Aboriginal Tourism

in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve:

A Framework for Cooperation

by

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ABSTRACT

Recently, First Nations and the Parks Canada Agency have expressed increasing interest in developing Aboriginal tourism in Canada's national parks and national historic sites. Economic benefits, such as training and employment opportunities for First Nations, as well as cultural commemoration are commonly associated with Aboriginal tourism development. Several existing Aboriginal tourism initiatives in national parks seem to indicate that these goals can be achieved if both First Nations and Parks Canada are willing and able to cooperate. However, practical experiences and relevant literature related to cooperation in Aboriginal tourism in protected areas are still limited.

The purpose of this study was to address these shortcomings and contribute to a better understanding of the necessary preconditions for effective cooperation in this context. A case-study approach was used by focusing on Aboriginal tourism initiatives in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve in British Columbia. In addition, the report draws on related examples in other parks and areas in Canada. Seventy-seven in depth and key informant interviews were conducted, most of them in person in the field. Based on these findings and a literature review, eight prerequisites for Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area were determined. These comprise 1) Aboriginal access to and/ or tenure over lands and resources; 2) integration of Aboriginal tourism development with Parks Canada's legislative, policy, management and planning frameworks; 3) intact natural and Aboriginal cultural heritage; 4) human capacity related to Aboriginal tourism; 5) adequate tourism infrastructure; 6) sufficient financial support and revenues; 7) community support and control; and 8) good relations and effective cooperation.

Sixteen key principles for effective cooperation in developing Aboriginal tourism in a Canadian national park were then deduced. "Building cross-cultural relationships of trust, credibility and mutual respect" was identified as the overarching principle. Other key principles include "fostering cross-cultural awareness"; "addressing colonial and historical legacies" (e.g. related to park establishment and management); "making Parks Canada's system more transparent and adaptable to the interests of First Nations"; "recognizing and integrating traditional Aboriginal knowledge as well as Aboriginal Elders and Hereditary Chiefs"; "pursuing an 'open', integrative and adaptive approach"; and "chosing appropriate 'arrangements' for cooperation". Principles were then integrated chronologically into a four-phased process model for cooperative Aboriginal tourism development. Finally, a comprehensive list of desirable actions (management implications) was generated in order to assist First Nations and Parks Canada to meet the prerequisites for Aboriginal tourism development in national protected areas and national historic sites.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ACRONYMS USED

BGI	Broken Group Islands
BMS	Bamfield Marine Station
CMT	culturally modified tree
CRD	Capital Regional District
DCPG	Development and Communication Project Group
EIP	Ecological Integrity Panel
FN	First Nation
HFN	Huu-ay-aht First Nation
IR	Indian Reserve
KPMG	KPMG Management Consulting
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NEDC	Nuu-chah-Nulth Economic Development Corporation
NEDG	New Economic Development Group
NGO	non-governmental organization
NHS	National Historic Site
NP	National Park
NTC	Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council
PC	Parks Canada
PDC	Pacheedaht Development Corporation
Pers. comm.	Personal communication (all interviews carried out in 1999)
PRNPR	Pacific Rim National Park Reserve
PRTA	Pacific Rim Tourism Association
TFN	Tseshaht First Nation
TUS	Traditional Use Study
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WCT	West Cost Trail
WCTA	West Coast Tourism Association

PREFACE

Work on this report has been an enriching and exciting learning experience. I had the great pleasure of meeting and receiving support from many wonderful people in the communities I visited and in the Parks Canada Agency. My expectations regarding the number of people I would be able to interview and the amount of time they would be able to dedicate to this project were surpassed time and again. However, I was also confronted with numerous challenges, many of them concerning myself and my role(s). As a non-Aboriginal person engaged in a project on Aboriginal tourism development, I was faced with the dilemma of trying to correctly represent First Nations' points of view and situations without being biased by my own cultural upbringing--probably an impossible task. I experienced the challenges of cross-cultural communication first hand. I had to learn that not everything you are told is meant to be said. Moving around in a cultural sphere that was relatively new to me certainly created some uneasiness on my part. If I have inadvertently offended anyone through my efforts, my sincere apologies. At the same time, as I was working with Aboriginal people, I had to juggle my double role as a graduate student researching her master's thesis and a co-op student on work assignment with the federal Parks Canada Agency. While attempting to guard my "academic freedom", I was also committed to provide a report that is in accordance with Parks Canada's expectations.

