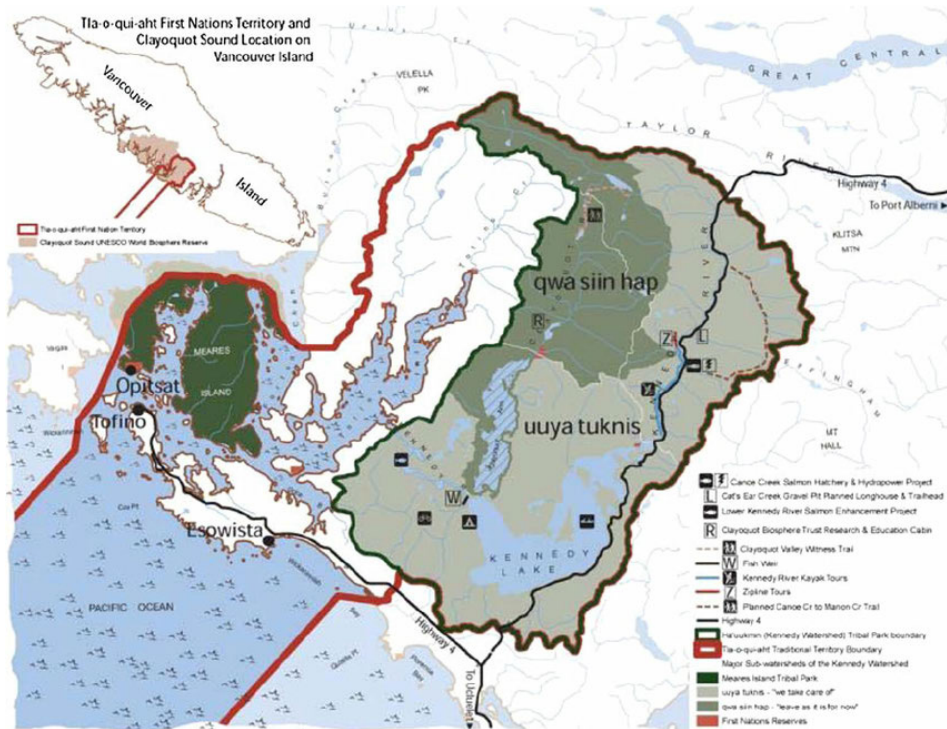
In the summer of 2013, the Tla-o-qui-aht made further declarations, including the establishment of the Esowista and Tranquil Tribal Parks (Map 1), bringing the total to four and effectively asserting to the world that the entire traditional territory of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation – including the non-Indigenous resort municipality of Tofino – was now a tribal park. This was amplified the following year, in April 2014, when the 30-year anniversary of the Meares Island declaration was marked by a community celebration, supported by neighbouring First Nations and local municipality representatives, and met with significant national media attention.

The complexities of place, space, and use cannot be overstated, as the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park occupies the same geography identified in other protected area frameworks, including municipal parks, provincial parks, and the PRNPR; and all are included in the Clayoquot Sound UNESCO biosphere reserve. The language of protected areas then becomes the shared lexicon of stakeholders and serves as the mutually understood conceptual framework for much of the discussion on land use and the multi-dimensional relationship of the people with the land.

It is important to view the notion of a tribal park as a response to adversity in the context of the murky and complex arena of treaty negotiation and legal reconciliatory agreements with the state. By asserting traditional governance of the land through tribal parks, the Tla-o-qui-aht people demonstrate in practice and in principle their continued occupation and use of the land, using the language of modernity – in the sense of protected area governance – to communicate leverage British Columbia's legal and regulatory framework of land use, treaty negotiation, and relationships with Indigenous people. The Tla-oqui-aht Tribal Park vision, as a framework for ecological management and land use planning throughout the traditional territory, utilises processes and language familiar to non-Indigenous actors and sets the agenda for dialogue on issues of shared interest.

The ground-breaking establishment of the Tla-oqui-aht Tribal Park is recognized '…as both an example of and a model for Indigenous peoples…' in asserting customary law over defined territorial boundaries aimed to achieve strategic outcomes (Murray & Burrows, 2017, p. 763). Rather than relying upon legislative or other regulatory actions of the state commonly associated with establishing protected areas, the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation relied upon their historic use and occupation on unceded land as the authoritative foundation for the declaration of the Tribal Park. The sharp irony is that the Tla-o-qui-aht villages of Eowista, formerly 'Esowista Indian Reserve No. 3' (IR 3) and Ty-Histanis (Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, 2016) are geographically constrained by the settler colonial land reserve system, being bordered by the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (PRNPR) on three sides and the Pacific Ocean on another.

The PRNPR was established in 1970 and designated a national park in 1999 under the authority of the Canada National Parks Act (Parks Canada, 2008). The park boundaries include traditional territory of eight different First Nations groups, including Huu-ay-aht, Yuu-thlu-ilthaht (Ucluelet), Toquaht, Hupacasath, Uchucklesaht, Ditidaht, Pacheedaht, Tseshaht, and Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations. There is evidence of a limited consultation process in the park's establishment and determination of boundaries (Matrosovs, 1973; Schultz & Company Ltd., 1971). It is doubtful that the initial consultative process aligned with current expectations given recent rulings provided by the courts, defining the fulsome nature of the duty to consult and accommodate with Indigenous Peoples on his

types of decisions. For certainty, the local perspective is that it did not. For this reason, the relationship with Parks Canada, as an agency of the federal government, has been tumultuous.

Between 1994 and 2003, the Tla-o-qui-aht negotiated with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and Parks Canada, resulting in the 2006 agreement to transfer approximately 86 hectares of land from RPNPR and add these to the formal IR 3 lands, allowing for an additional 160 new homes to be built in a new subdivision called 'Ty-Histanis'. This ambitious project involved Ecotrust Canada and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The combined site (Esowista and Ty-Histanis) at full capacity will result in a community with the highest density of Indigenous people on Vancouver Island and is complete with geothermal regional heating supply and various neighbourhood and housing design initiatives that reflect best practices in sustainability (Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, 2016).

This project coincided with a pivot in policy and practice within Parks Canada, seeing a notable shift in the approach to governance of protected areas, and willingness to work in partnership with First Nations (Dearden & Langdon, 2009). In the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve this involved pursuing an explicit strategy of establishing cooperative management boards and agreements with First Nations groups with territorial interests within the park boundaries. The 2010 park management plan identifies the key steps to changing the relationship with Indigenous peoples (including the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation) and developing a

collaborative approach to the management of natural and cultural resources. The plan identifies an implementation timeline and strategic priorities for establishing cooperative management boards with the nine First Nations, with opportunities for shared decision-making and support for economic activity.

Despite these positive steps and notable successes challenges persist in managing expectations of all stakeholders given declining funding for Canada's national park system, competing mandates to support ecological, economic and cultural revitalisation initiatives in the park, and local capacity to deliver on national policy commitments.

Case study overview

The research activities associated with the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation case study revolve around discussions and activities in the formative phases of the post-2009 Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park resurgence and in relation to a wider research agenda, with multiple partners from Ghana, Tanzania, and Canada exploring the issues associated with PA and poverty reduction

Community orientation: the Heiltsuk First Nation

Introduction

This section provides contextual and background information on the Heiltsuk First Nation. The same approach was taken as described in the previous section, in

that publicly available information is used to provide the reader with an understanding of the salient characteristics of the community and the nature of events and interactions relevant to this initiative.

Where aspects of culture, politics, spirituality, or other intrinsically sensitive elements of Heiltsuk First Nation cultural identity and development are discussed, it is done with deep sensitivity and respect for privacy. The principle taken here is: unless these elements have been publicly and explicitly shared by a knowledgeable source with the authority to do so, they will not be included. As with the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, the decision to omit specific stories, historical events, and culturally sensitive perspectives has been taken to avoid exceeding the social license associated with this research and perpetuating intrusive and ethically problematic historic relationships between Indigenous peoples, commercial actors, academic researchers, and agents of the state.

Community profile

The principal residential concentration of Heiltsuk people is in the relatively isolated village of Bella Bella, located on Campbell Island, British Columbia (see Map 2).

In 2018, the Heiltsuk Nation had 2,450 members, with 1,095 living on-reserve and 1355 living off-reserve. In 2011, 28% (305) of the on-reserve population was aged 19 or under, 63% (690) was aged 20-64, and 11% (100) was aged 65 and

over (Statistics Canada 2018, 2018). Bella Bella is served by a regional airport and a boat and commercial passenger/vehicle ferry service, and it is situated 98 nautical miles north of Port Hardy and 78 nautical miles west of Bella Coola, in the coastal region of Inside Passage, British Columbia.

Known for its important location in this coastal region, Bella Bella gained further exposure due to the Great Bear Rainforest Agreement that was signed between First Nations and the government of British Columbia in 2016, establishing a permanent conservation area of 19 million acres of Pacific coast between Vancouver Island and Alaska (The Nature Conservancy Canada, 2016). This area was further endorsed by the Queens Commonwealth Canopy in recognition of the unique forest conservation agreement of the Great Bear Rainforest (Queens Commonwealth Canopy, 2016). The data on visitor numbers are incomplete, but a recent study found that 25 tour operators reported collectively handling 11,369 visitors in 2012 (Center for Responsible Travel , 2014). The Heiltsuk have published a Declaration of Rights and Title over their traditional territory.

Figure 1 - Declaration of Heiltsuk title and rights

(Heiltsuk First Nation)

DECLARATION *of* HEILTSUK TITLE & RIGHTS

A. This declaration is based on Lhaxvai (our inherent jurisdiction that flows from ownership of our lands) and Gvi'ilas (our governing authority over all matters related to our lands and people).

B. Throughout our history, our ancestors, Hemas and leaders have worked to reconcile our differences with Canada and BC. Each generation preserved our history and culture, and protected our territory. We acknowledge Elders who imparted teachings, stories, songs and dances that allowed us to maintain the traditions of our government institutions and our way of life. We honour our children and future generations who will carry on this important work until reconciliation is achieved.

C. Together, we the Hemas (hereditary Chiefs) and Heiltsuk Tribal Council (elected leaders) acting in our capacity as the official governing body mandated to represent citizens of the Heiltsuk Nation, on this day, October 28, 2015 declare that:

1. We are the Heiltsuk people, descendants of ancestors who exercised sovereign authority and ownership over our land and waters for thousands of years. Today, we reaffirm the continued existence of Heiltsuk title, and our right as a Nation to exercise jurisdiction and management authority and to derive economic benefits from lands, waters and resources within our territory.

2. The source of Heiltsuk title flows from our historic ownership, occupation, stewardship, use and control of our territory. Our title predates and survives the assertion of European sovereignty. Each generation is taught the history of our lineage and how it connects our People to ownership and responsibilities related to our territory.

3. Heiltsuk territory includes Wuyalitx, 'Qvuqvayaitxv, Wuilitxv, Yisdaitxv and Xixis encompassing 35,553 sq. kilometers on the central coast of British Columbia. We have never surrendered title to our homeland, eco-systems and resources, as they are essential to our way of life.

4. We continue to exercise jurisdiction and political authority as owners of our territory and resources when engaging with other governments, industry partners, First Nations and those seeking to carry out activities on Heiltsuk lands and waters.

5. We will uphold stewardship responsibilities passed on by our Hemas and nuyem-giwa (house, crest and family systems) and allow traditional laws to evolve into our contemporary government system.

6. To advance legal recognition of our title, we have undertaken extensive strength of claim analysis to demonstrate that our assertions are based in fact. We are prepared to launch an Aboriginal title case if this fundamental reality is not recognized or respected.

7. We remain committed to existing agreements and to establish strategic alliances and cooperative relationships with partners who share Heiltsuk interests. These interests include the principles of ecosystem-based management over our land, water and resources, and the establishment of sustainable economic development and a conservation economy within our territory.

8. We remain committed to seek appropriate solutions to reconcile Heiltsuk title with the Crown and engage on a government-to-government basis with Canada and BC to establish a process of reconciliation through negotiation.

9. It is our position that reconciliation requires our free, prior, and informed consent to development on Heiltsuk territories and waters as we move forward in a collaborative-management regime.

10. The renewed mandate from our People is to obtain a declaration of title to our lands and waters; and for Heiltsuk to exercise maximum control over our territory.

Hemas Herbert 'Toby' Moody-Humchitt
Wauyala – Head Chief of Uyalitxv Territory

Marilyn Slett (Ga-gwi-ya)
Chief Councillor Heiltsuk Tribal Council

Map 4 - Map of Heiltsuk traditional territory

(Heiltsuk First Nation)

Community insights: characteristics, events, and development

The following is an excerpt from the Heiltsuk First Nation website. It is cited here in totality to respect the voice with which the community has chosen to describe themselves and their history.

> *'The present-day Heiltsuk (formerly the Bella Bella) Band of Indians are the*
>
> *main descendants of Hailhzaqvla-speaking peoples who inhabited an area*

of approximately 6000 sq. miles in the central coastal region of what is today known as British Columbia. Heiltsuk traditional territory extends from the southern tip of Calvert Island, up Dean and Burke Channels as far as Kimsquit and the head of Dean Inlet to the northeast, and up the Mathieson and Finlayson Channels to the north. It includes Roscoe, Cousins and Spiller Inlets, and Ellerslie Lake, and the outer coast regions of Milbanke Sound, Queens Sound, and the Goose Island Group and Calvert.

Heiltsuk oral tradition states that the original Heiltsuk ancestors were set down by the Creator in various areas in the territory now referred to as the Central Coast of British Columbia, before the time of the great flood. An archaeological excavation and study of ancient remains based in a Heiltsuk Village site of Namu in the 1960s and 1970s concluded that the history of the Heiltsuk goes back as far as 11,500 years.

We affirm Gvi'ilas, the laws of our ancestors as the paramount principle to guide all resource use and environmental management. According to Chief Moses Humchitt, Gvi'ilas refers to our 'power' or authority over all matters that affect our lives. It is a complex and comprehensive system of laws that embodies values, beliefs, teachings, principles, practices, and consequences. Inherent in this is the understanding that all things are connected, and that unity is important to maintain.

Gvi'ilas has been described as the ethos of our people: 'Gvi'ilas not only governed our relationship and responsibilities to land and resources, but also social relationships and obligations with respect to lands and resources. For example, take a little and leave a lot; dispersed and varied resource harvesting obligations to share and support family and community; obligations to care for the resource; seeing all aspects of harvesting, from the taking of the resources to the methods used, as a gift of the Creator'.

Furthermore, Gvi'ilas governs our relationships with both the temporal and spiritual worlds: 'Relationships with and use of natural resources were rooted in a value system that ensured sustainability and respect. It was believed that all living matter had a spiritual essence that was respected, and interconnectedness was understood. Each family was given responsibility over specific land and water bases. Sustainable use and management was (sic) enforced by certain practices and teachings. Plants were gathered in a specific way. The first salmon caught was blessed with ritual ceremony that acknowledged its sacrifice and need to give sustenance to our people. Communication with the spirit of the land, sea and its life forms was (sic) common through respect and prayer'.

(Heiltsuk First Nation, 2015)

Recent excavations affirm the Heiltsuk oral history of continued occupation of the land over the last 14,000 years (Nair, 2017; Carr, et al., 2016). This finding extends the recognition of Heiltsuk presence beyond the previously understood 11,500 years. The period from 12,000 BCE to the present is clearly beyond the scope of one manuscript, and a full analysis of Heiltsuk cultural development and identity exceeds the social license and purpose of this study. However, there are a few notable and widely shared events that merit attention to situate this study in the contemporary dynamics and relationships central to contemporary Heiltsuk First Nation positionality in the socio-economic and political ecology of British Columbia.

Like all Indigenous peoples in British Columbia, the Heiltsuk remain deeply affected by contact with Europeans, with their population, governance, access to natural resources, and traditional lifeways forever altered. The smallpox epidemic in the mid-1800s throughout the Pacific Northwest has been directly linked to contact with Europeans (Boyd, 1990), and this reduced the Heiltsuk population from an estimated 1,600 to just 200 by the late 1800s (Lepofsky & Lertzman, 2018). The population had previously been dispersed between more than 50 villages. However, the speed and extent of the smallpox deaths resulted in a consolidation of the survivors in the village of 'Qélc, known as 'old Bella Bella or Old Town' (Heiltsuk First Nation, 2015). The centralised location of 'Qélc and the existing Heiltsuk settlement led to the Hudson's Bay Company establishing a fur trading fort in what is identified today as McLoughlin Bay on nearby Denny Island.

Heiltsuk people describe the relationship with the local outlet of the Hudson's

Bay Company as 'a lucrative, if uneasy, business relationship' that lasted until the

abandonment of the fort in 1843 (Heiltsuk First Nation, 2015). Settlers' interest in

the region continued, with European traders arriving at the former Hudson's Bay

company fort in 1866 and establishing a store and post office, followed by the

work of Methodist missionaries throughout the coast in 1880 (Heiltsuk First

Nation, 2015).

The late 1890s and early 1900s saw rapid change for the Heiltsuk people. The

population coalesced in 'Qélc, resulting in overcrowding and the need for a new

village site. By early 1900, 'all the people [had] moved from Old Town to the

present village of Waglisla, approximately 3km to the north of Old Town and

referred to then as "New Bella Bella". 'Within a decade the village was the second

largest on the coast, with a hospital, school, sawmill, fire hall, wharf, warehouse,

and planked roads with streetlights. Residents contributed to, and shared in, the

success of nearby ventures like Ocean Falls and Namu' (huyuat.ca, 2019; Heiltsuk

First Nation, 2015).

By the mid 1900s, neighbouring Denny Island had become a small non-

Indigenous village. A military outpost was established on the Shearwater marine

site, complete with an airstrip to support aerial reconnaissance of the

surrounding coast during the 1941-44 period. Denny island is now a community

of approximately 100 residents and the Shearwater marine site is a full-service

marina, shipyard, and fishing resort (Central Coast Chamber of Commerce, 2019).

Modern Bella Bella, as the central home of the Heiltsuk First Nation people, is a

vital, vibrant, and resilient community.

The Heiltsuk people skilfully navigate the modern colonial structures that have

caused such devastation since contact with Europeans. They have borne the

trauma of pestilence, the consequences of oppression, and abuse through the

forced residential schooling of Heiltsuk children during this dark period in

Canada's history. They have also borne the trauma of environmental disaster in

the preventable sinking of the Nathan E. Stewart which saw, '110,000 litres of

diesel fuel, lubricants, heavy oils, and other pollutants [leak] into Gale Pass, an

important Heiltsuk food harvesting, village, and cultural site' (Heiltsuk Tribal

Council , 2016). The resultant trauma of diminished access to livelihoods due to

polluted waters (Heiltsuk Tribal Council , 2016), the infringement of Heiltsuk

inherent fishing rights, as well as the lack of transportation infrastructure

investment in this isolated remote community, accessible only by sea and air, are

examples of external negative impacts that continue to place constraints on

community prosperity and wellbeing.

Yet, they have also seen vindication in a variety of forms. Their oral history was

affirmed by the evidence of occupation of their land for more than 14,000 years

(Nair, 2017); their claims of pre-existing and inherent rights to their resources

have been vindicated (R. V. Gladstone, 1996); they have held non-Indigenous

commercial actors responsible for environmental harm; and they have seen vindication of their efforts to identify alternative pathways to state reconciliation, other than the extinguishment of title through formal and legally binding reconciliation agreements with the state.

The Heiltsuk First Nation people are experiencing a cultural resurgence that deserves to be celebrated and admired. The 2014 festival, 'Qatuwas: People Coming Together', celebrated the resurgence of cultural practices such as protocol, feasting, gift-giving, hospitality, and generosity that, for many Indigenous Peoples, are core tenets that were heavily and negatively impacted by Canadian settler colonialism. Under the leadership of the Heiltsuk Tribal Council and the Qatuwas planning committee, a legacies project was established to nurture the economic opportunities for young people in tourism development and cultural revitalisation. Central to this endeavour was the planning, implementation, and delivery of accredited higher education programming focused on community-based experiential applied learning on tourism.

The unique, important, and diverse ecological majesty of Heiltsuk First Nation traditional territory was later amplified by the formal recognition of the area of marine and terrestrial space colloquially referred to as the 'Great Bear Rainforest' as part of the Queen's Commonwealth Canopy project in 2016 (CBC). October 2019 saw the opening of the Heiltsuk λiáći (*bighouse*), a particular milestone and reason for significant celebration. This facility is one of the largest in the

community and described by Elected Chief Councillor of the Heiltsuk Tribal Council (HTC), Marilyn Slett, as 'the heartbeat of our community' (The Narwhal, 2019). Despite historic and modern trials, triumphs, and travesties, the Heiltsuk First Nation remain in place, firmly connected to the land and reliant on their knowledge of the past to create their future (Brown & Brown, 2009).

Case study overview

The multi-stranded approach of this research in respect to the Heiltsuk First Nation centres on three streams of activity. The first of these was the collaborative planning, delivery, and community-based implementation of events management and tourism training programme for Heiltsuk First Nation members correlated with the operational planning of the 2014 Qatuwas: People Coming Together event, also known as 'Tribal Journeys'. The second stream of activity was the collaborative planning, delivery, and community-based implementation of Aboriginal ecotourism training from 2015 to 2020, with participation by Indigenous learners from a number of First Nations in the coastal British Columbia region. The third was the development of a community and regional tourism planning research project.

Summary

The characteristics shared by the Tla-o-qui-aht and Heiltsuk First Nations are both self-evident and elusive. Each community, both its individuals and as collectives,

bears the burden and trauma of settler colonialism in Canada. These Nations

have refused to cede their constitutionally enshrined Indigenous rights and titles

to their land and have, as a result, had long entanglements with the legal and

political apparatus of the state, at great expense – both financially and in terms of

opportunity cost. For each, there have been successes, with marginal – albeit

important and progressive – improvements to the wellbeing of the people.

However, inequitable benefit flows remain, as well as serious concerns for the

future prosperity of both communities. In this they are distinctive of British

Columbia as a largely unceded region, while also showing parallels with other

regions bounded by the Canadian state: just as they share aspects with but are

distinctive from each other, so too they share aspects with but are distinctive

from other Indigenous communities within those state boundaries.

Indigenous tourism is seen by both communities as one of the many interwoven

collective endeavours designed to advance an agenda of shared prosperity and

wellbeing through the generosity of hospitality shown to strangers in tourism

encounters. Both regions are rural, remote and coastal, being relatively difficult

to access and situated in the natural beauty of British Columbia.

There are distinct advantages and disadvantages facing the communities in terms

of their access to the benefits of Indigenous tourism. The Tla-o-qui-aht

community benefit from their close proximity to a popular national park and a

region with a developed and mature tourism economy. They are equally

disadvantaged by the soaring cost of living in tourism destinations; the encroachment on their living 'space' by the influx of visitors; and the limited economic benefits of nature-based tourism, despite a millennia of stewardship ensuring the ecological integrity on which it depends.

The Heiltsuk community benefit from their relative isolation, free from sizable regional tourism competitors; yet they are disadvantaged as the regional tourism economy is in an early stage of maturation, with limited integration and support from outside actors. The Heiltsuk community has significant internal social capital and a track record of successfully navigating legal and political systems to their advantage; yet these campaigns take their toll on the leaders and the community. Study of these communities provides an opportunity to gain insights into how Indigenous tourism-related initiatives, while varying in form, have specific strategic value for enhancing the socio-economic prosperity of the communities involved.

Chapter Two: Confronting settler colonialism

This chapter positions Canadian nationhood as an outcome of imperial structures of dominance designed to delegitimize Indigenous agency and presence on the land, while simultaneously legitimising settler state sponsored efforts to assert universal territorial authority and cultural hegemony. The discussion begins by recognizing the disparate and contested nature of Canadian national identity in reference to the purposeful dispossession of Indigenous lands and culture. Settler colonialism is introduced as a useful framework to investigate settler subjectivities and the resultant object effects from the perspective of personal identity formation and social practice. The use of storied interjections is employed to exemplify intrapersonal dilemmas associated with introspective growth in attaining critical colonial awareness as a Settler Canadian. Tourism scholarship and praxis are demonstrated to be deeply entangled with settler colonial structures, systems and stories that underpin contemporary tourism development and delivery in Canada. The chapter concludes in outlining a moral and ethical imperative for individual actors involved in tourism scholarship and praxis (metonymical of sectoral reorientation) to engage in a self-reflexive shift aimed to decolonize modes of thought and action.

Disturbing the settled

The romanticised history of colonial Canada as a nation forged by frontier explorers taming the rugged environment, gaining mastery over the abundant

natural resources, and emerging as a multicultural beacon of inclusivity and hope is one that, until recent decades, was rarely questioned in the mainstream social consciousness. The story of European pioneers discovering unoccupied land and forging a new society founded on the edge of human settlement is flawed as these early settlers were more accurately 'at the edge of European settlement' (Veracini, 2014, p. 614). In the case of Canada all the available evidence affirms there was a 'pre-existing and undisputable claim' on the land prior to the first European footstep on North American soil (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 15).

To be sure, there have been voices that have attempted to drag into the light the problematic societal myths and more accurately present historic facts (Francis, 1997; Francis, 1992; Duff, 1997), highlight the systemic suffering of marginalised groups (Fontaine & et al., 2016; Denis, 1997), and reframe the pillaging of natural resources to correct the record, inform the present, and drive the future; yet these efforts have struggled to shift the accepted Canadian story. Contemporary Canadian national identity has been largely constructed with direct reference to the cultural and economic dominance of the United States (Francis, 1997). When confronted with dissonant notions of identity, it has been expedient to seek cognitive solace through a superficial comparison with the American origin story, which details the violent historic dispossession of Indigenous peoples of their land, and the contemporary assumed and overgeneralised American values associated with the primacy of cultural homogeneity and promotion of individual

interests. In contrast, commonly understood Canadian stories of identity reflect themes of politeness, fairness, celebration of cultural differences, and shared concern for the welfare of others (Laws & Ferguson, 2011). These narratives are among those that have shaped the Canadian collective memory through implicit and explicit socialisation processes. It is simpler to say *at least we aren't American* when confronted with counter perspectives of *Canadianness* than it is to entertain the possibility that to be Canadian is to be complicit in a historic, ongoing and pervasive colonial project designed to erase Indigenous presence and legitimacy.

Alfred argues that colonial societies that seek moral and legal shelter from the stark reality of colonisation processes and effects through shallow and ill-conceived comparisons with other, more ruthless imperial adventures, do so only to shield themselves 'from the full logic of colonisation/decolonisation' and that 'most Settlers are in denial', as they are cognisant that 'the foundations of their countries are corrupt', but they fail to recognise the need for 'fundamental changes to government, society and the way they live' to attempt to make things right (Alfred, 2009, p. 107).

The failure to recognise a needed paradigm shift to address the injustices of settler colonialism is also manifest in the realm of tourism scholarship and practice. Higgins-Desbiolles & Whyte critique tourism scholarship that claims to interrogate power structures and pursue emancipatory aims, but instead serves

the interests of the tourism researcher over the possibility of material change by asking, 'where are the cutting-edge critical tourism results that show transformation in the world?' (2013, p. 431). Tourism is built upon the exploration/exploitation of the exotic and the hedonistic consumption of place (Urry, 2002). The increasing globalised cultural homogenisation has resulted in diminished place differentiation and the need for destinations to promote increasingly niche characteristics to entice visitors and remain competitive within a global marketplace. Advancing urbanisation and growth of the global middle class has also fuelled an increased demand for authentic nature-based tourism products (Cohen, 1995) thus positioning Indigenous tourism as a potentially lucrative investment. This growth highlights the need for great care as tourism service providers '…play a significant role in the transmission of authenticity notions' (Chhabra, 2005, p. 64) and tourists themselves are understood as having negotiating agency in the social construction of authenticity integral to Indigenous tourism encounters (Moscardo & Pearce, 1999).

Tourism scholars and practitioners who wish to engage with Indigenous tourism issues and development must recognise that, 'tourism's entanglement with colonial power is deeply rooted and complex' (Grimwood, et al., 2019, p. 1). This entanglement necessarily includes the assumed authoritative nature of Western traditions of knowledge production and epistemological bias acquired through a lifetime of benefitting from settler privilege, while also not recognising the legitimacy of culturally Othered (including Indigenous) ways of making sense of

our world. Thus, a high degree of personal reflexivity is essential to untangle/decolonize both tourism scholarship and practice. Tourism practitioners must take responsibility for promoting the semiotic and rhetoric of the exotic native as synonymous with historic and romanticised concepts of nature (Braun, 2002) common in tourism promotion and self-serving efforts in academia to raise Indigenous perspectives as solutions must first recognise that the Settler problem must be exposed (Grimwood, et al., 2019).

The 'Oka Crisis' of 1990, the 'War of the Woods' in 1993, the 2012 'Idle No More' movement, the 2015 findings of the TRCC, and the 2019 findings of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls are some of the milestones that have forced difficult conversations in Canadian society. These conversations are actively reframing Canadian history, reshaping the socio-political structures, and re-imagining possible futures for Indigenous Peoples who were on the land prior to confederation, and for those who came later – and who have kept coming – post-European contact to *settle* on the land now recognised as Canada. The subsequent 'unending negotiation of what is Canadian' (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 29) reflects a socio-cultural context that is unstable and shifting, making personal reflexivity, and studies that engage in such a context such as this one, a challenging endeavour. The challenge for tourism sectoral reflexivity and reorientation is even higher as coming from an even less stable and unified base of understanding.

Situating settler colonial studies

The emerging field of settler colonial studies provides a useful intellectual framework in illuminating the distinct characteristics of both settler colonialism and the nature of injustices brought upon Indigenous Peoples in settler societies and other social justice movements. At the core of this understanding is the disentanglement of colonial and settler colonial phenomena and the understanding of these in dialectical relation to each other (Veracini, 2011). Both colonialism and settler colonialism are concerned with the domination of territory and people by an exogenous Other (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Veracini, 2014), however settler colonialism differs in the ultimate goal of effectively erasing the original population with a new society, 'settler colonialism destroys to replace' (Wolf, 2006, p. 388).

According to Veracini (2011, p. 1) colonialism has 'two fundamental and necessary components: an original displacement and unequal relations. Colonisers move to a new setting and establish their ascendancy'. This characterisation cannot reasonably also include movement of people that have limited agency or aspiration to exert dominance, such as forced or economic migrants. Battell Lowman and Barker propose a Canadian settler colonial trialectic space that is 'premised on three subjectivities created by settler colonialism' and identified through three groups identified as: settler colonizers, Indigenous Others, and exogenous Others (2015, p. 28). Settler societies such as Canada problematise the seeming clarity of these distinctions as it remains

unclear as to what variables would converge to shift membership and affect relationship across groups. Battell Lowman and Barker recognize the 'dynamism within and between groups' inferring a fluidity where it is possible to determine how one chooses to live in relation with any other (2015, p. 28). While colonialism results in the permanent subjugation of the Indigenous and exogenous Other, the ultimate goal of settler colonialism is to result in a post-colonial condition where 'all problematic Others will be managed out of existence' (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 19) and the settler colonial state 'supersede[s] the conditions of its operation' (Veracini , 2011, p. 19). Further clarifying the distinction, Vercini posits that, 'Colonialism reproduces itself, and the freedom and equality of the colonised is forever postponed; settler colonialism, by contrast, extinguishes itself' (Veracini , 2011, p. 3). This erasure of the Other and claimed post-colonial state of affairs is exactly what Wolfe was alluding to in stating, 'Settler colonisers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event' (2006, p. 388).

The initial invasion of colonizers may be easy to place in time and space, however the structures that are established are persistent, insidious and difficult to fully ascertain. Barker & Battell Lowman suggest a theory of Canadian settler colonialism that is informed through an interlocking set of structures, systems and stories '…so pervasive as to make participation in settler colonialism almost inescapable' (2016, p. 197). Kouri & Skott-Myhre assert that settler colonial structures are '…actualized in the production of subjectivity. It is the stuff of life,

both organic and inorganic, a set of relations that produces every moment as an assembling and disassembling of component particulate combinations beyond our ability to comprehend' (2016, p. 280). It is in the embodied practices of everyday life where settler subjectivities serve a performative role in reinforcing or resisting settler colonialism manifested in self-identity and in activated relationships to Others.

In this discussion 'settler', is the term that is surprisingly unsettling. Battell Lowman and Barker employ 'Settler' as an identifier 'that connects a group of people with common practices, a group to which people have affinity, and can belong either through individual identification or recognition by the group (or some combination)' (2015, p. 15), thus they employ capitalisation to signify a specific identity. Battell Lowman and Barker further position Settler identity in location-specific relationships with contested lands and Indigenous Peoples, and describe Settler identity as 'situated, process based and pervasive' within the systems, institutions, and embodied colonial practices of settler societies such as Canada, Australia and the United States. (2015, p. 15). Thus, this study as concerned with specific Indigenous tourism initiatives driven by First Nations who do not have a treaty relationship with the state, and where the associated tourism activities take place within unceded traditional territory, have very different characteristics than initiatives involving First Nations with differing legal status and circumstances.

Thus, the assertion of dominance and expansion of territory by the colonising authorities in Canada, has done irreparable harm to the original (and current) Indigenous inhabitants of the land. To recognize participation in the Canadian story from this perspective is to be implicated in an ugly past, an unsettled present, and an unknown future. The subsequent nomenclature of 'Settler Canadian' explicitly locates a person within the historic and ongoing settler colonial structures, processes and practices that serve to delegitimise Indigenous Peoples' presence on the land. Tourism studies has begun to defamiliarise place when considering Indigenous tourism development, but there is significant scope for greater critical awareness to effectively '…intervene in relationships between tourism and settler colonialism…' (Grimwood, et al., 2019, p. 9).

Social labels in any society serve as tools of linguistic identification and potential mechanisms for social stereotypes to be reified in the social consciousness. The ascribed characteristic of being either Indigenous or non-Indigenous is one of the central determinants in identifying as a Settler Canadian. For Regan (2010), to be a Settler Canadian is not a fluid identity; one is, or one is not: there is no middle ground. Identification as a Settler Canadian serves to differentiate relationship to place and personal attachment to the contemporary dynamics of privilege resultant from Canadian Settler colonialism. Not all non-Indigenous people within Canada share the same story of how they came to be living in Canada, many exogenous Others have arrived out of desperation or without choice. Therefore, unreflexively adopting the term 'Settler Canadian' as a personal identifier further

problematizes the capacity for a cohesive national identity within Canada, as there are disparate migratory stories and lived realities reflecting the diverse political, cultural, and regional variation across the country.

It is equally important to recognise that developing a critical awareness of personal attachment to settler colonialism can also be deeply unsettling as this may require a significant reorientation of self-identity. As a simple example, in 2013, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, was included as one of the most important elements of Canadian national identity (Statistics Canada, 2015). However, any notions of contemporary Canadian national identity as a noble country where rights and freedoms of the minority are protected were shattered when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRCC) concluded that the Canadian government had committed cultural genocide against Indigenous peoples (TRCC, 2015). The TRCC findings resulted in a renewed national discourse recognizing the damaged relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples within Canada and the resultant need to reconcile.

The reconciliatory burden properly resides with the settler state as the evidenced aggressor, however this process also places a responsibility for individual Settler People to gain a critical understanding of the settler colonial antecedents and contemporary drivers, essential to (re)establishing a relationship with Indigenous Peoples based upon mutual respect and understanding.

The path to recognising one's Settler identity is personal and wrought with difficult confrontations: 'There is no clear path for how Settlers should go about this work, nor is there any innocent positioning from which Settlers can commence' (Grimwood, et al., 2019, p. 8). The realisation of Settler identity in the Canadian context is further problematised in that Canadian Settler identity is fluid and transcends simplistic 'racialised or class-based identities' (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 70); and, as such, its manifestations require insight into the differing ways that individuals and groups relate to the land and each other.

There is a myriad of differing epistemological perspectives of the land, given the range of forced/unforced patterns of immigration among those who have arrived post-European contact and permanently reside within Canada's borders. When these people arrived – and, indeed, where they come from – is of less import in terms of identifying the hallmarks of settler colonialism. However, the pervasive and unquestioned nature of the social, economic, and political structures, systems and stories that serve to alienate/erase the first inhabitants and establish/elevate the newcomers enable the assertion of dominance over territory and determine the parameters of relationship. Thus, settler colonial systems of power, when firmly entrenched, enable processes, beliefs, and behaviours that permeate society and reify nationhood creation myths that, if unchecked, assuage the moral dilemmas that may arise when confronted with the stark counter-narratives of dispossession and oppression.

Settler Canadians benefit from the social, economic, and political structural framework of settler colonialism. These benefits include the wealth extracted from natural resources and appropriated from Indigenous peoples and the social privilege in Canadian society that affords inequitable access to the key engines of social mobility, such as means of production (land), healthcare, and education. As Regan rightly comments, the challenge then is to answer, 'under what circumstances would Settlers who are beneficiaries of colonialism stop denying or making substantive space for Indigenous peoples by giving up some of our power and privilege?' (2006, p. 23). The notion of shared power and surrender of Settler privilege is central to the success of the social reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples within Canada. The extent to which the Canadian tourism sector can recognize its complicity in settler colonialism is dependent upon a fulsome commitment to implement, '…skills based training in intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights, and anti-racism.' for management and staff as called upon by the TRCC Call to Action 92(iii) (2015).

Reconciling social reconciliation in Canada

The underlying principles of reconciliation define a process to 'renew the relationship with Indigenous peoples, based on recognition of rights, respect, cooperation and partnership' (Government of Canada, 2017). The establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada in 2008, and the subsequent Calls to Action, followed a comprehensive and painful process to

document the harm to generations of Indigenous people caused by the residential school programme that operated between 1883 and 1996. This commission and its work are likely to be marked by historians as a turning point in understanding 'Canadianness'. For the first time, mainstream Canada was confronted with the national scale and personal pain of those who survived the system of cultural genocide perpetrated through the residential school system (TRCC, 2015). As far as possible within the constraints of a public enquiry, the 'truth' was heard – with more than 6,750 witness statements providing 1,355 hours of testimony.

> For over a century, the central goals of Canada's Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada. The establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of this policy, which can best be described as 'cultural genocide' (TRCC, 2015, p. 1).

This statement is indicative of the settler colonial practices, processes, and systemic institutionalised racism and the subsequent effects on Indigenous Peoples. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada made 94 recommendations, or calls to action, spanning the spectrum of issues identified through the commission's work. These calls to action have become part of Canadian public policy lexicon and are designed to penetrate all aspects of society to affect a pathway to social reconciliation.

According to Knox reconciliation takes at least three forms in Canada, individual,

legal and social (2010). The order in which Knox introduces these forms of

reconciliation are instrumental as each is foundational to the next. For Knox

social reconciliation reflects reconciliation between peoples, a restoration of

relationships between defined groups predicated on the legal reconciliation of

differing legal systems, in turn predicated on individual human-to-human

reconciliation (2010). Tourism encounters are thus posited as having tremendous

potential for their ability to create opportunities for transformational cultural

exchange between host and guest, by providing space to cultivate mutual

understanding and individual-to-individual reconciliation (Pritchard, et al., 2011).

Indigenous and non-Indigenous legal engagements have had a tumultuous record

in Canada (see Appendix 1) and have largely shaped the parameters of

reconciliation discourse to the detriment of meaningful progress towards social

reconciliation and arguably and impediment for individual reconciliation where

the legal arguments are beyond the grasp of the lay person. The Truth and

Reconciliation Commission of Canada's public mandate and subsequent

integration into Canada's regulatory lexicon provide one framework aimed to

facilitate social reconciliation within Canada, as the calls to action necessitate

social policy change within public agencies.