Other challenges included recognizing (political) sensitivities and appropriately dealing with them; not being able to spend more time in each First Nation community to do justice to their projects and concerns; and, facing a lack of literature on the topic of Aboriginal tourism development in (Canadian) protected areas. At least the latter challenge was also perceived as an opportunity--namely to make a contribution to a new and promising field of research. I sincerely hope that this thesis project and the complementary summary report will fulfil my main objective to help First Nations and Parks Canada to move forward in terms of developing sustainable economic opportunities for Aboriginal people in Canada. It should be noted that the recommended management implications do *not* represent statements of intention or policy by either Parks Canada or First Nations.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND: ABORIGINAL PEOPLE, TOURISM AND PROTECTED AREAS—A GOOD FIT?

Aboriginal tourism[1] in Canada's national parks and national historic sites is presently receiving increasing attention by First Nations and Parks Canada. First Nations in and around national parks in Canada have begun to explore tourism development by commissioning feasibility studies and tourism plans. In some cases, such as in Pacific Rim, Banff, Gwaii Haanas, Riding Mountain, Pukaskwa, and several northern national parks, First Nations and Parks Canada have started to cooperate in developing Aboriginal tourism and interpretation initiatives.

Aboriginal tourism appears to be the most important of only a few viable avenues for Aboriginal people to generate revenues within protected areas. It can be seen "as part of a wider quest to achieve economic self-sufficiency as well as sociopolitical and cultural recognition" (Norris Nicholson 1997, 115). For many First Nations, tourism provides an opportunity to preserve their history, values and customs and to communicate these to non-Aboriginal visitors, thereby enhancing cross-cultural understanding and learning (Campbell 1994; Zeppel 1997; Notzke 1996). "Tourism is going to be an important part of our lives...of creating self-reliance and getting people off unemployment. Tourism is seen as part of re-establishing ourselves" (Nuu-chah-nulth chief, pers. com). Besides self-determination, Aboriginal tourism development promises healing from past injustices and political oppression (Parker 1993).

From a demand-side perspective, the prospects for success in achieving these objectives are good. Canada has witnessed a significant increase in interest in Aboriginal tourism products and services over the past two decades (Norris Nicholson 1997). In British Columbia, First Nations tourism is the "'fastest-growing sector of the province's tourism economy'" (Zukowski 1994 quoted in Wight and Associates 1999, 50). Interestingly, most new Aboriginal tourism developments in this province are located on reserves (Wight and Associates 1999, 50). Recent market research revealed that most travellers interested in Aboriginal tourism experiences want to visit "areas of outstanding scenery and high environmental quality" at the same time (Williams and Dossa 1999, 5). This observation indicates a distinct competitive edge of Aboriginal communities situated within or in proximity of protected areas such as national parks. It is underscored by the successes of indigenous tourism projects in protected areas in other countries, such as Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, South America and Nepal (e.g.,

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[1] See section 1.6 below for definition.

Honey 1999; Mercer 1998; Ceballos-Lascurain 1996; Hall 1994; Altman 1989).

However, from a supply perspective, a number of concerns have to be contemplated thoroughly before developing Aboriginal tourism initiatives in protected areas. The primary goal of any such tourism development must be long-term ecological, economic and socio-cultural sustainability[2]. First Nations maintain that Aboriginal tourism initiatives must enable them to pursue the above mentioned objectives of economic development and socio-cultural affirmation. At the same time, Parks Canada maintains that the respective initiatives must correspond to the agency's paramount values, such as ensuring ecological and commemorative integrity (Parks Canada Agency 2000; Canadian Heritage 1994). Thus, one of the core challenges lies in determining how these interests and objectives can be brought together in a manner that is beneficial and satisfying for all involved parties and that can be sustained by the respective environment.

In the face of these trends and concerns, it seems timely and necessary to identify and address some of the underlying issues and concerns related to developing Aboriginal tourism products and services in Canada's national protected areas. "Without a sense of the unique challenges and opportunities that exist within indigenous communities, successful tourism development (as defined by the communities themselves) will be elusive, if not impossible" (Shultis and Browne 1999, 110).