Other recent and significant milestones reflecting legal reconciliatory movements

include Canada's adoption in May 2016 of the United Nations Declaration on the

Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau, followed this announcement at his 21 September 2017 address to the UN General Assembly, stating that, 'Canada remains a work in progress' (2017) recognizing there is much work to do. The Province of British Columbia subsequently became the first provincial jurisdiction to integrate UNDRIP into law by passing the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act in November 2019 aimed 'to create a path forward that respects the human rights of Indigenous peoples while introducing better transparency and predictability in the work [the Crown and Indigenous Peoples] do together' (Province of British Columbia, 2019). These legal and legislative milestones were widely acknowledged as welcome steps amongst Indigenous leaders and communicated state commitment towards a new relationship with Indigenous Peoples in Canada.

It is also interesting to note the Supreme Court of Canada has recognized the responsibility of the Crown to 'take a leading role in reconciling and balancing the interests of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people' (R. V. Gladstone, 1996 in Knox, 2010, p. 9). Therefore, demonstrating 'a constitutional responsibility cast upon Canadian governments to effect social reconciliation which goes beyond the integration of pre-existing Aboriginal law with Canadian law…' (Knox, 2010, p. 10). In discussing the legal evolution of land use in established traditional territories of Indigenous peoples, Curran asserts that reconciliation 'is an ongoing and adaptive negotiation process that is place- and community-specific' (2017, p.

820). These perspectives illustrate the precarious centrality of Indigenous tourism initiatives that are situated within legally contested terrestrial and marine territories and are reliant upon ineffective legal remedies to resolve issues of rights, title and benefit flows. Such Indigenous tourism projects are thus understood to be immediately and unmistakably involved in the individual, legal and social facets of reconciliation processes and have significance well beyond the local.

The formal adoption of the UNDRIP framework, legal decisions affirming the importance of social reconciliation, broad acceptance of the TRCC's work and recognition from political leaders that reconciliation is an ongoing process are encouraging signs. However, the lived experience of Indigenous peoples across Canada are recognisably out of step with that of the rest of the country in terms of social indicators of health, education outcomes, personal wellbeing and economic prosperity.

The story of Canadian nationhood has thus far been problematised by the evidenced violent dispossession of Indigenous land and efforts to delegitimise Indigenous cultural agency. Settler colonialism as a conceptual framework has been demonstrated to provide insight on the antecedents and contemporary dynamics underpinning injustices affecting Indigenous Peoples. Legal reconciliation is currently a factor of several recent legal decisions and legislative actions which have elevated the profile of social reconciliation within Canada and

highlighted the responsibilities for both government and public agencies in moving forward. As such it provides an important contextual element of the cases at the centre of this study but cannot be a significant element of the current analysis: these legal changes and precedents are only just beginning to have a wider impact. Attention now must rightly shift to individual reconciliation as the precursor to any imagined social change. Of central importance to this discussion is the capacity of Settlers to develop a critical colonial awareness so as to effectively promote processes of social reconciliation.

Towards a critical colonial awareness

Battell Lowman and Barker (2015) assert that Settler Canadian identity is malleable and multi-dimensional flowing from awareness, responsibility, engagement, and action while remaining firm in its opposition to the status quo and in disrupting settler colonial processes. They further contend that 'decolonialization requires preparation and *training*'[emphasis added] (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 114) rightly alluding to the practical acquisition of knowledge, judgement and skills that lend enable Settler people to acquire a critical colonial awareness of self.

The conscious-competency model Broadwell (1969) serves as a useful communicative device to map the personal lived experience of developing a critical colonial awareness through four stages, from ignorance/unconscious

incompetence through to mastery/unconscious competence illustrated with storied interjections allowing for contextual insight. This linear, model has its limitations in the current application, but there is a certain appeal in its conceptual accessibility.

Awareness and responsibility: from unconscious incompetence

The first act in moving towards a critical colonial awareness is the willingness to recognise that one is ignorant and unconsciously incompetent in the realm of appreciating one's relationship with and legitimacy on the land and, furthermore, to see oneself in contrast to and in relationship with Indigenous peoples. Chambers and Buzinde write, 'The words decolonial, and decolonis/zation have scarcely been used or critically explored in tourism research', thus lamenting 'the dearth of decolonial thinking and writing' in tourism scholarship and the need to move beyond selective ignorance (2015, p. 8).

The description of ignorance here is not accusatory; it is a subjective evaluative statement of the extent to which a person is cognisant that there are unknown unknowns. Battell Lowman and Barker (2015) suggests that questions are vital. One should ask whose land do I live on? How did I get here? Do I belong here? On what basis can I claim belonging? These questions help to self-interrogate and question personal positionality on the land in relation to others and the processes that brought us to where we are. For many Settler Canadians, these are new questions, never before asked.

To progress beyond unconscious incompetence, individuals must see the value in acquiring new knowledge and perspectives. This valuation then determines the motivational impetus to explore further. As Kouri & Skott-Myhre propose, 'undoing foundational myths is settlers' first task in producing ourselves as ethical subjects. To endure this undoing will require us to be vulnerable and to relate with accountability to Indigenous peoples' (2016, p. 292).

This valuation is fundamental to understanding the challenge for many Settler Canadians in moving beyond the headlines, the soundbites, and the kitchen table discussions towards a personal and critical colonial awareness. This journey requires an approach to self-discovery that is holistic, grounded in the human experience, while remaining open to the metaphysical; it requires intellectual maturity and confidence. It requires 'the freeing of oneself from the emotional shackles that connect us to dominant society' (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015, p. 12).

Individuals are being asked here to take a first step towards a self-identity that will impel them to begin a personal interrogation that will leave them – at best – uncomfortable/unsettled and – at worst – untethered from firmly established places of comfort. Any movement towards a critical colonial awareness must address the real and perceived risks associated with taking these first steps, it is no wonder then that Battell Lowman and Barker insist that 'decolonisation requires *preparation* and training '[emphasis added] (2015 p. 114).

To acquire awareness and move beyond ignorance requires a willingness to create empathic space for others and entertain the view that unfamiliar ways of knowing and relating to the world do not necessitate an abandonment of the familiar. This requires an artful balance of self-confidence, humility, and respectful curiosity. Awareness in this sense cannot be forced; it must be discovered through processes that rely on self-education and critical self-reflection. Tourism spaces provide an apt arena for this form of respectful curiosity and sensitive exploration of the Other. Tourism encounters with Others where there is openness, depth and willingness to move beyond personal comfort, have the potential to problematise the self and foster critical awareness on differing ways of knowing and being (Crouch, et al., 2001). Individuals may arrive at and engage with these self-driven processes at differing life stages, with differing abilities. The desired outcome cannot and should not be dictated, lest new domains of oppression and power be introduced into the equation. Empathy cannot be mandated, humility cannot be dictated and minds cannot be forced open. However, simply sharing personal truths may enable the right environment to critically explore the web of relationships with places, peoples and ideas that have coalesced as self-identity.

Reflections: Blanket confrontations

During the academic year of 2016 and 2017, I was active in field research

with my community partners, teaching a full load of undergraduate

classes, and I identified significant gaps in my understanding of teaching

and learning approaches that respect not only Indigenous perspectives but

also Indigenous learners in the classroom.

I was invited to participate in a professional development exercise co-led

by the University's Centre for Innovation and Excellence in Learning and

Aboriginal Education. The group was an interdisciplinary mix of faculty

and staff and benefitted from an elder, who was present to help us

contextualise the learning. The activities revolved around talking circles

focused on relevant readings or topics. The group came together on 19

January to participate in the KAIROS blanket exercise, a special kick-off

event for the spring semester. I was grateful for Gary Manson and Stella

Johnson Métis, elder and VIU elder-in-residence, for facilitating the circle

for this event.

The KAIROS blanket exercise is designed as participatory history lesson

that fosters truth, understanding, respect, and reconciliation among

Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. It was an excellent way to spend

an afternoon with colleagues whom I had come to deeply respect and

appreciate. It was one of those little-did-I-know moments in my life.

The narrative that accompanied the ceremony was stark: a point-by-point

approach to Canada's colonial history and the systematic dispossession of

land and harm done to Indigenous people. We each had a part to play in unveiling the horrific historic narrative by reading dutifully off of our assigned scripts. I recall feeling sombre, reflecting on the content, and being impressed by the experiential nature of the design.

Afterwards, we gathered in a circle to share our thoughts, as was customary. It was a very close group and there was a high level of trust between us. Gary was the first to share; and in his usual sombre, understated, and serious tone, he discussed his experiences as a child at residential school. Next to him was Stella, whom I had come to deeply appreciate for the warmth and kindness that she brought into every room and every interaction. Stella shared her own story in a quiet, steady voice. I was next in the circle, and I was overwhelmed with sadness. I wept openly and struggled to speak. Mixed with my profound sadness was a sense of deep gratitude and respect for what had just been shared. I also realised that my perspectives on the lived experience of the countless children, now adults, who had survived the residential school system was forever changed. At the end the session, there were hugs all around, smiles even, and a renewed sense – oddly enough – of optimism for a better future.

The *blanket confrontations* reflection illustrates the cost/benefit of such interventions, which are designed to stimulate awareness, create space for empathy and mutual understanding, and instil a sense of shared responsibility in

the participants. Higgins-Desbiolles and Powys Whyte argue that confrontations and encounters with those who have experienced oppression is essential for tourism scholars to gain meaningful insights into lived experience: 'such a path leads to transformation from distant observer fully embedded in the self-other dichotomy to empathetic co-experiencer of pain and oppression which should raise emotions of indignation, resistance and solidarity' (2013, p. 431).

However, even in the most promising situation, the benefits to the Settler of acquiring new knowledge, understanding, and competency must be weighed against the burden this places on Indigenous people to revisit their trauma, not for their own purpose, but to teach and share truth. Now, imagine the same or a similar exercise with a different mix of participants, perhaps people mandated to attend, not given preparatory training, and with no clear sense of purpose or the opportunity to develop a sense of trust. Not only is such an exercise likely to be unsuccessful, it would also be unacceptably risky for the facilitators and participants. For critical colonial awareness to be actualized, it must be internalised through individual pace, volition, and process. This, of course, requires patience from Indigenous Others, who may welcome willing collaborators but suspicious of words without deeds (Lowman and Barker, 2015; Tuck and Yang 2012).

Reflections: I am not a visitor!

Early in 2019, I was at a gathering of tourism academics from across British Columbia. We were engaged in an exercise designed to increase comfort and awareness of Indigenous protocols and introductions. The facilitator asked each of us to introduce ourselves in terms of ethnicity, family connections, and the land which they were visiting – meaning where they lived.

I was very familiar and comfortable with the forms of protocol I had been introduced to in various communities. Gary Manson – Xulsimalt, Snuneymuxw Cultural Leader, and VIU elder-in residence – had taught me the purpose of protocol was 'knowing oneself, who your relatives are and where you come from'. His words stuck with me and I deeply respected the power of knowing myself and sharing my connections to people and place with others in an attempt to forge connections with them. I was/am becoming more comfortable with identifying myself as a non-Indigenous settler living on the unceded territory of the Qualicum First Nation and by a few details of my family background. After all, this is who I am; why should I be ashamed? But I was not about to declare myself a visitor of the community I grew up in!

I recognised that many of my colleagues in that room had not participated in such an intimate and public form of introduction before. Some were visibly uncomfortable sharing even a little information; some seemed

willing to share much. Yet, when my turn came, I could not bring myself to
identify as a visitor.

I have yet to fully unpack my emotional response to this experience, as I
was angry that the only option presented to me was to introduce and
identify myself as a visitor. It is my hometown. I am connected to it. I have
family there, loved ones there. I am rooted. I care about my neighbours. I
volunteer in the community. I am invested in the community. I raise my
children there. I contribute. I protect. I am not a visitor; so why does this
person insist on calling me one?

The *I am not a visitor!* reflection above alludes to the tension that arises in many
Canadian education institutions when they seek to integrate cultural practices
into the parameters of institutional practices. Land acknowledgement and
introductory protocol to meetings and functions run the risk of emulating the
settler colonial forces they are intended to counter in how they are
communicated by and between institutional powerbrokers. Indeed, these efforts
– when employed without context, without relationships, and without (real)
connections to Indigenous people – can serve to assuage Settlers Canadians of a
sense of responsibility for internalising the reasons behind such practices and the
need for further action.

Imagine the following mid-semester lunch dialogue among non-Indigenous Canadian tourism studies faculty members…

> *Prof. A. - 'I totally support indigenising the school. So happy we are finally doing something about this issue for students! Of course, I have always started the first week of semester with a land acknowledgement. '*

> *Prof. B. - 'Oh really! Well, I start each class every week with a land acknowledgement and I also have it as part of my email signature. Didn't you get the memo from marketing? Apparently, that's what we're meant to do now. '*

This (painful) imagined conversation is not just possible, but probable. Within the political economy of the academy, there is a risk of commercialising forms of the critical colonial awareness, effectively mining opportunities to say the expected words (i.e., land acknowledgement), at the right time (i.e., whenever there is an audience), and in the right way (thank goodness for the script from marketing!), all in an effort to self-aggrandise and demonstrate a higher level of awareness to those who are perceived behind. These superficial, institutionalised, and impersonal 'policies, procedure, and practices', when positioned as decolonisation efforts, run directly counter to the decolonising aim of dismantling the structures of settler colonialism and delegitimising the claims of higher

education institutions to be a priori force for determining the legitimacy of epistemological and ontological forms of knowledge.

The *I am not a visitor!* reflection also highlights the importance of meeting people where they are in the process of developing awareness and assuming responsibility. By telling the participants that they are unequivocally visitors on the land and instructing them to integrate what may be a new concept into their identity is problematic. Well-intentioned but ultimately misguided directives that aim to coerce participation in gaining a critical colonial awareness are counterproductive to self-reflection, free of fear of social consequence.

Of course, it is not enough to simply be consciously incompetent and aware of the known unknowns. Freedom to pursue a critical colonial awareness comes with the responsibility to accept complicity in settler colonialism and recognise 'the coloniser that lurks in' (Regan, 2010). This recognition needs to go beyond theorising, imagining, and otherwise scolding systems, structures, and personalities. The call to arms has been made loud and clear. There is much intellectual work to do and there is no clear path, no road map, and no agreed framework to dismantle the structures of settler colonialism in Canada. The urgent rejection of the status quo (Alfred, 2009), the assertion of 'decolonise' as a verb (Tuck & Yang, 2012), and the positioning of decolonisation as a practice (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015) necessitate appropriate engagement and effective action as central features of a critical colonial awareness.

Engagement and action: towards conscious competence

There are those in the academy who have years of formal training relevant to settler colonialism and others who have contributed to a 'long and bumbled history of non-Indigenous peoples making moves to alleviate the impacts of colonisation' (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 3). Of course, many in the public writ large have not benefitted from these exposures whether from choice or chance. Encouragingly there is no shortage of resources available to support newcomers to the arena of engagement with settler colonialism. Battell Lowman and Barker invite interested ones to take up the challenge and experiment with available resources either as individuals or in concert with trusted partners; the process they argue 'is challenging but not impossible' (2015, p. 115). There is evidence of a closing competency gap in Canadian society and a growing body of Canadian Settlers ready to engage in the work ahead. Of central concern however is how should such engagements happen, what should someone practicing a critical colonial awareness actually do?

Reflections: Who's with me?

> *In mid 2018, I was invited to attend an informal talk by Chief Dr. Robert Joseph of the Gwawaenul First Nation at VIU. The invitation was to come to listen, share, ask questions and enjoy a light lunch. I had become aware of 'Bobby Joe' through (Aunty) Kathy Brown from the Ahousat and Heiltsuk*

First Nation. I recall texting Kathy to let her know that Chief. Joseph was in town just in case she could make it, of course Kathy knew him (I had come to realise long before that Kathy knew everyone one on the coast) and she said to say hi.

I managed to cajole a few colleagues into the session on the promise of free food and an opportunity to spend a few hours in good conversation. We arrived about 30 minutes early to get a good seat in the room as the venue was limited to about 80, surprisingly there were only a handful in the room, and I noticed that Chief Joseph was seated alone. Never one to risk the wrath of Aunty Kathy I went over, introduced myself and passed on Kathy's hello. Of course, this meant explaining my connection to Kathy and our shared work in the Aboriginal ecotourism training programme (AETP). Chief Joseph and I spoke for some time before the start of the session and I was pleased to see about 30 in attendance after all.

In my understanding, his talk centred on the themes of resilience, trust, hope, and hard work. His daughter Karen shared the story of the 2017 reconciliation walk, and the angst that she and others had had that nobody else would participate. The weather looked terrible – cold and rainy – and the turnout was uncertain, but it was her dad's vision and they were determined to carry on regardless. On 24 September, a crowd of an estimated 50,000 people, of all backgrounds, joined Bobby Joe and his

family in downtown Vancouver, British Columbia, to voice solidarity and –

in his words – 'take a step on the road to reconciliation'. Wow, I do not

mind admitting that I was a little misty eyed and, after watching the video

of the event with his commentary, I felt a renewed sense of optimism... It

was a good thing I was paying attention, as Bobby Joe then invited each

person in the room to share their reflections and, looking me straight in

the eye, he said, 'Starting with you'.

Fast forward to 8 January 2019, and I had the privilege of teaching an

introductory tourism class to a small group of Indigenous learners in

Hazelton, British Columbia, in Gitxsan First Nation Territory. Unlike in my

previous community-based teaching experiences, I did not have the

support of co-facilitator from the community. I had tried to recruit Frank

Brown to join me, but we just could not make the logistics work. I was

going in on my own, with no social capital or personal connections in the

community. It was not an ideal situation, but I was keen for the adventure.

The first day with the group, 7 January 2018, was great. We quickly

established a rapport. I was able to get the lay of the land and was

humbled to find that my understanding of Tla-o-qui-aht and the Heiltsuk

First Nations culture was so limited in its help to understand Gitsxan ways

– another reminder of the cultural diversity of the Indigenous peoples in

Canada!

Day 2 (8 January 2018) was more difficult. The news broke that the RCMP had arrested 14 people for breach of a court order that demanded the dismantling of the nearby Unist'ot'en Camp in Wet'suwet'en First Nation Territory, which had been established to control access and prevent unauthorised development of a pipeline through the territory. The images and videos of that event in the media were disturbing, and I was tempted to cancel the whole course and fly home, as the situation did not sit right with me. In the absence of a physical co-facilitator in the classroom that morning, I leaned on Bobby Joe.

I welcomed the class and said that I wanted to recognise and acknowledge what was happening locally and make space for discussion. Afterwards, I showed the video of the reconciliation walk of 2017 and allowed for some comments; then, as a group, we recommitted to getting the work done that we had agreed on the day before. I was grateful for their commitment and contribution to the week and greatly appreciated their trust.

The *Who's with me?* reflection illustrates a few points that are worthy of consideration. First, there is growing evidence of a wide variety of people in Canadian society being increasingly aware of the impact of settler colonialism and the need to 'do something', and these people are ready to take action. Chief Dr.

Robert Joseph's record is a fine example of social reconciliation actions orientated to producing results that affect lives. Second, the reflection captures a critical juncture that required an immediate reflexive approach, sensitive to the place, the people, and the problem. Imagine the outcome of a dogmatic, authoritarian approach or perhaps one that saw the Settler instructor adopt a condescending approach by explaining 'how it is' to the group. More problematic yet would be an approach that attempted to co-opt a sense of shared indigeneity and assert allegiance with the group ('How could they do this to us?!'), or indeed spending an inordinate amount of time apologising for the acts of the state. Rather, the choice to be silent, to listen, to entertain failure as a viable outcome, and to rely on Indigenous voices enabled a satisfactory process and outcome that served the interests of all.

While many initiatives undertaken in the name of decolonisation may be well-intentioned, Tuck and Yang unapologetically call out the excuses, distractions, and diversions that do not contribute to decolonisation and argue that there are some actions that primarily serve the Settler desire to find 'mercy or relief in the face of the relentlessness of settler guilt and haunting' (2012, p. 9), without having to surrender land, power, or privilege explained as moves to innocence. One 'move to innocence' described by Tuck and Yang of concern is 'the cultivation of critical consciousness, as if it were the sole activity of decolonization (sic)...' (2012, p. 19). Their observation aligns with criticisms of tourism research in the claim that developing a critical consciousness, allowing

for a decolonising of the mind, is in itself advancing emancipatory outcomes, when it is not (Higgins-Desbiolles & Powys Whyte, 2013) .

Helping others to see the value of an idea, even one so profound as the deconstruction of settler colonial structures and systems, does not result in change unless accompanied by action. Grimwood et al. (2019) identify a number of noble initiatives and research products, including the 2017 Naut'sa mawt Declaration on the Development of Sustainable Indigenous Tourism, developed in Nanaimo, Canada (Graci, et al., 2019), with the caveat that we must be 'critical and cautious of the stories we tell, including those infused with good intentions' (2019, p. 9). In doing so, they suggest that there is a danger in tourism scholarship becoming focused on 'maintaining the peace in research without effectively interrogating contexts of academic colonialism' (2019, p. 19). The implied call here is for tourism researchers to join the fray and resist the urge to retreat into the safe harbour of intellectual outcomes, instead entering the arena as agents of subversive change that shift the balance of power in real terms.

Settler guilt can play an active role in stalling progress towards taking accountability and actions, 'we can get stuck on guilt ' (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 101). Battell Lowman and Barker suggest that settlers must be on guard for two types of response to the fear induced by confrontations of Settler identity. First, one might seek resolution to 'the problem' through settler colonial systems and structures, rather than recognising the problem is a settler colonial

system and structure (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 100) Second, one might seek exception/distance from unwelcome/unwanted settler colonial identities through a variety of behavioural practices, all of which serve to insulate settler identity and reaffirm the legitimacy of settler futurity (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 101).

Returning to the necessary elements of a critical colonial awareness as awareness/responsibility and engagement/action, the example of learning to ride a bike provides an illustration of the utility and limitation of the conscious competency model. Conscious competency in learning to ride a bicycle requires continuous concentration: one must constantly <u>think</u> through the mechanics and nurture muscle memory through repetitive bodily movement and practice, practice, practice. The promise of repeated practice, despite experiences of failure, is that eventually the rider will master the skill and riding a bike will become 'second nature' – able to be performed using unconscious competence.

Becoming consciously competent in awareness of the origins and ongoing structures of settler colonialism, in accepting personal responsibility for complicity, and taking steps towards a personal commitment to pursuing forms of necessarily uncomfortable engagement with settler colonialism, together mean that the critical colonial awareness is nearly mastered.

Reflections: Jerry McGuire

On 28 January 2014, I had just finished teaching the final course of the events management training programme designed to support the Heiltsuk First Nation's preparatory efforts for Qatuwas (Tribal Journeys) 2014 in Bella Bella, British Columbia.

For a variety of reasons, things had not gone as planned. We had challenges with student engagement, technical support for students, community support for the students and the event, the programme budget, the timeline, and preparing faculty for community-based delivery. These challenges led to frustration on all sides – for the students, the faculty, and the community partners.

This all came to a head in a community meeting with the Qatuwas planning committee, where I was provided with an opportunity to report on the programme. Frank Brown – the training programme advocate, champion of the Tribal Journeys initiative, and a member of the planning committee – reported as well. He commented on what he saw as good efforts by the teaching team and the VIU in general in terms of giving effect to the protocol agreement signed by the Heiltsuk Tribal Council *and the institution. However, he also made very pointed criticisms of the programme for what he saw as its drift from its original intent. He and I disagreed strongly in that meeting on a variety of issues. We were both*

disappointed, as we had worked hard to design a programme that would meet the needs of students and the community and be culturally relevant.

What struck me in that particular meeting was not the back and forth around what had and had not worked and the at-times heated finger-pointing. That was refreshing, even reassuring, as everyone spoke respectfully and behaved as a productive team, holding one another to account. What gave me pause was a particular exchange that drew a direct and critical linkage from the state (federal and provincial) to the institution (VIU) and to me personally in terms of culpability and responsibility for the process and outcome of our shared work. With that brief exchange, I suddenly became very aware that I was alone. I was literally hundreds of miles away from my closest colleague and my family. I went from feeling relatively comfortable in that setting, as a partner working through problems with collaborators on a project that was not quite going as desired, to embodying all that was wrong with settler colonialism. All I knew in that moment was that I was alone, that I was in trouble, and that I needed to do something.

After the meeting, I retreated to my accommodation, collected my thoughts, and crafted what was later described as a 'Jerry Maguire' email that laid out a passionate manifesto of sorts and called on all levels of the institution to support the work we were doing and the community in a

more fulsome way. The only measure of success I was concerned about at that moment was protection of the relationship that I/we had worked to establish, and I was convinced that I/we could do more to honour the commitments made. Thankfully, unlike Jerry, I kept my job.

The *Jerry McGuire* reflection captures the nature of moving towards a critical colonial awareness. The project itself met the basic elements of appropriate engagement, the intention was pure, the nature of the work was orientated directly to the needs of the community, and the locus of control of the work was shared. The caveat here is that this was not a radical or subversive initiative and thus was subject to the policies, procedures, and practices of settler colonial systems of education. This reflection illustrates that the practice of a critical colonial awareness is rife with tensions, pitfalls, and uncertainty. It requires a willingness to recognize that failure is possible, even likely, that discomfort is probable, and that personal risk is inherent to the nature of the work.

The general context of the *Jerry McGuire* reflection is the institution-to-institution partnership and pedagogies that are unlikely to be regularly, or as intensively, part of a planned tourism experience; however, the foundational aspects of engagement with Otherness are aligned with the touristic desire to seek new, out of the ordinary experiences (Crouch, et al., 2001). Uncertain outcomes are inherent to this form of exploration and create both hope and fear. If fear is dominant, progress is burdened and the potential for a positive outcome is

diminished. The alternative is to embrace the courage of hope: the courage to face the monumental task of adopting a critical colonial awareness, actively working against the forces of settler colonialism despite personal risk; the courage to imagine a decolonised future that may or may not include a future for Settler Canadians and that equally may or may not include the need to differentiate between peoples. This courage is bold and belies pragmatic reason.

The following reflection, *Trusting intentions*, illustrates that while the decolonisation project is universal and systemic, the practice is personal and relational. Little things do matter and progress towards social reconciliation can be measured one human-to-human relationship at a time.

Reflections: Trusting intentions

> *Very early on in my engagement with the Tla-o-qui-aht tribal parks, I had only interacted with a few people on a regular basis, one of whom was Tammy Dorward. Tammy's role in the Nation involved supporting youth and educational programming. I recall that she had a special interest in ensuring language and cultural teachings were woven into the development of any tribal parks programming. We discussed a variety of topics related to my interest and role in the wider PAPR project. She offered to review my proposal and suggest how I could support the work she was doing, and vice versa. We quickly established a friendly rapport and were able to bounce ideas of one another with ease.*

On my next visit to the area, I shared my proposal for how I could support the work of the tribal parks. We took a walk on the beach to chat about project ideas and how my work could align with hers. In the discussion, she pointed out that I had not capitalised 'Aboriginal' in my writing. Looking back, this was an obvious oversight that demonstrated the task ahead in terms of gaining cultural competency. For reasons that I have yet to fathom, my reply was to offer a smile and say, 'Well, I haven't capitalised "white", either; should that be a capital too?' Tammy looked at me sideways and took a good three seconds to kind of sum me up from head to toe before responding. Those few seconds were long enough for me to recognise that I had been an ass – not only in missing the point of her remark, but also in my somewhat flippant response.

However, Tammy's reply disarmed any tension, effectively teaching me the importance and the subtlety of language. We had quite the banter that afternoon and discussed a variety of areas. Tammy and I would joke about that discussion later in front of my students, as it was an important marker in our relationship in that we chose to trust the other's intentions and speak truth, rather than finding fault.

Interestingly, her actions were reflected several years later in the words of Eugene Louie, Tla'amin cultural leader and VIU elder-in-residence. I was

asked to be the master of ceremonies for a student completion celebration to be held in the Tla'amin health building in Powell River, British Columbia, and I was afraid of making a mistake in terms of the cultural expectations of the event. I shared my concerns with Eugene, who simply smiled and said, 'Don't worry; if your intentions are pure, you can't make a mistake'. I am not one to disagree with an elder's perspective, so I gratefully accepted his reassurance, did what I was told, and the day was wonderful!

The account also marks the point at which the conscious competence model loses its utility for mapping the maturing and movement towards a critical colonial awareness, as mastery – that is, unconscious competency – is an unattainable but worthy goal. Constant self-checking and critical reflexivity is required. Battell Lowman and Barker warn that the Settler Canadian 'can be co-opted in settler colonialism at any point and … remain[s] constantly complicit' (2012, p. 123.). There is a sense of joy in the adventure of it all and the peace of mind that accompanies good, hard, worthy work.

Reflections: Honours and honouring

In 2017, John Predyk, a colleague, approached me and suggested that, given the success we had had in our Aboriginal ecotourism training programme and my involvement in that, that I should consider accepting a nomination for an award recognising excellence in teaching design and practice with a focus on Aboriginal learning.

John shared that not only did he feel that I met the intent of this award, but also that such a nomination would draw attention to the good work we were doing and perhaps inspire further efforts. I have deep respect for John and I was grateful for his vote of confidence, but my first instinct was to decline. I am obviously not Aboriginal and therefore felt I would be fraudulent in standing for consideration for this particular award. In addition, the work was difficult, messy, and did not fit into the small boxes of policy, procedure, and process. Up to that time, I had deftly navigated the liminal space of academic bureaucracy to keep the programme free of interference by 'outsiders'. I was concerned about calling attention to the programme, as we could become a little too high profile and such attention could create distractions or cause harm.

I hesitantly floated John's idea with my wife, my trusted colleagues from the academy, and the community at the core of our partnership – Pam Botterill, Sheila Cooper, David Pinel Frank, and Kathy Brown. To summarise their collective input: the message I heard was, 'Suck it up. It's not really about you'. Trusting in them and feeling safe in our friendship, I went along with the process and was deeply honoured and grateful to accept the award in 2017.

On reflection, humility is not always helpful for supporting those that we care about, and too much may actually be a subtle form of arrogance. Uplifting our students and encouraging them to be leaders in their communities is a part of our teaching and learning ethic. Leadership can be frightening, and it can bring uncomfortable attention. However, I recognised – with some prodding – that I had a responsibility to model the qualities that we were asking of our students and to honour acknowledgements from those we respect.

The reflection *Honours and honouring* points to a critical juncture in the project of acquiring a critical colonial awareness: the move from the comfort of the shadows to boldly – but respectfully – **doing something.** The task here is to become more comfortable in simply being uncomfortable, recognising that personal comfort in the context of acquiring a critical colonial awareness in the domain of decolonisation is perhaps beyond reach.

For Tuck and Yang (2012), movement towards decolonisation must depart from its rhetorical employment for any purpose other than returning autonomy, power, and land to Indigenous peoples in a manner that clears the cultural space for Indigenous lifeways to flourish. The decolonisation project is radical in nature and it requires Settler Canadians to 'undertake an archaeology of the future: an excavation of the possible' (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 109).

Tuck and Yang remind those interested in such an endeavour that 'decolonisation is not accountable to settlers, or settler futurity. Decolonisation is accountable to Indigenous sovereignty and futurity' (2012, p. 23). Recognising this accountability requires settlers to imagine beyond their lived experience and accept that resurgent Canadian indigeneity and legitimacy in pursuit of decolonisation will require – and, if universally practised, will result in – a revolutionary restructuring of Canadian society and redistribution of benefits. This goal may seem unattainable, yet it is necessary if Settler Canadians are to 'end their moral and ethical debt' (Battell Lowman and Barker, 2015, p.115). Thus, movement towards a critical colonial awareness is required to properly (re)orient, equip, and prepare those who are willing to contribute to the work ahead.

Summary

Canada is a nation of contested identities and contested histories. Central to the story of Canada and emergence of a Canadian identity is the celebration of settler legitimacy and the systemic, explicit, oppressive, and racist structures of settler colonialism, employed to delegitimise Indigenous peoples' relational connectivity to the land. The impacts of settler colonialism are irreparable, however, there is a moral and ethical imperative to respond and work to make right what is wrong through processes of individual, legal and social reconciliation. This work requires recognition of the Settler problem, inviting all Settler Canadians to recognise

complicity, adopt a critical colonial awareness, and strive for decolonisation that restores Indigenous autonomy over land, futures, and lifeways.

Acquiring a critical colonial awareness requires a grounded sense of critical hope and a willingness to imagine uncertain futures, to embrace discomfort, and a focus on maintaining relational understanding of place, people, and process through constant critical self-reflexivity.

Tourism, as a community of scholarly practice, is complicit in the settler colonial structures, systems and stories that posit Indigenous peoples in exploitive and/or ethically tenuous positions. Tourism intersections with settler colonialism include the problematic transactional nature of cultural tourism production, the reification of romanticised settler colonial myths, and the '(re)inscription of colonising structures, systems, and narratives across time and space' (Grimwood et al, 2019). Thus, awareness of complex settler colonial entanglements with tourism must be considered a moral and ethical imperative for tourism as an avenue of academic enquiry and a community of practice (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016).

Chapter Three: Exploring the potential of tourism studies

The chapter establishes that an interdisciplinary approach to tourism studies is necessary to examine the proposed relationship between Indigenous tourism, reconciliation, and community cultural resilience. The chapter begins with an overview of the disciplinary status of tourism studies with subsequent application in outlining Canada's vertically integrated tourism service delivery system focusing in on the networked agencies within British Columbia. The chapter then explores notions of authenticity and mobilities in developing a framework to interrogate the experiential nature of tourism encounters. The use of storied interjections is employed to further contextualise themes explored and proffer analytical insights and illustrative examples.

Disciplinary perspectives on tourism

Tourism is celebrated as a powerful force across the global landscape for its economic, social, cultural, and political impact, as well as the challenges and opportunities in which it results (Nickerson, et al., 2014). In the academy, tourism is recognised as a complex, interdisciplinary, and dynamic applied field of study (Leiper, 2000; Tribe, 2006; Taillon, 2014); though Liszewski observes 'growing intellectual ferment surrounding the place of tourism studies among academic disciplines' (2010, p. 37). Tallion notes that there is 'no agreed upon status of tourism's current positioning in regards to it as a discipline, study, or academic

network' (2014, p. 2). This disquiet regarding the disciplinary status of tourism is given attention here to validate the epistemological approach employed in this study, which is centrally concerned with the potential of tourism to inform complex social processes and effect positive outcomes for host Indigenous communities.

The persistence and penetration of the tourism disciplinary debate infers not only considerable intellectual investment in the issue by academic interlocuters, but also the benefit of this rigorous deconstruction – else why debate it at all? It is widely accepted that tourism is a global force of economic, environmental, cultural, and political import to nation states, and it is widely seen as an attractive strategy for achieving specific correlated outcomes at the regional and local level (Hall, 2015; Nickerson, et al., 2014). Therefore, tourism can be a useful academic lens through which to view '*the sum of the phenomena and relationships* [emphasis added] arising from the interaction of tourists, business suppliers, host governments and host communities in the process of attracting and hosting these tourists and other visitors' (McIntosh & Goeldner, 1986, p. 4).

While a relatively young field of study, tourism is attracting increasing attention in the higher education landscape (Taillon, 2014). This is particularly evident in the context of British Columbia, which has seen growth in the range of undergraduate and graduate programmes dedicated to the study of tourism and the related fields of hospitality and recreation, matching global patterns in higher

education (Goeldner, 2003). Tourism educators must recognise the need to design learning opportunities that promote industry-specific professional competencies alongside values-based and socially reflective critical thinking abilities (Pritchard, et al., 2011), employed as evaluative criteria with which to measure the quality and relevance of the tourism curricula.

Reflections: Determining the 'core'

In 2016, I became the lead – on behalf of the tourism and hospitality management programme articulation committees, associated with the British Columbia Council on Admissions and Tariffs – on a project titled, 'Tourism and Hospitality Management Diploma Learning Outcomes'. The intention of the project was to review and reaffirm the pedagogical quality and industry relevance of the core curriculum for public, post-secondary tourism and hospitality diploma programmes.

The initiative involved seeking input from various provincial stakeholders and regionally specific perspectives from each institution. The data were reviewed, shared with the steering committee and the wider body of educators, and incorporated into the review project.

The outcomes of the project led to several important revisions being made to core programme learning outcomes and a strengthening of collegiality in the tourism and hospitality educator community. However, there was a

significant gap related to Indigenous perspectives and the public

commitment of post-secondary institutions in the context of tourism and

hospitality education. To clarify, many of the programmes had

commendable initiatives underway, designed to engage in the regional

context and to work collaboratively with Indigenous partners on specific,

targeted programmes. However, colleagues involved in the project felt

that appropriate outcomes related to Indigenous perspectives should also

be included in the core curriculum. Despite a lengthy process designed to

invite input from across the province, there was insufficient information

with which to create themes related to Indigenous perspectives. All agreed

this should not be attempted without further consultation, but all felt that

we needed to move forward.

Once the revised set of outcomes had been endorsed by the committee, I

worked the coffee break hallways to craft a motion for the joint meeting of

the tourism and hospitality management programmes to address our

earlier concerns and commit ourselves to action. The motion was

seconded by my colleague Stephanie Wells from Capilano University, and

it read as follows:

> *We, the Tourism and Hospitality Management Program Articulation Committees of British Columbia, declare support for the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada calls to action and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples, and encourage post-secondary education providers to address the emergent issues in ways which are relevant to their regional institutional context.*

I was proud that we were able to pass the motion and find agreement that there was more work to be done. However, it remains to be seen what will be done, as the discussion highlighted the lack of explicit linkages, integration, and awareness of Indigenous perspectives in the tourism education and tourism service delivery system in British Columbia.

Bureaucratic efforts – such as motions, statements of intent, memorandums of understanding, and protocol agreements – provide governance parameters, establish priorities, and allocate resources. However, these priorities can only be operationalised by the personal efforts of the individuals willingly delegated the responsibility for implementation.

The *Determining the 'core'* reflection offers an illustration of a tourism studies community struggling to reach consensus on the epistemological and ontological elements that are essential to the intellectual differentiation of the field and the societal impetus for this specialised avenue of higher education. Questions of quality and relevance should be foremost for all higher education programmes; but it is evident that there is an inordinate desire to validate educational content and outcomes in relation to immediate and regionally specific labour market demands.

The *Determining the 'core'* reflection serves as a stark warning against selective input/output processes determining curricula and research priorities without the reflexive and collective ability to reset conventional thinking and take greater responsibility for the pedagogic orientation of tourism education and the tourism stories that are told (Grimwood, et al., 2019), as well as, ultimately taking responsibility for telling the truth about tourism (Tribe, 2006).

The university, as a rhetorical arbiter of truth and bastion of intellectual freedom, is not immune to external forces in its function, organisation, and processes. Intellectual divisions of labour are increasingly influenced by commercial principles of supply and demand, as opposed to the academic or intellectual foci of societal good.

Tourism's accession is correlated with its increasing economic potential and the need for resultant policy and planning apparatus and a steady supply of human capital to meet labour market demands. The pressure resulting from declining public funding, the increased cost of higher education borne by students, and the growing accountability to industry have all resulted in increased tensions in the academy on the topic of the market vs. the social functions of higher education. Thus, serving commercial interests can become the focus of tourism scholars, over the promotion of a 'critical turn in tourism studies, which seeks to disrupt the dominance of Western ways of thinking' (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015, p. 2), and curricula that nurture 'multiple ways of knowing, promotion of critical and

creative thinking, and the development of skills for lifelong learning' (Cornwell & Stoddard, 2001, p. 6), while countering self-serving academic myths of tourism in tourism scholarship and practice (McKercher & Prideaux, 2014).

Relying on Hirst's (1965) requisite criteria of an academic discipline, Tribe (1997) presents a convincing perspective that tourism does not meet the requisite criteria of (1) being a distinct network of concepts that are (2) particular and distinct to that form of knowledge and form of logical structure, (3) having expressions or statements that are in some way testable, using criteria particular to that form of knowledge (4) that are irreducible.

Tribe also refers to the constraining power of 'departmentalism' in how university structures – the home of tourism departments – 'have immense power to direct time, supply funds and corral research to fit a particular faculty strategy' (2006, p. 372). Two tourism departments, one located in a business school and the other in a school of geography, could potentially be incommensurable in terms of their respective pedagogy and scholarship due to differing socialised 'acceptable behaviour patterns, rules, norms and hierarchies operating in disciplinary communities' (Tribe, 2006, p. 372). While tourism would be the language and phenomena studied in these discrete academic units, it would be illogical to suggest that tourism studies would meet the test of a distinct discipline. Thus, Tribe (1997) challenges that the attempts to legitimate tourism studies by packaging it up as a discipline are an intellectual failure.

However, Leiper (2000) counters that the argument Tribe (1997) offers is flawed because of its reliance on abstract arguments and ignoring of empirical evidence. Leiper argues that the existence of tourism-specific academic journals, the presence of tourism departments in universities across the globe, and the explicit or tacit recognition from inside and outside of the tourism academic community all confirm that tourism may be a considered a de facto academic discipline. Further, Lieper (2000) dismisses as flawed the claim that forms of knowledge in tourism studies being derivates of other disciplinary traditions – and thus neither distinct nor irreducible – indicates that tourism is not a discipline. The call here is for a less absolutist position and a more fluid understanding, based upon the pragmatic observation that 'tourism-related phenomena are too complicated, with too many implications, for knowledge to be adequately developed by specialists favouring one discipline' (Leiper, 2000, p. 805). Coles, Hall, and Duval (2006) offer a critical analysis of the tourism disciplinary debate and argue for a post-disciplinary approach 'where scholars forget about disciplines and whether ideas can be identified with any particular one; they identify with learning rather than with disciplines' (Sayer, 1995, cited in Coles, et al., 2006, p. 303).

The ongoing, active, and insightful discourse has not yet definitively positioned tourism in the academy. However, as assumptions are problematised, the unique character of tourism enquiry is recognised, and collective imaginations are stimulated, expanded domains of tourism scholarship are emerging (Cohen &

Cohen, 2012). These give credence to the claim that the indiscipline of tourism is, in fact, one of its strengths (Tribe, 1997). A greater tourism reflexivity thus emerges, mediating the 'complexity, messiness, unpredictability, hybridity of the contemporary world in which tourism takes place' (Coles, et al., 2016, p. 313), and thereby strengthening the tourism academic community (Liszewski, 2010).

Having established that tourism is not a discipline and thus requires epistemological and ontological connections with forms of knowledge production and consumption beyond itself, it is necessary to declare what tourism is. Simply put, tourism is best understood as an interdisciplinary, applied academic field of study. It is described as 'interdisciplinary' due to its intersecting, multi-layered, and discursive systems of knowledge (re)creation and (re)production. It is 'applied' due to the domains of praxis required to support and facilitate its roles, leading to a multiplicity of touristic experiences. Tourism is considered 'academic' as it is beholden to – but capable of moving from – the power systems, paradigm constraints, and Eurocentric values associated with Western science. It is described as a 'field of study' in recognition of the pluralism in form and function of the self-identified tourism academic community/ies, globally engaged in the scholarship of tourism enquiry and education.

Understanding and informing the reconciliation processes between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples is simply beyond the capacity of traditional approaches to knowledge production in the Eurocentric constructs of Western

science: 'Contemporary conditions have created several themes that transgress traditional disciplinary boundaries and interests in which are only adequately addressed by more reasonable, flexible and inclusive approaches to knowledge production' (Coles, et al., 2006, p. 95). There is a growing recognition that interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and post-disciplinary perspectives applying pragmatic methodologies to address challenging and questions provide much greater returns on investment than the paradigm constraints of disciplinary boundaries that characterise traditional academic inquiry and limit insights into complex issues. While recognising the value of trans- and post-disciplinary perspectives, the weight of evidence, at least in the area of Indigenous tourism studies remains with the field being an interdisciplinary realm of study.

Studies such as this one employ a form of tourism epistemology that 'aims to transform conditions of oppression' by 'deconstructing power and privilege so that an emancipatory praxis can be co-developed with communities and peoples' (Higgins-Desbiolles & Whyte, 2013, p. 428). To achieve these aims and credibly engage with decolonisation projects involving Indigenous communities, tourism researchers must be prepared to remain in an ambiguous place and de-link from paradigms of comfort. Chambers and Buzinde argue that tourism must adopt 'a more radical project that seeks an epistemological de-linking from Western ways of thinking', framing this as an epistemological decolonisation of tourism (2014, p. 13).

No single discipline is properly equipped to address the historical prioritisation of Western knowledge systems and marginalising and dismissing of other forms. For Coles, et al. the defining appeal of approaches, when moving beyond disciplinary constraints and into tourism seeking, is the pragmatist and heuristically sensible tactic of identifying problems, suitable methods, and desired outcomes, rather than being constrained by the 'old problem, old outlook discipline-bound straightjackets' (2006, p. 313). Of course, this belies the unnerving challenge of de-linking from colonial thinking, embracing a decolonising epistemology, and doing the work to 'create a different logic rather than seeking transformation in the context of existing Eurocentric tourism paradigms '(Chambers & Buzinde, 2015, p. 13). The promise of such pragmatically orientated interdisciplinary enquiries, such as this study, is the opportunity to become a 'transformative advocate' (Pritchard, et al., 2011) and 'engage in research methodologies that go beyond hope' (Higgins-Desbiolles & Whyte, 2013, p. 432) and contribute to meaningful change.

British Columbia's tourism-delivery system

The tourism industry in Canada is mature and well defined, despite the disparate activities it encompasses. The actors, agencies, and organisations that populate this network are identified as the tourism-delivery system, with robust relationships between federal, provincial, regional and local tourism-specific organisations.

The clear delineation of responsibilities and roles at the federal, provincial, regional, and local levels has aided the expansion and growth of tourism throughout Canada, including in British Columbia. A systematic overview of this system is helpful for understanding the linkages and importance of integrated and collaborative approaches to plan tourism that maximises local benefits and creates systemic efficiencies.

The North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) was developed by Canadian, US, and Mexican governments to ensure common analysis across the three countries. The NAICS identifies five sectors that make up the Canadian tourism industry landscape: transportation, accommodation, food and beverage, recreation and entertainment, and travel services. The interdependent nature of these sectors means that close cross-sectorial collaboration and organisation is required to facilitate the Canadian tourism-delivery system (Nickerson & Kerr, 2014).

The Canadian Tourism Commission Act of 2000 gives authority and effect to the federal government's priorities for tourism. At the federal level, the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) – known more commonly by its brand name, Destination Canada – has four primary mandates: to sustain a vibrant and profitable Canadian tourism industry; to market Canada as a desirable tourist destination; to support a cooperative relationship between the private sector and

governments of Canada, its provinces, and territories with respect to Canadian tourism; and to provide information about Canadian tourism to the private sector and the governments of Canada, the provinces, and the territories (Destination Canada, 2017). If the CTC and Destination Canada are the public actors in the marketing and strategic development of tourism in Canada, then the Tourism Industry Association of Canada (TIAC) is their private sector counterpart, as a not-for-profit industry-led, membership-driven organisation. The TIAC boasts over 400 members and thousands of affiliates across the country, and it works to promote and support policies, programmes, and activities that directly benefit the growth and development of the tourism sector.

Canada's tourism-planning priorities are currently focused on marketing, access, and product development. These three areas reveal how tourism and travel services – a key component of the tourism service delivery system in Canada – contribute to fostering resilience in communities and reconciliation processes throughout the country. Destination branding is the key to success in the tourism industry. The 2017 federal budget saw $95.5 million invested in Destination Canada to support the strategic marketing of Canadian tourism products. These funds filter down to provincial and regional destination marketing organisations to support their respective constituents and products. In British Columbia, that responsibility falls to Destination British Columbia as the provincial marketing organisation, and then to the five regional destination marketing organisations covering the whole of the province.

The tourism system in Canada is designed to leverage collaborative branding efforts for maximum effect and reduce incongruence in marketing communications. This alignment produces localised destination and product branding strategies that conform to the media constructs of Canadian tourism typologies employed in international marketing campaigns. Therefore, while the tourism service delivery system within British Columbia is robust and serves to highlight regional and local aspects of the tourism sector, the primary lens driving representations of tourism for tourism marketing purposes is the national collective ability to attract higher spending international visitors.

The Indigenous tourism sector-specific organisation at the federal level, the Indigenous Tourism Association of Canada (ITAC) develops initiatives designed to improve the socioeconomic circumstances of Indigenous peoples across Canada through tourism. The primary activities of the organisation involve economic development, advice, conferences, professional development and training workshops, and gathering of statistics and information on Canada's Indigenous tourism sector. Like its federal non-Indigenous counterpart, TIAC is a private sector, membership-driven organisation. Indigenous Tourism of British Columbia (ITBC) is the provincial, non-profit, stakeholder-based organisation committed to growing and promoting a tourism industry that is sustainable and culturally rich.

The global demand for tourism experiences is seeing steady annual increases. According to the UNWTO, the number of international tourist arrivals grew worldwide by 3.9% in 2016, reaching a total of 1,235 million, an increase of 46 million from the previous year (UNWTO, 2017). The 2017 travel year saw Canada welcome 20.8 million international arrivals, representing approximately 820,000 more visitors than the previous year and hitting a new peak (Destination Canada, 2017). According to the World Travel and Trade Council, the economic impact of tourism activity is also rising. This trend is forecasted to continue, with a potential 1.8 billion international travellers by 2030 (WTTC, 2017). The supply of and demand for Indigenous tourism in British Columbia has also been steadily rising. With revenues surpassing 50 million dollars in 2015, due in part to the British Columbian Indigenous tourism sector – and with 2015 also reporting 3,300 jobs – the ITAC expects revenue to double in the 2015-2020 period (ITAC, 2016). All this leaves little doubt that tourism is poised for sustained and steady increases in demand, supply, and economic activity for the foreseeable future.

Underpinning this increasing demand are a number of factors. Within the Canadian context, Chinese tourists are benefiting from greater access to Canada due to the Chinese-Canada Agreement. A growing middle-class in China and Mexico are now seen as lucrative, emerging, inbound tourism markets for Canadian operators (Tourism Industry Association of Canada, 2018). Trends affecting tourism suppliers and producers in the global landscape have been fuelled by forces of globalisation, including technological advancements, ease of

access to mass transportation, rising levels of disposable income, increasing leisure time, and greater awareness of global destinations (Sheller & Urry, 2004). Domestic travel within Canada remains robust as 53% of the 20.6 million 2017 overnight visitors to British Columbia were residents of British Columbia, 22% were visitors from other parts of Canada, with international arrivals making up the remaining 25% (Destination British Columbia, 2017). The reported high volume of domestic travel reinforces the potential of Canadian Indigenous tourism experiences to contribute to individual reconciliation movements through transformative host-guest tourism encounters.

A number of peripheral agencies also complement Destination British Columbia (DBC) in its role of the lead agency responsible for the marketing and promotion of tourism. The lead agency supporting Indigenous tourism marketing and product development on a provincial scale is the Indigenous Tourism Association of British Columbia (ITBC). With a mandate similar to that of DBC, the ITBC is the 'voice of Indigenous tourism throughout BC' (2004). The organisation is funded by memberships of tourism-related businesses, each of which is at least 51% Indigenous-owned. The vision of the ITBC is to create a 'healthy, prosperous, proud, strong, and dynamic Indigenous tourism industry offering high quality products that exceed visitor's expectations' (Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia, 2004). The ITBC website provides a database of its members' tourism services throughout the province, running the gamut of tourism-related operations, along with a festival and a special events calendar.

On a national level, the ITAC is the agency responsible for Indigenous tourism. It is a partnership between business and government, controlled by a board of directors from across the industry, including government and representatives from each province. Its mandate is to 'influence and develop tourism policies and programmes to benefit the Indigenous people of Canada' (ITAC, 2016). The organisation represents the interests of tourism businesses that are 'majority owned, operated and/or controlled by First Nations, Métis or Inuit peoples [who] can demonstrate a connection and responsibility to the local Indigenous community and traditional territory where the operation resides' (Henry & Hood, 2014).

There is a clear, well-defined, logical, and coherent structure to the private-sector representation: the TIAC and the ITAC at the federal level, and the Tourism Industry Association of British Columbia (TIABC) and the ITBC. Similarly, there are systemic links and established communication channels between the federal tourism destination marketing arm of the CTC, provincial counterparts (such as DBC), and the network of regional and local destination marketing organisations. This network of tourism industry advocates and business development and branding specialists, positioned horizontally and vertically in the delivery system, provides a robust and multi-directional communication strategy that seeks to maintain the coherence of the Canadian brand and the competitiveness of tourism businesses in the global marketplace.

Tourism destinations themselves include built and natural amenities, leveraged for consumption (Nickerson, et al., 2014). The planning and control of these amenities dictates, in large part, the benefit flows arising from tourism activity. The involvement of all stakeholders in the destination management and planning, through open communication and collaboration, is recognised as essential for the success of Indigenous tourism (Graci , et al., 2019; Henry & Hood, 2014; Goodwin, 2007).

Reflections: Blind spots in the system: destination planning

In late 2018, I was invited to participate in a stakeholder roundtable meeting with the Honourable Mélanie Joly, Minister of Tourism, Official Languages and La Francophonie of Canada. The meeting was intended to elicit tourism stakeholders' direct input into Canada's national tourism strategy. I was surprised by the invitation, but grateful for the opportunity to attend.

Not fully understanding the format of the meeting, I intended to connect with the other academics who I assumed would also be invited and, ideally, to hide in the back of the room and listen. I had an upcoming class in Victoria with my Aboriginal ecotourism students and was eager to share my observations with them about tourism planning in action.

The setting was quite intimate, with one large table placed among the totems and other artefacts in the First Peoples Gallery at the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria. There were no more than 10 people around the table and a small entourage of staff, along with the Minister. I was the only academic: there was to be no hiding.

I was struck by the absence of Indigenous representation at the meeting, as, up to then, every formal conversation of this type which I had attended had begun with some sort of welcome or opening statement from a local Indigenous person, as a representative of the First Nation.

The lack of formal protocol was disorientating. However, I had prepared a few points, in case hiding proved not to be an option, and I could almost feel the pointy elbows of Aunty Kathy (Brown) in my side, urging me to speak up; so I did. My comments seemed to be well received by the group. I left the meeting feeling positive and impressed with the Minister's skill in fielding pointed questions and listening carefully to input.

A few weeks later, I was teaching an introductory tourism course for AETP in the Tsawout First Nation territory near Victoria, British Columbia. I wanted to connect the local tourism planning process to the national in the context of my recent experience. I reviewed the published Tourism Victoria Strategic Plan for 2017-2021, looking for highlights and linkages

to the course and my students. I was struck that I could not find the elements of the plan relevant to Indigenous tourism – in fact, I could not find the terms 'First Nations', 'Aboriginal', or 'Indigenous' anywhere in the document. I was convinced that I had simply made an error and I read the plan back to front several times. I had not made an error. To my further frustration, the document identified a number of communities and stakeholders deemed relevant. However, there was no mention of any of the nine Coast Salish Indigenous communities located in the region, or any key provincial leaders, such as the ITBC.

My first instinct was to bury the problem and change my lesson plan – after all, what good could come from highlighting what I considered to be a glaring omission, bordering on professional negligence, to first-year students keen to engage with an industry that they have been told needs and wants them? I went ahead with the lesson as planned, focusing on the challenge and opportunities that lay ahead; but I was embarrassed and angry.

I shared my concerns with a few colleagues who were in a position to influence change for the next iteration of the strategic plan, and all agreed that the omission of Indigenous tourism stakeholders and local First Nation communities in the planning process was a missed opportunity.

As the preceding reflection illustrates, there are alarming gaps and deficiencies within Canada's tourism-delivery system addressing Indigenous tourism perspectives despite the agencies being 'networked-by-design' and strong Indigenous tourism industry leadership at the provincial and federal level. This further exemplifies the need for greater engagement with the stated public policy goals of supporting social reconciliation of non-Indigenous tourism sector actors at all levels, and to develop what has been carefully outlined as a critical colonial awareness to create opportunities for community led Indigenous tourism initiatives.

Indigenous tourism characteristics

Indigenous tourism is conceptually rooted as a subset of tourism related experiences that are centred around culture, ethnicity, heritage and nature-based attractions; with each having elements of utility in understanding the unique character of Indigenous tourism, but lacking specificity in capturing the core tenets. Hinch and Butler attempted to distil the essential elements of Indigenous tourism in defining it as 'tourism activity in which Indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction' (1996, p. 9). The core dimensions of control and attraction were later joined by the inclusion of culturally relevant values, and interaction between host and guest as the commonly accepted guiding characteristics in understanding Indigenous tourism as a discrete form (Weaver,

2010). Thus, an emergent notion of Indigenous tourism reflects tourism experiences that are informed by culturally relevant values, that directly involve Indigenous People and that provide an opportunity for host-guest interaction.

The potential for Indigenous tourism development in Canada has been noted by several authors (Dearden & Langdon, 2009; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009; Notzke, 2004; Zeppel, 2002). The demand for what Higgins-Desbiolles (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009, p. 157) characterises as 'Indigenous cultural-ecological tourism' illustrates the complementary tourism values of Indigenous cultural and nature-based attractions, epitomised by protected areas such as the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve and the Great Bear Rainforest. As a result, Indigenous initiatives have featured in regional tourism marketing campaigns (Ryan & Huyton, 2002) and were employed for explicit promotion of Vancouver's hosting of the XXI Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games in 2010.

Zeppel describes Indigenous tourism in the Australian context as associated with 'Indigenous people; Indigenous spirituality … Indigenous bush craft skills; Indigenous cultural practices; and Indigenous artefacts' (1999, p. 124). This is closely linked to heritage tourism, defined by the American National Trust 'as traveling to experience the places, artefacts and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present' (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2017). Notions of ethnic tourism are also closely related, seeking 'first-hand experiences with the practice of another culture to provide

tourists with more "intimate" and "authentic" experiences' (Greenwood, 1982, p. 27). The common threads throughout these definitions are authenticity, cultural experience, and travel.

The Australian experience parallels that of British Columbia in terms of the role that Indigenous culture plays in developing and selling tourism: 'Australian tourism, particularly in the 90s has promoted images of Indigenous people and culture to most of its key overseas markets' (Moscardo & Pearce, 1999, p. 420). Destination British Columbia (DBC) is mandated by the province to 'promote the growth and development of the tourism industry through innovative programmes and industry development initiatives' (Destination British Columbia , 2003). This includes tourism in all its forms, including those heritage-related. British Columbia follows the Australian pattern as seen in recent marketing slogans such as 'Super Natural British Columbia' and 'The Wild Within' playing on the region's marketable attributes: stunning natural beauty and Indigenous history, with the supernatural linked to the spirituality of Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous people are portrayed in this context as having a strong bond with the natural environment (Zeppel, 2006) and as romanticised examples of authentic lifeways, unadulterated by and in contrast to modernity (Cole, 2007). Indeed, Western notions of conserving the environment by 'protecting' natural areas (such as national parks) are incongruent with the Nuu-chah-nulth central guiding concept of '*heshook-ish tsawalk,* meaning everything is one' (Atleo, 2004, p. xi).

Representations of Indigenous cultures as static, primitive embodiments of the ecological noble savage are well documented (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Francis, 1992; Bianchi, 2003; Braun, 2002). However, as Mason contends, interaction between tourists and Indigenous hosts can also provide a means for either to 'exercise agency, be self-determining and challenge or assert cultural representations' (2008, p. 233). As noted in Chapter 2, therefore, Indigenous tourism thus becomes an arena for the discursive negotiation of contested meanings, identities, and histories, for host and guest alike (Boniface & Fowler, 1993). In these interactions, the potential for transformative experiences emerges (Crouch, 2009) and meaningful changes in ecological consciousness become possible (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009). It is also in this space where settler colonialism can be intimately confronted and dominant stories, systems and structures can be directly challenged opening up potential for individuals to engage with reconciliation.

Reflections: An afternoon at the museum

It was 24 April 2017, and I was leading a field visit the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria, with a group of 12 Indigenous undergraduate tourism students. The intention of this visit was to experience how Indigenous culture was represented in the context of the museum and to observe how visitors experienced the space.

Our visit also included a brief behind-the-scenes tour, where museum staff were able to show us Indigenous artefacts that were not on display and talk about how some of these – along with the human remains excavated through archaeological projects – were in process of being repatriated to their respective communities. There was much important discussion.

Later, the students wandered around the museum by themselves. I was happy to have my wife and children along with me on this particular day. It was important to me that my family could see what I was doing and that my students could make this kind of personal connection, going beyond the bare bones of the teacher-student relationship – although obviously, we had already developed our relationship in more complex ways than that.

We were about an hour into the visit and I was walking down one of the hallways, when I heard one of the students singing. Chris Nelson is a Nuxwalk cultural leader from Bella Coola. He is an accomplished tour guide; and no matter where we seem to go, Chris always finds an opportunity to sing and tell stories. This is his natural gift and it always uplifts the group, which I find inspiring. In the museum, there is a very quiet, dark, replica space of a long house. The space invokes a feeling of reverence through the use of dim lighting, bench seating and arrangement of artefacts; it is a very, very quiet, sombre place.

And here was Chris, in the middle of this room, singing at the top of his voice, while students were drumming on a log, clapping their hands, and bringing an entirely new environment to the experience. Suddenly, somebody grabbed my elbow. It was the museum security. I do not know how they recognised me, but they asked, 'Are you with this group?' 'What group?' I replied. 'The group that's in there singing.' 'Oh yeah', I said, 'You know, those are my students. We're here on a tour'. The security guard asked, 'Is there some sort of event going on that we should know about?' 'No, I don't think so', I said; 'My students are probably just enjoying the space and doing what feels good. Do you want me to get them to stop?' The security guard was wide-eyed: 'No, no, no, no. When Aboriginal people are doing their thing, we tend not to interrupt'. I kind of smiled and said, 'That's probably a good idea', imagining what could have happened in that kind of a confrontation.

Still smiling, I went into the space and saw Chris and some students, just singing from pure joy. There were a number of visitors, sitting around listening, including my wife and children; and so, I sat down too, and I listened. Chris would sing a song and then share a little bit about the piece, what it meant, where it came from. He would then sing another. He went on like this for only about 10 minutes or so, but it fundamentally changed the nature of that entire space. After the impromptu singing

students began to informally interpret the museum for visitors. They approached people at random, asking, 'Do you want me to tell you something about this artefact? This story? This picture?'

There was one particular woman who shared a powerful interaction with the group. Her name is Emma Frank. Emma was a quieter student and she was exploring the different possibilities that her future presented. Tourism was just one of them. What was interesting though was that she overheard a mother talking to a daughter about a picture from a community near her home. The picture was of a community Potlatch and it depicted sacks of flour or grain. The mother was explaining to the daughter, 'Oh these are clearly sandbags to prevent the community from flooding'. Well, they were not. That was incorrect. It was not even what the interpretive signage said. Emma, again, shared with the rest of the group afterwards that she took it upon herself to approach the woman and her child and ask, 'Hey, actually, do you want me to explain to you what this picture is about?'. The mother and daughter thanked her very much for her explanation, and they went on their way.

Afterwards, when we were debriefing as a group, I was close to tears. I felt that the students had not entirely realised what a powerful afternoon they had had. They were just doing what came naturally to them – telling stories, being hospitable, enjoying themselves. However, what they had

done that afternoon – through their generosity, because of their

knowledge, because of their confidence – they had transformed that

space, brought it to life, and I am utterly convinced that they changed

people's perspectives of Indigenous people forever, including my own.

For me, that afternoon epitomised what I had hoped we were doing:

building confident communicators and translators of culture capable of

meaningful, powerful, and positive exchanges with guests. It was a

transformative day, and one that I will never forget.

The preceding reflection exemplifies that notions of authenticity, as mediated by

the host and largely ascribed by visitors (Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1973),

provide a contextual awareness of the past that is vital to maximising the

potential for a positive Indigenous tourism encounter where host and guest

interact and experience a sense of self-actualization in the dialectic of sharing.

The cultural experiences of Indigenous Peoples expressed through their dance,

language, customs, art, and oral traditions serve as foundational to Indigenous

identity (Brown & Brown, 2009; Atleo, 2004). Interaction with any of these

cultural expressions can only be enhanced when they are mediated through

Indigenous Peoples in settings conducive of respectful dialogue.

Indigenous cultural tourists present a lucrative possibility, as travellers who

engage in historic cultural activities are apt to spend more, do more, and stay

longer than mass tourists (Hargrave, 2002). The demand for Indigenous cultural tourism, such as visit to a cultural interpretive centre, stems from a variety of factors. The demand for tourism in general has been fuelled by increasing leisure time, expendable income, and accessibility of travel (Law, 2002), while the demand for Indigenous cultural tourism can be attributed to the search for exotic, authentic and new experiences (Moscardo & Pearce, 1999). Contemporary demand for Indigenous cultural tourism, combined with transitioning economies from being natural resource extraction-based to service-based, has created an environment conducive to tourism investment by Indigenous and non-Indigenous operators alike creating the potential for tourism as a contributory factor for reconciliation.

Moscardo and Pearce (1999) argue that it is possible to classify tourists in relation to their motivation and satisfaction in regard to desired Indigenous cultural tourism experiences. They structure the classification of such tourists into categories with two broad themes. The first theme alludes to post-industrial tourists sensitive to their host environment, with parallel notions of sustainability. The second, the postmodern tourists who 'can enjoy contrived spectacles while remaining aware of their in-authenticity. This postmodern segment is thus likely to be a highly active and flexible group, enthusiastically embracing diverse tourism opportunities' (Moscardo & Pearce, 1999, p. 419). This classification provides an insight into what heritage tourists are looking for in terms of

experiences. Within each of these themes lie a variety of narrower classifications, which highlights the diverse requirements of ever narrowly defined groups.

It is important to note that the fastest growing form of tourism associated with Indigenous cultural experiences in British Columbia is nature-based (Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia, 2004), with much of this activity located in and adjacent to protected areas (PA). The World Conservation Union defines a PA as 'an area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity and of natural and associated cultural resources and managed through legal or other effective means' (IUCN - World Conservation Union, 1994). These areas have long been recognised as having economic value as tourism resources, but this takes on greater significance for Indigenous communities that have limited potential to generate income and are located in and on the periphery of PA (Dearden, et al., 2015).

Goodwin comments that Indigenous people 'add exotic flavour, and they are objects of tourism', often not seen only as tourism attractions rather than as partners or stakeholders in tourism planning (2007, p. 87). In light of the perceived imbalance in tourism development benefit flows, there has been criticism of nature-based tourism associated with protected areas and related forms of tourism due to the lack of associated economic development for local communities (Zeppel, 2006). This was a key focus of the PAPR project that served as the initial impetus for this study.

Ecological integrity is a significant policy orientation for national parks in Canada, where an ecosystem is described as having integrity 'when it is deemed characteristic [of] its natural region, including the composition and abundance of native species and biological communities, rates of change and supporting processes' (Parks Canada, 2000). However, in an Indigenous worldview, it is illogical to separate or exclude humans from the natural world, as one must instead recognise their inseparability and the imperative of caring for the human condition and the biological diversity of the natural environment from a holistic and universal perspective (Atleo, 2004; Brown & Brown, 2009). These differing perspectives suggest that the potential for conflict in terms of pragmatic land use decision making in reference to land where title is contested.

Many of the economic costs of PA, such as restrictions on traditional income streams, have been identified as being borne locally (Goodwin, 2007), while the benefits accrue elsewhere due to economic mechanisms, such as centralised fees and expenditure leakages (Nyaupane & Thapa, 2004). This situation has been shown to marginalise local communities and exacerbate human development challenges, such as rural poverty, low health standards, and lack of political agency (Zurick, 1992; Nyaupane & Thapa, 2004). This suggests that significant socio-cultural impacts may need to be absorbed if nature-based tourism is to provide sustainable economic benefits for local people. This creates a dilemma for communities in need of income but hesitant to offer their culture for touristic

consumption at the risk of commodifying cultural expressions on the basis of its exchange and symbolic value for tourists (MacCannell, 1992).

Along with the contested economic value of natural areas for local tourism development, there are equally divisive socio-cultural benefit flows, within and between communities and regions. Smith summarises a number of potential intangible benefits derived from cultural tourism, including, 'renewal of cultural pride, revitalization of customs and traditions, and opportunities for cross-cultural exchange' (2003, p. 56). Additionally, Bianchi (2003) notes that tourism may be appropriated by marginalised communities as a political instrument in the construction of identity, thereby providing as means to (re)define their cultural identity and political status. However promising these potential gains may be, there is a danger that the explicit commodification of Indigenous culture expressions for tourists' consumption may lead to a diminished sense of individual or community identity, heritage, and traditions (Deutschlander & Miller, 2003).

There is an increasing variety of tourism products in the Canadian marketplace for visitors seeking an 'Indigenous experience'. Moscardo and Pearce argue that there is a distinction between Indigenous tourism that involves or interacts with visitors through activities such as dance and living history narratives and aspects which involve a 'visual or object-oriented form of communication', such as arts, crafts, and architecture (1999).

The importance of Indigenous arts as cultural expressions to the overall tourism product cannot be overstated. This artform conveys history, culture, and identity in ways that cannot be achieved through any other source. It can be purchased as souvenirs, enabling tourists to take home artefacts representing their experience and thus extending their interaction with Indigenous culture beyond the immediate encounter. Indigenous art is used extensively to represent Canada's tourism industry; for example, passengers in Vancouver International Airport arrivals lounge are welcomed by an array of Indigenous art that enhances the entrance experience into Canadian space, highlighting Indigenous peoples' presence. The development of Indigenous art galleries, as either standalone enterprises or peripherals to larger interpretation centres, further emphasises the key role of Indigenous art in the tourism industry and intentional positioning of Indigenous cultural expressions within public space. The extent to which these inclusions of Indigenous expressions reflect an earnest effort to honour Indigenous presence, or an attempt to inculcate Indigenous cultural expressions within a national homogenous cultural landscape has yet to be explored fully, however this does pose serious questions critiquing the subtle forms that settler colonialism can take within mundane streetscapes and public spaces.

The tourism product of Canada and Australia bears some resemblance. Both countries have unique, beautiful, and abundant natural environments, along with Indigenous cultures rich in history and tradition. Like Canada, Australia has seen

an increase in Indigenous-based tourism as a direct result of marketing

campaigns run throughout the 1980s. As Stockton confirms, 'Indigenous culture

became of central importance to the promotional strategy and long-term success

of Australian tourism' (as cited in Simons, 2000, p. 413). Indigenous cultural

tourism was identified as a strategic means of creating jobs and preserving

Indigenous heritage for struggling Indigenous communities (Ryan & Huyton,

2002). In Australia, it was noted that initiatives that focused on cultural exchange

and interaction between visitors and Indigenous people were poorly visited,

compared with mainstream activities such as nature-based tours and fishing.

Changes in the development of Indigenous tourism in Australia were seen as a

risk, not only due to the lack of demand for rich cultural engagement but also in

the potential for commodification of Indigenous culture and a loss of authenticity

in cultural expressions tailored to meet entertainment expectations verses

cultural exchange (Zeppel, 1998).

Ecotourism is a compelling and aligned form of tourism to notions of Indigenous

tourism outlined prior. Yonglong operationalises ecotourism as tourism activities

'intended to seek satisfactory profits and continuous maintenance of

environmental resources while fulfilling economic, social and aesthetic values'

(1996, p. 300). Braun provides a socio-cultural dimension in describing

ecotourism 'as cultural and spatial practices that emerge within, and as an effect

of, ideological formations of modernity that produce subjects who experience the

present in terms of loss' (2002, p. 11). Braun posits the paradoxical nature of

ecotourism, in suggesting 'what is lost is an impossible object (origins, purity) that can never be found. Thus, for many it is the search itself that is the source of pleasure' (2002, p. 111). Rollins, et al. identify a set of unifying criteria that provide a comprehensive framework for differentiating ecotourism from other forms of tourism that include: it is nature-based, it is sustainable in nature from the perspective of conservation and local participation/benefits, there is an emphasis on environmental education, and it should be ethically planned, developed, and managed (2015, p. 409).

One of the primary goals of Indigenous tourism development, from the lens of Indigenous communities, is the preservation and support of Indigenous cultural resurgence (Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia, 2004). These values are closely linked to notions of sustainable tourism, affirmed by Swarbrooke as 'forms of tourism which meets the needs of tourists, the tourism industry and host communities today without comprising the ability for future generations to meet their own need' (1999, p. 13). The approach to Indigenous tourism development in British Columbia echoes a similar appreciation for intergenerational responsibility for nature, as an important part of Indigenous culture (Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia, 2004).

Throughout British Columbia, expressions of traditional culture – such as pow-wow celebrations, feasting and place-based nature interpretation – have welcomed tourist participation, for a fee. The educational potential of Indigenous

ecotourism is actuated not only through host-guest interaction, but also in capacity building initiatives designed to equip Indigenous Peoples with the cultural and industry related competencies to successfully mediate cultural expressions for touristic purposes. Thus, positing the educational/interactive element as having the highest risk (cultural commodification) against the highest reward (cultural resurgence) for Indigenous Peoples.

The presentation of Indigenous cultural expressions for the purposes of the potential competing interests of supporting cultural resurgence and consumer demand, raises concerns related to the authenticity of Indigenous tourism experience, design, and delivery. In the Australian model, visitors indicated low satisfaction and interest in interacting with or participating in cultural activities with an education or traditional heritage focus (Zeppel, 1999). The realities of tourism's commercial orientation creates pressure to design experiences that may appeal to a mass market less interested in education and more interested in entertainment, in the hopes of attracting increased tourism revenues. This tension, as noted by Zeppel can result in pressure to conform, or stage, cultural tourism experiences to solely meet consumer demands, risking the cultural integrity of the experience (1999) and negating aims to support cultural preservation or resurgence.

The increasing demand for tourism experiences has created a competitive market for tourism suppliers, requiring increasingly sophisticated efforts to find, satisfy,

and retain consumers. Much work has been done in the realm of profiling visitors

in terms of their demographic characteristics and psychographic values, beliefs,

and behaviours (Hudson, 2008). A term that has been popularised within the

Canadian tourism industry is *experiential tourism*. This describes the design of

tourism encounters that focus on purposeful design informed by the motivations,

behaviours, and characteristics of the traveller and intended to maximise

immersive engagement and overall satisfaction. According to the CTC,

> [experiential tourism] involves all senses and makes connections on a
> physical, emotional, spiritual, social or intellectual level. It is travel
> designed to engage visitors with the locals and set the stage for
> conversations, tap the senses and celebrate what is unique in Canada
> (Canadian Tourism Commission, 2011).

The industry approach to experiential tourism mirrors academic discourse on

leisure, specifically the distinction between leisure and non-leisure experiences,

where much debate has occurred. However, there is a consensus that leisure

involves intrinsically satisfying activities and a sense of engagement or meaning

making, underpinned and overseen by a feeling of freedom (Rossman &

Schlatter, 2011).

'Experiential tourism', as a term, has percolated through the Canadian tourism

marketing lexicon as a result of the CTC and other tourism marketing

organisations' nationally integrated branding campaigns. The portrayal of

Indigenous cultural tourism within these campaigns is often associated with

imagery that exemplifies what experiential tourism can and should look like for

visitors to Canada to have satisfactory experiences. The DBC essential guide for businesses interested in developing Indigenous cultural tourism operations points to the importance of authenticity, stating that Indigenous cultural tourism, 'if it is to be successful … must be authentic' (2014).

Experiential tourism, as a product-design paradigm, places high importance on interaction, meaning-making, and authenticity. However, experiential tourism is a problematic concept if employed to better understand visitor motivation, visitor behaviour and tourism service encounters. For example, the CTC comments that, 'Experiential travel will not be for everyone, and that's okay. Some businesses are doing just fine with their current commodities, goods, services, or a combination of these three' (Canadian Tourism Commission, 2011). This suggests that, somewhere in the Canadian tourism market, there are operators providing inauthentic, non-experiential tourism opportunities and having some degree of success.

It is difficult to understand what would characterise a non-experiential tourism opportunity. One would have to suggest an absence of meaning-making, of engagement, of personal freedom, and of intrinsic satisfaction. If one is not having an experience, what is one doing? It is not a bold or innovative claim that, for tourism to take place, an experience must occur. One must experience something that could be described as a 'tourism encounter'. A 'non-experience' is simply not a plausible, reasonable, or a useful tool to explain an encounter

involving one or more people. This posits a useful question on the role of

academia and its relationship to practice. Throughout scholarly literature on

tourism, the embodied touristic experience is a central feature and arguably the

most interesting aspect of tourism as a phenomenon (Crouch, 2009). The notion

of experiential tourism as a specific form of tourism worthy of serious scholarly

investigation must be disregarded and recognized as an industry idiom designed

to reinforce the centrality of human experience in the design of tourism

products.

While experiential tourism has yet to provide a robust theoretical foothold within

tourism scholarship, the notion of authenticity and visitor subjectivities have

been widely discussed within the academy, (MacCannell, 1992; Chhabra D., et al.,

2003; Cohen, 1995). In an effort to inform visitors and support Indigenous values

the ITBC initiated a programme to certify the authenticity of Indigenous tourism

products and experiences. Their criteria not only cover the authentic nature of

the visitor experience, but also whether the local Indigenous people have a stake

in the ownership or management of the associated firm.

Chhabra et al. describe the notion of staged authenticity as an ethnic group,

'putting their culture (including themselves) on sale in order to create an

appealing package' (2003, p. 705). The extent to which authenticity is jeopardized

by current tourism practices within British Columbia is beyond the scope of this

study; however, given the scale of Indigenous tourism in British Columbia, there

are likely operations questionable in the claim that Indigenous People are in control and their values are reflected in the associated product or design. For example, it is not uncommon to find imported trinkets/souvenirs in heavily developed tourism regions, presented as authentic Indigenous cultural expressions. It is also reasonable to conclude that tourists could have high levels of satisfaction through consumption of material artefacts presented as authentic or through participation in staged cultural encounters, regardless of the level of authenticity.

One explanation as to why tourists may be satisfied with a staged cultural experience is simply that they do not have the requisite skills, knowledge and insight to evaluate the authenticity of the experience. Moscardo and Pearce argue, 'Authenticity of a tourism setting is not a real property or tangible asset, but instead is a judgment or value placed on the setting by the observer' (1999, p. 418), suggesting an observer cannot fully discern an authentic cultural experience from one that is staged or inauthentic. The tourist is left to rely on their perception of authenticity as a criterion, rather than any objective standard.

Another explanation why authenticity could be independent of visitor satisfaction is visitor apathy towards cultural engagement. Moscardo & Pearce argue that postmodern tourists are seeking new and interesting experiences, rather than deep cultural exchanges (1999). Cohen states that the postmodern tourist ethos is 'less concerned with authenticity … [and they] seem to care less for the origins

of an attraction so long as the visit is an enjoyable one' (1995, p. 16). In this case, notions of authenticity are replaced with pleasing aesthetic or entertainment values as the primary evaluative criteria.