1.2 PROJECT PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Parks Canada's Aboriginal and Northern Affairs unit and National Aboriginal Secretariat, both established in 1999, have become engaged in Aboriginal tourism planning. They are attempting to develop a national strategic plan intended to provide guidance for how to best develop and implement tourism initiatives in protected areas in cooperation with interested Aboriginal people. One purpose of this research is to contribute to these efforts by exploring the above mentioned issues and concerns in the context of a specific national protected area, namely Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (PRNPR) on Vancouver Island, British Columbia. Another purpose is to assist the First Nations and Parks Canada in PRNPR in furthering their tourism initiatives and ideas; and a third reason for the research is to contribute to a better understanding of issues and expectations of both First Nations and Parks Canada staff in PRNPR. At the same time, it is hoped that this thesis can provide some "lessons learned" and encouragement for those who are contemplating development of Aboriginal tourism in other protected areas. This research is further intended to help fill the gap in research literature pertaining to Aboriginal

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[2] See section 1.6 below for definition.

tourism development in Canada's protected areas.

The following **core research question** will be addressed in the course of this document:

How, i.e., under which conditions, can Aboriginal tourism opportunities in a national protected area such as PRNPR be seized cooperatively?

In order to answer this core research question, the following questions will have to be addressed:

- What Aboriginal tourism initiatives exist presently in PRNPR?
- What additional opportunities for Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR do First Nations and Parks Canada perceive?
- What are the prerequisites and associated assets and challenges related to Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR?
- What are important principles for effective cooperation/ partnerships in Aboriginal tourism development in a national protected area?
- How could a cooperative tourism planning and development process between Parks Canada and First Nations look like?
- In which areas of Aboriginal tourism development can cooperation occur, i.e., what are desirable actions (management implications) to meet the prerequisites?

It remains to be seen if a national approach is a viable and appropriate way to develop Aboriginal tourism in Canada's national protected areas, given the diversity of First Nations, issues, interests, and physical environments.

1.3 STRUCTURE

The structure of the report follows the research questions outlined above. The literature review (chapter two) focuses on principles and processes required for effective partnerships and cooperation in tourism development. It also presents a number of models for cooperative tourism development. In the course of this report, the principles, processes and models identified will be expanded and adapted to Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area, based on the results of the field work carried out for this project. The literature review is followed by a chapter on research design (chapter three), explaining the methods used in this study. A situation analysis of Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR (chapter four) provides the basis for a discussion of possible approaches to cooperative Aboriginal tourism development. It contains relevant background information on the study area and an overview of existing

and envisioned Aboriginal tourism initiatives in PRNPR. The core of this chapter consists of an analysis of key prerequisites, assets and challenges regarding Aboriginal tourism development in this protected area. It is hoped that this exercise will be useful to all parties, as building on achievements and learning from challenges will help inform future decisions about Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR and hopefully in other protected areas as well. The fifth chapter (management implications) focuses on the role of cooperation and partnerships in Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR. A process model for cooperation/ partnerships in Aboriginal tourism planning in a protected area is then developed. Finally, potential areas of cooperation and desirable actions to meet the challenges are identified. Related initiatives in other protected areas in Canada are referred to in order to illustrate commonalities and provide encouraging examples. Following the conclusions (chapter six) and bibliography, the appendix contains four detailed case studies as well as a number of shorter descriptions of Aboriginal tourism and cultural interpretation initiatives in Canadian national parks and elsewhere.

1.4 SCOPE

Given the relative diversity of Aboriginal groups and interests regarding tourism development in PRNPR, the scope of this project is fairly broad. Accordingly, the objective of this project is to provide an *overview* of related issues and concerns along with core recommendations. It should be stressed that it is beyond the scope of this document to provide a complete Aboriginal tourism strategy; a market or gap analysis; or business plans for individual Aboriginal tourism initiatives in this protected area.

1.5 DEFINITIONS

Before discussing the implications, challenges and prerequisites associated with Aboriginal tourism development in protected areas, it is essential to determine what Aboriginal tourism entails (or should entail) in this context. In order to do this, it is necessary to understand how Aboriginal tourism relates to other forms of and approaches to tourism, such as cultural, heritage and eco-tourism, as well as sustainable and community-based tourism development.