Critically examining the authentic nature of an Indigenous ecotourism experience is complex. Tourism, at its most base level, is an entertainment and consumer-orientated industry, based on the economic foundations of supply and demand. The extent to which a tourism experience is culturally authentic is not an evaluative tool in determining its financial feasibility and from a strict economic standpoint authenticity has little to offer in mapping progress towards economic development goals. If the development of Indigenous tourism is designed as 'a tool for community economic development' (Chhabra D., et al., 2003), or as a means to provide employment for marginalised ethnic populations (Ryan & Huyton, 2002), the importance of authenticity may be viewed as secondary in contrast to the pragmatic increase in wealth or quality of life for local people (Butcher, 2005). However, if Indigenous tourism is strategically employed to educate and support the resurgence of Indigenous culture, the presentation of staged or inauthentic culture must be viewed as exploitative of both visitors and Indigenous people.

While the multi-sensory, intra-personal experiential elements of the touristic encounter are its central characteristics, so too is the physical movement of people and objects through space and time, which characterises the

conceptualisation of tourism as a form of contemporary mobility. Sheller and

Urry position tourism not simply as a product of mobilisations but also as a

central influencer in other mobilities, through the 'relational mobilisations of

memories and performances, gendered and racialised bodies, emotions and

atmospheres' that contribute to the making and unmaking of tourism and tourist

destinations (2004, p. 1).

Mobilities have recently emerged as an intellectual framework with which to

explore the transitory nature of practices, process, and outcomes in tourism. The

language of mobilities enables a centralised perspective from which to explore

the complex networks of people, objects, and ideas that are 'contingently

brought together to produce certain performances in certain places at certain

times' (Hannam, et al., 2006, p. 13).

The emerging paradigm of mobilities provides a means to grapple with fluid

meanings in modernity. It rejects the static and sedentary conceptualisations of

social truth and imagines new modes of academic praxis in the pursuit of

revelations in social enquiry (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Perhaps paradoxically, the

recognition of multiple mobilities has highlighted a corresponding aspect of

immobilities, in that lines of connection attach people, objects, and ideas to static

spaces and places (Burns & Novelli, 2008).

Tourism requires movement across space, place, and territory, requiring a brief exploration of these terms within the study context. *Space*, in this sense, is a tangible location with a predetermined border and physical attributes. *Place* also includes the notion of a social cultural concept as determined by culturally encoded and shared meanings. *Territory* is understood as a special interpretation of space as a descriptor for the governance and control of a defined space or physical place. The interplay of space, place, and territory in tourism phenomena creates a myriad of possibilities for examination and discourse (Urry, 2002). These also serve as landscapes of negotiated meaning between hosts and guests, each making/remaking their own meaning based on culturally-encoded signifiers shared between them.

In the context of Indigenous cultural tourism in British Columbia, authoritative governance over a defined territory is often referred to as 'title', in the sense of holding the title or ownership to particular spaces or landscapes. This is important, as the person or agency who holds title has a powerful role in deciding how these resources are to be used (or not).

Interestingly, while territorial ownership or title can be said to be absolute, the ability to influence meaning making is most certainly not; rather, this is open for debate and contestation. Place identity has been characterised as fluid and dynamic, constructed over time through multiple modes and media, and involving multiple actors (Sheller & Urry, 2004). The governance context of

physical locales or spaces may change multiple times over many years. However, the meanings attached to these spaces, which inform the concept of place, are resistant to rapid change (consider the meanings attached to iconic places such as Las Vegas, Jerusalem or Hiroshima in this regard).

Tourism can have an important role in affirming territorial rights and title, particularly in promoting natural spaces as tourism amenities, where an influx of visitors requires an emphasis and discourse on appropriate use and management interventions to protect the ecological integrity and social mandate of the area.

Furthermore, tourism can be a force to contest place identity, by offering new meanings – or elevating the profile of existing meanings shared by marginalised groups – to a much wider audience, thus changing the narrative of place and establishing a greater consciousness of the context. The context of Indigenous ecotourism and subsequent inherent representations of *natural* spaces by 'collective agreement they exist' has the potential to reinforce the settler colonial imaginations of Indigenous territory through simplistic dualisms such as primitive/modern, undeveloped/developed, and natural/unnatural (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 31). Thus, the relationship between space, place, and territory for Indigenous peoples is immediate –illustratively in the British Columbian and Canadian context – as many Indigenous groups self-describe themselves as place-based peoples, dispossessed of traditional lands and negatively affected by processes of colonisation (Brown & Brown, 2009).

Indigenous Peoples are left with a strong intrinsic sense of responsibility and authority for the land, while having the modern concepts of land title effectively stripped away, renegotiated through flawed processes or simply ignored. Invariably, these contested viewpoints lead to epistemological conflict over how territory should be valued and result in disagreement related to natural resource extraction, development, and land use.

Tourism necessitates movement, and movement necessitates travel through physical space, but tourism can also be understood as necessitating movement through cultural space, transcending cultural boundaries manifest through host and guest interaction (Sheller & Urry, 2006). The willingness of the host to share their culture has been discussed extensively in the literature (Butler & Hinch, 2007). In the context of cultural tourism, critical conversations on authenticity, cultural appropriation, and commodification are abundant (Notzke, 2006). For the guest or visitor, there is also the question of openness to new experiences and the extent to which tourism actors have the requisite competencies to contribute towards the conditions for individual reconciliation.

Increasing global cultural hegemony has accelerated processes of globalisation and exerted increasing pressure on tourism destinations to compete for the revenue on offer. A push-pull effect then requires places and peoples to become increasingly focused on expressing their distinct values to their visitors. This, in

turn, highlights the cultural distinctness of place and peoples, which is then packaged for touristic consumption.

Critical mobility is also a useful framework with which to discuss the movement of spirituality. The movement of people in cultural and physical spaces, and the negotiated meanings made therein, can affect one's individual sense of spirituality. This is in no way equating spirituality with religion, but rather observing that Indigenous cultural tourism recognises spirituality – in the sense of one's connection to others or the expression of one's spirit or how one expresses oneself as a human being –as intertwined in conceptual understandings of Indigenous culture.

The expression of spirituality can take many different forms, with religion and adherence to a religious code of beliefs being just one. The metaphysics of flow theory posited by Csikszentmihaly argues that 'a strongly directed purpose that is not self-seeking', seeking to contribute to something larger than self is the most important trait in seeking an optimal human experience (1990, p. 4). Another expression of spirituality involves seeking an interdependent or harmonious relationship with oneself and another, whether that be other people, animals, the earth or nature, and/or God or other higher power or creator. Wilson, McIntosh, and Zahra assert that while spirituality is fundamentally subjective and deeply personal, it is 'expressed through an individual's search for personal meaning, transcendence and connectedness' (2013, p. 154). This perspective is

echoed in the Nuu-chah-nulth core principle of *hishuk'ish tsawalk*, which is defined by Atleo (2004) as *everything as one, everything is connected*.

Summary

The chapter has explored a range of positions put forward in the academic community on the disciplinary status of tourism. It is argued that tourism is best understood as an interdisciplinary applied field of study with malleable characteristics that support its application in understanding complex societal processes. Furthermore, an interdisciplinary approach to tourism studies is affirmed as the ideal dialectic with which to explore linkages between Indigenous tourism, reconciliation, and community cultural resilience.

Theoretical constructs of the transformative power of the tourism experience and critical tourism mobilities were investigated as guiding frameworks to explain the materiality of the movement of people, objects, and ideas through space, place and territory time across the Canadian tourism-delivery system with a focus on British Columbia. The themes explored affirm calls for tourism studies to transverse traditional academic boundaries, embrace new forms of knowledge systems, and methods of enquiry to lay the intellectual foundation for radical epistemological enabling emancipatory applied scholarship with Indigenous communities. Indigenous tourism encounters have further been asserted as powerful opportunities for transformative dialectical meaning-making where

experiential openness in authentic Indigenous settings can cultivate supportive

environments for individual reconciliation.

Chapter Four: Exploring the socio-economic potential of Indigenous tourism

Alongside engagements with the state and with wider society, Indigenous tourism has the potential to provide socio-economic benefits for Indigenous communities, thereby contributing to community cultural resilience and supporting forces of reconciliation. This potential for enhanced resilience and development of reconciliation is illustrated through narrative reflections that highlight and contextualise the emergent themes. While the reconciliation question might be more broadly focused, the question of resilience through Indigenous tourism draws on rural community-based tourism development to enrich conceptual understandings and proffer comparative insights related to rural and remote Indigenous communities to highlight the specific characteristics of the relationship between Indigenous tourism, reconciliation, and resilience.

Indigenous tourism development and socio-economic benefits

While the histories, characteristics, and challenges of rural and Indigenous communities are not equivalent, they are comparable. As the Rural Coordination Centre of British Columbia says,

> '[British Columbia's] rural populations include a significant proportion of the province's First Nations populations. There are many small rural and remote communities that are inhabited by First Nations who are living in their traditional territories, as they have for endless years' (2019).

Therefore, in this investigation of potential socio-economic benefits, contemporary perspectives of rural tourism development are situated as useful but not substitutable discursive frameworks.

George, Mair, and Reid suggest that, 'Rural tourism represents a merging of perhaps two of the most influential yet contradictory features of modern life' (2009, p. 1). They point to the confluence of globalisation forces – as well as shifting patterns of travel, consumption, and leisure behaviour – that have served to redefine rural spaces. Due to the urbanisation of global societies, there are growing concerns and corresponding opportunities for rural communities, with tourism development featuring among the strategic pathways identified to address these.

Rural communities are struggling to adapt from natural resource-extraction activities (such as fishing and logging) to the other forms of economic activity now in demand (Hall, et al., 2016). The consequent shortage of economic opportunities, particularly for young people, has resulted in rising migration from rural areas to urban centres.

The challenges facing rural Canada due to shifts in socio-economic structures and process include population decline. As residents identify greater economic opportunities elsewhere, the migration of young people and young families to urban areas is increasing, leaving behind an aging population. This – and a

stagnant birth rate – have left the labour market in British Columbia dependent upon the immigration of skilled workers to meet labour shortages in numerous sectors including tourism and hospitality. However, immigrants to the province tend to prefer urban centres than small, relatively ethnically homogenous Indigenous communities, as these are perceived to provide better employment opportunities and amenities. As a result, the economic landscape in many rural and remote communities tend to feature low-paid, low-skilled employment opportunities. Many of these areas are also facing aging infrastructure and a declining tax base and clearly lacking investment. The experiences of rural and remote Indigenous communities mirror these challenges which are further exacerbated by the impacts of settler colonisation and the loss of – or declining access to – natural resources for economic purposes.

However, Hall et al. (2016) argue that remote areas may be well positioned to take advantage of social and economic shifts previously understood as threats. Economic opportunities and employment prospects in areas reliant on natural resource extraction have declined in recent years, although such industries remain a robust part of the economy. Additionally, rural communities are often deeply rooted in heritage and cultural identity, distinct from the façades of contemporary urban modernity.

Rural lifestyles are associated with authentic living and thus may be attractive to the new mobile worker capable of connecting to the global economic system

through technology, given suitable infrastructure. Rural areas are thus well placed to benefit from amenity migration, as well as the economic benefits associated with an influx of tourists seeking a small, slow, authentic tourism experience (Hall, et al., 2016). Rural areas may enjoy an interdependent, reciprocal, and vital relationship with urban centres – providing not only natural resources and affordable living for lifestyle amenity migrants, but also countryside respite for Canada's urbanites.

A notable challenge for rural Indigenous communities in Canada is access to education illustrated by a 20% gap in post-secondary attainment for individuals aged 25-64 that remains between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations (Peters, 2013). There is a growing body of literature examining the experiences of Indigenous learners in higher education, as they manage not only the pressures and challenges that face any student, but also the need to navigate an institutionalised system of education that is foreign to the lived experience of learning in their culture (Gallop & Bastien, 2016; Restoule, et al., 2013; Talaga, 2017; Whitley, 2014). Should these learners be successful in attaining their sought-after credentials, they must then face the decision of whether to return to their communities – many of which are rural and remote – and face the serious challenges there, or to seek opportunities elsewhere.

The story of the Indigenous 'brain drain' can be told in numbers: 44% of people aged 18-24 have left their home communities, the majority of whom have moved

to urban centres in search of education and employment opportunities (Environics Institute, 2010). This correlates with the cited barriers for Indigenous tourism development, such as the lack of a qualified workforce, and it sheds light on the challenges facing rural and remote communities seeking to combat the development stressors of Canadian modernity (ITAC, 2016).

Indigenous tourism's potential to enhance cultural identity and pride has been discussed earlier, however this aspect is often valued as secondary to strategic economic development aims. The power for Indigenous tourism to support cultural resurgence seems to predominantly resonate within the sphere of academic enquiry rather than community tourism planning frameworks. At the local tourism planning level, the more pragmatic and easily understood social benefits arising from Indigenous tourism development, such as increased opportunities for community amenities developed for tourism, are often prioritised over broader cultural discourses supporting the resurgence of Indigenous culture and lifeways.

The need to resist the dominating and pervasive forms of settler colonialism has been discussed as a 'need turn away' and pursue efforts 'towards independently rejuvenating Indigenous nationhood and culture' (Elliott, 2018, p. 68). Alfred & Corntassel assert that 'Indigenousness is reconstructed, reshaped and actively lived as resurgence' only through initial individual efforts to transcend settler colonialism (2005, p. 612). The identified characteristics of Indigenous tourism

whereby direct involvement of Indigenous Peoples and values are integral (Hinch & Butler, 1996; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2009), illuminate Indigenous tourism's foremost strategic potential to promote internal efforts for Indigenous cultural resurgence in the renewal and revival of cultural practices at the individual and community level.

Indigenous tourism and community resilience

While the concept of sustainable development is attractive and entrenched in the language of tourism planning and praxis, it is problematic in terms of shared understanding and practical application of its central principles. The 1983 World Commission of Environment and Development (WCED) produced the 1987 report titled, 'Our Common Future', more commonly referred to as the 'Brundltand report'. This captured the attention of the world with its definition of sustainable development as 'meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future, 1987, p. 41). In addition to encapsulating the policy discourse in this concise phrase, the report proposed that development initiatives only be seen as sustainable if they explicitly addressed and balanced the areas of environment, economy, and social equity.

The near universal acceptance by policy actors of sustainable development as a panacea to challenges of growth and expansion, despite the inherent definitional

dilemmas, is telling. The Brundtland report, while imperfect, provided a platform for further significant related milestones, such as the following:

- 1992 – the Earth Summit was held in Rio, resulting in the Rio Declaration, which outlines 27 principles of sustainable development, along with Agenda 21, a voluntary action plan for various governance scales
- 1993 – the creation of the Commission for Sustainable Development to monitor and promote the implementation of Agenda 21
- 1997 – Earth Summit +5
- 2000 – the Millennium Summit in New York, which resulted in the UN Millennium Declaration
- 2002 – the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg
- 2012 – Rio+20, which resulted in an outcome document, 'The Future We Want', in which states reaffirm their respective commitments to all previous sustainable development agreements, plans, and targets

The sustainable development paradigm flourished in the 1990s, leading to a resurgence in the literature on forms of tourism characterised as the antithesis of the mass travel market: being small scale, eco-friendly, culturally sensitive, and of a higher moral plane. Butcher (2005) is heavily critical of this new moral tourism and the utility of sustainability as a paradigm to address all ills. He asserts that sustainability lacks conceptual clarity and can be seen as inherently contradictory.

While lofty in ambition and noble in intent, the concept is limited in its ability to provide a useful conceptual lens for tourism development. Butler asserts, 'Tourism is one form of economic activity in which the application of sustainable principles is desirable, but impractical' (2017, p. 4).

Here, Butler (2017) captures succinctly the tourism paradox, in that tourism relies upon the natural environment being pristine, yet it can have significant negative environmental, social, and economic impacts (Nickerson & Kerr, 2014). Constraints on development are thus necessary to minimise such impacts and maximise benefit flows. However, this is impractical, as the scale and scope of tourism is vast; and tourism requires movement across the globe that is necessarily reliant upon modes of transportation that consume finite natural resources, resulting in the net carbon emissions that are propelling climate change (Butcher, 2005).

Resilience, as a conceptual approach to the challenges facing communities that are pursuing tourism development, is thus increasingly attractive. This is a familiar term and one that is largely intuitive as applicable to managing and overcoming obstacles (Butler, 2017). The Collins dictionary defines resilience as follows: 'Resilient: [*adjective*] (of an object) capable of regaining its original shape or position after bending, stretching or other deformation' (Collins, 1988, p. 988). An object returning to its original position after an experience of stress is an apt metaphor for the lived experiences, processes, and desired outcomes of the rural

and remote communities who, because of their scale, may experience impacts more acutely than larger population centres do. It is important to note that resilience, as a conceptual mode of thought and action, is certainly not new; and it is well established in the natural sciences, including ecology, the social sciences, and psychology. The rapidly emerging effects of climate change and increasing vulnerabilities of the globalised society merit attention to improve understanding of how community-centred systems can withstand significant shocks and maintain their ability to function (Zolli & Healy, 2012).

Useful summaries of resilience are provided by Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, and Pfefferbaum (2008), as well as Berbés-Blázquez and Scott (2017) . Adger defines *social resilience* as, 'The ability of communities to withstand external shocks to their social infrastructure ... such as environmental variability or social, economic or political upheaval, and to recover from such shocks' (2000, p. 361). C*ommunity resilience* is a process that sees the community utilising a set of positive adaptive strengths or capacities that facilitate self-organisation and community agency, resulting in the ability to maintain functionality and positive trajectories post-disturbance (Berkes & Ross, 2013). Magis arrives at a number of key conclusions regarding community resilience, each of which are applicable to rural and remote Indigenous communities. Communities that 'encounter change and uncertainty and engage adaptive capacity to thrive in that context become resilient'. Further that resiliency is a characteristic that can be fostered through 'planning, collective action, innovation and learning '. Community resilience must

involve a 'diverse range of resources in the community', and individual members of the community can be active agents in the process, and finally, resilience is developed through enactment not simply capacity building (2010, p. 416). The central concepts in the community resilience paradigm identify the characteristics that enable a community to self-organise and act collectively in pursuit of shared values.

In an important contribution to the discourse on community resilience, Norris et al. (2008) suggest four themes of adaptive capacities including, information and communication, community competence, social capital, and economic development, each theme reflects a set associated community characteristics (see Figure 2). The Norris et al. (2008) community resilience network model illustrates an inventory of networked positive characteristics and competencies, that when realised, may enhance a community's capacity to be resilient. Berkes and Ross (2013) identify a number of characteristics that appear reasonable and desirable in terms of a community's ability to align resources and create positive action. However, as a conceptual model for a rural and remote tourism context, it would benefit from greater specificity in the measurement criteria for the variables and in how communities may enact community agency.
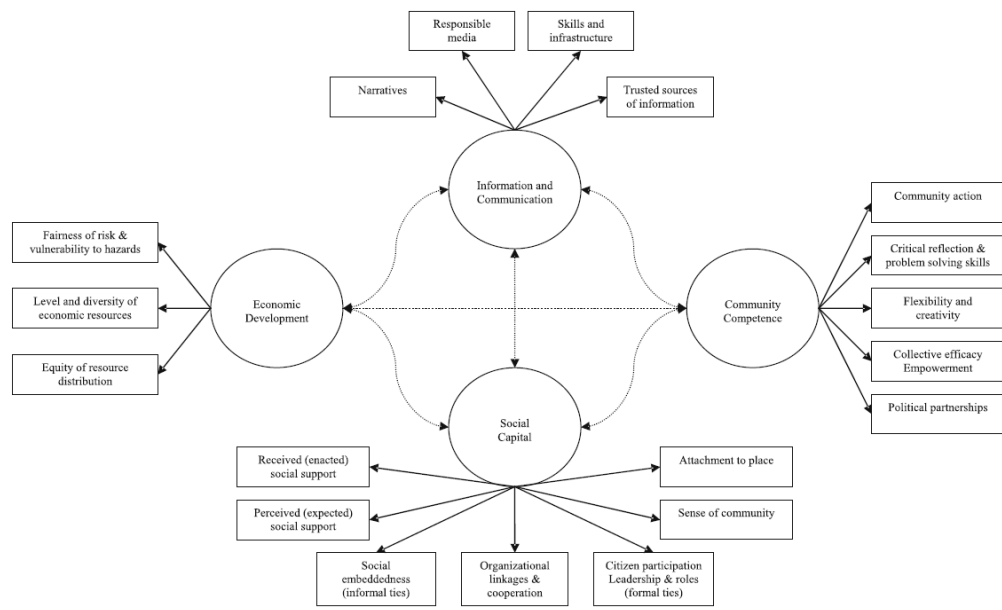
Figure 2 – Community Resilience Network

(Norris et al., 2008)

Berkes and Ross (2013) identified a series of key community strengths that, taken together, influence the community's self-organisation and action abilities. While making strong arguments for the inclusion of social-ecological awareness and principles in the concept of community resilience. Berkes and Ross (2013) also point to the need to integrate concepts such as sense of place, social identity, and values to develop a richer approach to community resilience. These concepts are often the foci of tourism literature, as scholars strive to appreciate the nuanced nature of place-based experience and host-guest encounters.
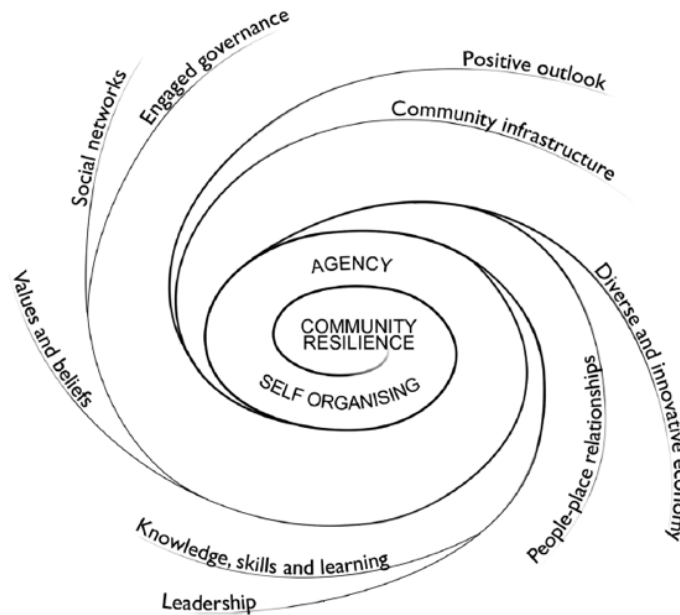
Figure 3 – Community Resilience as a Function of the Strengths or Characteristics Identified as Important, Leading to Agency and Self-Organisation

(Berkes & Ross, 2013)

Kulig, Edge, Townshend, Lightfoot, and Reimer (2013) suggest a community residence model (CRM) for the key factors that contribute to community resilience. Although their application is primarily concerned with community responses to disasters, its portability for understanding rural and remote tourism development is attractive.

First, the CRM model illustrates that communities are open-system networks with a myriad of outside influences other than negative impacts. This is illustrated by the interdependent and open-system structure of the tourism industry itself, with each destination forming a network of travel hubs across the globe,

supported by a vast range of organisational and individual actors facilitating the world tourism service delivery system.

Furthermore, the CRM model identifies the core tenets of social capital, identified as networking, trust, and reciprocity (Putnam, 2000). These have long been recognised in the literature as supportive of community-based tourism planning, as well as key adaptive capacities that support community resilience. For Kulig et al. (2008), these capacities coalesce into expressions of community, such as a sense of pride and community belonging, which in turn provide fertile ground for community action in response to change, uncertainty, and negative shocks.
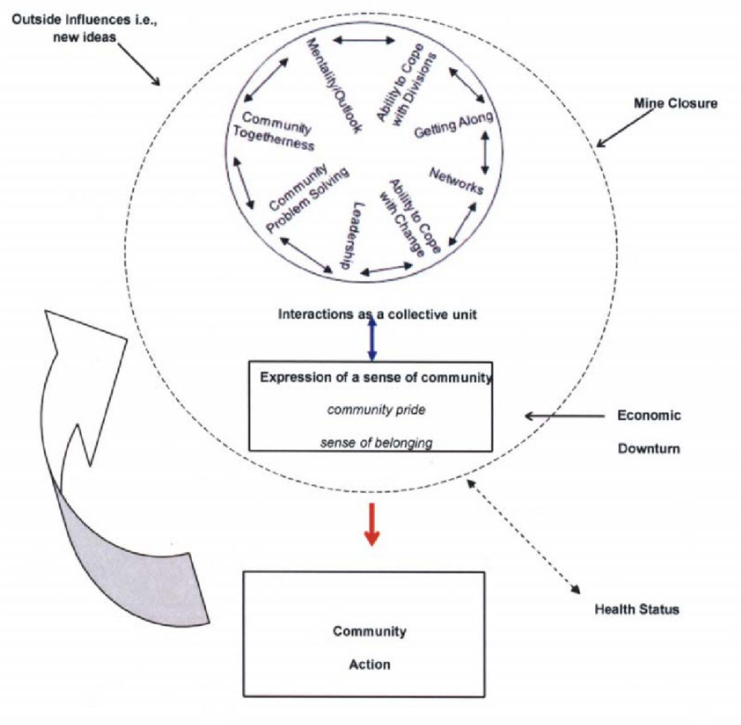
Figure 4 – Community resiliency model

(Kulig, et al., 2013)

Resilience is a useful and pragmatic paradigm through which to understand the experiences of remote and rural communities – such as those of Indigenous peoples in British Columbia – as insulated social systems where external shocks may be felt more acutely. Second, resilience provides a sound conceptual framework on which to hang the antecedents, processes, and outcomes that have produced positive results for communities facing uncertainty and change. However, it is important not to treat resilience as the theoretical panacea to contemporary challenges, and rather to recognise the problems in adopting such an approach and thereby risking a repeat of history.

Resilience has traction in emerging tourism discourse, but there is still considerable room to clarify, measure, and confirm the models presented (Luthe & Wyss, 2014). For example, of the adaptive capacities identified, it is not yet known which are the more important and what are the most effective means to enhance these characteristics in communities. Further problematising this approach is the assumption that resilience is most appropriate for communities that experience shock or face uncertain futures; but this implies that a state of static certainty can exist in a community, which belies all modern discourse on the rate of change associated with modernity. Rather than focusing on resilience as a useful paradigm to adopt only in response to dramatic external events, the concept is best understood as a mode of thought and strategic planning tool irrespective of any specific anticipated external events (Zolli & Healy, 2012).

The overarching goal of resilience is to move the community in a positive trajectory towards outcomes that reflect shared values, while equipping the community with the capacity to continue on this path regardless of unforeseen external forces that may emerge at the most unfortunate times and take many forms (Abegg, et al., 2017; Kulig, et al., 2008). The following two reflections related to the implementation of Tribal Journeys 2014 illustrate how community resiliency can inform actions in an Indigenous community environment.

Reflections: Change of plans

It was a few days into Tribal Journeys, and the festival was in full swing, with thousands of people having found accommodation in front yards and back yards, on sofas, and in driveways. The community was buzzing. A rhythm was being firmly established to the day's activities. The weather was great. The field next to the school was the scene of dancing and singing and speaking. Children were playing. I had spent far too much money on street-side smoothies!

At midweek, a storm hit. It was perhaps more like a mild Pacific Northwest hurricane. Sleeping in my dome tent next to the beach, I could hear the rain and the wind, and I knew that we were in trouble. The following day, the field was a disaster. The tents, tables, and chairs that I had negotiated hard to get from the institution were scattered everywhere, with more

than a few tents completely destroyed. The field was a sea of mud and grass, and there was no help in sight to clean up the mess.

I did what I could on my own, and a few guys who were huddled in the security cabin reluctantly joined me. It was miserable work. Of course, every event has a plan B, but I was surprised at how quickly the team was able to restart the agenda just a few hours later in the community centre gym.

Around the end of the week, different canoe families began to talk about the logistics of getting off the island. One family took the floor in the gym, conducted protocol, thanked the host community, and said that they would be around a little longer than planned. The money they needed to get home had not come though, so they would be selling t-shirts to raise funds.

I had just been chatting with a fellow from northern Washington about his experience of the week. Upon hearing of the plight of this group of paddlers, the gentleman looked at his eight- or nine-year old daughter, pulled out a sizable bundle of cash, and had her put in on the floor in front of the speaker, where hundreds of onlookers were gathered. Within a few moments, others had added to the bundle and, in short order, there was a small mountain of money – more than was needed to get the group home.

It was such a beautiful and powerful moment, it makes me misty-eyed

each time I think about it.

Reflections: Where is the … kitchen?

Feeding thousands of people every day is no small feat. The plans were set

for a large-scale industrial kitchen to arrive in Bella Bella in advance of the

event. Unfortunately, the arrangements fell through, and instead, all meal

preparation was conducted from what can only be described as a double

(maybe) food truck. The vast supply of fish (endless halibut!) and other

perishables were stored at the fish plant a few miles out of town which

also served as the event kitchen.

The format for Tribal Journeys was to share the cost and labour of daily

meal preparation between the various groups of Nations participating,

with each hosting the meal in the gym according to host Nation protocol.

It was a hectic but efficient process, with lots of helping hands (even the

food inspectors were stirring pots and peeling potatoes!). The atmosphere

was light and fun.

Once the food had been prepared, it was driven by pickup truck to the gym

and served. I had the pleasure of delivering extra food door-to-door a few

times to families who had welcomed guests from out of town. I was told

that, if nobody came to the door, I should go in and find a place to leave a

plate. It was definitely not in my comfort zone to barge into strangers'

homes, but who was I to question Aunty Kathy (Brown)?

There was more than one person a little startled to see a 6'2" White man

in their kitchen with a plate of fish, but the spirit of it all made for some

good laughs and good feelings!

These reflections illustrate several aspects of the Kulig et al. (2008) adaptive capacities in action, such as the ability to cope with change, community problem solving, and community togetherness, all of which resulted in a community response to the storm and a sense of collective grit in manoeuvring around the loss of a key event infrastructure.

Indigenous tourism and reconciliation

Tourism has the potential to bridge cultures and promote peace and understanding by enabling personal interactions between host and guest (Doering & Zhang, 2018; Pritchard, et al., 2011). Indeed, the bringing together of people from differing cultures and perspectives is core to the UNWTO statements and reverberates through international tourism related initiatives such as the Olympic movement. For example, Higgins-Desbiolles (2009) carefully maps the potential for tourism as a force for peace and cross-cultural understanding in

general, and specifically for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Australian society signalling tourism's potential for Canada as a comparable settler state.

Higgins-Desbiolles proposes the term 'reconciliation tourism' for a 'special type of volunteer tourism' (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2003, p. 35). She fails to define this form of tourism in detail, other than to characterise the experience as sharing local Indigenous culture with visitors through touristic education programming. It is somewhat unclear why volunteerism is a definitional aspect of this proposed form of tourism, as little other analysis is offered that takes into account the commercial nature of the case discussed. However, Higgins-Desbiolles (2003) posits that what sets reconciliation tourism apart from similar nature-based cultural experiences is the wider socio-political context in Australia and the explicit public narrative and discourse around reconciliation. Higgins-Desbiolles goes on to cite a lack of breadth and depth in the scholarly contributions on reconciliation, stating that only 'a few analysts have even superficially addressed the reconciliation motivation in Indigenous communities' engagement with tourism' (2009, p. 42). Grimwood, et al. make a recent call for tourism scholars to begin unravelling tourism's entanglement with settler colonialism by

> 'asking ourselves, other Settlers, and our institutions uncomfortable questions about our shared complicity in settler colonialism, making known the recurrent violence of settler colonialism (including its narrative baggage), and learning from Indigenous peoples so that we might forge more respectful and responsible relations to land, to difference, and to the peoples and places in the tourism stories we live' (2019, p. 9).

The lack of engagement exploring the potential of Indigenous tourism and reconciliation is troubling given the previously argued moral and ethical imperative to address tourism's settler colonial entanglements. Further, an assumption could be drawn that Indigenous tourism initiatives that predominantly focus on Indigenous participation do not proffer meaningful reconciliatory value given the similar experiences of Indigenous Peoples in Canada. Tribal Journeys not only presented a distinct situation of community resilience, it also provided the tourism related space to reconcile long standing tensions between Nations through ceremony. The latter dynamics remained opaque to non-Indigenous outsiders during the event; however, the coming together of the Haida and Heiltsuk Peoples in public ceremony during Qatuwas 2014 Tribal Journeys shortly preceded the historic peace treaty renewal signing between the two Nations. The intergroup dynamics of Tribal Journeys thus infers the reconciliatory potential of Indigenous tourism experiences designed by, and for Indigenous Peoples.

Summary

The chapter has explored the potential of Indigenous tourism to maximise socio-economic benefits for Indigenous communities, contribute to cultural resilience, and support forces of reconciliation.

There is consensus that Indigenous tourism, specifically in rural and remote communities, is significantly challenged by capacity constraints and sensitivity to economic and social trends. However, these communities are well positioned to react quickly to new opportunities, such as the rise of mobile workers, amenity migrants, and slower forms of tourism in which visitors seek deeper connections to place and people.

Various understandings of resilience have been explored and analysed for their potential to offer new insights and utility and enhance understanding of the relationship between Indigenous tourism and community cultural resilience. The community resiliency model presented by Kulig et al. (2008) suggests strong correlations between observed behaviour in Indigenous community settings and understanding of Indigenous worldviews.

Finally, Indigenous tourism's relationship with and contribution to reconciliation was explored. Narrative contributions further allude to the power and potential of the Indigenous tourism discourse to amplify themes of reconciliation in settings beyond the 'business of' or 'study of' tourism, penetrating other arenas of the societal domain.

Chapter Five: Methods

Theoretical framework of research

Indigenous-based research has had a tumultuous history. At its worst, it has exploited vulnerable populations, appropriated Indigenous knowledge, propelled negative impacts of colonisation, and damaged belief in the ability of the academy to effect positive change through systematic enquiry. In response to the critical perspective that academic research is simply a metaphor of colonisation, Aveling poses two options for non-Indigenous researchers:

> We have to learn to conduct research in ways that meet the needs of Indigenous communities and are non-exploitative, culturally appropriate and culturally safe, or we need to relinquish our roles as researchers in Indigenous contexts and make way for Indigenous researchers (2013, p. 204).

The notion of cultural safety is prominent in the context of both academic enquiry involving non-Indigenous researchers and the literature on transforming education to better serve Indigenous peoples. Cultural safety has been characterised by Gray and Oprescu (2016) as about more than developing cultural competency or simply acknowledging power imbalances, and including a much deeper affective change in attitudes, which thus informs personal action. Cultural safety is about gaining knowledge about others, developing an appreciation for difference, and respecting these, while ensuring that any research endeavour is 'empowering, positive and practical in its orientation' (2016, p. 462). There is a risk that researchers may lose themselves in such a

complex socio-politically charged arena. Interestingly, in the field of emergency response, the maxim of personal safety is always paramount – prioritised even above the safety of others. After all, how can one render assistance if harmed? Where non-Indigenous researchers are engaged in academic enquiry with Indigenous people, the same could also be argued to be true.

To be clear, this is not to assume that non-Indigenous researchers should be viewed as rescuers and research participants as victims in need (as this has been demonstrably shown to be false), only that researchers need to recognise their own position and have a degree of confidence in their identity and role, maintaining a sense of personal integrity and developing reflexive skills when professional, personal, and perhaps conscience-related conflicts arise.

Methodological approaches and paradigms

Kovach suggests that, 'Researchers have the task of applying conceptual frameworks that demonstrate the theoretical and practical underpinnings of their research', or in other words, explaining the thinking behind the doing (2009, p. 39). Smith (1999) echoes other voices who have argued for a more holistic approach that focuses on empowerment and co-production of knowledge and recognises the agency and authority of research methodologies that embrace enquiry and that transverses disciplinary boundaries (Tribe, 2006). I am particularly grateful for the contribution of Wilson (2008), who articulates an

Indigenous research paradigm with precision, while recognising the often-imprecise nature of work in a collaborative, power-sharing, and cross-cultural context. Wilson describes the research paradigms as 'made up of four entities: ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology' (2008, p. 70), going on to articulate each in turn:

- Ontology

    o The way in which one perceives and derives an understanding of being in the context of existence

- Epistemology

    o The nature of knowledge and how we know what we know

- Axiology

    o Comprised of values, ethics, and judgments

- Methodology

    o The underlying principles and rules of organising a philosophical system or inquiry procedure

Smith argues that it is essential for research practices and methodologies to be 'decolonised': to recognise that these were born out of systems of dominance, power, control, and exploitation. Wilson further argues that dominant Western methodological paradigms bear little resemblance to Indigenous ways of creating knowledge, sharing, and knowing. For example, in a Eurocentric positivist approach, there is only one 'truth', one 'ontology'; and while one may arrive at

that truth through different epistemological paths, truth is finite, definite, and separate from the manner in which it becomes known. In Wilson's Indigenous research paradigm, multiple ontologies can co-exist: multiple truths. In fact, the key ontological consideration when determining reality is the 'relationship that one has with the truth', and not the truth itself (2008, p. 73). Wilson expands on this, observing that in an Indigenous methodological paradigm, 'an Indigenous ontology is the equivalent of an Indigenous epistemology' (2008, p. 73).

This is a central consideration when moving away from dominant Western paradigms and recognising other possible ways of understanding reality and one's position within it. If all truth is relational, then truth is centrally about relationships between people, place, objects, and ideas. It would be impossible, then, for someone to claim truth without considering the intersecting and interdependent web of relationships that are inherent in Indigenous worldviews. The net result of this approach is the recognition that the researcher has an intimate relationship in the research context and is an agent in the realities that are being created and studied through each discursive encounter with people, place, and ideas. The researcher is not a separate and external entity, but rather an inseparable variable of the phenomenon under examination.

Taking the idea of possible coexistent multiple truths and understanding of the central importance of relationships in meaning making, Wilson extends the argument to include notions of axiology and methods. Dominant research

paradigms use terms such as 'validity' and 'reliability' to evaluate the quality of data and research outcomes. In contrast, the Indigenous research paradigm championed by Wilson considers relational accountability the guiding value and the key evaluative metric, and he states that the methodological strategies, processes, and tools that are designed and implemented 'must adhere to relational accountability' (2008, p. 77).

Rigney (1999) employs a social justice and empowerment lens to view research that involves Indigenous peoples and presents four central principles of an indigenist approach to research: resistance, participant empowerment, political integrity, and privileging of Indigenous voices. This approach aligns with the Pritchard et al.'s proposition of 'hopeful tourism' as a critical approach that relies on a 'values-led humanist approach based on partnership, reciprocity and ethics, which aims for co-created learning and which recognises the power of sacred and Indigenous knowledge and passionate scholarship' (2011, p. 949).

There is common agreement that ethical principles that follow the 'four Rs' (*respect, relevance, reciprocity,* and *responsibility*) are essential to an Indigenous approach to research. These principles were identified through a period of intense dialogue over several years, which saw Indigenous groups strive to communicate their values to non-Indigenous audiences. Harris and Wasilewski explain the result as an 'identification and articulation of four core values which cross generation, geography and tribe' (2004, p. 492). Harris and Wasilewski

argue that by recognising and actively adopting these principles, researchers

embark on pathways of deliberate and committed action (2004).

The four Rs

- Respect

    o Honouring core beliefs/values of Indigenous relationships

- Relevance

    o The research must benefit the community in ways that are identified

      and valued by the community itself

- Reciprocity

    o Recognising the give and take of the research relationship, which

      begins with the generosity of the community – the researcher is

      immediately indebted by nature of this generosity and thus has a

      responsibility to reciprocate

- Responsibility

    o Trust is based on upholding one's responsibilities, and it is essential

      for successful relationships

(Wilson, 2008)
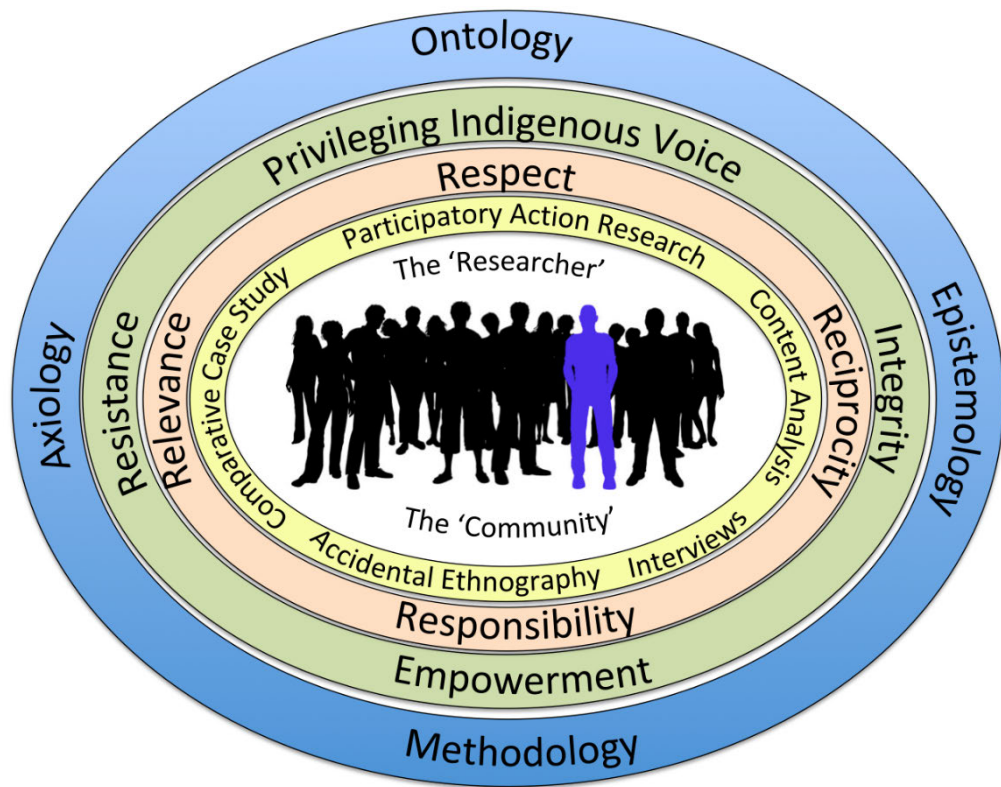
Figure 5 – Methodological concept framework

(Source: Author)

Positionality

The concepts of knowledge creation and mobilisation imply notions of movement and dynamism; yet, traditional scientific paradigms require the investigator to be static, objective, and anchored in established and proven intellectual territory. These seemingly contradictory concepts create tension in the research process, epitomised by the endeavours that strive to view complex socio-cultural dynamics through a lens that is both holistic and intimate, where close social proximity of the researcher to the 'subject' is seen by many as the gold standard

of qualitative enquiry. For a transparent and honest knowledge product to emerge, the researcher must shed the veil of scientific objectivity and fully embrace their own voice in the research process. McDowell expands, 'We must recognise and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and write this into our research practice' (1992, p. 409).

This explicit integration and recognition of the 'self' in the process of knowledge creation cannot be achieved in a spirit of self-importance or self-indulgence. To access the rich epistemological insights that this practice enables, one must adopt an iterative and reflexive approach to each interrogation of the subject matter and social interaction with informants.

Nicholls suggests the '…need to engage with reflexive evaluation of collective and negotiated design, data collection and data analysis to consider inter-personal and collective dynamics during the research process, and any effects that the research may potentially have into the future' (2009, p. 117). It is essential, therefore, that a theoretical framework underpinning research with Indigenous communities begin with a very careful self-examination and critical appraisal of researcher positionality and capacity to adopt an introspective, reflexive approach to all research-related activities. This is by no means a trivial exercise, as to conduct an honest review of one's gaze on the world around oneself requires a critical analysis of the whole person, with complete self-awareness.

Perhaps at the core of the philosophical approach of this endeavour is my desire to demonstrate good citizenship by advancing my own knowledge of the Indigenous peoples with whom I lived in relatively close proximity since childhood and yet knew so little about, coupled with my acute awareness of the socio-economic challenges facing these communities and my desire to contribute to positive outcomes. These notions correspond to Aveling's position that the first priority of researchers should be 'self-education' (2013). Persistent, honest, and humble reflexivity is seen as key to bridging the 'the schism of understanding that contributes to the tension riddled enterprise of cross-cultural research involving Indigenous peoples' (Ermine, et al., 2004, p. 19). Thankfully, others, such as Smith (1999), provide a framework that is complex in practical application yet simple in conception, demanding a shift from research 'on' and 'about' Indigenous peoples to work 'with' and 'for' them.

The purpose of the research strategy is thus to explore the themes in the theoretical framework, while obtaining the perspectives of the research participants (Veal, 2017). The vision is to include the views of a breadth of participants, providing insights into the complex issues that emerge in the context of the study, and to do so in a manner that is appropriate to the sensitivities of the topic.

Research strategies/methods

In light of the sensitive nature of this research and the need to recognise the collaborative nature of the wider research agenda, this study utilises a pragmatist epistemology, with multiple interpretive data-gathering strategies, including the following: PAR, in-depth unstructured and semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. Stewart (2008) advocates for non-Indigenous researchers using adapted Western qualitative methodologies and these methodological tools are deemed the most practical for accessing key informants across the range of production and consumption perspectives, while recognising each as an autonomous social actor with a unique worldview.

Reflecting the pragmatist epistemology chosen at the outset, the theories and tools employed have the potential to achieve positive outcomes to real-world problems, beyond their assumed ability to expose the nature of reality or identify objective truths (Giacobbi, et al., 2005). Pragmatism thus allows for the orientation of methods towards 'what works', rather than 'what is truth', as truth is recognised as contentious and thus a potential distraction from practical solutions. This study employs a stranded approach, utilising a variety of methodological tools to maximise the potential for a new hybrid form of knowledge production that is dynamic, reflexive, and fit for purpose (Coles, et al., 2006).

Specifically, this study incorporates the following research strategies:

- Comparative case study

- Participatory action research (PAR)

- Semi-structured and unstructured interviews

- Auto and accidental ethnographies

- Content analysis

Comparative case study approach

The case study, as a qualitative methodological approach to understanding distinct instances of social phenomena, is a valuable means of delving deeply into multi-layered constructs without an overriding concern with arriving at a universal truth that can be generalised across similar circumstances. Gerring (2004, p. 342) asserts that a case study is 'an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units'. While there may be justifiable cause to reach assumptive conclusions across phenomena, it is recognised that the case or instance of the social phenomenon under examination is unique and has value in its own right, without the burden of a positivist comparison for validity. Thus, case studies are manifestations of a broader social phenomenon, and significant thought must go into their selection to ensure that they provide a reasonable example of the phenomenon of interest. The researcher may seek appropriate cases, or the cases may come to the forefront through time and circumstance.

Case studies, as a means to describe a research output and methodological approach, come in a variety of forms, including analyses of single or multiple phenomena over time and space. A comparative case study of two Indigenous communities analysing the development of a single initiative over time serves as core focus for this project. This is a particularly challenging endeavour, given the complexity of any community and the overlapping areas of concern related to Indigenous tourism development such as politics, economics, spirituality, environmental integrity etc. However, it is necessary, as to do otherwise would result in such a broad scope that the ability to analyse and contextualise inputs would be severely compromised.

Comparative case studies can be a useful means of generating new theory or testing established ideas (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Hall, et al., 2016). In reality, all research must be conducted somewhere along a continuum of undiscovered to discovered knowledge. Even when embarking on grounded theory projects that delve into the unknown, researchers must bring along their pre-existing knowledge; and those that wish to test established theory must be open to new discoveries. To suggest otherwise, in either case, would be to pursue a circular argument and call into question the practical value of social research in the pursuit of enhancing the human condition. Therefore, this study seeks to expand on current understandings, while actively seeking and being alert to new perspectives on the research themes and the methods brought to bear.

Regarding the selection of appropriate cases for analysis, Veal (2017) highlights that there are four descriptive rationale that can be applied. The first is purposive, with clear criteria; the second is illustrative, where the case is deliberately chosen to further a proposition; the third, as described by Veal, is typical or atypical, where the case is chosen to present an example that is either typical or extreme; and finally, there is selection based upon pragmatic or opportunistic circumstances (Veal, 2017). While helpful, this list of modes is non-exhaustive, and in this particular study, an argument could be made that each of the case studies selected could fall under each typology. However, of primary import was access to participants, as this was by no means guaranteed from the outset of this endeavour. Thankfully, however, there was a serendipitous convergence of forces (explained later) that facilitated access to the Tla-o-qui-aht and Heiltsuk First Nation communities, which ultimately provided a rich opportunity to address the aims of this research.

Participatory action research (PAR)

Research that is characterised by the explicit involvement of the researcher and 'overtly part of [a] process to bring about change … is termed action research' (Veal, 2017, p. 133). The main principles of PAR are commitments to social change, to respecting and privileging the experience and voice of the community and participants, and to collaborating and sharing power in the process (Reason,

1994; Kindon, et al., 2007). This method has the potential to complement Indigenous methodologies by challenging the dominant Western scientific paradigms that claim to provide universal-objective truth (Evans, et al., 2009), as these paradigms are 'inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism' (Smith, 1999, p. 1) and have served to further marginalise and delegitimise the agency of Indigenous peoples who assert other ways of knowing.

Stringer makes the appealing proposition that action research should follow an iterative routine of 'look, think, act' (1999, p. 18). The researcher's primary role in PAR is to act as a catalyst to support the immediate changes identified by the community, through a process approved of and led by the community. The language that Stringer uses to describe the PAR routine (1999) reflects the guidance that PAR activities should be evaluated for their 'goodness or quality' to the extent that they 'lead to action to transform the world in the service of human flourishing' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 101). Simple and effective language is needed to ensure that technical jargon does not become a barrier to participation or lead to power inequities between collaborators (Carr & Kemmis, 1986).

For Stringer (1999), *looking* requires gathering relevant information and getting a sense of the context. *Thinking* requires engagement between all parties to analyse why things are the way they are and to imagine what they could be; and *acting* refers to the design, implementation, and evaluation of intervention

strategies to effect change. The entire process is iterative, with a need for flexibility in how the routine is conceptualised and operationalised. For example, Stringer (1999, p. 19) notes that rather than being linear, the steps 'should be read as a continually recycling set of activities'.

Case study #1: Tl-o-qui-aht First Nation, Tofino, British Columbia

The Tl-o-qui-aht First Nation, specifically the administrative department of Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks, partnered with a number of organisations from Africa and Canada on a multi-year project, examining the relationship between PA and poverty reduction. One research theme associated with this project was the benefit flows for communities that result from tourism development in and around PA.

The Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation declaration of Meares Island Tribal Park in 1984 was a significant moment, pitting opposing forces against each other, bringing years of colonial and systematic oppression to the fore, and resulting in a paradigmatic shift in forestry management and Indigenous relationships between the state and neighbours. This event was referred to as the 'War of the Woods' in the Canadian media, and more than 900 people were arrested in what is to date Canada's largest act of civil disobedience. In 2008, the Haa'uukimun Tribal Park was declared; and in 2014, the Tranquil Creek Tribal Park and the Esowista Tribal Park were declared in response to unwelcome mining interests, resulting in all of

the Tla-o-qui-aht traditional territories being taken under some form of declared protection.

It is self-evident that the Tla-o-qui-aht have had a significant impact on the discourse around sovereignty and natural resource management. However, of note is that their traditional territory encompasses one of Canada's premier tourism destinations in the PRNPR and the resort municipality of Tofino, which sees more than 3 million visitors per annum (Clayoquot Biosphere Trust, 2016).

As a 'research fellow', I was invited to join this project in its early stages and introduced to the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park leadership. I quickly established a rapport with key individuals in the community.

The case of the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park initiative provides a profound opportunity to explore notions of alternative governance structures in the context of PA, the notion of sovereignty in contemporary Canadian society, and the effects that a mature tourism destination can have on these processes.

Participatory action engagements: Meares Island Tribal Park (Wah-nuh-jus—Hilthoois), interpretive services, visitor safety and promotion

Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park leadership shared concerns that the current online presence did not accurately reflect the political and legal reality. Furthermore, the dynamic provincial and federal governmental contexts required revisions to

more effectively communicate the purpose, programmes, and vision of the territories found within the Tribal Park boundaries.

This initiative also provided a foundation for mentoring projects for local Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation youth, summer student employment programmes, development of community cultural events, and so on. This project was vital for ensuring a human presence onsite to support the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks mandate and to enhance the overall visitor experience in the area.

There was a need for a complete redesign of the Tribal Park website, which was to entail consultation with the elected and hereditary Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation leadership, as well as professional expertise on web design and consultation with Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation staff regarding the web content. There was also a need for consideration of further economic opportunities that could arise from an increased virtual and physical presence for Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks, such as the sale of artwork, souvenirs, literature, and advertising of tourist experiences, all of which explicitly address the overall mandate and aspiration of the Tribal Park initiative. These projects were also intended as a tangible presence of Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park management in the Tla-o-qui-aht territories, providing an effective conduit through which the rich culture, history, and traditions of the Tla-o-qui-aht peoples could be shared with visitors.

In consultation with Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation Tribal Parks, a working group was formed and successfully applied for moderate funding from the PAPR project, under the priorities of the 'community action plans' designed to benefit partner communities. The working group then formed a team and an action plan to consider revisions to the Tribal Parks website.

Table 1 – Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation Tribal Park data collection types (2011-2016)

Type	Brief Description	Number of
Research collaborator Mtgs.	Working meetings with individuals directly involved in action research projects	14
Interviews	Semi-structured interviews • Parks Canada staff (3) • Key informants (3)	6
Media content	Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation Tribal Parks related media	
Stakeholder workshop Participation	Broad-based workshops with community stakeholders	6
Conference presentations	Formal academic presentations	2

Case study #2: Heiltsuk First Nation, Bella Bella, British Columbia

The Heiltsuk First Nation hosted the 2014 Qatuwas (Tribal Journeys), which saw 5,000 people travel to the community of Bella Bella – some by means of ocean-going canoes, in recognition and celebration of coastal Indigenous peoples ongoing relationship with one another and with the ocean. This was an ambitious event, as the community is limited in terms of the infrastructure and resources needed to support such a large-scale event. A parallel event, 'the Indigenous Economic Opportunities Summit', was held at the same time on neighbouring Denny Island, and economic development – including tourism – was discussed by the representatives in attendance.

One outcome of this event was a lasting human legacy for the community, as a partnership was formed with regional post-secondary institutions to design, implement, and evaluate an innovative training programme aimed at building capacity in coastal Indigenous communities to engage with the growing demand for Indigenous cultural tourism in British Columbia. The Heiltsuk people experienced another high-profile event in the time period of this study, with a royal visit by the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, at which an announcement was made that the area known as the Great Bear Rainforest was to be included in the Queen's Commonwealth Canopy Initiative. Furthermore, in October 2016, the sinking of an oil barge and consequent spillage of 59,000 gallons of diesel into the environment brought national attention to the vulnerability of the Heiltsuk

traditional territories, the disasters wrought by industrial marine transfers, and issues of sovereignty. This was then exacerbated in late 2017 by the near miss of another fuel barge adrift in the territory.

The Heiltsuk First Nation and, more specifically, the legacy projects associated with the 2014 Qatuwas event provide an appropriate case study of Indigenous community response to the pressures of colonisation, specifically through the resurgence of traditional celebration and ritual, alongside an explicit strategic initiative to build community capacity and better engage with a specific economic sector (tourism).

Participatory action: Heiltsuk community, events management and tourism training programme, Qatuwas 2014 Tribal Journeys and the Aboriginal ecotourism training programme (AETP)

In 2011 the Heiltsuk Tribal Council approached Vancouver Island University to discuss a partnership, involving events management training of local Heiltsuk First Nations members for a major community event that was to be held in 2014. A working group was subsequently formed to secure funding, design and implement a programme that demonstrated commitment to the partnership between the post-secondary institution and the community.

In addition to the implementation of the formal training programme, a commitment was made to support the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the event itself. To that end, I endeavoured to support other VIU colleagues in

delivering on institutional and – by extension – personal commitments to the community, up to and including working alongside the Qatuwas committee during the week-long event in July 2014.

Participatory action: Qatuwas Human Legacy initiatives and capacity building

Qatuwas 2014 incurred significant costs to the community in terms of tangible and intangible resources. In consideration of these considerable financial expenses and hours of human labour, the Qatuwas planning committee wanted to ensure a lasting and positive human legacy, beyond the immediate success of the event itself. To that end, committee representatives consulted with the working group of the Heiltisuk community, events management, and tourism training programme to discuss means of advancing the aims of Qatuwas and the community.

The working group then conducted internal and external environmental scans, consulted with a variety of stakeholders, and identified a training gap around the essential skills for engagement with Indigenous cultural tourism in British Columbia.

Additionally, a project team was established and a proposal developed for formal research that would add to the community discussion already underway in Bella Bella. The research was to consider which, if any, of the tourism activities in the Heiltsuk traditional territories have community support, whether there was a

desire to pursue tourism as a development strategy, which assets currently existed in the community, and who were the existing visitors to Bella Bella. To capture the full suite of regional employment and economic opportunities, community-based tourism planning initiatives and capacity building efforts were essential.

The working group set their minds to an expanded post-secondary training programme that would explicitly meet the needs of the Indigenous learners, community, and industry. From 2015 to 2020 a series of successful training programmes, with implementation and evaluation cycles, were implemented. In parallel, an application for funding of a small-scale research project focusing on supporting local tourism planning processes was also successfully submitted in 2017.

At the root of all inquiry must be a dedication and commitment to curiosity. Of course, curiosity does not stop at the fringes of formal and explicit data gathering; rather, true curiosity maintains an open eye and an awareness of one's surroundings and circumstances. Within the context of applied field research, such as PAR initiatives, it is easy to envision circumstances in which rich conversations, valuable experiences, and interactions add immense value to the learning associated with the research agenda. These moments in time take place outside pre-designed and formal research encounters, but they can nevertheless have a significant impact on the ability to more effectively contextualise the

observed and recorded data, as well as the social dynamics of the research context (Nicholls, 2009).

The concept of accidental ethnography provides a useful prism through which to capture some of these powerful interactions. According to Fuji, 'Accidental ethnography involves paying systematic attention to the unplanned moments that take place' (2015, p. 525). It is the self-conscious awareness of the import of these experiences that provides the social texture, the depth, and rich lived feeling of the research that is so central to understanding the human experience under examination.

The challenge, of course, is recording these liminal research experiences that take place in between formal, rigorous data collection and bring these unplanned 'revelatory moments' (Trigger, et al., 2012, p. 516) into the formal data set. Fuji proposes accidental ethnography as an approach that attempts to systematically address the unplanned discoveries by paralleling data collection techniques, suggesting that these encounters be recorded in detail as quickly as possible. Employing initial descriptive accounts using field notes, personal audio recordings, or similar, provide the researcher with an opportunity to analyse and reflect on the importance and contextual significance of the experience in relationship to the wider research agenda (Fujii, 2015).

Table 2 – Heiltsuk Tribal Council data collection types (2013-2018)

Type	Brief description	Number
Research collaborator Mtgs.	Working meetings with individuals directly involved in action research projects	50+
Media content	Heiltsuk Tribal Council -related media	
Interviews	Semi-structured interviews • Heiltsuk First Nation members	11
Stakeholder workshops	Broad-based workshops with stakeholders	3
Conference presentations	Formal academic presentations	5
Community-based education	Direct facilitation of teaching in community	8 weeks

Data analysis strategies and abductive reasoning

One benefit of a comparative case study is the ability to use an array of inputs to inform understanding of the phenomena. In this study, the inputs include narrative accounts taken from interviews with respondents, personal observations, internal project working documents and publicly available documents, and various other forms of media. This creates a significant challenge for discerning meaning from the vast quantity of information. Indeed, when

opening the analytical lens as wide as possible in terms of integrating relevant

information, a balance must be sought between the research questions and the

amount of information that it is reasonable to collect to provide informed and

useful responses.

The approach here to meaning making merits comment, as this study is

ambitious in the topics it explores, and the research tools it employs. The

intention was to engage with Indigenous people and to learn from them, with a

focus on their worldview and the connection between these other ways of

knowing and a Western body of knowledge, drawing links that added value to the

community, the tourism practitioner, and the reader. The decision to collaborate

and relinquish some degree of power in determining the direction and outcome

of the study reflects an inductive, interpretivist approach, unburdened by

presuppositions or specific ontological foci. In contrast, a deductive approach

suggests that the research is framed and focused in such a way as to test specific

theoretical models or expected results against real-world experiences, with the

explicit intention of reducing unintended bias. However, as Morgan notes,

> The only time that we pretend that research can be either purely
> inductive or deductive is when we write up our work for publication.
> During the actual design, collection, and analysis of data, however, it is
> impossible to operate in either an exclusively theory- or data-driven
> fashion (2007, p. 71).

The intellectual ambition of this study was to employ an indigenist perspective to

meaning making, alongside and equal to, established modes of enquiry from the

traditional academy (Wilson, 2008). With this approach, there is an explicit need to be flexible and open to the emergence of unexpected lines and modes of enquiry and new insights. This required a third option, as neither deductive nor inductive reasoning were fit for purpose; therefore, an abductive approach was adopted, characterised as 'triggered not only by intuition, but as well by tensions generated by conditions of uncertainty and irreducibility … attempting to understand or at least unravel wicked problems' (Servillo & Schreurs, 2013, p. 366). Abduction then relies upon the logical inference of the observed and recorded and the willingness for the researcher to adopt a mode of critical reflexivity that is 'constant, dynamic, and infinite' (Mao, et al., 2016, p. 6).

Bruce and Clarke support the use of thematic analysis for qualitative studies that feature a constructionist approach to 'theorise the socio-cultural contexts, and structural conditions, that enable the individual accounts provided' (2006, p. 14). They further articulate that thematic analysis is an effective strategy in examining 'underlying ideas assumptions, conceptualisations – and ideologies – approach 'that are presented in surface semantics (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 13). This study also employed substantial records of reflexive autoethnographic vignettes designed to 'enrich the story, ethnography, or case study and enhance the reflexivity of the methodology' (Humphreys, 2005, p. 853). The purposeful storytelling as method, (Archibald, et al., 2019; Lewis, 2011), included in detail throughout this thesis, provided analytical insight into the subjectivities, timelines and epiphanic moments thereby enhancing the ability for richer latent

understanding of experience to emerge through the narrative (Weir & Clarke, 2017).

A number of techniques and tools have been established to aid in interpreting disparate data sources in such a way that to bring clarity and arrive at a focused interpretation. This study relied upon concept mapping and coding to aid thematic analysis (Veal, 2017). The use of software to aid this process was considered and initially tested, but a more traditional manual 'sort and stack' system proved to be more efficient and effective for identifying linkages and nuance in the diverse data set.

Ethical considerations

Regardless of topic, social scientists have a responsibility to take all reasonable steps to do no harm through their academic practice (Angrosino & Flick, 2007). This study addressed the potential ethical concerns in research of an Indigenous community setting by recognising the participants as co-collaborators in the research design and output, with proprietary rights over their culture, artefacts, resources, and histories.

In addition to the research ethics requirements of the University of Gloucestershire and Vancouver Island University this study followed the ethical principles outlined by the Clayoquot Alliance for Research, Education, and

Training (2005) and the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council Research Ethics Committee (2008), which state that issues of cross-cultural respect, participant autonomy, and ownership of intellectual data are paramount. In doing so, this study respected the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council Research Ethics Committee (2008) directions for credible partnerships between researchers and Aboriginal communities, which stress that protection of participants and cultural resources is central and any participation must be based upon voluntary and fully informed consent.

In association with the wider PAPR initiative, this project also aimed to go beyond the 'minimise harm' ethical paradigm to make a contribution not only to the academy, but also to the Tla-o-qui-aht and Heiltsuk Peoples through project-based action research that directly benefitted the community and was developed in full consultation and partnership with designated community collaborators. The community collaborators with whom I engaged were active in the public arena; so, wherever possible, publicly available oral testimonies and written statements were used as data points to minimise the participatory burden on research collaborators and to respect the nature of the comments in the public domain as those which contributors felt were appropriate and with which they were comfortable being personally associated.

Research credibility

According to Stringer (1999), credibility is an aspect of research rigour that is informed by prolonged exposure to participants during action research projects, arguing that the more time spent with participants, the greater the opportunity for depth of understanding and trust to evolve. This notion of trust is of central concern, particularly in the context of Indigenous research, as trust is the foundation for all dialogue (Aveling, 2013). Sadly, trust has been eroded over the centuries due to exploitation in pursuit of research agendas and the theft of intellectual property of Indigenous peoples; therefore, for trust to evolve, time is essential (Nicholls, 2009).

Research transferability

The extent to which the results can be transferred to other, similar cases and settings is dependent upon the extent to which the reader can 'see themselves and/or their situations presented in the accounts' (Stringer, 1999, p. 177). Therefore, detailed descriptions are provided of the prescient issues explored, the communities involved, and the methods used, in the hope that the reader may be able to discern for themselves how this study may inform other contexts. It would be foolish to suggest that the methods and participants in this study are typical of Indigenous communities, as this would suggest a homogenous experience and typology that further propelled flawed colonial understandings of the diverse experience and perspective of Indigenous peoples. This study can aid

understanding of 'an' approach to better understanding the issues in question, but it is not presented as 'the' approach, nor even a *suggested* approach – again, given the need to be situationally aware and context specific.

Study limitations

All research endeavours have limitations to the degree that the method and resulting data can answer the research aims with high confidence. Research involving humans is ambitious and aspirational, as a complete understanding of the human experience is likely to (and hopefully will) always elude even the most diligent mind, lest the mystery and potential of tomorrow lose its intrigue. However, the quest to gain the fullest understanding possible is a noble pursuit, and one must recognise the limits of one's understanding to correctly inform the reader and provide direction for further enquiry.

The pragmatic limitations of this study include the finite resources – such as time and finances – that limit the ability to further triangulate results through the integration of complementary strategies aimed to bolster the external validity and reliability of the data. This study utilised a pragmatic epistemology that focused on implementing interpretative strategies that were more likely to generate positive results for the communities involved and less concerned with a duplicable experiment design, thus limiting the potential to produce replicable and comparable results. This study must be evaluated for its ability to accurately

interpret the unique circumstances, organisation, and actors involved, which in turn measure the extent to which the study can provide any definitive understanding of the situations/circumstances beyond the cases discussed.

Chapter Six: Discussion and insights

The approach to this research is to stretch the limits of tourism studies as a Western interdisciplinary structure with commonly employed positivist methodologies. Given the study's pragmatic epistemological orientation there is no attempt to claim an objective truth to the insights provided or to assert universal utility (Giacobbi, et al., 2005). The discussion reflects personal engagement in applied scholarship over a period of several years, from 2009 to 2020, and it transcends the myopic lens of the discrete and confined research endeavour that was first conceptualised. The approach taken is an effort to work towards decolonising tourism scholarship (Grimwood, et al., 2019) and to give voice to the project's Indigenous collaborators and the understandings gained through interaction with them.

The discussion and analysis of research insights are presented in a narrative, storytelling form, signposted by the use of italics consistent with earlier conventions in the thesis. Direct quotes from those who shared knowledge, time, and fellowship are later introduced to contextualise and inform emergent insights arising through the sum of research related experiences within the conceptual and temporal boundaries of the study. Research co-collaborators are personally identified with the text where there is explicit understanding and current social license with the researcher that allows this to occur, and where this understanding is absent initials are used as an anonymising convention.

The inclusion of substantial personal narratives is designed to move the reader, 'to sense some of the evocative power, embodiment, and understanding of life that comes through the concrete details of autoethnographic narrative' (Ellis, 1998, p. 4). This approach enables a more holistic account of the ideas explored, presented in the culturally appropriate and relational form of storytelling appropriate to Indigenous research environments (Archibald, et al., 2019; Wilson, 2008). At times, the narratives are interrupted to direct attention towards specific key insights drawn from the researcher's lived experiences and relevant to the treatment of theoretical contributions and perspectives previously discussed in the thesis. The presentation style employed deliberately and explicitly places the researcher at the centre as the knowledge producer, situated within the study and not external to it, thus recognising that positionality – in terms of the people, places, and ideas analysed – influences the process and product of the enquiry (Mansvelt & Berg, 2016).

Case study #1: Tl-o-qui-aht First Nation, Tofino, British Columbia

Reflection: Introductions and research immersion

> *On my return to Canada, I was invited to join the multinational project entitled, 'the Protected Areas and Poverty Reduction Project' (PAPR) as a research fellow. There was a strong alignment, given my interest in the relationship between nature-based tourism development and Indigenous*

communities and my desire to work with the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation,

near Tofino, British Columbia.

The Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation were partners in the PAPR project, as were

other agencies, organisations, and higher education institutions from

Canada, Tanzania, and Ghana. The intention was to bring together

academics, practitioners, and community partners from the three

countries to explore the central themes of human wildlife conflict,

governance, benefit flows, and knowledge mobilisation, with a goal of

fostering a lasting learning alliance between all involved. My association

with the PAPR project personnel provided me with an introduction to Tla-

o-qui-aht Tribal Park staff, though my role and purpose was yet to be

accepted or defined. In fact, I was incredibly nervous that I would say or do

the wrong thing, causing offence and thus limiting my access and

embarrassing those who supported my involvement.

My first meeting in the community was on 20 August 2009. I accompanied

PAPR colleagues and met with Eli Enns, a Tla-o-qui-aht leader, who

provided a compelling short history of the Tla-o-qui-aht experience under

colonialism and some background to the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation tribal

parks initiative. In the subsequent discussion, I shared my anxiety around

making a mistake in this cross-cultural setting, and Eli's response was

simple yet powerful. In essence, he shared that since the person who had

supported me had a good reputation with the community, I was 'in' and all I had to do was to be myself and ask questions if there was something I did not understand.

This interaction immediately impressed upon me three things. First, in the context of Indigenous research, relationships are everything. It was clear that my access to the project, to the community, and to any future work was only possible because I had a trusted relationship with someone who, in turn, had a trusted relationship with the community. Second, the only thing I could control when establishing an independent relationship with others was my own behaviour, and I needed to take responsibility for that. I immediately (re)committed myself to acting with the utmost respect, honesty, and integrity in all my interactions, choosing to simply accept what resulted, even if that included failure to meet my research objectives. This now seems somewhat redundant, as to behave any other way would be unethical and fall below the standard expected; but I came to appreciate that the community had previous poor experiences with 'researchers' and I was determined not to add myself to the list of individuals who had treated Indigenous people as a means to an end. Finally, this was the moment at which it became clear to me that I was neither interested nor perhaps capable of conducting an objective, value-free, study of the issues, as the inclination to adopt a research approach that leaned towards social justice was far more compelling.

Key insight

Cultural preparedness to engage with research involving Indigenous communities is the central issue presented in the preceding passage. Introspective perceptions of inadequacy and apprehension are combined with a desire to do 'good work' and have been identified in other scholarly endeavours involving non-Indigenous researchers working within Indigenous settings (Burnette, et al., 2011; Kilian, et al., 2019). For example, Kilian, et al., identify a pattern of experience amongst non-Indigenous researchers where an increasing reflexive self-awareness of historic colonial harms led to framing their work through the lens of reconciliation (2019). Kilian, et al., further state that 'for some, the personal journey also included an element of emotional burden, burnout and resilience' highlighting that 'Burnout was more common among those doing community-based research' (2019, p. E507).

Burnette et al. further identify that high levels of trust and a significant amounts of energy in 'finding harmony amid multiple worldviews' were needed to resolve multiple tensions in the experience of non-Indigenous and Indigenous researchers working within collaborative settings (2011, p. 287). Their findings support the widely recognised foundational roles of mutual respect and trust as both required to be successful in collaborative research endeavours involving non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples (Kilian, et al., 2019; Graci , et al., 2019).

The tensions, relational characteristics and descriptions of the deeply personal reflexive experiences involving non-Indigenous researchers is evident in this study and common to others. These inter/intrapersonal complexities identify the need for greater cultural competency and a willingness to challenge settler subjectivities within the context of collaborative research partnerships. The interdisciplinary and multi-sector nature of applied Indigenous tourism related concerns inherently also require collaborative approaches (Graci, 2012; Notzke, 2004) further supporting the imperative for non-Indigenous actors to work towards a greater critical colonial self-awareness.

After several initial conversations with various community members and Tribal Park staff members, it was evident that my role as a VIU faculty member and my tourism development knowledge would enable me to support the work of the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park initiative, specifically the visioning for the newly established Ha'uukmin Tribal Park in relation to tourism. It became clear that an esoteric, theoretical study would offer limited value to the community, whereas there was value in supporting applied undergraduate project work and operational projects in collaboration with the Tribal Park staff. This formed the basis of a series of PAR projects that allowed me to work alongside community members, thus gaining insights into their worldview on how tourism development could support a variety of community goals.

The period of 2009-2013 was busy for the PAPR team. There were regular team meetings at which the participants would meet and workshop the various project themes, while hearing from a variety of local knowledge keepers and Indigenous leaders. These community workshops and meetings proved invaluable for ensuring awareness of the issues facing Indigenous communities not only on the west coast of Vancouver Island but also in remote and rural communities in Tanzania and Ghana. I worked in my capacity as a faculty member to direct student-led projects that were modest in scope, but which broadened awareness of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation Tribal Park initiative.

I also sought ways to build my competencies and pursued a variety of professional development initiatives, including participating in an Indigenous learning circle programme designed to enhance faculty understanding of the experiences of Indigenous learners and attending numerous talks, presentations, and workshops in the university setting. I was keenly aware of the potential for gaps in my cultural competencies and determined to apply myself to filling the void. During this time, I sought to mobilise the knowledge I was gaining, collaborating with others and testing ideas in the academic community.

For example, in 2011, I collaborated with Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation Tribal Parks Director, Terry Dorward-Seitcher in co-presenting at the annual

British Columbia Protected Areas Research Forum on the Tla-o-qui-aht

First Nation Tribal Parks initiative as an alternative management

framework to protected areas in British Columbia.

Ferguson, R. and Dorward-Seitcher, T. (2011). Tourism, Protected Areas and Community: Investigating the Role of Tribal Parks in Fostering Cultural Identity and Socio-Economic Sustainability, December 5-7, 2011, University of British Columbia 3rd Biennial British Columbia Protected Areas Research Forum.

Our presentation was well received, and it was an enjoyable privilege to

present alongside Terry at the conference. Indigenous issues featured

prominently among the topics presented; yet, we both noted that, despite

the full agenda, Terry was the only identified Indigenous presenter on the

programme.

As the PAPR project continued, I worked with Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation

Tribal Parks to secure funds for community action projects, which are

streams of activity designed to provide tangible direct benefits to the

communities involved. Two of those activities I have outlined as PAR

projects, and I will discuss them in detail later. However, in the process of

balancing my competing roles as a graduate student, research fellow, and

faculty member, I witnessed and experienced a range of situations in

which subtle tensions were evident. For example, in advance of a Canada

team meeting where a number of colleagues were travelling at

considerable expense, there was a death affecting many members of the Tla-o-qui-aht community and a discussion ensued around cancelling our planned meeting out of respect. While I was not involved in the decision, I was involved in the conversation and it struck me that the situation spoke to the nature of collaboration and partnership across cultures. The correct decision was made and the meeting was postponed. Afterwards, I became more attuned to the subtleties of partnership and what this really means, particularly in terms of the power imbalances in research relationships.

During this period, I gave serious consideration to my positionality in the research and the challenges I was finding in keeping my various roles fixed and understood. Was I simply a faculty member practising good community engagement involving students in applied research? Was I a PhD student involved in a rigorous scholarly endeavour? Or, was I a Canadian looking to somehow 'do something' in response to new understanding of the Indigenous experience? Upon reflection, it was evident that all three of these perspectives – and many more – were simultaneously manifest in my personal and academic lives.

This was a difficult period and I was disappointed that, despite my best efforts, my engagement was not producing the kind of impact that I had envisioned. I was further confronted with administrative practices that did not support the principles of respect, reciprocity, responsibility, and

relevance that I was striving to make the focus of my work. For example, there are always institutional deadlines for funding proposals, letters of support, and budgetary planning that may be necessary from an institutional perspective, but which serve to impose a specific and one-sided framework of authority over the research process. During this time, I recognised that I needed to reframe my thinking and consider the two worlds I was attempting to bridge: the Western-Eurocentric institutionalised knowledge production and outcome practices with which I was familiar and to which I was accountable; and the Indigenous, holistic, relational, and process-orientated activities I was being introduced to..

I came to appreciate that I was conceptualising the desired outcomes of the projects as products that would effect change, rather than appreciating the process as an equal if not more powerful agent of desired change. This was an important milestone in self-checking and it altered my mindset by lowering my anxiety around controlling the calendar of deliverables, allowing me to become more focused on learning, sharing, and appreciating the journey.

I was, after all, 'just a student', and in fixating on the stated outcomes and project deliverables, I risked missing the opportunity for deep learning around the mundane practices and their importance in the context of the study.

I quickly discerned that it was important to allow for silence, rather than trying to fill the space with my voice and demonstrate what I could contribute. I paid careful attention to how various people spoke in different settings and to people in differing roles. I either waited to be invited to contribute by whoever was leading the conversation or waited for a more informal opportunity to speak with my key project collaborators. I saw that there were all manner of community political dimensions at play, and I wanted to mitigate the influence of my actions upon these. I had no intention of prying into these dimensions, as I saw that approach as overly invasive and beyond the scope of my study.

My focus was on testing my ability to explore, value, and use Indigenous knowledge and methods on an equal footing to Western knowledge and methods, while responding to the societal mandate of reconciliation to the best of my ability and within my sphere of influence. It was not to pry, investigate, or critique the governance processes or social dynamic in the community.

Key insight

Despite numerous calls for collaborative applied scholarship, conducted with and for Indigenous communities that have been highlighted earlier, there remains a lack of informed and sustained engagement. Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants involved in the 2017 Indigenous Tourism Symposium held in

Nanaimo, British Columbia, commented that some of the barriers now facing

Indigenous community based tourism development 'stemmed from the failures

of previous scholars and operators to follow through on promises' (Graci , et al.,

2019, p. 5). Indigenous community representatives involved in the event replied

to the seemingly complex question on how non-Indigenous applied researchers

can move forward with development that the community wants with a simple

'ask them' response (Graci, et al., 2019, p. 9). Perhaps the more prescient

question is how can space be surrendered within the tourism academy so that

Indigenous communities can ask and answer their own questions in their own

way?

Barker & Battell Lowman posit that Canadian settler colonialism is 'expanded and

normalised through an interlocking of elements including systems of socio-

political organisation' (2016, p. 197) which would include Eurocentric systems of

knowledge production and mobilization. The lack of explicit Indigenous voice and

integrated participation in the 2011 British Columbia Protected Areas Research

Forum demonstrates the absence of credibility these forms of knowledge

production have to inform the public policy aims of social reconciliation in

Canada, when they do not actively involve Indigenous Peoples where Indigenous

issues are directly concerned.