- Tourism

According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), tourism encompasses "The activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year

for leisure, business, and other purposes" (Gee 1997, 5).[3]

- **Indigenous or Aboriginal tourism**

Indigenous or Aboriginal tourism can been defined according to the criteria of ownership/ control or theme/ type of offered products and services. It has been broadly defined as "any tourism product or service, which is owned and operated by Aboriginal people" (Parker 1993, 400) or, more narrowly, as all tourism businesses owned 51% or more by Aboriginal people (Stewart 1992, 11). However, some believe that "the fact that a business is owned and operated by aboriginal peoples does not make it an aboriginal tourism product. The essence of aboriginal tourism product is its relationship to aboriginal culture and values" (Campbell 1994, 1). Recognizing this concern, Aboriginal tourism can be defined as a "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" (Hinch and Butler 1996, 9). This definition, which takes both ownership/ control and theme/ type criteria into account, is adopted for the purpose of this report.

Aboriginal culture can be part of the Aboriginal tourism experience to varying degrees; "[a]t one extreme are tourist activities specifically oriented towards lifestyle, tradition and custom, for instance dancing, storytelling, or visiting a carving shed: in contrast, [sic] are those activities which offer tourist experiences in a culturally distinctive locale or form, for example sea-kayaking in a native canoe or staying in a native-run lodge" (Norris Nicholson 1997, 120). Aboriginal tourism builds on indigenous history, lifestyle, the land, customs and entertainment, spiritual values, and arts and crafts (Campbell 1994). As such, Aboriginal tourism can be a form of culture or heritage tourism.

- **Culture and heritage tourism**

Cultural and heritage tourism "may take on many forms and meet a number of tourist motivations" (Jamieson 1999, 2), "but all reflect the fact that people, places and heritage form the basis" (Sofield and Birtles 1996, 398). "Heritage tourism focuses on the experience of visiting a place with genuine historic, cultural or natural significance" (Industry Canada/ Canadian Heritage, no date, 4). Cultural tourism can be broadly defined as "the travellers' desire to experience the culture of a region or country" (Sofield and Birtles 1996, 398); it is based upon the enhancement and protection of cultural resources for their fuller potential as resources for tourism. These resources include natural beauty, architecture, and urban

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[3] Compare Gee (1997), Theobald (1998), Murphy (1998), Davidson (1998) and Gunn (1988) for the evolution of

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forms, arts activity, and unique local and regional character" (Partners for Livable Spaces quoted in Stewart 1992, 11). Cultural tourism unites "the accepted practices of research, site development, design, planning, construction, interpretation and visitor services and connects them to the practice of tourism in marketing, research, product development, and promotion" (Jamieson 1999, 1).

- Eco-tourism

In the past decade, "eco-tourism" has experienced tremendous growth world-wide and become a much used (and abused) buzzword (Honey 1999). It is regarded by many Aboriginal people as the ultimate way of realizing their tourism goals. Although mostly nature-based, eco-tourism can encompass Aboriginal, culture and heritage tourism as well as other forms of tourism. However, the most important- -but often ignored—characteristic of eco-tourism is "its *benefits* to conservation and people in the host country" (Honey 1999, 6). The most comprehensive and rigorous definition to date refers to eco-tourism as "travel to fragile, pristine, and usually protected areas that strives to be low impact and (usually) small scale. It helps educate the traveler; provides funds for conservation; directly benefits the economic development and political empowerment of local communities; and fosters respect for different cultures and for human rights" (Honey 1999, 25). As it meets the objectives of many Aboriginal people and protected areas, eco-tourism can be regarded as "the best fit for Aboriginal tourism development" (Wight and Associates 1999, 53).

- Sustainable tourism development

As defined above, eco-tourism is a form of "sustainable tourism development." Sustainable tourism contributes to maintain or enhance rather than deplete or degrade the destinations' respective environmental resources, cultural and social traditions and values, and economic assets so that both present and future generations can benefit from the development. In other words, sustainable tourism "meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems" (World Travel and Tourism Council 1995, 30).

From a First Nations point of view, "sustainability" means "living comfortably over generations" (Tseshaht representative, pers. comm.) or "making a living without compromising traditional principles"

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tourism definitions and the distinction between tourists, visitors, and travelers.

(Ucluelet member, pers. comm.). Although different at first sight, these two concepts of sustainability are not mutually exclusive, because "living comfortably over generations" requires intact resources, cultural and ecological environments.