Participatory action engagements: Meares Island Tribal Park (Wah-nuh-jus—
Hilthoois), interpretive services, visitor safety and promotion

A participatory action initiative was undertaken with Tribal Park leadership in late 2012 to secure funding for two distinct participatory action projects associated with this study. These initiatives built upon previous projects supporting Tribal Park Guardians in providing interpretive services and enhancing visitor safety at the Meares Island Tribal Park, ensuring a professional online platform from which to communicate the purpose, programmes, and vision of the wider Tla-o-qui-aht traditional territories located within the Tribal Park boundaries.

These initiatives provided employment for local community members, enhanced the capacity of Tribal Park staff through further engagement with visitors, and provided resources to ensure that the Big Tree Trail remained a safe and well-maintained visitor space. These were deemed vital to ensure a Tla-o-qui-aht physical presence onsite to support the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks mandate and to enhance the overall visitor experience.

Financial resources were successfully requested from the PAPR project to provide full-time maintenance and interpretive services on the Big Tree Trail for the peak tourism seasons of 2012-2014 and to the initial redesign of the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks website.

I was feeling more and more comfortable in 2012 with my relationships within the PAPR project and with the Tla-o-qui-aht members who I had been working with. There was a good team atmosphere and a sense that we were all on the same page.

We had lots of ideas flowing, but the two that resonated the most were securing funding for Tribal Guardian summer employment on Meares Island and for website development to promote Indigenous ecotourism opportunities in the Tribal Park.

I was no stranger to Tofino. It had always been a special place for my family and I, having enjoyed many camping and surfing trips. I knew my way around and was familiar with the tourism products and general 'brand' for Tofino. Locals often refer to 'Tofino time' to capture the laid-back lifestyle, but I am convinced that there are cosmic forces at play as time really does seem to work differently! Days just seem longer and more enjoyable.

I have to admit that while I had been coming to the area for years and aware of the Indigenous 'flavour', I would have been challenged to name the local Nations or any Indigenous owned tourism operation. I suspected

that my previous lack of awareness was not unique but wanted to do

some digging.

In the fall of 2012, I stopped by the Tofino visitor centre as part my prep

work for the website vision. It was a modest building just off the highway

with a few washrooms and a typical welcome area flooded with

brochures, posters, area maps showcasing local tourism experiences. I

decided to play the role of a 'secret shopper' by asking typical questions a

first-time visitor may ask. After some conversation with the helpful and

friendly staff member, I asked about the Ha'uukmin Tribal Park and what

kind of activities I could do there. 'Oh, you mean Pac Rim?' was the reply,

meaning the national park. 'Nope I mean the Ha'uukmin Tribal Park', I

answered feeling disappointed that my helper didn't know what I was

talking about despite the fact that the park had been announced 3 years

prior. 'Ok what about the other Tribal Park, anything cool to do there?', I

asked. 'Umm…what other Tribal Park?' was the reply. Starting to feel a

little guilty for my deception I asked specifically about Meares Island,

mindful this was the site of conflict that shaped how the world saw Tofino

in the early 1980's. 'Oh ya, I'd recommend the Big Tree Trail, it's very

popular. Let me show you the options', was the reply. I was then informed

of all the options to explore the Big Tree Trail, complete with guided walks

detailing the rich cultural history. None of the options shared were

Indigenous tourism operators. I was then reminded me that there was an

'access fee' of $5 per visitor to the island. 'Where does that money go?', I asked already knowing the answer was to support the work of Tribal Park Guardians in maintaining the trail and formally referred to as an ecosystem service fee. 'Oh, it goes to the local Native community to help them out', was the answer. Feeling somewhat defeated at this point, I asked about any local Indigenous cultural 'stuff' to do. To my utter dismay, the recommendation was to check out the Parks Canada interpretative centre 20 minutes down the road or the central art gallery closer to town, the latter which I knew was owned by Indigenous artist that was not local. Great art, just not local.

As a tourism educator my interaction that afternoon, in the Tofino vernacular, was an epic fail. Before I left the visitor centre, I politely shared who I was, and what I was up to in an effort to do some 'personal selling' of the Tribal Park and learn a little more about my helper. As it turns out the person helping me was a non-local, Canadian, university student wrapping up their summer work experience and shortly heading home.

Checking in with my Tribal Park colleagues I shared it was vital that we raised the profile of Indigenous tourism in the area and specifically of the Tribal Park. Most importantly, raising this awareness with the local tourism marketing organisation. The Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park economic development goals could not be realised otherwise, as tourists simply

wouldn't know where to go, and the socio-political aims of asserting title

could not being achieved to the full if nobody seemed to fully appreciate

that Meares Island was a Tribal Park. As it stood, there was the potential

that the only engagement visitors had with Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks was

the poorly understood $5 ecosystem service fee paid to non-Indigenous

ecotourism providers.

Key insight

The Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park initiative has been recognised in its innovative approach to supporting natural and cultural revitalisation through an alternative Indigenous community created protected area governance model (Carroll, 2014). The Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park is indicative of Weaver's highest observed stage of Indigenous tourism development in settler states such as Canada, whereby 'indigenous peoples (sic) extend their arenas of spatial influence by asserting their perceived and recognised rights to traditional lands from which they were historically displaced' (2010, p. 50). However, as the preceding reflection illustrates the decolonising potential of the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park 'as a projection of sovereignty over contested terrain' (Murray & King, 2012, p. 398) is diminished if engagement with its underlying values is limited to academic curiosity and does not result in emancipatory material changes on the land (Tuck & Yang, 2012).

One of the mechanisms then and currently employed to project sovereignty and provide a 'counter governance for the area' (Murray & King, 2012, p. 390) is an ecosystem service fee (ESF) system, whereby visitors are charged a modest fee that is voluntarily transferred over to the Tribal Park administration through allied tourism operators. The early days of the ESF and the capacity of the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park to pragmatically operationalise all of its goals were challenged due to the ongoing and current uncertainty of rights and title; and the large scope of activities involved in actively managing the territory, coupled with the limited resources available to the Nation (Murray & King, 2012; Murray & Burrows, 2017).

Despite notable concerns over the fragile nature of its origins in 'suffering from a lack of formal arrangements with non-Indigenous tourism operators and planners (2017, p. 771), the Tla-o qui-aht Tribal Park's profile and operations have seen recent significant expansion and garnered substantial local support (Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks, 2019). The subsequent successes of the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park initiative to not only expand its land-and-marine-based conservancy work, but to also expand its network of non-Indigenous local allies, signals a growing settler colonial awareness in the area. This growth suggests that the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal initiative has been a force for positive momentum in supporting both legal and social reconciliation (Knox, 2010) at the local and sub-regional level.

Map 5 – Wah-nah-jus-Hith-hoo-is (Meares Island Tribal Park) trail system

(Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, 2016)
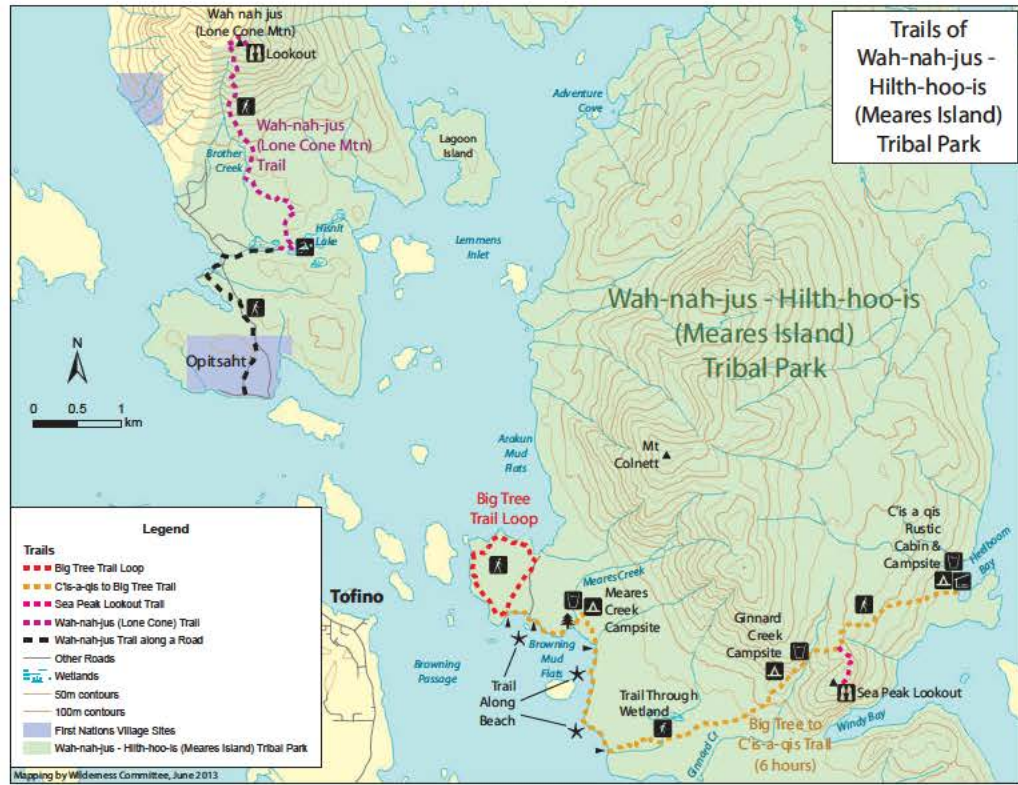
Figure 6 – Big Tree Trail damaged boardwalk section

(Source: Author)

Figure 7 – Big Tree Trail spare materials for boardwalk maintenance

(Source: Author)

In 2012, an ambitious project to redevelop the tribal parks website was undertaken in an effort to expand visitor awareness. The goal was to create a professional and effective online presence, while supporting existing and potential Indigenous tourism operators by providing a digital hub for visitors seeking authentic Indigenous tourism experiences. Together, a physical presence on Meares Island and this online presence would be a means of evidencing Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park management in the traditional territory and providing a conduit for sharing the rich culture, history, and traditions of the Tla-o-qui-aht peoples, rather than relying on local tour operators and word-of-mouth.

My role was to seek and secure the funding for these initiatives, line up the resources needed to professionally redevelop the website, and work alongside staff and community members to create the content for the new website. Over a period of several weeks, multiple meetings were held with design professionals and the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation Tribal Parks team. The least difficult part of this project was securing the funding and enlisting the people with the right skill sets to complete the task.

I was still learning the proper processes, protocols, and critical pathways to ensure the success of a project such as this. For example, it was important

to ensure that the website content reflected the values of the community and the mandate of the tribal parks. However, the website also was a marketing tool to inform potential visitors of the range of experiences to be had in the parks and to direct them to local Indigenous tourism operators who could provide such experiences.

Like any collaborative project, there was lively discussion and debate. I recall being caught off guard regarding a suggestion of highlighting bear-, wolf-, and whale-watching as 'wildlife tourism'. One of my Indigenous collaborators, whom I had grown to respect and trust, expressed their discomfort with the term, as these creatures shared the landscape with the community: if they were considered 'wild', then were the local residents also to be considered 'wild'? When this topic arose, we had all been working diligently, editing content for hours, and we were probably in need of a break. However, we managed an interesting and respectful debate on the inclusion of 'wildlife tourism' on the website; and afterwards, we enjoyed a meal together, satisfied with the decision to, instead, be specific – using 'whale-watching' and 'bear-viewing', and so on, to describe the visitor experiences.

This was another significant milestone in my development as a culturally competent researcher; and while it was certainly not the only time that I experienced good conflict when working with my Indigenous partners, I

came to think of this particular interaction as important. The arguments made and the 'winning' side of the discussion are not the point: rather, it is the fact that we even had the debate and shared our thoughts openly and honestly that is significant. I have seen non-Indigenous colleagues remain silent during discussions of contentious issues that could benefit from disagreement. These conversations usually left me uncomfortable, as my perception was that the lack of engagement was not from a sense of tact.

In 2013, the PAPR project was nearing completion and I presented to colleagues my ideas on the challenges of positioning oneself while producing and mobilising knowledge as a learner in the academy.

> Ferguson, R. (2013). 'I Am Here: Mapping the Self Within Knowledge Mobilization', *Congress 2013 of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, June 1-8, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia.

The website project proceeded, and we were able to develop a draft for presentation to the community leadership in 2013. This was a tumultuous time for the community, as there was division over the best way to proceed with the formal treaty process after the community returned a 'no' vote in the latest round of negotiations. The 2014 community elections resulted in a change of leadership and shift in priorities in the community, resulting in the website revision project being put on hold until the spring of 2018.
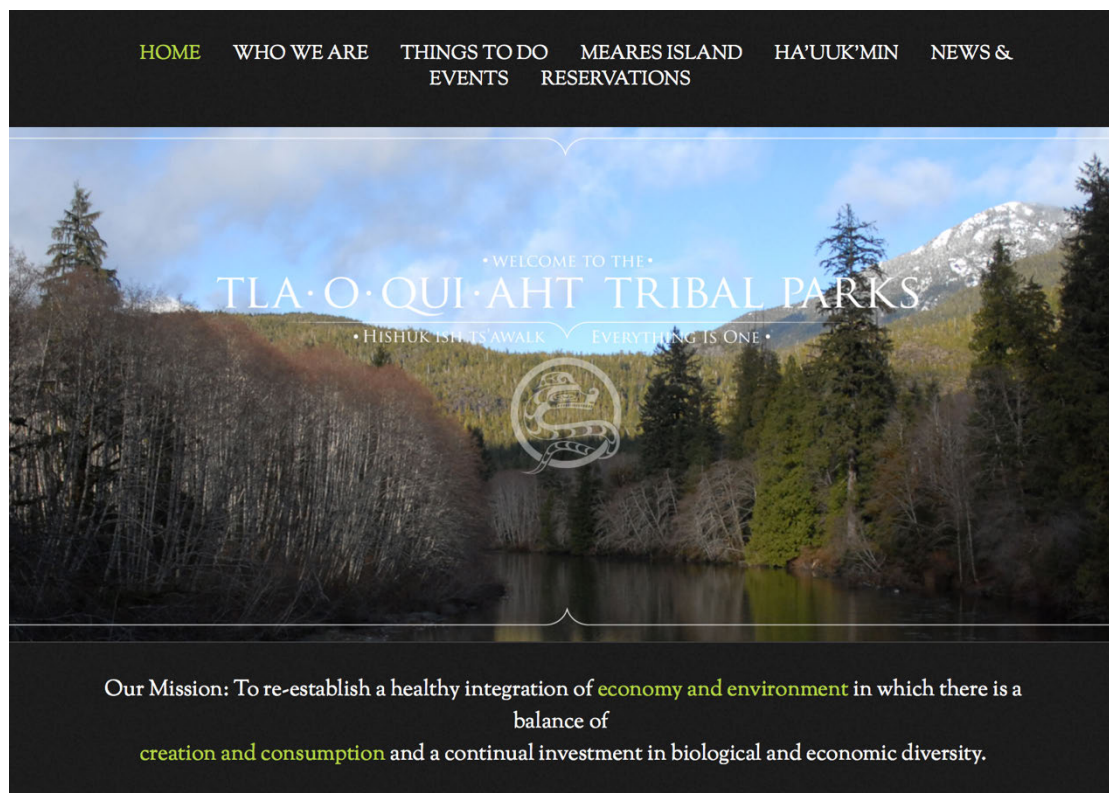
Figure 8 – Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks website landing page

(Source: Author)

Key insight

The participatory action projects related to development of promotional materials required nuanced semiotic and semantic treatments to ensure community interests were represented accurately. These treatments needed to communicate both the socio-political significance of Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks, and also appeal to potentially ill-informed visitors, seeking the forms of ecotourism experiences which are closely associated with Tofino. The discord amongst the project team around language and meaning highlight the potential for Indigenous ecotourism marketing efforts to problematically position

Indigenous Peoples as primitive, undeveloped and natural (Braun, 2002), juxtaposed to the omnipresent modern, developed and unnatural world ecotourists are seeking escape from (MacCannell, 1999; Moscardo & Pearce, 1999). Wilderness in this sense is a space beyond the boundaries that 'separates a primeval nature from a colonizing modernity that must be its inevitable state' (Braun, 2002, p. 110). Employing the terms 'wildlife' or 'wildlife tourism' in framing Indigenous tourism experiences within the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park would have had the potential effect of reifying settler colonial myths that position Indigenous People *within-and-synonymous-to* wilderness ontologies, thus limiting the presentation of the Tla-o-qui-aht identity to a singular 'natural culture' mode (Braun, 2002, p. 88).

> *It was challenging to see work close to completion but not implemented because of processes outside my control. However, it was a helpful experience, as it taught me patience and the importance of process and protocol in an Indigenous community setting. Simply put, our project was going nowhere until we had community leadership support; and as the community's attention was elsewhere, I needed to respect that. Despite several years of sporadic contact and minimal movement on this particular endeavour, my working relationship with Tribal Park colleagues remains in good standing and we are able to reconnect and renew commitment to moving this initiative forward as circumstances permit. I'm reminded of Terry Dorward-Seitcher's words to me after I had shared my frustrations*

> *with him, 'This project [Tribal Parks] has been hundreds of years in the*
> *making and it will be still going on hundreds of years from now; so be*
> *patient, everything happens when the time is right'.*

Summary insights

The preceding reflection demonstrates the challenge and promise of pursuing participatory action research in an Indigenous community setting. The cultural competency of the researcher (or more accurately, lack thereof) led to a number of encounters where misunderstanding, misspoken ideas and unrealised expectations could have resulted in significant interpersonal conflict among co-collaborators and fatally constrained the opportunity for cross-cultural understanding and affinity to flourish among the central co-collaborators involved in the research.

The interpersonal dynamics related to relationships, reciprocity, and responsibility within the Tla-o-qui-aht participatory action reflections also provide insight into the reorientation required for non-Indigenous researchers to also 'turn away' from settler colonial structures of power (Elliott, 2018, p. 68) inherent within Western forms of scholarship. From a Western perspective, the project had failed, while this failure was largely due to mitigating factors outside the control of the project team, the expectation of creating a specific material outcome identified by the community was not delivered. However, from the Indigenous community's perspective the implementation timeline was less

central to evaluating success than the ensuring the outcome had the full and continued support of the community thus reflecting the central importance of community control in all facets of Indigenous tourism planning and development (Graci, 2012; Hinch & Butler, 1996; Notzke, 2004). The sustained and continued success of the Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks initiative demonstrates the potential of process related adaptive capacities active within communities to manifest as specific situations of community resilience (Kulig, et al., 2008) within this study's context of community based Indigenous ecotourism development.

Case study #2: Heiltsuk First Nation, Bella Bella, British Columbia

Participatory action: Heiltsuk community, events management and tourism training programme, Qatuwas 2014 Tribal Journeys and the Aboriginal ecotourism training programme (AETP)

In the following narrative, I share my journey as the lead academic coordinator of an externally funded higher education programme that involved delivering educational programming in a partnership between a higher education institution, Vancouver Island University, located in Nanaimo, British Columbia, and the Heiltsuk First Nation. The partnership later expanded to include North Island College, based in Courtney, British Columbia, and to forge a formal association with Indigenous Tourism British Columbia.

This series of substantial autoethnographic reflections are used to leverage the power of storytelling as method (Humphreys, 2005; Archibald, et al., 2019). The richness and diversity of case study work involving the Heiltsuk First Nation

spanning several years evidences how cumulative immersive cross-cultural encounters can result in both episodes of sudden insightful learning (Ash, et al., 2012) and further illustrative of the imperative for the gradual development of critical colonial awareness discussed in chapter two. The following series of pedagogic and tourism praxis related reflections uses Biggs' (1996) notions of constructive alignment, capturing the intended outcomes (design), the teaching and learning activities (delivery), and the assessment tasks (evaluation) as a narrative tool to frame research related experiences as a co-collaborator in the participatory design of this study .

Reflections: AETP: Teaching philosophy

I treasure my role in higher education, as it has given me a unique opportunity to positively affect others in meaningful ways that bring me a profound sense of purpose and joy. Central to my professional role is my work to support students in meeting their educational goals. To better frame my 'teaching philosophy' as related to supporting Indigenous learners, I employ the language of Kirkness and Barnhadt (2001), identifying the central tenets of respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility, and I draw from Goulet and Goulet, who identify that 'effective teaching for Indigenous students is about connections to the content and process of learning and relationships with and among students' (2014, p. 78).

While I approach all facilitated learning experiences with purpose and desire to support student growth and effect positive change, this takes on an even greater focus for me in the context of Indigenous education. As a non-Indigenous person, I recognise that I cannot fully understand or appreciate the experience of Indigenous Peoples in Canada, yet I do feel a responsibility by nature of my upbringing, education, and professional role to work in my sphere of influence towards a reconciled and brighter future for all. This responsibility moves me to first listen with the intent of broadening my own appreciation of what other 'ways of knowing' may exist, have value and thus must be included in the academic discourse. I am grateful to have had friends, students, colleagues, mentors, elders, aunties, uncles, and countless others who have been generous and patient with me in sharing different ways of thinking about the world. In turn, I look to reciprocate this generosity by integrating, adapting, bending, and yes, at times, subverting the Eurocentric pedagogic constructions to advance the collective understanding among my students and raise ambitions for a future in which we collectively choose a path towards reconciliation.

I strive to craft relevant learning opportunities that stimulate, inspire, and challenge. When my students are engaged with key concepts, speaking with one another, questioning the status quo, and offering insights intended to create positive change, there are few other conversations I

would rather be involved in. I am convinced that the 'classroom' should be a safe place for understanding knowledge that has come from before, imagining future ways of thinking, and exploring different approaches, as we practise with a sense of urgency and seek to improve the human condition and the environments in which we thrive.

My goal is to design and implement transformative learning experiences that can shift students' perspectives of themselves and the world around them, while equipping them with the requisite skills, knowledge, and understanding to thrive and have positive impacts on the constituents and communities they will serve. I am convinced that the most effective way of facilitating this type of learning – particularly for Indigenous learners – is to give proper respect and recognition to the relationships between process, place, and people. When learning is applied, place-based, experiential, and respectful of traditional knowledge, the experience for all is profound. I am extremely grateful to have had an opportunity to contribute to the design, implementation, and evaluation of a series of successful educational programmes for supporting Indigenous learners.

Reflections: AETP: Intended outcomes (design)

In the fall of 2012, I had just begun my term as Chair of the recreation and tourism management department at VIU, when I was contacted by colleagues in Aboriginal education. They informed me of a request from

the Heiltsuk Tribal Council for support with an education programme

targeting community-based delivery of credit courses, in partnership with

Aboriginal communities and associated with the planning for a major

cultural event (Qatuwas 2014 Tribal Journeys), to be held in in Bella Bella

in summer 2014. Little did I realise at the time that this innocuous email

would spur a chain of events that would consume a significant proportion

of my professional life over the following several years, reshape my view

on Indigenous peoples, and introduce me to a wonderful array of

communities across the Vancouver Island region.

My role in what soon became the 'Heiltsuk Community, Events

Management & Tourism Training Programme' was multi-faceted. As

Department Chair, I worked closely with representatives from Heiltsuk

Tribal Council to adapt the VIU events management certificate curriculum

to meet the needs of the community by integrating traditional knowledge

and local perspectives, while ensuring that the approved learning

outcomes were met. This was not an easy task, as it involved building a

relationship of trust and respect with Heiltsuk Tribal Council community

partners in a very short timeframe, as well as advocating for this new

initiative and supporting colleagues who were anxious about sharing

control of academic delivery outside the institution.

Once we had determined that the curriculum would be delivered through a mix of online and in-community, face-to-face delivery, it was my responsibility to navigate the collective agreement and ensure qualified faculty were available and willing to teach – which was, again, not an easy task. Of the six courses delivered in this programme, I taught two and remained intensely involved throughout the rest, supporting colleagues in their planning and students in their journeys. Between the spring of 2013 and the summer of 2014, I had the privilege of spending four weeks, teaching and learning in the community of Bella Bella.

My goal throughout this experience was to first ensure that we (VIU) delivered on the commitments made to the community and that our relationship remained positive. I also sought to ensure that each student was provided with the support that they needed to succeed and that they enjoyed positive learning experiences. A number of challenges emerged during this initial offering, including serious issues in accessing technology as a distance learning medium in such a remote setting. However, I was personally invested in the students to such an extent that when my wife was undergoing a serious medical procedure, I was leading tutorials in the hospital cafeteria for students who needed extra support. Thankfully, I have a wonderful and very supportive wife!

The preceding passages further outline the introspective development of a critical colonial self-awareness of non-Indigenous tourism educators and the subsequent potential to effect whole systems change within entrenched settler colonial educational institutions. Program or academic unit specific efforts that attempt to disrupt the dominant Eurocentric learning models, while modest in scope, conceal their power to move higher education institutions towards a fundamental decolonising shift in policy orientations and pedagogic praxis as 'leaders of this transformative change are rarely already in the senior leadership positions and this change will be bottom-up, not top down' (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018, p. 226).

> *I believe strongly in the value of experiential education, or learning by doing; therefore, as part of my teaching and learning strategy, my goal was for the students to actively apply their event-planning and operational skills to the implementation of Qatuwas 2014 Tribal Journeys. I created space in my course design for each student to pursue their own interests in the event planning cycle and to critically reflect on their experience in relation to the established literature. For example, one student was sensitive to the potential for negative social impacts on the community; therefore, he designed an informative brochure to distribute to each household, detailing the planning completed to date and the benefits for*

the community. He and I then went door-to-door to households in Bella

Bella, distributing his brochure and meeting with community members to

learn about their concerns. Later, during the event, that student was

assigned a position of responsibility as a security officer.

Vancouver Island University (VIU) was the only non-Indigenous group

invited to participate in Qatuwas 2014 Tribal Journeys; and while a

number of my colleagues prepared to make the three-week paddle to Bella

Bella, I set myself to delivering on the institution's commitment to the

success of this event in other ways; namely, responding to a specific

request for 25 tables, 100 chairs, and 15 pop-up tents. While VIU was

certainly in possession of these resources, two significant challenges

arose: first, Bella Bella is a very remote community, connected by air and

sea only; and second, VIU had already committed to loaning this

equipment to the British Columbia Summer Games, which were taking

place at the same time. I worked closely with the institution and the

Summer Games planning committee to negotiate a compromise. I

arranged for suitable pop-up tents from a Qualicum Beach community

organisation to be made available for the Summer Games event, allowing

the VIU tents to be shipped to Bella Bella for Tribal Journeys. This

approach was ultimately successful, though to get the equipment

delivered required hand-loading each table, chair, and tent into portable

toilets (porta-potties) to be barged to Bella Bella. I have so much more to

say about this experience, but that may go beyond the scope of this study.

Suffice it to say, I have never worked so hard on an event prior or since,

nor have I felt as privileged to be part of something so special.

Figure 9 – VIU in-kind sponsorship of Tribal Journeys 2014 in transport and in place

(Source: Author)

This initial programme led to a broader partnership, as I reached out to

colleagues at North Island College to employ the strengths of both

institutions to meet the needs of our Heiltsuk community partners. The

resulting programme design team, in which I took the lead VIU academic

coordinating role, led to the first iteration of the Aboriginal ecotourism

training programme, which recruited students from across the Vancouver

Island region and relied on a place-based, experiential, and applied

learning model, incorporating best practice from leading Aboriginal tour

operators and local knowledge keepers. The programme successfully

utilised a condensed, intensive, and residential format, delivered in

partnership with Heiltsuk cultural advisors in a number of rural and

coastal communities. The emerging partnership and programme were

highlighted in the fall/winter issue of the 2016 VIU magazine, with

testimonials illustrating the powerful nature of what has become a legacy

of success in supporting Indigenous learners and First Nation communities.

Figure 10 – VIU canoe family consisting of faculty, staff, and students; and an Aboriginal ecotourism training programme (AETP) student on patrol

(Source: Author)

The lesson from this reflection is simple: in my experience thus far, when

designing educational opportunities, it is essential to commit to the

process, to community partners, and to the students who have stepped

forward to learn. We must do so in the spirit of respect, collaboration, and

partnership with Indigenous peoples, recognising that this requires us (the

academy) to share power and control of the teaching space; and, when

necessary, we must stretch ourselves to deliver on our promises.

Adventures in Ecotourism
Building Partnerships, Collaborations and Trust through Aboriginal Education

BY JENN MCGARRIGLE

Vancouver Island University partners with Heiltsuk Tribal Council and North Island College to offer a unique, innovative, community-based Aboriginal Ecotourism Training Program that aims to improve learning outcomes for First Nations students.
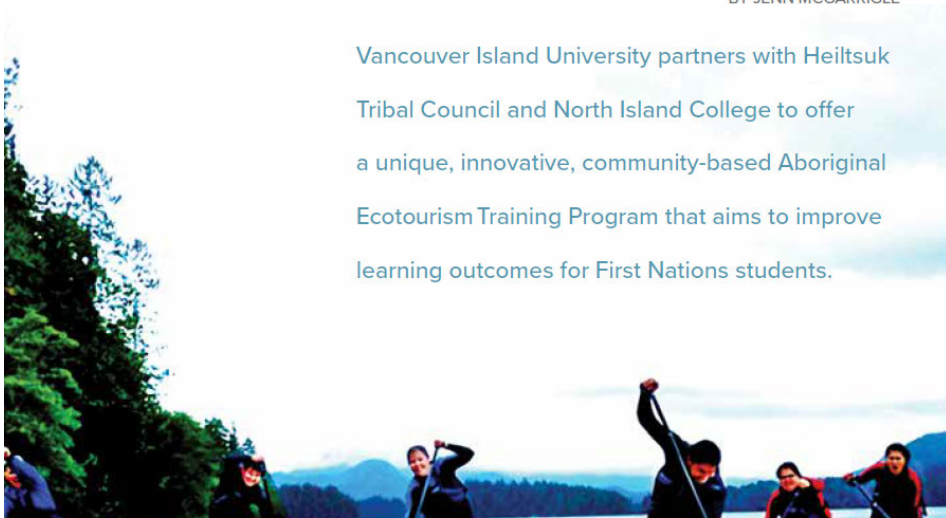
Figure 11 – 'Adventures in Ecotourism' (fall/winter 2016 VIU magazine)

Reflections: AETP: Learning activities (delivery)

Moving forward to spring of 2016, I had the pleasure of teaching an

environmental stewardship course to a class of 14 Indigenous students

from 10 different communities. This course was a pleasure to teach as I

am passionate about the subject matter and was thrilled to bring this

group of students to the Tofino/Ucluelet area, where we spent an active

week together, wrestling with the challenges of sustainable tourism

development. The teaching and learning strategy I developed, in

cooperation with Frank and Kathy Brown as the Heiltsuk Tribal Council

collaborators, involved immersing the learners in the people, issues, and landscape of the region – thus allowing the issues to percolate through group discussions, then applying management tools and frameworks to address these, seeking sustainable outcomes for local people.

We were based at the Wya Resort and housed in yurts. We used a cabin as our main classroom, with discussions also taking place on the beach and on the trails. I fondly remember writing notes on flip chart paper, then looking back at the group of students – who were gathered on chairs, logs, and the sand – and wondering where one student had gone, only to look up and spot her sitting on a branch six-foot off the ground, notebook in her lap and dutifully recording her thoughts. With the waves crashing in the background and the discussion centred on how to best manage the environment to facilitate positive recreation experiences, I could not imagine a more appropriate 'classroom' for any student.

During the week, we heard from representatives of the Yuu-tluth-aht, Ahousat, and Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations, along with representatives from Parks Canada, Clayoquot Biosphere Trust, Tofino Chamber of Commerce, and local Indigenous tour operators. We went surfing with a Yuu-tluth-aht surf school, enjoyed a guided hike on Wah-nuh-jus-Hilthoois (Meares Island) with a local Tla-o-qui-aht guide, and explored the Lone Cone resort with Ahousat leaders, all the while taking stock of our collective experience

of place, comparing course concepts of sustainability with the local Nuu-chah-nulth perspective of 'he-shook-ish tsa-walk' (everything is one) and how these relate to the students' own cultural perspectives.

Listening to local knowledge keepers, we identified a number of challenges facing the area and, as a group, discussed potential solutions to these concerns. By the end of our session, our outdoor classroom at the Tofino botanical gardens was covered in flip charts, with notes on valuable insights and solutions. As part of the assessment design, the students were asked to develop a 'solution' project in which they identified a challenge for their own community and developed a project (real or hypothetical) to address this. During the week we had an unplanned visit from District of Tofino Mayor Josie Osbourne, who visited briefly with the group, commended them on their work, and asked permission to photograph their ideas to present to her colleagues on the council. One group reflected on how valuable their educational experience had been thus far and proposed an ecotourism programme targeting high school students. Yet, another group highlighted a shortage of housing for seasonal workers and designed a business proposal for local First Nations to provide short-term housing. I remain inspired by and grateful for these students' willingness to join me on the adventure and throw themselves into their learning.

The lesson from this reflection is the evidenced value of a teaching approach that focuses on relationships and connections – benefiting all students, but particularly Indigenous learners. It was my intention to collaboratively design purposeful interactions with people, place, and activities that allowed the students to make their own relationships with the course concepts and extract personal meaning from these. This was achieved through an immersive experiential course design that relied not only on established 'theory' in core texts, but also on the richness of the local environment, local knowledge keepers, and the immediacy of tourism experiences. The assessment strategy provided sufficient structure for the use of frameworks and tools common to our industry, while also welcoming other ways of viewing the challenges that face tourism planners and encouraging innovative solutions appropriate to the students' own cultural teachings and the land on which we were on.

Figure 12 – Aboriginal ecotourism training programme (AETP) students in the field: Wah-nuh-jus-Hilthoois Tribal Park, Lone Cone visit, traditional Yuu-tluth-aht pit cook

(Source: Author)

Key insight

The explicit experiential and place-based pedagogic design of the Aboriginal ecotourism training program reflects that these innovative forms of 'on-the-land learning in university contexts usually combine academic and land-based knowledges in harmonious and transformative ways' (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018, p. 225). These approaches operationalise the imperative that where education initiatives involve Indigenous Peoples 'place must be an integral part of any

curriculum' as 'the ecological aspect of Indigenous knowledge is all about the land. The land is a source of identity for Aboriginal people' (Little Bear, 2009, p. 21). Place-based pedagogies within formal education settings that privilege Indigenous perspectives, thus provide an opportunity to 'meet Indigenous learners halfway, through compatibility with Indigenous values frameworks and employing culturally appropriate pedagogical methods' (Bisset, 2012, p. 78)

The intentional integration of applied training facilitated by both non-Indigenous and Indigenous tourism practitioners, provided concurrent learning opportunities to make connective place-based meanings between objects through authentic Indigenous tourism encounters that were experienced within recognised Indigenous cultural spaces. This approached maximised the opportunity for inter/intrapersonal reflexive learning among both Indigenous and non-Indigenous contributors to the learning environment. The notable successes of the Aboriginal ecotourism training programming in supporting impactful education opportunities for Indigenous students reflects the assertion that 'the quality of the relationships [student-to-student and student-to-educator] developed during their academic program may be as important, if not more important, to their eventual academic success' than other factors (Gallop & Bastien, 2016, p. 218).

Reflections: AETP: Assessment tasks (evaluation)

I spent some time speaking to my students on the value of being a reflective practitioner, conscious that – as professionals – we may not

always have reliable feedback loops to identify our personal strengths and

weaknesses. During the 2015 to 2016 academic year, I enrolled in a Team-

Based Learning (TBL) professional development programme coordinated

by VIU's Centre for Innovation and Learning staff to revise a course that I

had taught for many years and for which I was struggling to design a

meaningful assessment strategy. I worked very hard to integrate TBL into

two of my Nanaimo campus classes, with mixed results. However, this

provided an opportunity to critically reflect on the courses I was designing

for AETP. This new-to-me teaching and learning strategy proved an

effective technique, and my students were able to learn in a way that

emphasised their relationships with one another and with the content,

while at the same time permitting individuals to shine. Periodic quizzes

were no longer a daunting feature of our learning, but rather came to be

seen as challenging and fun; and small group discussions became more

meaningful and had greater impact.

Another important aspect of reflective practice is the feedback from

students on their learning experiences. As the academic lead on the

programme team, I recruited a respected colleague to act as a 'critical

friend' and conduct an evaluation with each cohort in an attempt to learn

what we, as a programme team, were doing well and where we needed to

improve. This step was not a requirement of the funders, but rather an

initiative that spoke to the entire team's drive to continually improve. The

subsequent evaluation highlighted that, despite the challenges associated
with their financial circumstances, the time spent away from home and
family, and the intensity of the courses, the students were able to
demonstrate real persistence due to the support they received from their
communities and on another. They also benefited from confidence in their
future as Aboriginal tourism professionals, which was reinforced by the
Aboriginal tourism leaders with whom they interacted. When asked about
their future plans, over half responded that they were committed to
pursuing further education and were planning to either develop their own
business or seek employment in the Aboriginal tourism industry. I was
particularly proud that all the students who began this intensive
educational journey successfully completed it.

Reflections: AETP: Conclusion

My role has been one of administrator, educator, scholar, faculty support,
student advisor, and for at least a brief period, a 'porta-potty event
logistics technician'; yet, all of these roles have had the shared purpose of
supporting student success. The experiences shared are illustrative of how
institutions such as VIU can only successfully respond to the TRCC calls to
action if individuals— up, down, and across the university — are prepared to
do so. I recognise that the AETP program successes have only come about
due to the countless colleagues, community members, and students who
were as committed as I to stretching themselves and testing what we

could accomplish if we trusted one another and the process and set our

collective minds to reaching a brighter future. Along the way I have taken

the opportunity to collaborate and share pieces of the journey with the

wider academic community to perception check my understandings with

academic colleagues and Indigenous community partners.

Cooper, S. and Ferguson, R. (2014). Tribal Journeys: Sharing Our Experiences of Teaching and Learning Off-Campus, The Off-Campus Classroom: Community-engaged Pedagogy Series, VIU, Centre for Innovation and Excellence in Learning.

Vauegois, V. Pinel, D. and Ferguson, R. (2015). Supporting Persistence Among Aboriginal Learners Through Experiential Learning and Community Building, May 6-7, 2015, University of British Columbia – Okanagan 11th Annual Learning Conference.

Ferguson, R. (2015). Teaching in Aboriginal Communities: Reflections from VIU Faculty, December 4, 2015, Office of Aboriginal Education & Engagement, invited speaker.

Ferguson, R. (2017). Pulling Together: Partnering for Success in Indigenous Education, June 25-27, 2017, 6th Canada Mexico Roundtable on Indigenous Education, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario.

Ferguson, R. (2017). Scholarship Through Practice: Exploring a Pragmatist Epistemology Towards Applied Research in Partnership with Aboriginal Communities, April 12-13, 2017, VIU, Sustainable Indigenous Tourism: Innovations in Community-Based Research and Management

Figure 13 – Celebrating Aboriginal ecotourism training programme (AETP) student success: Cowichan and Powell River completion celebrations; bungie jump shenanigans; Vancouver Island University (VIU) convocation

(Source: Author)

Key insight

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada call to action #92 demands education *for* reconciliation notably not just *about* reconciliation (TRCC, 2015). As previously noted, reconciliation within the Canadian context can be reflected in at least 3 forms, individual, legal and social (Knox, 2010). The preceding passages illustrate the opportunities for education to effect forms of; individual reconciliation through authentic Indigenous ecotourism training experiences; of legal reconciliation through purposeful disruptions of settler colonial Eurocentric education systems achieved through bottom-up decolonising attempts (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018); and of social reconciliation by enhancing mutual respect and understanding between non-Indigenous and Indigenous communities through addressing wider societal concerns related to tourism (Grimwood, et al., 2019).