- ● **Community-based tourism development**

Community-based tourism development can be a sustainable way of approaching eco- and Aboriginal (cultural) tourism. "A community approach to tourism development suggests the development of a community as a core component of a tourism destination area or tourism product. At the same time it suggests some control by residents over tourism development and management" (Woodley, A. 1993, 137).

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW: COOPERATION IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT— DEFINITIONS, ISSUES, PRINCIPLES AND PROCESSES

2.1 RATIONALE AND ORGANIZATION

A literature review was carried out at the beginning and throughout the research process, providing the basis for the field work component of this study. The first part of the literature review focuses on discussing Aboriginal tourism development in Canada's protected areas. As there are virtually no publications pertaining to this specific topic, it build on literature related to cooperation, collaboration and partnerships in the tourism industry, with governments, and in general. Previous original research conducted by the author on cooperative management in Canadian national parks (Budke 1999a) provided an important reference point in this regard. Essential principles and processes for cooperation in tourism development were derived from this part of the literature review.

The second part of the literature review explores the general issues revolving around Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area. As there is a shortage of Canadian research literature with regards to this topic as well, information about related experiences in other countries is also examined. Related forms of tourism, the history of protected areas and the relationship between government and First Nations in Canada are also discussed in the context of Aboriginal tourism development in Canadian national parks. Academic publications and case studies pertaining to these topics as well as Parks Canada documents, guidelines, policies and legislation were reviewed for this purpose. This part of the literature review complements and provides a point of reference for the field data. In particular, it helps to inform and define the discussion of prerequisites, assets and challenges related to Aboriginal tourism development in a Canadian national park reserve (chapter four).

The following paragraphs provide an overview of relevant definitions and areas of cooperation in tourism development. Moreover, potential advantages and challenges/ barriers as well as key principles for successful cooperation in tourism development are listed. These are followed by selected process models for effective cooperation in tourism planning and development. Relying on the field data, these principles and process models are expanded and adapted to the specific context of Aboriginal tourism development in a Canadian national park in chapter five.

2.2 BACKGROUND

In a "quiet revolution" that is altering the face of the tourism industry, local and international "tourism planners and operators are discovering the power of collaborative action" (Selin 1993, 217-218). The emerging trend in tourism planning and management "to emphasize the importance of forging partnerships to accomplish collective and organizational goals" (Gunn 1994 quoted in Selin and Chavez 1995, 844) is reflected in increased interest among First Nations and government institutions to enter into cooperative arrangements for tourism development. They illustrate that "'the 'go-it-alone' policies of many tourism sectors of the past are giving way to stronger cooperation and collaboration...No one business or government establishment can operate in isolation'" (Gunn 1988 quoted in Jamal and Getz 1995, 186; see also Selin 1993). This is a result of a changing business environment, characterized by a faster rate of change and increasing levels of complexity; a higher level of competition; increasing customer expectations and changing tastes; escalating costs; and a growing need to be in the global market (KPMG Management Consultants[4] 1995, 9). However, cooperation and partnerships in tourism development are not without their challenges, and stakeholders have to weigh potential drawbacks against potential benefits in order to determine whether they want to enter or continue a cooperative process.

2.3 COOPERATION IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: DEFINITIONS AND TYPOLOGY

Two important terms closely associated with cooperative tourism development in the quotations above are 'collaboration' and 'partnerships'. **Cooperation** can be defined very broadly as "'working together to some end'" (Fowler and Fowler 1964 quoted in Jamal and Getz 1995, 187). Although the term is often used synonymously with collaboration (Jamal and Getz 1995), **collaboration** more specifically refers to "'a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain'" (Gray 1989, 227 quoted in Jamal and Getz 1995, 187 and Selin 1993, 223). **Stakeholders** are "the actors with an interest in a common problem or issues and include all individuals, groups, or organizations 'directly influenced by the actions others take to solve a problem'" (Gray 1989, 5 quoted in Jamal and Getz 1995, 188). The problem domain in the context of this paper is Aboriginal tourism development. In this report, the terms 'cooperation' and 'cooperative' rather than 'collaboration' and 'collaborative' are employed as joint decision-making cannot be assumed in all cited cases of cooperative Aboriginal tourism development.

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[4] Quoted as "KPMG" below.

Cooperation and collaboration can become formalized through **partnerships**. "Partnerships range from situations where two organizations interact briefly around a common problem to those where multiple organizations are represented in an ongoing venture" (Selin and Chavez 1995, 845). Partnerships can be highly structured, involving legally binding agreements, or loosely structured based on verbal agreements between the parties (Selin and Chavez 1995). Although "there is no universal, accepted definition of partnership" (New Economy Development Group[5] 1996, v), the following definition includes some of the most common and important characteristics of a partnership. "A partnership is an arrangement between two or more parties who have agreed to work cooperatively toward shared and/ or compatible objectives and in which there is shared authority and responsibility (for the delivery of programs and services, in carrying out a given action or in policy development); joint investment of resources (time, work, funding, material, expertise, information); shared liability or risk-taking; and ideally, mutual benefits" (Rodal and Mulder 1993, 28 quoted in NEDG 1996, 15). Rodal and Mulder describe a range of partnership types in which governments are involved according to the degree of shared decision-making powers. These partnership types are 1) consultative (purpose: providing advice); 2) contributory (purpose: sharing support); 3) operational (purpose: sharing work); and 4) collaborative (purpose: making decisions) (in NEDG 1996).

Specific forms of partnerships that are gaining increasing significance in tourism planning and development are **joint ventures** and **strategic alliances.** In a joint venture, businesses from different industries with different skills and/ or resources pursue a specific economic activity together (KPMG 1995). "The initiative is often given a 'corporate entity' of its own" (KPMG 1995, 11). The three main goals of joint ventures are 1) profit, 2) influencing management, and 3) jobs and training (Lewis and Hatton 1992). A strategic alliance is usually a longer-term agreement between businesses to achieve (a) common objective(s). It "may involve both smaller or larger businesses with complementary resources or expertise" and is termed 'strategic' because it is "of critical importance to the overall business/ market development strategy of the partners" (KPMG 1995, 11).[6]

2.4 POSSIBLE AREAS OF COOPERATION

KPMG (1995) lists the following possible areas for cooperation in tourism development and management:

• information gathering/ research (e.g., customer and product research, trend forecasting)

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[5]Quoted as "NEDG" below.

- product enhancement and development (e.g., product/ service improvements and development, packaging, quality standards)

- market development and marketing (e.g., data base development, advertising, public relations activities, direct marketing)

- human resources (e.g., recruitment, skills development, training)

- operations (e.g., materials purchasing, contracting of services, staff sharing)

- financing (e.g., securing public support and private financing, joint investment)

- technology (e.g., technology development and diffusion)

- advocacy (e.g., regulations, programs and policies).

It should be noted that "there is little restriction in terms of the type and number of functions that can be accommodated by partnership arrangements" (NEDG 1996, 24). However, "the specific circumstances of the partners, their needs and resources, as well as the objectives of the partnership will often dictate the range and nature of the partnership functions" (NEDG 1996, 24).

2.5 COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS: POTENTIAL ADVANTAGES AND CHALLENGES

2.5.1 Potential Advantages of Cooperative Arrangements

In general,

- cooperation can be used to avoid or resolve conflict and advance shared visions (Jamal and Getz 1995)

- "[p]artnerships often improve relationships between diverse groups, and they extend 'buy in' or ownership to a greater number" (Frank and Smith 1997, 8)

- "[c]reative solutions emerge from differing perspectives which partnerships offer" (Frank and Smith 1997, 8)

- cooperative arrangements can help to use limited resources effectively (Frank and Smith 1997)

- cooperative arrangements "can promote, improve or enhance communication" (Frank and Smith 1997, 8)

- partnerships may "involve people and organizations who might otherwise not participate" (Frank and Smith 1997, 8)

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[6]Other forms of tourism partnerships include consortiums, cooperative marketing, value-chain relationships and business networks (KPMG 1995, 11).