Reflections: The promise and tyranny of momentum

Being in a relationship is not always convenient; at times, it requires sacrifice and putting the interest of the other first. Of course, this is only the case if there are feelings of responsibility and warmth between the parties. In the spring of 2017, I was desperately trying to focus my time and attention on completing my PhD. I was confident that I had learned a great deal, completely overwhelmed by the amount of data available for analysis, and very intimidated by the process of 'writing up' the years of experience in a manner that would be relatable and valuable to a reader. I had reduced less important commitments in my personal life, reduced my service as a faculty member, and was attempting to shift my attention when I received an email from my Heiltsuk Tribal Council colleagues, identifying a source of funding that could address a need in the community and asking if I could help. This type of question defines a relationship and tests one's commitment. Immediately I reflected on the the four tenets of research with Indigenous communities: relevance, respect, responsibility and reciprocity. Simply put, I had no valid excuses for declining my Indigenous partners' request for assistance, and I was grateful for the opportunity to give back in whatever way they needed.

The success of the AETP and a number of provincial and national leadership initiatives in the realm of Indigenous tourism had raised the profile of tourism in the community of Bella Bella. Furthermore, the

Qatuwas Legacy committee had repurposed timber used in the construction of bleachers for the construction of a modest interpretive centre, dedicated on 31 August 2017 as 'the Qatuwas Gathering House', showcasing the story of the Qatuwas 2014 canoe journey and providing infrastructure for tourism services in the community.

While perhaps small scale in its square footage and rustic in its design, the interpretive centre was constructed on the footprint of a grocery store that had once served as the community's main retail outlet (and burned down in 2013). Before the interpretive centre was built, the site was a relative brown space in the community, despite its attractive location and high-profile vantage point overlooking the main dock. The interpretive centre also houses some local artisans' crafts and arts, on sale to the public. While relatively modest and small-scale, in a community the size of Bella Bella, the centre is a significant achievement.

Figure 14 – Qatuwalas gathering place, crafted by volunteers from reclaimed timber used for bleachers in Qatuwas 2014; community garden in foreground

(Source: Author)

Figure 15 – Qatuwalas gathering place, with welcome banner

(Source: Author)

The Heiltsuk Nation also hosted a royal visit in the summer of 2017, celebrating the announcement that the Great Bear Rainforest was to be part of the Queen's Canopy Project. This was a significant visit, being a very high-profile event of national and indeed international significance, particularly given the sensitivity surrounding recent maritime disasters in Heiltsuk territory. Prior to the visit, there was significant investment in infrastructure, and a high-quality boardwalk facility was developed to allow the royal guests and their dignitaries to enjoy a scenic walk. The same space was used to make a historic announcement of this new protected area and to enhance the relationship between the Heiltsuk Tribal Council and the provincial and federal government.

The visit itself was worthy of note, and in addition, the infrastructure development that produced this fixed asset of a high-quality boardwalk not only serves guests, enabling walking tours for the transient visitors from the nearby British Columbia ferry terminal, but also provides an opportunity for locals to access sites that they had not been able to visit safely for quite some time. These two examples – while, again, modest and small-scale in nature, demonstrate the principle that infrastructure design for tourists also creates positive amenities for residents.

Figure 16 – Prince William and Catherine, Duchess of Cambridge, receive canoe paddles from Heiltsuk cultural leader and artist Ian 'Nusi' Reid, after unveiling a plaque in the Great River Rainforest in Bella Bella, British Columbia

(Source: https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/09/26/prince-william-and-kate-to-meet-with-first-nations.html)

Figure 17 – Fish hatchery boardwalk section with VIU colleagues Liz Hammond-Kaaraama (left) and Fran Tait (right)

(Source: Author)

It is encouraging to track the local momentum around tourism in the community of Bella Bella and to observe the impact of community engagement activities that stem from the Qatuwas event and the collaborative planning, implementation, evaluation, and knowledge mobilisation associated with the Aboriginal ecotourism training programme and associated community-based tourism development planning initiates. These activities demonstrate how scholarly engagement, when nurtured over time, can provide valuable support for local community initiatives.

Summary insights

The transformative power of immersive, place-based and authentic cross-cultural engagements inherent to Indigenous tourism experiences is illuminated when the researcher is recast as a tourist in the preceding reflections. As noted in chapter 4 tourism encounters have potential to provide spaces where understandings of the world are 'figured and refigured in the process of being a tourist' thus enabling transformative dialectical meaning-making and subjectivities to be problematised (Crouch, et al., 2001, p. 254). In chapter 2 the autoethnographic reflections discussed mapped the researcher's personal trajectory towards gaining an introspective critical colonial awareness. In the preceding reflections this trajectory was marked by reflexive confrontations with settler colonialism

often mediated by and negotiated through authentic tourism related interactions with Indigenous Peoples and occurring in supportive settings. The potential of these tourism interactions to foster individual reconciliation is evident in the profound, long term and sustained positive relationships with Indigenous co-collaborators and the shared labour that clears a path 'to stop taking space from Indigenous peoples and to instead make space' within the scholarship and praxis of tourism (Grimwood, et al., 2019, p. 9).

Participant perspectives and key insights

The preceding has provided the temporal framework for understanding the immersive and reflexive qualities associated with the distinct but interrelated applied participatory action initiatives and insights referred to with the autoethnographic narrative. Evident themes have been exposed, and continue to emerge through the telling of these stories, thus informing the potential of Indigenous tourism to effect positive individual, community and societal reorientation. The following section will proffer additional insights in the context of advancing socio-economic outcomes, manifestations of community resilience and evident potentials for social reconciliation in the communities involved. Selected quotes and published statements framing personal perspectives from key co-collaborators and other research participants are provided to inform and contextualise additional insights salient to this study.

Key insight: Indigenous tourism and socio-economic benefit flows

The strategic employment of Indigenous tourism for economic development aims

is evident within the comments from Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation members and Tla-

Tribal Park champions Eli Enns, Terry Dorward-Seitcher and Saya Masso.

> *If this area was all logged, we wouldn't have the tourists here. We wouldn't have businesses in Tofino. We're trying to create solutions based on building a strong local economy in a sustainable way. I guess we as Tla-o-qui-aht have always stood up for the land, for the resources. It's important that we take this stand so that future generations, so that our children can benefit from the beauty that's here. – Terry Dorward-Seitcher, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations member*

> *Our land use plans to see millions of fish in our rivers and clean drinking water. We want to see a land use planned for 500 years of jobs, not something that is a boom and bust model…When we protect an area, it's not just Tla-o-qui-aht's benefit, it's for all of Clayoquot Sound's tourism, for everyone's drinking water, but really it's for our grandchildren. – Saya Masso, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation member*

These comments also highlight the intergenerational commitment of sustained

economic benefits for future generations of community members, it is interesting

to also note the openness to sharing benefits with Others arising from a healthy

environment and tourism economy within the Tla-o-qui-aht traditional territory.

Economic benefits through infrastructure investment, amenity improvements

and job creation are also evident as strategic outcomes of community based

Indigenous tourism initiatives as shared by many Heiltsuk First Nation

participants and exemplified by the following statements:

> *The biggest thing is that we don't have a hotel, or that we don't have any property or lots that are designated for commercial development. - D., Heiltsuk First Nation member*

We have expertise; we know how to live off the land; and I think it's just putting a really good plan together and moving forward with a good solid plan for infrastructure development. - S., Heiltsuk First Nation member

There was agreement that culturally appropriate education opportunities were important avenues in fully benefitting from Indigenous tourism growth, thus highlighting the value of place-based tourism training (Little Bear, 2009) which directly involves community in both the design and delivery.

I feel that it is really high time that the Heiltsuk be a part of the tourism industry. Even though there's been a decline in our [community unemployment rate] there are still people that we need to employ. I think it opens the door for our young people to want to go higher in their education. It could be a really awesome start for them. - F., Heiltsuk First Nation member

This (the AETP) has been a great opportunity to build more confidence in myself and the more – the understanding of the tourism, the Indigenous tourism sector. And going through this programme has inspired me to really work with my people. I want to go back and work with my people and enhance our tourism industry.' - L., Aboriginal ecotourism student

Frank Brown features as a central co-collaborator with this project and is a Heiltsuk First Nation member who has had a significant role in shaping the epistemological perspectives that informed this study. Frank carries the Hereditary Hemas (Chief) name of 'Dhadhiyasila (λáλíyasila)', meaning 'preparing for the largest potlatch '. The name conveys a sense of the generosity, duty, and responsibility that Frank has demonstrated in his social activism and justice initiatives focusing on youth, natural resource policy and management, and Indigenous tourism development, and as a central figure in the cultural resurgence of coastal Indigenous peoples for several decades. Frank was a driving

force behind both Tribal Journeys 2014 and the Aboriginal ecotourism training programme.

In the spring of 2019, Frank received an Honorary Doctor of Laws, from Vancouver Island University. His address to the assembled audience is captured below in its entirety as a fulsome contributory perspective highlighting the intersections of Indigenous tourism development, access to education and social reconciliation:

> *'Walas giaxsixa* [many thanks] *tribes from Bella Bella, the central coast of British Columbia. Thank you to VIU President Ralph Nilson and all of the other VIU staff for the collaborative opportunities over the last few years. Throughout this time, we have done good work in the service of Indigenous communities, supporting capacity, training, and education. For this, I'm grateful to advance human wellbeing, social justice, to advance meaningful employment and economic opportunities for Indigenous youth.*
>
> *The healing power of nature in my life has been profound. I have wanted to share this experience through various initiatives that help people to connect [with] themselves and to the creator and to the land and sea. Congratulations, graduates.*
>
> *In our society, we say the pain of one is the pain of all and the honour of one is the honour of all. I'm grateful to my Heiltsuk community and particularly my family, my uncle and aunt, for the guidance and support during my formative years. I would like to especially acknowledge the life-givers for sharing love and kindness. My mom, who as a child was put into a residential school and as an adult [was] widowed with six kids, left our village of Bella Bella to pursue her education. She taught for 27 years and now in her 80s, just about 80, she serves as a language teacher. I especially share this educational honour with my wife and partner, Kathy, and our four adult children. As a society, this is where our true strength comes from.*
>
> *As the life-givers, they recognise and appreciate the sacredness of life and how precious a gift it is. We want to uphold our women and give hope and*

effect to their recently completed final report of the national inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.

Graduates, as we travel on life's journey, it is important to establish guiding principles or a moral compass of sorts; for when we inevitably face times of uncertainty, we can reflect back on the reasons we choose that direction for our lives. For myself, according to Heiltsuk teachings, I determined I am not doing this for myself, [but] rather in service to our people.

Also, to ask for guidance and help from others and the creator: reach out to the best people to help to achieve your goals, regardless of one's personal feelings and biases. Congratulations on your academic achievements!

I vividly recall, as a college student, taking time and reflecting and asking myself: why am I going on this particular journey of revitalising the ocean-going canoe?

A main driver for me was a need for cross-cultural education because I felt this could help address the discriminatory and racist attitudes that, throughout time, have been imposed on our Indigenous people, with detrimental consequences. Also, I wanted to support our community to renew and appreciate the amazing knowledge and ancient technology of our people in relationship to our ancestral watercrafts and to the ocean. This is a critical and timely knowledge as humanity currently grapples with such issues as climate change, ocean acidification, and questions of sustainability. At the heart of this crises is our value system.

As Indigenous place-based people, we have been a witness to the boom and bust cycles in fisheries, forestry, mining, and energy. If our primary value is money and only money – and we elevate it above the air that we breathe and the water we drink and the food that we eat – we degrade the natural capital that sustains our very existence. And we do this at our own peril. According to archaeological evidence – which validates the Heiltsuk ancestral stories acknowledging we are one of the oldest societies in North America and have lived in our territories for over 700 generations. 14,000 years. For the first 7,000 years, our people were hunting sea mammals along this great coast; and in the last 7,000 years, our people moved more to fin fish. We had clam gardens and fish traps. While two years ago, Canada, as a nation state, commemorated its existence.

Throughout our ancient history, we have learned key lessons that have sustained us. The following seven core values come from ancestral

teachings and have sustained us and can inform how we move forward together as a broader society.

Creation. We, the coastal first peoples, have been in our respective territory since the beginning of time. My name that has been passed down over time, Dhadhiyasila, is the first ancestor who came down as a half-man, half-eagle, as an example of a first-generation story. The connection to nature: we are all one and our lives are interconnected. Respect: all life has equal value. We don't put ourselves above other living things.

Knowledge, stewardship, sharing, adapting to change are a part of our key value system. What validates our truth is our core values, our ancestral practices, stories, language, physical evidence – such as this archaeological dig that was recently found in our territory – and our Ǧviḷás, our laws. We continue to uphold these laws through our sources of power, from the land and the sea. We are not the problem. Rather, we hold the key to shared sustainable solutions and our collective future. We will continue to stay the course to stay alive and invite our allies and our friends to join us in fighting to maintain the critical balance of life, to achieve sustainability for ourselves and all our relatives from the land in the sea. Walas giaxsixa: this honour and creates space to affirm our Indigenous ways of knowing and being.

At one time, our people couldn't even go to school. Only up to grade six. So, I thank the Academy for this work. I am happy for the graduates. Walas giaxsixa.' - Frank Brown, Heiltsuk First Nation Hereditary Chief

In these comments Frank shares the need to move beyond *money* as a primary value and proffers Indigenous place-based teachings as keys towards *shared sustainable solutions and our collective future*s, plainly stated that Indigenous Peoples *are not the problem*. Frank here alludes to the existence of a problem, characterised earlier in his address as *discriminatory and racist attitudes* which have had *detrimental consequences for Indigenous Peoples.* The shared Indigenous teaching of interconnectedness, *we are all one and our lives are interconnected* described by Frank here and elsewhere (Brown & Brown, 2009), echoed in the Nuu-chah-nulth teaching of '*heshook-ish tsawalk,* meaning

everything is one' (Atleo, 2004, p. xi). These comments also reflect the conviction and consensus among research co-collaborators that Indigenous knowledge has demonstrable value in informing a sustainable shared future for Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples and addressing the complex problems facing contemporary society.

Indigenous tourism is recognised as having potential to support cultural resurgence through the revitalisation of traditional practices and lifeways through employing specific forms such as ecotourism where sustainable practices, host guest interaction and eco-cultural education are central to designed experiences (Rollins, et al., 2015).

> *The significance of Tribal Journeys is upholding the laws of our ancestors. As First Nations peoples, we are very connected to our land and seas and I believe that Tribal Journeys has given rise to the resurgence of our cultures, the history of our people. - Frances Brown, Heiltsuk First Nation Elder*

> *I think that the canoe journey has changed the perspective of young people's lives. Some of them have made really big changes in their lifestyle because, when they went on the canoe journey, one of the things they said was it was a really good healing. - Joanne Green, Heiltsuk First Nation Hereditary Chief*

In the preceding comments Joanne affirms that Indigenous tourism experiences, in this case active participation in Tribal Journeys, provides a space for self-discovery and (re)engagement with cultural knowledge and practices that can be deeply and personally impactful (Daehnke, 2019). These comments align with L. below in how immersive place-based Indigenous tourism experiences can have the potential to *inspire, to build confidence* and contextualise tourism within

broader community aims beyond immediate economic gains (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2003).

> *This has been a great opportunity to build more confidence in myself and the more – the understanding of the tourism, the Indigenous tourism sector. And going through this programme has inspired me to really to work with my people. I want to go back and work with my people and enhance our tourism industry. - L., Aboriginal ecotourism student*

Frank and W. support this notion by comments reflecting how effective Indigenous tourism service delivery requires place-based cultural knowledge and awareness of self, in addition to cross-cultural competencies to effectively engage with visitors unfamiliar with local histories and lived experiences (Zeppel, 1999). The convergence of these elements support and reflect community led Indigenous cultural resurgence processes.

> *In terms of generating revenue and income for our community members, yes, we do want tourism and visitors that come into our community. For me the ideal visitor, as I said, is someone who knows that the minute they step off…. wherever it is they are coming [from] they know they're here in Heiltsuk territory….and these are the expectations we have of all visitors that come here. – W., Heiltsuk First Nation Member*

> *We were always good hosts. I think that's how a lot of people look at Bella Bella and our history is we've always been good hosts: we've always opened our arms to any visitors and people who are transient to our waters. We welcomed them. We took good care of them. That's just part of our culture, and that came along with where we are geographically. - S., Heiltsuk First Nations member*

> *We are on a verge of becoming stronger, more empowered, and turning the page. You know, we've been impacted by colonisation, and I think this [engagement with Indigenous tourism] is an important decolonisation process for us. Our young people develop an insight and understanding of how our ancestors lived, and survived, along this great Pacific Northwest coast. – Frank Brown, Heiltsuk First Nation Hereditary Chief*

Key insight: Indigenous tourism and community resilience

It is an indisputable reality that Indigenous peoples in Canada have experienced traumatic shocks to every aspect of their lives, due to contact with Europeans and the subsequent colonial processes that evolved over Canada's 150-year history as a nation. While these impacts have resulted in the serious issues that continue to threaten Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canada, there are evident key adaptive capacities in the Indigenous communities under consideration that enable them to be resilient in the face of uncertainty.

The lifeways of Indigenous peoples have been demonstrably affected by European contact and the legacy of settler colonial rule. The depth of these effects is yet to be fully realised, as the harm is indisputably intergenerational. However Indigenous Peoples are clear in this study in their articulation of the source of these effects and the need for acute responsive action to ensure the lasting integrity of their cultural identity.

> *It's being continually, systematically attacked through policy, through the racist Indian Act. Even though we've been displaced, even though we've been dislocated, marginalised from our own lands, we still have that fight in us. The Canadian governments and the church, through the residential school system of genocidal attempts, could not rid us of the sacred relationship that we have to our chiefs' lands and resources. – Terry Dorward-Seitcher, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation member*
>
> *Even as Tla-o-qui-aht recover from the brink of extinction and strive to adapt their ancient ecological governance system to foreign influences, the nation has conceived an Indigenous watershed management methodology that marries the old with the new to form a sustainable livelihoods model that promotes environmental security. – Eli Enns, Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park First Nation member*

Terry uses language that reflects the violent nature of Tla-o-qui-aht encounters with settler colonial structures, systems and stories described as being *systematically attacked,* Eli describes the impact of these forces as bringing the Nation to *the brink of extinction.* Despite negative impacts from settler colonial oppression Terry describes the that the Tla-o-qui-aht retain the capacity to *fight* and that these *genocidal attempts* cannot remove *the sacred relationship* to the land. In making these statements Terry clearly articulates the need for Indigenous communities to foster community resiliency, in building up internal adaptive capacities (the ability to resist) and celebrate shared expressions of community (*the shared sacred relationship to the land*). These comments echo Vizenor's description of a qualities related to Native *survivance* as 'an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction, however pertinent. Survivance is greater than the right of a survivable name' (2008, p. 2).

In the case of the Tla-o-qui-aht the resiliency of the community is manifested through action and is clearly evident in the strategic and purposeful declaration of Tribal Parks. These declarations give voice to Indigenous sovereignty within the unceded Tla-o-qui-aht traditional territory and communicate using the recognisable language of parks to (re)frame both Indigenous and non-Indigenous contemporary relationships with the land (Carroll, 2014; Murray & King, 2012).

… last year the tribe did declare the entire traditional territory of Tla-o-qui-aht as a tribal park. And we figured that this was a very important thing for us as Tla-o-qui-aht that live here, and also of course, the other people who also live here because the management of the resources hasn't been conducted formally … so we have taken the initiative to do that. – Joe Martin, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation Elder

The threat of clearcutting by logging companies such as MacMillan Bloedel on Meares Island I believe set in motion how we, the Tla-o-qui-aht people, would perceive resource management for future generations. Our chiefs and elders of 25 years ago declared Meares Island, that we call Wah-nah-jus Hilth-hoo-is, a Tribal Park that allows for responsible human interaction within our traditional territory, such as tourism, traditional practices and rights to harvesting in a sustainable manner. – Terry Dorward-Seitcher, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation member

Our Chiefs reworded our declaration and declared our whole territory a Tribal Park. This is our hauulthi, our traditional territory, this is how we will share it with everybody. – Saya Masso, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation member

Properly developed Indigenous tourism experiences that respect the principles of authenticity and cultural protocol can thus be seen as expression of the community, in that these cultural experiences that are offered to visitors have first been approved by the community (Graci, 2012; Whitney-Squire, et al., 2018). The importance of local control in this regard goes well beyond the established notions of good practice in the planning of tourism products: it speaks to the core cultural identity of the specific community involved. The Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park initiative and the Qatuwas event and legacy projects are expressions of the community as the authority, and the credibility of the actions are explicitly attributed to intergenerational responsibility for stewardship of the land and the explicit authority derived from both the traditional and elected leadership. The key adaptive capacities evident in this study include the ability of the community

to act with a sense of internal solidarity, while treating the needs of future generations as a sacred responsibility.

> *I think one of the things we would have to do, and I speak [in] my leadership role as a chief, we would need to get buy-in from our community first. – K., Heiltsuk First Nation member*

> *Because communication and engagement with our people is imperative: it is paramount. There is nothing more important than getting our people's input and feedback into this. – M., Heiltsuk First Nation member*

> *A huge part of our culture was that we leave this place in a better situation then when we are taking care of – for the little ones coming behind us and that was a huge teaching. – Joe Martin, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation Elder*

> *It's important to keep these forests intact for many reasons, partly as Tla-o-qui-aht is our responsibility. It's something that was passed down generation to generation. – Tsimka Martin, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation member*

> *I think that our tribal parks model is really a modern approach at looking at re-establishing our relationship with our resources. We have a responsibility to those resources that we continue to need to pass down to generation and generation. This is a sacred relationship that we have with this area where we come from here. – Terry Dorward-Seitcher, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation member*

The Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park initiative, Qatuwas Tribal Journeys and associated projects illuminate the respective communities' adaptive capacities to work as a collective towards a common cause. In both communities, there is an explicit sense of cultural pride and sacred responsibility to the land that permeates public expressions and private interactions between social actors. The specific cases explored also demonstrate the Tla-o-qui-aht and Heiltsuk First Nations' ability to innovatively overcome obstacles leaving them well positioned to engage with tourism for their own purposes, in forms of their own choosing.

The recurrent theme of intergenerational responsibility is evident highlighting the collective sense of urgency around the need to support activities that sustain cultural integrity for subsequent generations. The Qatuwas 2014 Tribal Journeys event was a significant milestone in the ongoing discussions around tourism, sovereignty, reconciliation, and socio-economic development for the Heiltsuk people (Daehnke, 2019). That event and the activities that have sprung from it are indicative of a pattern of collective survivance (Vizenor, 2008) in responding to adversity and seeking to produce end results which surpass the positions of the past.

The Qatuwas 2014 Tribal Journeys event and Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Parks initiatives are vital and public manifestations of community action. These have stimulated conversation and reflection on the potential for Indigenous tourism-related activities to deliver a range of socio-economic benefits to the community beyond revenue generation. These expressions of community coalesce as communal action, and manifest as discrete situations of resilience, screening the rich intricate web of enabling intrinsic and interdependent adaptive capacities.

Key insight: Indigenous tourism and reconciliation

The applied concept of reconciliation has been described as 'an ongoing individual and collective process', aimed at a working towards a 'stronger and healthier future' (TRCC, 2015, p. 16). If reconciliation is conceptualised as an

ongoing dialogue that promotes cross-cultural understanding and a shared

purpose for a more prosperous future, then tourism offers a unique opportunity

for Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities to come together to pursue

mutually beneficial strategies (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2003; Grimwood, et al., 2019).

Key contributions by collaborators illustrate the potential of tourism to be a

useful vehicle for positively influencing individual, legal and social reconciliation

between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples as individuals and as

communities. The role of tourism within the case examples is explicit, in that

tourism development is the primary driver of collaboration between actors, or as

a result of a higher-level discussion that enables tourism to emerge as a strategic

benefit for local people.

The Tla-o-qui-aht people have been effective in maintaining strong networks

both inside their own community in terms of governance structures, and outside

the community by working cooperatively and collaboratively with neighbouring

Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities where shared interests and shared

principles align (Murray & Burrows, 2017). As explained in chapter 1,

governmental agents and agencies of Canada have a duty to consult and, where

appropriate, to accommodate Indigenous Peoples when considering conduct that

could adversely affect constitutionally enshrined Indigenous rights, affirmed

through numerous landmark court decisions and is a fundamental reality for

resolving questions of rights and title over terrestrial and marine environments. (Government of Canada, 2017).

In the formation of the Ha'uukmin Tribal Park, the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation led extensive consultation with regional stakeholders, including Parks Canada, the District of Tofino, and neighbouring First Nations (Murray & King, 2012). The comprehensive land-use plan for the 500 km^2 park, incorporating traditional conservation values alongside contemporary approaches, all of which resides outside the boundaries of Canadian law, is an example of giving localised effect to legal and social reconciliation.

> *Reconciliation, and words like that, have brought development to our table on more occasions. It has allowed us to have a role in some of the projects – in the planning, in mitigating the impact on the environment, the design of the trails, to do the archaeological surveying and monitoring. Words like 'reconciliation' have brought us to the table….Treaty of extinguishment just won't work. Tribal Parks is designed to express our title from tops of mountains to ocean floors…..Tribal Parks is a tool for people to see how to engage our Nation. – Saya Masso, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation member*

> *Our chiefs and title are connected to these lands and resources, and their songs and dances [are] a reminder of our collective responsibilities. Our spiritual connections to our chiefs' territories give us strength and power, and the power of nature cannot be defined in the English language, nor can any Canadian government define our holistic collective relationships. – Terry Dorward-Seitcher, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation member*

The Tla-o-qui-aht Tribal Park initiative has served as a focal point for actions and conversations about what social reconciliation may look like for the rest of Canada. Consider the reaction of District of Tofino Mayor Josie Osbourne, who leads the municipal elected government. She has espoused her pride in being

elected mayor of the only Canadian municipality located in a tribal park. In

Osbourne's inaugural address to council on 1 December 2014 (District of Tofino,

2014), she astutely captures both the apprehension and the promise that

recognition of Indigenous rights can provide.

> *Earlier, I spoke of our common desire to flourish. That desire is not unique to those of us who live in Tofino's municipal boundaries; it is also shared by co-us, Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations people.*
>
> *Some of you have heard me publicly declare my pride in being the mayor of the only municipality in Canada that exists in a tribal park. I know this makes some people feel uncomfortable – both that I say this out loud and that a tribal park has been declared.*
>
> *Discomfort often arises from uncertainty.*
>
> *We like to know where we are going, and what the rules are. It is uncertain what a tribal park is. It is uncertain what existing in the boundaries of one means. We are uncertain about the best way to ask questions of First Nations or even what questions we could or should ask.*
>
> *What is certain is that the landscape of aboriginal rights and title is changing, almost daily. What is also certain is that we are all here to stay.*
>
> *We must find new and better ways to engage and communicate with First Nations, to support them and help lift our communities beyond the legacies of policies and practices of past governments and past eras of society.*
>
> *In the next four years, I am determined to engage in these difficult – but extremely necessary – conversations about the legacy of residential schools, about employment, economic development, and self-determination, and about our shared future.*
>
> *What is good for First Nations is good for Tofino. When First Nations flourish, we will all flourish. But what has been good for Tofino has not always been good for First Nations, and our communities do not flourish together as well as they should.*
>
> *There is a lot of hard work to do, and I invite you all – Nuu-chah-nulth or non-Nuu-chah-nulth – to join me in a concerted effort to undertake that work with open minds and open hearts. – Josie Osbourne, Tofino Mayor*

Mayor Osbourne's speech is important to capture in its entirety, as without

making specific reference to social reconciliation, she articulates what it means

for her community, namely; the formal recognition of wrong; the shared but

hopeful apprehension of an uncertain future; the recognition of required

fundamental changes within individual worldviews and pervasive legal systems;

and that this will require hard work. Her leadership in this area resonates with

local Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous residents.

> *Here in Tofino, we heard Mayor Osborne really have an understanding of,*
> *'Yes, these Indigenous people are here to stay'. Thank you for that,*
> *because on the provincial and federal level, when it comes to things like*
> *the BC Treaty process, they really don't see that. – Terry Dorward-Seitcher,*
> *Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation member*

In 2018, the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation hosted what has become an annual event

titled 'Tla-o-qui-aht Days' and described as a 'A week-long list of family, culture,

and community events throughout the Tla-o-qui-aht traditional territory' (Tla-o-

qui-aht First Nation, 2016). The event is complete with a parade through the

centre of Tofino, and it incorporates many of the community festival trademarks

common to small-town Canada, with of course a local cultural flair (Laws &

Ferguson, 2011; Nickerson & Kerr, 2014).

In the summer of 2017, Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, was invited to

attend the event in celebration of the Tla-o-qui-aht people's historical use and

occupation of the landscape. This was just a few months after his government

had voiced support for Bill C-262, designed to ensure that the laws of Canada are in harmony with the UNDRIP. The Tla-o-qui-aht Days community event illustrates the power of small scale community events to provide opportunities in shaping spatial subjectivities associated with local/national identity dualism (Laws & Ferguson, 2011). Figure 18 illustrates the 'glocalised' promise of Canada's late adoption of UNDRIP in 2016, with a small town on the western edge of the nation formally celebrating a First Nations continued use and occupation of the land since time immemorial.

Figure 18 – Prime Minister Justin Trudeau Sits in the Main Float of the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation Days Parade in Tofino, British Columbia

(Source: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british columbia/justin-trudeau-tofino-tfn-days-parade-1.3712887)

The collaborative partnership that has developed between the Heiltsuk Tribal Council, Vancouver Island University and North Island College also served as a

powerful example of the potential for tourism, specifically tourism education to be a contributory force towards reconciliation at the institutional level that can create momentum to inform larger social processes.

> *'I think that we are moving forward in a very timely way to advance reconciliation because, ultimately, tourism is about a human experience, an exchange of cultures, ideas. The self-esteem that is derived from this experience by the [AETP] programme participants and, in fact, even when they move into the workforce, they feel better about themselves as Indigenous people. They've learned about their history and culture so that they can share it in a good way and the general public develops a better understanding of who the Indigenous people of Canada' – Frank Brown, Heiltsuk First Nation Hereditary Chief*

Reflection: From disparate immersions to nuanced understanding

Rather naively from the start, I had sought to compartmentalise my learning and to sharply distinguish between the new knowledge, insights, and perspectives gleaned from Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation case as a singular, discrete research project. This was an intellectual folly and served only to increase the apprehension that I had as a non-Indigenous person embarking on an enquiry centred around Indigenous issues, while these same issues were concurrently hotly contested in all spheres (including my own life) in Canada.

I quickly came to realise that each encounter – whether in my personal circle of family and friends or in my professional life as a graduate student, institutional representative, and classroom instructor – that was related to my topic came with significant personal self-discovery and risk. I was

evolving into my own personal protagonist, seeking to deconstruct the myths of Canadian history, identity, and relationships with Indigenous peoples. I did not discover a sense of peace until several years into my formal research journey, when I capitulated and recognised that rather than a discrete set of encounters that could be cleanly analysed, coded, and reported, my learning was far richer, more textured, nuanced, complex, and even more unsettling than I could have imagined.

I began this endeavour determined not to create a purely self-indulgent project with no benefit to the participants or collaborators; but I did not recognise that, for the learning to have an impact, it would be necessary to delve deeply into myself. My initial intent was to maintain a high level of objectivity and to somehow position myself as external to the phenomena and issues I was exploring. In retrospect, this was an impossible goal and an ill-advised perspective, borne of the lack of critical awareness already described.

I spent a significant amount of time debriefing, reflecting, and 'perception checking' after each encounter with collaborators, colleagues, friends, loved ones, and the literature. I earnestly sought clarity on how to interpret nuance in my own shifting self-awareness as a non-Indigenous researcher. This form of reflexivity involved developing the ability to self-reference my impact on the data to account for bias in the presentation

and analysis; though this perspective tended to suggest that I, as the researcher, the explorer, the situated knowledge producer maintained a static position, unchanged and unmoved throughout. Intuitively, this was also folly, as such an approach can lead to diminishing the humanist centrality of the research and undermining the potential for encounters to provide opportunities for new and dynamic understandings to emerge.

I am grateful that this study allowed for episodic but immersive experiences over several years, enabling relationships to deepen and providing opportunities to reflect on, and celebrate the deep transformative understanding I have acquired in my own way of being and knowing.

Chapter summary

The chapter has provided a rich narrative and discursive points of reflection that clearly show Indigenous tourism has potential to contribute socio-economic benefits for the Indigenous communities involved in this study. There is a consensus that Indigenous tourism, specifically in rural and remote communities, is significantly challenged by capacity constraints and highly sensitive to external forces. However, the case communities are demonstrated to be well positioned to react quickly to presented challenges and new opportunities. Networked adaptive capacities within the case communities inform communal expression

and support cultural revitalization tourism strategies that subvert and co-opt settler colonial structures of dominance, thus giving form to rising Indigenous cultural resurgence.

The sum of the autoethnographic narratives and insights offered one of many possible representations of this research, reflecting the extensive, immersive and multi-faceted nature of research engagements. As Grimwood, et al., reiterate 'unsettling tourism stories and decolonizing settler colonialism are not easy work' (2019, p. 9) and certainly this work extends beyond a singular endeavour. However, the most prominent emergent understanding is the demonstrated material relationship between the individual, legal, and social dimensions of reconciliation as centrally concerned within the promise of authentic Indigenous tourism encounters to problematise settler subjectivities, to inspire the development of a critical colonial self-awareness and to reorient epistemologies towards decolonising tourism representations and praxis.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

Introduction

This chapter will answer the research questions and address explicit linkages between the processes of reconciliation and the decolonisation of established systemic institutional processes. The potential role of Indigenous tourism in making material positive change in Indigenous communities and positive trajectories of reconciliation in broader Canadian society is also identified along with the subsequent implications for needed tourism policy and praxis reforms.

How is Indigenous tourism reflexive of the contemporary relationship between Indigenous peoples and 'the state'?

This study has affirmed the conclusion of Grimwood et al. (2019, p. 1) that, 'Tourism's entanglement with colonial power is deeply rooted and complex'. These entanglements have resulted in enduring social, political, cultural, and economic structures that continue to exert oppressive forces, consequently restricting the ability of Indigenous peoples to realise the promise enshrined in colonial artefacts of law, such as the Canadian Constitution and international commitments of emancipation, such as the UNDRIP.

The reliance of tourism on the natural environment as an amenity and attraction for visitors is uncontested (Williams & Ponsford, 2009). However, the rights and title of Indigenous lands mired in legal and otherwise bureaucratic tensions and

wrestling. Power dominance remains the discourse of choice between the state and Indigenous peoples, and the lack of historic – and limited formal – treaty agreements in British Columbia both acts as a barrier (in that there is a lack of certainty regarding the land) and spurs on new forms of more promising entanglements and relationships with non-Indigenous actors, including local, regional, provincial, and national state authorities (Murray & Burrows, 2017). These persistent and entrenched processes, structures, and systems of colonial power, designed to make Indigenous people invisible in settler societies (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015), show that Canada is not a post-colonial country or project, as the colonisers are still here and Indigenous peoples have never left, assimilated, or acquiesced to forces of colonisation (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005).

Can Indigenous tourism development offer an effective strategy for maximising socio-economic gains for local communities?

Indigenous tourism has been shown to offer a variety of socio-economic benefits for the communities involved. This study has affirmed previous claims that Indigenous tourism can inform and support cultural resurgence, pride in place, and enhanced self-image (Hinch & Butler, 1996; Zeppel, 2006). Investment in built and/or enhanced natural local amenities for tourism development increases opportunities for local economic prosperity and access to tailored spaces for culturally important practices (Ruhanen & Whitford, 2019). The previously unrecognised values of regionally significant cultural celebratory happenings, resulting in substantial transit of Indigenous guests, are also evident in

Indigenous tourism phenomena, thus playing a dualistic role in supporting both the social/cultural celebratory/resurgence outcomes and socio-economic development outcomes of income generation and community cohesion (Laws & Ferguson, 2011).

The labour market gap in terms of the skilled workforce required to meet demand for tourism services in British Columbia (go2HR, 2016), is an opportunity for enhanced domestic employment opportunities in rural and remote Indigenous communities. It is essential therefore, that any new Indigenous tourism enterprise is locally owned, controlled, and operated, thus increasing its potential to work within the social value system of the community and serve the collective interest (Graci, 2012).

Canada's Indian Act imposed systems of governance and community accountability that did not recognise traditional forms of governance where 'political legitimacy is drawn from a variety of sources, one of which is the spiritual realm' (Denis, 1997, p. 132), and were unfamiliar in form and function to neighbouring non-Indigenous communities. Indigenous Nations, such as the Heiltsuk and the Tl-o-qui-aht, thus have very different internal structures of economic development. These communities are generally small, with comparatively few established private business entities and without a private-enterprise development infrastructure, such as a chamber of commerce, to act as a mediator for accessing tourism-delivery resources from regional, provincial, and

federal tourism-specific business development and marketing organisations. The differing forms enterprise infrastructure take and thus differing need, creates a systemic barrier and serves to further 'disappear' Indigenous communities from the normative practices of tourism collaboration and destination development.

The tourism-delivery system in British Columbia is subsequently ill-equipped to serve local and regional Indigenous communities that do not share relating internal enterprise infrastructure, regional affiliation, economic ties, and human capacity of their non-Indigenous community neighbours. This further exacerbates the constrained ability to enhance the social infrastructure between tourism actors evidenced by a lack of institutional trust and meaningful working relationship between government agencies and Indigenous communities. This study has affirmed that organisational trust and subsequent pathways to collaborative progress involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors are best developed, through individual, personalised, local and sub-regional networks (Murray & Burrows, 2017).

The lack of trust and tensions between non-Indigenous and Indigenous communities and tourism organisations result in a struggle to engage collaboratively, despite the obvious and shared recognition of the potential for mutual benefits (Rollins, et al., 2015). The implications observed in this study give impetus to a greater mandate for regional destination marketing organisations to reassess their strategies for engagement with Indigenous communities, thus

allocating resources more appropriately to fulfil their responsibilities and identifying distribution channels for community-based Indigenous tourism ventures and aspirations. There is also need for greater vertically integrated knowledge-mobilisation effectiveness from federal tourism agencies, to ensure that all stakeholders have the same access to and understanding of mechanisms, processes, market data, and available resources required for a consistent, powerful, and competitive tourism service product in the global marketplace. The operative notion is that the smallest Indigenous tourism service operator located in the remote and rural Indigenous community of Bella Bella, British Columbia, should have ready access to the same timely, innovative and valuable market intelligence as the largest multi-national tourism wholesaler based in Toronto, Ontario.

This study has demonstrated the growing demand for a regional approach to strategic tourism planning (Fullerton, 2010) particularly in terms of the Heiltsuk First Nation's strategy of drawing in the capacities of regional Indigenous neighbours to collaborate in defining, determining, and supporting Indigenous tourism in the area. Expanding sustainable tourism development planning to the regional level of British Columbia's central coast maximises the potential for Indigenous entrepreneurship, youth employment, environmental protection, and economic development for the rural and remote communities involved.

The work of various tourism industry associations and the combined efforts of marketing organisations at the federal, provincial, and regional levels, provide a valuable model for contemporaries to employ (Nickerson, et al., 2014). The wealth of data compiled through these agencies and mobilised throughout the tourism knowledge network is impressive in assisting tourism operators to finetune their products and better meet demand.