Specifically in tourism,

- "collaboration offers a dynamic, process-based mechanism for resolving planning issues and coordinating tourism development at the local level" (Jamal and Getz 1995, 187)

- partnerships can help to share expertise and gain new information in the tourism field (KPMG 1995)

- partnerships can enhance sustainability by helping to prevent "potential negative impacts of tourism development on the socio-cultural and natural environment" (Jamal and Getz 1995, 196)

- cooperation can enhance economic efficiency by avoiding "fragmentation of the tourism industry and inability of one sector to effectively operate alone since a critical mass of attractions, facilities, amenities is required" (Jamal and Getz 1995, 196; also KPMG 1995)

- new markets can be built and existing ones expanded through partnerships (KPMG 1995)

- "by coordinating efforts, smaller firms [or stakeholder groups] can generate the collective strength and impact to compete in the global market" and seize the "opportunity to compete in new and varied markets", thus developing competitive advantage (KPMG 1995, 13)

- partnerships can reduce risk and maximise flexibility (KPMG 1995)

- "partnerships can be means to enhance existing products or create new products and services which meet specific market needs and emerging market trends"; they also offer opportunities to create "new value-added packages and unconventional promotional programs to capture market interest" (KPMG 1995, 13)

2.5.2 Potential Challenges to Cooperative Arrangements

Potential challenges to effective cooperation in tourism development derived from relevant literature are summarized in table 1. They are organized according to a number of key process elements for cooperative Aboriginal tourism that were identified by the author based on the literature review. These comprise attitudes and relationships of partners; time; organization; direction setting; resources and capacity building; and process monitoring, evaluation and adjustment. While these process elements are graphically separated in the table below for illustration purposes, they are, in fact, closely interrelated. Communication and attitudes of partners play a central role in the relationship building process, as attitudes and thus relationships can be profoundly influenced through communication. Further, success in direction setting and organization of the partnership will depend on cooperative attitudes, effective communication as well as sufficient time to hold meetings.

Table 1: Challenges to effective cooperation in tourism development

Key Elements of Cooperative Tourism Development Process	Challenges
1. Integration/ balance	• fragmentation or duplication of efforts (NEDG 1996)
2. Relationship and attitudes of partners *Communication* *Participation*	• poor stakeholder attitude (Audet and Rostami 1993 in NEDG 1996); • incompatible interests of partners (NEDG 1996); • interpersonal conflict (Audet and Rostami 1993 in NEDG 1996); • prejudices (rigid perceptions and opinions) about the other partner (particularly in partnerships involving private, government and non-profit sectors) and adversarial culture (NEDG 1996); • lacking or insufficient communication ; • inequitable representation/ participation
3. Time	• considerable time requirements (possibly greater time commitment necessary at the beginning than without partnership) (Development and Communication Project Group (DCPG) 1995 in NEDG 1996)
4. Direction Setting *Goals and needs* *Vision*	• lack of clear goals and rationale (DCPG 1995 in NEDG 1996); "[p]eople don't all have the same values and interests, which makes agreement on goals difficult" (Frank and Smith 1997); • lack of common vision
5. Organization *Structures* *Roles, rights, risks, responsibilities, and control*	• poor management (NEDG 1996); • "inter-organizational dynamics", i.e., changes in internal structure of organizations such as new legislation, mandate, or managers (NEDG 1996); • partnerships may appear to be community-based, but in reality may be controlled by a few individuals with personal agendas (NEDG 1996); • resistance to change (NEDG 1996); • "The merging of different 'institutional cultures' can be challenging" as partner organizations "may have differing authority levels and speeds of approval" (Frank and Smith 1997); • "problematic power and status differences" (Frank and Smith 1997); • fear of entrusting control to someone else (Audet and Rostami 1993 in NEDG 1996); • strong sense of ownership (Audet and Rostami 1993 in NEDG 1996), turf orientation (DCPG 1995 in NEDG 1996); • tenuous lines of accountability (DCPG 1995 in NEDG 1996)

(Table 1 continued)	
6. Resources and capacity	• lack of (financial, human) resources; • lack of training (DCPG 1995 in NEDG 1996)
7. Monitoring/ evaluation and adjustment	• insufficient or lacking standards, monitoring and adjustment of partnership guidelines and structures, responsibilities and goals

2.6 PRINCIPLES FOR EFFECTIVE COOPERATION IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Principles for effective cooperation in tourism development derived from relevant literature are summarized in table 2 according to the same key process elements as above.