Despite expertise and knowledge, a recurrent theme emerges not only in this study but also in comparable analyses of other marginalised communities: the struggle to effectively participate in the tourism economy (Graci, et al., 2019). Various systemic gaps have been explored, including those in the physical infrastructure needed to support the movement of people, the skilled labour force, the host community tourism literacy needed to understand the tourism sector, and the economic development funding to support start-ups and new ventures. The challenge, of course, is for Indigenous communities to fully access these benefit flows from tourism development. The destination marketing system is designed at the regional level to engage with community destination marketing organisations commonly associated with local chamber of commerce business entities, but the experience of the Heiltsuk and Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations speaks to a systemic disconnect between the established marketing chain and local enterprise.

Can Indigenous tourism initiatives foster cultural resilience in Indigenous communities?

Tourism is well established in practice and in the academy as a strategic tool for specific economic, social, and political outcomes (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016). However, tourism is also an explicit defensive reaction against external pressure, as clearly illustrated by the forms of tourism outlined in this study (Murray & King, 2012; Carroll, 2014). Indigenous communities in Canada live in a state of persistent uncertainty. In galvanising a cooperative resistance movement against the commercial logging of old growth forests in 1984 and leveraging that movement to inform a robust system of land-use planning initiatives through Tribal Parks, the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation provide an example of community resilience in the face of uncertainty. Likewise, the Heiltsuk First Nation demonstrate how a relatively rural and remote community can rally its resources behind a singular Indigenous tourism initiative, strategically designed to complement a suite of communal aims of elevating the self-sufficiency and determination of the Heiltsuk people for generations to come.

The adaptive capacities (Kulig, et al., 2008) that these Indigenous communities leverage include a resolute sense of belonging and the ability to work through internal discord by adherence to traditional values, with governance as the key determinant of collective action (Murray & King, 2012). Despite imposed Western governance structures, such as an elected council with a limited two-year term,

the traditional consultation processes and governance structures in the communities protect, preserve, and promote the inherited values and responsibilities of the preceding generations. There is a strong sense of community and togetherness that is palpable in these communities and expressed through public discourse with repeated themes of colonial harms that require a *making right* through respectful dialogue, genuine respect, the spirit of reciprocity, and a shared responsibility for future generations. These themes (colonial harms and Indigenous peoples' desire to effect change through dialogue and action), although unchanged since contact, have only recently begun to resonate in the public and private space of Canadian settler society (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015) and to affect public policy and localised action.

The potential of Indigenous tourism to support community resilience reflects the extent to which such development can provide the space for adaptive capacities to be identified, nurtured, invigorated, and operationalised. As Enns states, 'Indigenous and local peoples have tailored knowledge systems of place' (2015). They have thrived in situ for thousands of years and are the knowledge-keepers of the land, intimately and intuitively aware of change across the landscape. This heritage of stewardship equips Indigenous communities with complex ontological insights into the natural and inherited place-based epistemologies (Atleo, 2004), well served to inform contemporary challenges of climate change and food security, while enhancing the capacity for human flourishing through the spirit of reciprocity (Brown & Brown, 2009).

The rise in visitor demand for authentic cultural experiences that celebrate place (Graci, et al., 2019), which coincides with wider global recognition of Indigenous rights (Weaver, 2010), has resulted in a unique confluence of forces. These forces position Indigenous tourism as a valuable means by which Indigenous communities may reflect on their positionality in the global community and host internal conversations about local strategic approaches to collective prosperity, including to what extent, if any, Indigenous tourism development should be pursued. Engagements such as these can promote elements of community adaptive capacities (Kulig, et al., 2008) which provide the vehicle for unified expression to emerge within the community, for youth to reconnect with traditional values and knowledge, and to address infrastructure deficits, while pursuing an optimistic futurity that informs cultural pride and identity.

Indigenous tourism can be a force for community resilience but only to the extent that the external pressures, shocks, and uncertainty can be borne by the adaptive capacities of the community (Maureira & Stenbacka, 2015; Abegg, et al., 2017). It would not be reasonable to expect Indigenous communities to continue to endure their current circumstances without disastrous consequences. British Columbia's Indigenous communities exist in a threatened state, negatively affected by the impacts of the residential school system and the racist policies of successive Canadian governments. The needs of these communities can be life-threatening, such as housing and safe drinking water. Furthermore, the

Indigenous population in Canada is young – with a median age of 25 years, compared to the non-Indigenous median of 40 – and growing, thus requiring increasing education, health, and employment provision (Government of Canada, 2017).

Recent announcements – including the dissolution of the much-maligned Department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada and creation of two new entities, namely Indigenous Services Canada (ISC) and Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (CIRNAC) – bode well, demonstrating a political will for change. However, a whole systems approach is needed to effect positive change for Indigenous communities (Grimwood, et al., 2019). The tourism industry as a key economic driver and benefactor of heritage must take responsibility for its complicity in the threats facing Indigenous communities and work to reshape itself to maximise benefit flow to local Indigenous communities.

Can the development of Indigenous tourism initiatives in Canada support reconciliation processes?

Reconciliation in the settler state context of this study has concerned repairing and restoring relationships between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples and is informed through cultural and discursive practices (Braun, 2002) across individual, legal and social concerns (Knox, 2010)

This study has illustrated the potential for Indigenous tourism in which the primary participants are themselves Indigenous, such as the Heiltsuk example of Qatuwas 2014 and other large-scale celebratory functions, where travel and stay are common characteristics for guests and participants. These happenings are heuristically understood as a form of Indigenous tourism and reflect continued patterns of Indigenous peoples' lifeways where Indigenous groups gathered to settle differences, celebrate culture and solidify political alliances since time immemorial (Daehnke, 2019; Wrubleski, 2014; Brown & Brown, 2009) .

The Pacific Northwest has a history of inter-tribal tension, conflict, and warfare evident prior to contact and persisting into contemporary society (Clayton, 2000). These tensions are exacerbated by settler state determined title resolution processes that impose an unfamiliar lexicon and practice for determining hard boundaries on territorial responsibility and ownership, where these boundaries were historically grey, blurred, and negotiated between landholders themselves, rather than a third party as an estate. However, Indigenous tourism provides the impetus for these social and political connections to be (re)affirmed and (re)constituted, creating a dialogue around shared interests, access, and strategy (Carroll, 2014; Murray & Burrows, 2017).

Higher education institutions occupy a unique space in the Canadian public landscape due to the wealth of resources they direct towards addressing complex and challenging social issues. Education, as a key determinant of social change

(Kirbassov, 2014), is affirmed, as is the role of education systems in Canada both as complicit in colonial harm and as central to advancing reconciliation aims (TRCC, 2015). Education is thus a powerful force for positive societal change, with potential to support decolonisation and material improvement in the lives of Indigenous peoples.

Correspondingly, the wealth of knowledge, experience, and depth in Indigenous communities is increasingly recognised as central to developing a sustainable and reconciled future for all (Brown & Brown, 2009). The resulting challenge then is to explore the potential for higher education institutions and Indigenous communities to collaborate on effecting positive change for individuals, communities, and environments in the face of challenges, working within colonial Eurocentric systems to subvert their entrenched colonial dominance.

The role of higher education institutions in this study, while problematic and duplicitous in simultaneously seeking to emancipate (elevate Indigenous voices, power, and presence) and to furtively assimilate (locate Indigenous knowledge in utilitarian settler regimes of a market-driven need for labour) demonstrated a conflicted, but overall positive trajectory. The foundational role of education in supporting individual, legal and social reconciliatory processes affirm the immediate need for higher education institutions to go further and conduct a 'wholesale overhaul of the academy to fundamentally reorient knowledge production based on balanced power relations between Indigenous peoples and

Canadians, transforming the academy into something dynamic and new (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018, p. 225).

The diversity of the relationships introduced through this new tourism story (Grimwood, et al., 2019) demonstrated that higher education institutions can leverage their social mandate and internal capacities for the promotion of an equitable, prosperous, and healthy future for the Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities that they serve. Further, this study suggests that Indigenous tourism learners who are supported in cultural and place-relevant pedagogic programming build the internal capacities of rural and remote Indigenous communities to engage in the Indigenous tourism economy in a strategic, collaborative, and systems-integrated form.

Interdisciplinary approaches to tourism as an applied field of academic study have shown exciting potential for investigating tourism as a force for reconciliation (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2003), effecting positive change for individuals and disrupting hegemonic power structures (Grimwood, et al., 2019; Pritchard, et al., 2011). The academic community has indicated a readiness to transverse traditional academic boundaries; embrace new knowledge systems, and methods of enquiry; and advance epistemological flexibility. This renewed emphasis on the co-creation of knowledge and emancipatory enquiry, with explicit intentions of promoting material change for Indigenous communities, signals an emergent and

radical change to decolonising tourism study's ontological and epistemological orientations.

The cases, stories, and comments provide a sound basis from which to assert that tourism can indeed be a positive force for reconciling the harmful past of Canada's relationship with Indigenous peoples. The ability of tourism to promote wealth and economic development is well established; and reconciliation has now emerged as the foremost paradigm through which to envision a brighter future for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada. However, the promise of a reconciled future cannot be sustained without respectful dialogue, leading to mutually agreed solutions to deeply divisive issues of sovereignty, rights, and land title. Tourism's role in the promotion of peace is affirmed, as is the potential for the development of mutual understanding through encounters in tourism space, thus providing a valuable pathway for the pursuit of reconciliation.

For the Tla-o-qui-aht and Heiltsuk, the complex discussion around the potential extinguishment of title over lands is central to any reconciliation processes and may never be fully resolved. Tourism development can provide the impetus for dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, providing an alternative framework that fosters understanding in discussions of immediacy, practicality, and progressive local strategies. This localised approach to reconciliation, if supported by public policy and practice, can support bottom-up

community efforts that reflect humanistic, neighbour-to-neighbour, relational maturity, and healthy reciprocity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

A localised approach to reconciliation poses significant challenges for agencies of the state which relate with multiple Indigenous Nations and agencies across a range of issues and scales. Agencies such as Parks Canada must empower local representatives to develop institutional relationships based upon trust and respect, supporting the continuity of those relationships when personnel change. This is arguably the most substantial challenge facing agencies such as Parks Canada, particularly given the ageing demographic of Canada's labour pool and the high demand for specialised skills in protected area management and intercultural relations. A more nuanced, tailored, and local approach to relationship-building is required to realise public policy aims for a renewed relationship between tourism-related agencies and Indigenous Peoples that respect the Supreme Court-confirmed constitutional existing rights and title.

The establishment of cooperative management boards for the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve is a good start, but these policy and management tools inevitably reflect the power imbalance and historical disenfranchisement of Indigenous peoples. These, and similar top-down approaches are a managerial response to the present-day reality, not a wholesome remedy to the consequences of exploitation and oppression. The examples of the Heiltsuk and

Tla-o-qui-aht demonstrate alternative pathways for moving the reconciliation process forward while effectively 'agreeing to disagree' over title on disputed land. These 'other than extinguishment' processes to resolve contested title allow for a localised and operational approach that circumnavigates entrenched barriers that would otherwise prohibit collaboration and innovation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Of course, for some Indigenous groups, there is a greater willingness to work through the formal modern treaty process, as this is the only mechanism acknowledged by the settler state to provide certainty for the future.

A parallel could be drawn with the core service characteristics of tourism, in that tourism experiences are intangible: they are, in essence, an idea that emerges through the engagement of host and guest (Crouch, et al., 2001). In the same manner, reconciliation is an idea, a concept that takes on a cogent form through authentic engagement with Indigenous Peoples and the intentional development of a greater critical colonial self-awareness. Reconciliation requires honest, forthright, engagement that exposes the truth and attempts to 'make right' the wrongs perpetrated throughout history. In the Canadian context, this dialogue is troubling because it contradicts the myth of the Canadian identity as a polite, inclusive, multi-cultural societal mosaic, respectful of diversity and adherent to the rule of law (Francis, 1997). The work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada and the subsequent conversations have at least obscured the naïve ideal of Canada and, at most, shattered it. For the thousands of

Indigenous children who did not survive the residential school system, this reckoning with the past has come too late; but for the survivors and their relatives, the glimmer of a reconciled and more prosperous future is shining a little brighter due to recent events.

Tourism experiences are also inseparable: they are simultaneously produced and consumed during each encounter (Nickerson, et al., 2014). Reconciliation, likewise, cannot be conceptualised as an outcome of a disembodied, mechanical, and linear production cycle. Reconciliation is not a socio-political widget to be designed, neatly packaged, and consumed – as Keely and Nkabahona assert, 'Genuine reconciliation must occur in the minds of individuals' (2010, p. 232). However, for reconciliation to be authentic, it must also be as real as the pain endured by the harmed and strive to make amends, knowing that no reparation could be sufficient to balance the scales. Reconciliation cannot be understood as a metaphor for anything other than the restitution of Indigenous lands and lifeways (Tuck & Yang, 2012).

Tourism is also perishable. A tourism experience is either consumed or not; it cannot be stored for later use when conditions are more favourable. Likewise, opportunities for practical steps towards reconciliation are also perishable. The moments in the private and professional lives of Settler Canadians that progress the aims of reconciliation cannot be 'shelved' until a more convenient moment or more permissive policy context allows. Rather, these moments must be seized on

as opportunities to make progress. This may require hard, humbling compromise and generosity on the part of all participants, such as the Tla-o-qui-aht asking for the right to build homes on unceded land that they have occupied for thousands of years and to become part of the economy that benefits from their heritage of stewardship, or the Heiltsuk inviting partnership for the management of their lands and training of their people, or perhaps the courage of a small town mayor in stepping into the unknown by recognising the rights of Indigenous people into a shared vision for the future.

Finally, tourism experiences are heterogeneous, as each encounter is different. This study has reaffirmed that each community must be afforded the dignity of determining what forms reconciliation should take for them. For some, the modern treaty process is desirable; while for others, there is only enough trust to work on an ad hoc basis with non-Indigenous actors and settler state agencies. Further, any successful reconciliation strategy must recognise, value, and respect the substantive differences between the Métis, First Nation, and Inuit peoples across Canada and the localised experiences of their communities.

In the pursuit of reconciliation, tourism can bring local, regional, and national stakeholders to an appreciative and optimistic dialogue that highlights the rich cultural heritage that Indigenous peoples add to the story that is Canada. The inherent interdependencies of tourism provide the framework for conversation, agreement, and collaboration across the cultural, political, and commercial

spectrum of Canadian society. Even the lay person understands that tourism involves the movement of people, to a place, to do something. Hidden in that simplistic imaginative journey is the diverse infrastructure needed to move that visitor from one place to another; the readiness of the community to welcome such a visitor; the availability and diversity of accommodation, food and beverages, and leisure services that meet the visitors' needs; along with the local, regional, and national public policies that enable that system to function effectively, efficiently, and equitably.

The complexity and connectedness of Indigenous tourism in the historic and contemporary spheres of the public and private lives of non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples reveals that Indigenous tourism not only has the potential to contribute to reconciliation but is arguably the best positioned and most appropriate force in Canadian society to do so.

Research strengths and limitations

Research of any kind involves compromise as resources for enquiry are finite and include time, finances, and methodological tools (Veal, 2017). This study is ambitious in its blending of Indigenous perspectives with Western scientific modes of inquiry. The open engagement and application of interpretivist frameworks result in a highly specific, deeply subjective exploration of the topics under study. The risk in this approach is that those who are much more

comfortable in the established methodological paradigms of scientific inquiry will struggle and perhaps be unable to see the merit in such innovation.

A strength of this study is the profound, long-term and sustained relationship with Indigenous co-collaborators; however, these relationships were developed with relatively few individuals in each community. While dozens of conversations, meetings, and interactions between the researcher and a conservative estimate of approximately 150 Indigenous people occurred during the study period that informed the findings therein, there were only a handful of key co-collaborators. These individuals were in positions of influence in their community, with evolving roles and responsibilities during the research period, including roles within elected and hereditary governance. Thus, the inference can be made that their opinions, worldviews, and insights are reflective of others within the community. However, this is an assumption, not a verifiable or observed conclusion.

The approach taken was not to verify, explore, or engage with the intentions, feelings, or experiences of the community as a whole, as this would have risked perpetrating the exploitive and intrusive practices associated with academic research of the past. The participatory action research orientation of the study meant that the methods used were those that the community felt would be most appropriate to achieve pragmatic goals, and not designed to share deeply held stories, ceremonies, sacred teachings or internally contested issues. It would also be a mistake to attempt to generalise the analysis, conclusions, discussions, or

implications of this study to other Indigenous communities or contexts without the caveat that local customs, knowledge, and practices dictate the transferability of the learning.

Future avenues of enquiry

This study has illuminated further research possibilities for both the methodological approaches and theoretical treatments of Indigenous tourism potential for social reconciliation and community resilience.

This study's pragmatic engagements necessarily focused on strategies to enhance access to Canada's vertically integrated tourism service delivery system for Indigenous communities. The strategies employed were primarily about aligning national organisations' tourism marketing related directives with localised representations of tourism products. The primary marketing concern for local tourism operators being visibility in the national/international tourism marketplace mediated through regional and provincial tourism services sector agencies. Regional and provincial brand congruence, while still relevant, was therefore seen as less vital to maximising return.

This pattern of framing Indigenous community led tourism initiatives in response to national priorities directly mirrored conversations, encounters and experiences involving identity constructs related to place. This study thus found far greater

emphasis was placed on local vs. national socio-political place attachments, particularly when issues of rights, title or other forms of settler colonial oppression were relevant. This held largely true in virtually all interactions and in all settings. Thus, the research has a very limited frame to capture a British Columbia centric identity discourse within the context of the study, except to say that this dynamic was largely absent. This may be unsurprising given Indigenous people's identity is localised in situ from before time and *Canada* has been the primary antagonist, thus distancing attachment to regional/provincial structures of settler society beyond a utilitarian perspective. Yet, this may also be surprising given the unique cultural character, natural environment and colonial history of British Columbia in relation to settler colonial oppression and entanglements.

Therefore, there is an opportunity for further studies to explicitly explore identities and subjectivities related to the colonial historical context and the contemporary apparatus of Indigenous tourism within British Columbia in comparison to the same within other Canadian provinces or territories.

Adaptive capacities that support community resilience were observed and inferred, yet not confirmed from a comprehensive community perspective. Future studies could thus explore the adaptive capacities perceived as present among community members, identifying which of these are most valuable for resilience, and then collaboratively developing operational strategies to enhance these capacities.

Furthermore, while the role of protected areas and emergent forms Involving Indigenous Peoples were discussed, a thorough review of the scope, scale, jurisdictional diversity, and multi-dimensional use of these sites was beyond the scope of this endeavour. However, this would certainly add value to future related enquiries.

A socially reconciled Canada is unlikely to ever be fully realised, given the persistent consequences of colonisation. There is no possibility of returning Canada to the conditions that existed pre-European contact, and thus no means of fully 'making right' the wrongs of colonisation. However, social reconciliation is an aspiration and vision – recognised as out of reach, in practical terms, and yet nevertheless worthy of sacrifice, compromise, and wholehearted pursuit – which bodes well for the future wellbeing of the Canadian experience.

It is early in the process and the indicators for measuring progress and policy interventions are rightly focused on the reduction of inequalities in the lived experience of Indigenous Peoples in Canada. However, the time will come (hopefully soon) when attention, investment, and conversations will shift to a dialogue on belonging and national self-actualisation that is truly inclusive of the country's cultural diversity. Therefore, now is the time to pursue a deeper understanding of how Canada can mark its progress towards social reconciliation.

This requires an intercultural dialogue between all Canadians to identify the key indicators of success and requisite measurement tools.

In the coming years, we can expect to see a new interdisciplinary, intercultural academic field emerge in Canada, focusing on better understanding reconciliation processes and impact, with undergraduate and graduate programmes sprouting up across the Canadian higher education landscape. The changes in the academy will provide greater opportunities for Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars to experiment with and advance the methodological approaches used to interrogate issues in culturally appropriate and intellectually rigorous ways.

Perhaps the most exciting aspect of this future will be the recognized need for more culturally appropriate techniques aimed to expand our knowledge of the world and provide license for further innovation and exploration in the academy. Scholarship should be about discovery, which necessitates an acceptance of unknown outcomes and thus risk. However, the hegemony of Western science and the risk-averse nature of the academy leave it ill-positioned to extend the boundaries of acceptable knowledge production and mobilisation processes.

Systemic change is needed to move beyond the accepted models and modes to properly recognise and support intellectual enquiry that embraces and celebrates Fuller's assertion that 'the cause of enquiry is better served by being interestingly

wrong, than reliably right' (2009, p. 147). Pursuing a course of inquiry into Indigenous issues in Canada is not something to be taken lightly. The journey has been intimidating and fraught with pitfalls. Never-the-less, I remain wholly grateful for the opportunity to forge meaningful relationships, to become better acquainted with myself and become better equipped to contribute to a reconciled future.

Key contributions: Synthesis

This thesis contributes to the body of knowledge by contextualising the strategic use of tourism development to address social inequity, poverty alleviation, and conservation in the contemporary discourse of reconciliation between Canada and its Indigenous peoples.

Further contributions can be identified in the experimentation with an approach that challenges the Western paradigm of knowledge creation and its expression in research in the Eurocentric tourism academy, which has been dominated by a positivist paradigm of research endeavour and presentation of objective truth. This approach attempts to overcome the colonial systems and frameworks that have been harmful to the mutual understanding of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada.

This work argues for knowledge creation through collaborative engagement between those with the knowledge and the researcher: a method that is holistic and ethical, and those engaging in it act with respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility.

This study demonstrates that Indigenous tourism has the potential to become a powerful force of positive change for marginalised Indigenous communities. However, for the benefits to be realised, there are a number of policies, principles, and practice gaps that must be addressed. These gaps place a moral responsibility on leaders to act with a sense of purpose and urgency to meet the growing demand for Indigenous cultural tourism on Canada's west coast, while advancing reconciliation in Canadian society to ensure a respectful, healthy, and prosperous shared future.

Epilogue: Researcher cultural competency, cultural safety, and self-care

As evidenced time and time again, progress and collaboration can only exist where trust exists; and where trust exists, there must be honest and meaningful dialogue. Honest and meaningful dialogue and trust take time to nurture, and as this process requires individuals to be vulnerable, it comes with risk. Those risks are primarily borne by the Indigenous counterparts. However, non-Indigenous partners are also at risk, and this should be acknowledged. Well-meaning and

well-intentioned non-Indigenous individuals can and do create distractions for the process. This could be simply due to poorly phrased comments, borne of ignorance of proper protocol or history, or due to intrusive questioning and curiosity that demonstrates a lack of respect or understanding.

Therefore, it is vital that non-Indigenous individuals pursue programmes of professional development to enhance their cultural competencies. This involves attaining relevant knowledge, contextualised in the communities with which one will be engaging; awareness of cultural protocols, norms, and mores; and sensitivity, based upon respect for the experiences of Indigenous peoples. The aim is to build trust between the community and the non-Indigenous tourism practitioner.

The risk, of course, is that, with the development of competency and intercultural collaborations in Indigenous settings, practitioners can become overconfident and come to expect practices, perspectives, and experiences to be the same across differing Indigenous communities, which of course they are not. This awareness requires a significant degree of cultural humility and reflexivity within intercultural encounters.

Cultural competency and cultural safety, then, are not to be taken lightly, and they should be seen on a continuum of progression and maturity and approached with an overriding sense of humility and respect. These issues correspond with

the fundamental ethical principles that drive engagement with Indigenous communities: namely, the concepts of respect, reciprocity, responsibility, and relevance; the need to share or surrender power; and the requirement to elevate the wellbeing of communities through social justice and emancipatory techniques.

One unforeseen challenge arising from this multi-year, immersive engagement has been personal self-care. From the first meeting, I felt great empathy with the experiences shared with me. I have experienced unsettling truths in confronting personal assumptions surrounding Canadian values while learning from residential school survivors, and individuals I have come to care about who were systematically removed from their families and placed into homes through forced adoption processes. I have listened to men who I have come to respect, who carry themselves with grace, dignity, and power in their own communities, share the most horrific personal stories of traumatic assault perpetrated by agents of the state. I have witnessed first-hand and been involved in conversations with individuals struggling with substance abuse and the aftereffects of intergenerational trauma, striving to take positive steps in their lives and maintain a sense of responsibility for their families, communities, and future generations.

To be frank, as a post graduate student, nothing besides my own immediate experiences prepared me for the onslaught of truth associated with the

individual, personalised experience of Indigenous peoples in Canada. I earnestly strove to maintain a scholarly approach regarding the raw experiences being generously shared with me. However, this became increasingly problematic, as the more I learned, the more uncomfortable I became with my research endeavour.

I had to come to a place as a student, researcher, faculty member, resident, ally, and advocate, where I understood that there was no possibility of – nor indeed a responsibility to – wholly capturing the story of my experiences and of the individuals I met in an objectively truthful way. Therefore, I persisted in my resistance to the training and Western scientific mindset with which I had been inculcated since my earliest days in institutional education, keeping the resulting research paradigm *with* – and not *on* – Indigenous peoples at the forefront of my mind. Rather than seeking to personally effect change in the communities with which I was engaging, my research sought to effect change in myself and my worldview, so that I could better support the learning of my students and those with whom I engaged in my personal sphere, becoming more competent and prepared to contribute to the Indigenous communities, should I be welcome.

I am grateful for the early teaching of protocol around knowing oneself and having respect for where one comes from and one's own identity. These are aspects that I had not fully explored in my personal life and that came to be important in the context of my research. For example, I recall one rather

passionate exchange with my Tribal Parks colleague, where I was quite frustrated with the denial of funding for a project that clearly met the criteria of the award for which we had applied. My colleague, speaking in jest, said to me, 'You're not going native, are you?' This defused my anxiety and reminded me that this was going to be a long journey; but it also provoked some reflection and a better understanding of my positionality within the research – specifically my concern around becoming embroiled to such an extent that I lost the ability to understand my own role, my own thinking, and even my own identity.

For example, in community contexts, it is common for an elder to welcome or even offer a blessing or a prayer prior to a meeting or a meal. This practice is becoming more common in institutionalised settings, such as higher education organisations. The spiritual connections with Indigenous communities and cultures cannot be understated. Again, as one leader told me, 'If you pull on the political string, you're also pulling on the spiritual string, the environmental string, the cultural string. Everything is woven together'.

As a non-Indigenous person of faith, I occasionally felt very uncomfortable being present during practices and rituals considered sacred. Over time, I began to feel increasing unease, finding myself unsure of how to articulate this to myself or my community partners, my research collaborators, with whom I had developed close and trusted friendships. However, by referring back to the importance of protocol, of knowing myself and having respect for myself, reflecting on this in

the context of my work as a researcher, as well as the importance of being honest and giving others the dignity to make evaluative judgements, I realised that I was being dishonest with myself and with my colleagues.

This contradicted my approach to the research study. As a result, I had a conversation with my Indigenous colleagues, shared my concerns, voiced my appreciation and gratitude for being welcomed into certain sacred ceremonial practices, but explained that, due to my own faith, I would choose to not be involved in future. There was more personal reflection associated with this encounter, and I have yet to completely unpack this issue or synthesise and articulate it in the context of my personal growth; but it clearly illustrates the necessity for non-Indigenous researchers and practitioners alike to remain aware of their own self-care throughout the process.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Selected Timeline of Exploration, Settlement and Development in B.C. and Canada

Date	Event
1372	Basque Whalers Reach Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia
1497	John Cabot Contact with Mi'kmaq
1534	Jacques Cartier First Voyage
1535-36	Jacques Cartier Second Voyage
1541-1542	Jacques Cartier Third Voyage, Contact with Iroquois (Haudenosaunee)
1560	Martin Frobisher First Voyage
1577	Martin Frobisher Second Voyage, Contact with Inuit
1603	Samuel de Champlain Contact with Mi'kmaq and Algonquin
1604	Establishment of Acadia and Port Royal
1608	Establishment of New France and Québec City
1620	Establishment the first residential school near Quebec City, by the Recollets a religious order from France
1672	Establishment of the Hudson Bay Company
1713	Establishment of Louisbourg
1713	Treaty of Utrecht
1713-63	Peace and Friendship Treaties
1763	Royal Proclamation of 1763
1778	Captain Cook lands on the coast of BC, claiming the land for Britain
1793	George Vancouver makes contact with Nisga'a
1672	Establishment of the North West Company
1812	Selkirk Settlers Reach Winnipeg
1812	The War of 1812
1849	Vancouver Island declared as a British Colony
1850-54	Robinson and Douglas Treaties

Date	Event
1857	Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes of Canada
1858	Mainland BC declared a colony of Britain
1859	New Westminster becomes first capital of B.C.
1860	Indian Lands and Properties Act
1862	Smallpox outbreak in BC
1864	The Chilcotin War
1866	Colony of British Columbia Establish: Merging of mainland colony of B.C. and Vancouver Island colony
1866	Aboriginals in B.C. are disallowed land pre-emption
1867	Constitution Act, 1867
1867	Indian Act
1869	Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians
1869	The Red River Rebellion
1870	The Manitoba Act, Métis Rights Recognized
1871	British Columbia joins Canada as a province
1871	Treaty 1
1871	Treaty 2
1873	Treaty 3
1874	Treaty 4
1875	Treaty 5
1879	Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds
1883	Creation of government residential schools approved
1884	Amendment to Indian Act
1885	Canadian Pacific Railway Completed
1885	The Métis North-West Rebellion
1889	The Federal Fisheries Act
1892	Christian churches take over the running of residential schools
1899	Treaty 8

Date	Event
1905	Treaty 9
1906	Treaty 10
1906	Amendment to Indian Act
1912	Federal and Provincial governments agree to review the size of every reserve
1913	Establishment of the McKenna-McBride Commission
1915	Allied Tribes of BC is established
1920	Residential schools attendance becomes compulsory for First Nations
1920	Implementation of recommendations from the McKenna-McBride Commissions
1921	Treaty 11
1922	RCMP raided a Potlach in Alert Bay
1927	Parliamentary committee in Ottawa finds that land claims have no legal basis
1929	Extension of Treaty 9
1931	Formation of Native Brotherhood of B.C.
1933	Travel by Indians to Ottawa is banned
1939	Indian Act to include Inuit people
1947	Right to vote in BC provincial elections is given to all Aboriginal Peoples
1950	Amendment to The Indian Act
1960	Right to vote in federal elections is given to Indians
1960	Phasing out of the Indian residential schools begins
1961	Indian Act amended, ending compulsory enfranchisement
1967	Hawthorne Report
1969	White Paper Policy proposed
1969	Federal government takes over residential school system
1973	Calder Decision

Date	Event
1976	Negotiations begin between federal government and Nisga'a peoples
1977	Berger Inquiry Final Report
1982	Constitution Act, 1982
1982	Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is added to the Constitution
1985	Bill C-31 is enacted by Parliament
1987	Creation of Native Affairs Secretariat in B.C.
1988	Canadian Multiculturalism Act
1988	Native Affairs Secretariat becomes BC Ministry of Native Affairs
1990	Oka Crisis
1990	Nunavut Land Claim
1990	Sparrow Decision
1991	The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
1992	Establishment of B.C. Treaty Commission
1993	War of Woods
1995	Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education and Training Policy Framework Developed by B.C. Ministry of Advanced Education
1996	Report of Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
1996	Nisga'a Agreement in Principle is signed
1996	Last residential school closes in Saskatchewan
1997	Delgamuukw Decision
1997	Release of Royal Commission's Report on Aboriginal Peoples
1998	Nisga'a Final Agreement
1999	Establishment of Nunavut Territory
1999	Marshall Decision
1999	Corbière Decision
2000	Canadian Tourism Commission
2001	B.C. Treaty Referendum

Date	Event
2003	Powley Decision
2005	New Relationship Agreement Signed in B.C.
2005	First Nations Education Action Plan
2006	Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement signed
2008	Establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission
2009	McIvor Decision
2009	Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement
2009	Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement
2011	Amendment to Canadian Human Rights Act
2011	Maa-nulth Final Agreement
2012	B.C. Ministry of Advanced Education issues 2020 Vision for the Future: Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education and Training Policy Framework and Action Plan
2013	Manitoba Métis Federation Decision
2013	Daniels Decision
2013	First Urban Reserve in Manitoba, Winnipeg
2015	Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission
2016	Canada adopts the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
2016	Tla'min Final Agreement

Adapted from Sinclair, 2015; Brown, et al., 2016; Connections, 2010; UBC, 2016

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conservation
knowledge
Protected Areas and Poverty Reduction
Canada Africa Research and Learning Alliance

Participant Consent Form

Research Activity: Interview

You are invited to participate in a study entitled **Tourism, Nature and Community: Investigating the Role of Aboriginal Tourism in Fostering Cultural Resilience and Socio-Economic Sustainability** that is being conducted by **Rob Ferguson**.

Rob Ferguson is a PhD student in the School of Leisure at the University of Gloucestershire based in the United Kingdom and you may contact him if you have further questions.

Email:
Phone:

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of my studies. It is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Rick Rollins of Vancouver Island University and Dr. Malcom MacLean of the University of Gloucestershire. You may contact my supervisors at and respectively.

This research is a sub-project of a larger project being led by the Institute for Coastal Research: Protected Areas and Poverty Reduction: A Canada-Africa Research and Learning Alliance (PAPR). In the PAPR project, I'm working together with researchers from Vancouver Island University and the University of Victoria, as well as community partners and agencies from Canada, Ghana and Tanzania, to understand the ways in which parks and other kinds of protected areas (PAs) are run and how they affect local people and communities who live near the PAs. More information can be found at: http://www.viu.ca/icura/

Purpose and Objectives

To understand the role of tourism development strategies in contributing to the social-cultural sustainability of communities located in, and adjacent to, protected areas with a specific focus on Canada's Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (PRNPR).

The research questions aim to better understand:

1. To what extent is Aboriginal tourism reflexive of the contemporary socio-political relationship between Indigenous Peoples and 'the state'?

2. To what extent can Aboriginal tourism initiatives provide socio-cultural benefits for communities?

3. To what extent is Aboriginal tourism development an effective strategy to maximise socio-economic gains for local communities and contribute to the ecological integrity of natural areas?

Importance of the Research

Evidence suggests that that tourism can be a powerful force for social change and economic development, however the benefit flows of these are contested and divisive. Protected Natural Areas have long been recognized as having economic value as a tourism resource, however this claim takes on greater significance for poor aboriginal communities whose for potential generating income is limited and are located within, and on the periphery of Protected Natural Areas. The demonstrated rise in the global demand for indigenous tourism experiences combined with the added complexity of conservation management frameworks and post-colonial tensions between the state and Indigenous Peoples, within the Canadian context at least, demonstrates a need for a holistic, meaningful and flexible enquiry into the complex issues.

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Participant Selection
You are being asked to participate in this study because you are involved in participating in various processes at important decision-making levels (institutional levels), are engaged in the design or implementation of conservation or development strategies, on the implementation of strategies to cope with environmental change, or you are an active participant in generating new knowledge on the social and or ecological stresses emerging from environmental change.

What is involved
If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include providing oral or written consent to be a participant in the research and to being part of an individual interview that could take between one and two hours, at a location of your choice. Audio recordings and written notes will be taken after you provide permission to do so. All information you provide through individual interviews can be transcribed and be made available to you for your further comments/suggestions.

All audio recordings of interviews and discussions will be taken only after permission has been granted by each participant.

Inconvenience
The only inconvenience to you for participating in this study is the time taken to complete the interview and/or participate in the group discussions. All research outputs address/describe social, economic and ecological change processes and current conservation strategies and decision-making processes, they are not developed to assess the actions of specific individuals, so they should not cause any inconveniences to participants.

The person interviewing you will be traveling to a place convenient for you to do the interview—you will not be asked to engage in out-of-town trips to meet the researcher or to participate in the research. You will not be provided with an honorarium for your participation in the research; however, if you have to incur in expenses to participate in this research such as local transport, sharing of commercial information, etc., please inform me before the interview so that we can discuss reimbursement.

Risks
There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Voluntary Participation
Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study your individual data will not be used and will be destroyed. All data from group interviews/discussions will be used in a summarized form with no identifying information.

On-going Consent
To make sure that you continue to consent to participate in this research, I will continue to seek verbal and/or written consents every time interactions take place and for as long as it is appropriate.

Anonymity
In terms of protecting your anonymity, the names of individual research participants will not be disclosed in any oral or written dissemination of the project results. No pictures or videos will be taken of individual participants.

Confidentiality
Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected by maintaining digital data in a password protected PC and storing paper records in a private location and locked filing cabinet, accessible only to the researcher- Rob Ferguson. For all group discussions, participants will be asked not to attribute specific comments made by other participants to non-participants. Furthermore, any comments made by you in oral or written format will not be attributed to you in any oral or written dissemination of this research or the larger project results. All records of your participation will be kept strictly confidential, such that only researchers who are a part of the Protected Areas and Poverty Reduction project will have access to the information you provide and only after the person interviewing you has ensured that the other PAPR researcher(s) abide by the same rules set in this consent form. The data will be shared only after the person interviewing you sees it to be necessary and it **can/cannot** include identifying information based on your preference. But under all circumstances, information about the project presented by the PAPR researchers will not be made public in any way that identifies you as an individual participant.

Dissemination of Results
It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: summary reports to research partners and workshop participants, presentations at scholarly meetings and academic publications.

Disposal of Data
Data provided by participants in this study will be disposed of after five years of completion of the PhD dissertation; this includes all data that could have been shared with researchers in the larger PAPR project. The data will be destroyed by deleting all digital data from computers and shredding all paper records. All data directly captured by the researcher through pictures, videos and gps points on overall ecological processes/stresses and the maps developed using these ecological data will be kept for future reference when analyzing other ecological processes around the globe.

Contacts
Individuals that may be contacted regarding this study include
Rob Ferguson: ▮ Phone: ▮
Dr. Rick Rollins: ▮ Phone: ▮
Dr. Malcolm MacLean: ▮ Phone: ▮

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting Dr. Malcolm MacLean who is the Chair of the Research Ethics Subcommittee for the School of Leisure at the University of Gloucestershire ▮ or ▮).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

Name of Participant	_Signature_	_Date_

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Page 3 of 3

Protected Areas and Poverty Reduction
Canada-Africa Research and Learning Alliance

Rob Ferguson
Department of Recreation and Tourism Management
Vancouver Island University
E: ███████████

Dear Rob,

On behalf of the PAPR team, I am very pleased to invite you to join our team as a PAPR Fellow. As a Fellow, you will join a team of more than 30 co-investigators, research fellows, staff and students in a unique Alliance that is spread across 3 countries and represents academic, community and government organizations. You will be invited to participate in team activities, discussions and, as appropriate, knowledge mobilization and dissemination activities. As a PAPR Fellow you will be mentored by Drs. Rick Rollins and Dr. Grant Murray.

Jennifer Schofield will provide the details of your funding support under separate cover, but you support will total $2,500. In exchange for this funding, you will be expected to provide the outcomes and deliverables described in your PAPR Fellowship Application, and in the original application description. These include:

- A final report that addresses some portion of the PAPR case study guide
- PAPR acknowledgement in all products related to the project.
- Assist in the planning and development of the wider project
- Assist in sharing outcomes with colleagues in the UK
- Assist in working with undergrad students involved in the project
- Periodic reports on project based initiatives such as the ones mention above
- Presentation at an international conference
- Coordination of a graduate student workshop during the 2011-2012 academic year
- PhD submission

Thanks, Rob, for your interest in the PAPR project. We will look forward to supporting and learning from your research efforts!

Sincerely,

Dr. Grant Murray
Project Co-Director
Institute for Coastal Research, Vancouver Island University
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