Table 2: Principles for effective cooperation in tourism development and management

Key Elements of Cooperative Tourism Development Process	Principles
1. Integration/ balance	• achieve integration-balance-harmony (between key factors, such as environment and economy, sectors such as agriculture and tourism, and in patterns of regional development) (Timothy 1998);
2. Relationship and attitudes of partners *Participation*	• develop rapport, trust and commitment (Darrow 1995; Williams in press; Shultis and Browne 1999; Smith and Frank 1997; Audet and Rostami 1993 in NEDG 1996), loyalty and mutual respect (Williams in press); • maintain a positive attitude (Audet and Rostami 1993 in NEDG 1996) and an open mind (KPMG 1995); • ensure partners share common values (Audet and Rostami in NEDG 1996); • concentrate on human skills/ competencies (Darrow 1995); • focus on communities' strengths and advantages (Darrow 1995); • use existing networks and incentives (Selin and Chavez 1995); • maintain a sense of fairness (Darrow 1995); • deal constructively with differences (Gray 1989 in Jamal and Getz 1995); • understand the limits and potential of the partnership (Phillips 1991 in NEDG 1996); • work towards consensus between/ among partners (Klein and Gagnon 1991 in NEDG 1996); • include all stakeholders whose contribution is necessary (DCPG 1995 in NEDG 1996);

(Table 2 continued)	
Communication	• ensure egalitarian participation (Darrow 1995); • determine a convener who identifies and brings all stakeholders together (Jamal and Getz 1995); • be willing to share information (KPMG 1995) and learn from each other (Prescott and Williams 1999); • maintain a high level of communication (KPMG 1995) and community consultation; • determine conflict resolution mechanisms (Budke 1999a; Darrow 1995; Audet and Rostami 1993 in NEDG 1996)
3. Time	• allow for an adequate amount of time (Budke 1999a; Darrow 1999; Shultis and Browne 1999; KPMG 1995) as collaboration is an emerging process (Gray 1989 in Jamal and Getz 1995); • be patient and flexible (KPMG 1995); • be efficient (i.e., "the evaluations of alternative methods in terms of costs measured in time, money, personnel, and public convenience") (Timothy 1998); • translate long-term commitment into long-range comprehensive planning (DCPG 1995 in NEDG 1996)
4. Direction Setting Vision Goals and needs	• arrive at a common problem definition and share a common vision (Darrow 1995; Selin and Chavez 1995; Jamal and Getz 1995); • recognize each other's needs for both present and future generations (Timothy 1998); • jointly formulate clear goals and objectives (Smith and Frank 1997; Jamal and Getz 1995); • understand benefits of/ reasons for partnership and scope of planned activities (Jamal and Getz 1995; Prescott and Williams 1999); • carefully select issues around which a partnership is formed (Phillips 1991 in NEDG 1996)
5. Organization Structures Roles, responsibilities, mandates, power distribution	• be innovative (Prescott and Williams 1999) and willing to adjust your plans (KPMG 1995); • follow clear but flexible and jointly developed structures (Darrow 1995; Phillips 1991 in NEDG 1996; DCPG 1995 in NEDG 1996); • determine partners' roles and mandates (Budke 1999a; Darrow 1995; Smith and Frank 1997; Jamal and Getz 1995); • equitably share responsibilities/ duties, rights, risks and control (KPMG 1995; Prescott and Williams 1999; DCPG 1995 in NEDG 1996); • empower partners (DCPG 1995 in NEDG 1996)
6. Resources and capacity	• know about assets/ resources and challenges/ limitations (Prescott and Williams 1999; Frank and Smith 1997); • ensure adequate resources are available to carry out the process and implement outcomes (e.g., sufficient financial, technical

(Table 2 continued)	and staff support (Jamal and Getz 1995 and Philips 1991 in NEDG 1996); • pool resources (DCPG 1995 in NEDG 1996); • provide adequate training • build/ maintain local leadership, tourism planning and management capacity (Darrow 1995; Shultis and Browne 1999; Klein and Gagnon 1991 in NEDG 1996)
7. Monitoring/ evaluation and adjustment	• establish mechanisms/ standards to measure success (Budke 1999a; Darrow 1995) and continuously evaluate and adjust cooperative management arrangements (Williams 1999; Darrow 1995; Smith and Frank 1997; NEDG 1996; Jamal and Getz 1995; KPMG 1995)

2.7 PROCESS MODELS FOR COOPERATION IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

In order to facilitate implementation of the above principles for cooperative tourism planning, several multi-stage process models have been suggested in recent tourism research literature. Although these models differ with regards to the number of stages or phases they comprise and the forms of tourism they target, they share similar components. The following section summarizes and compares four models that promise to present adaptable frameworks for cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in protected areas.

Selin and Chavez (1995) develop a five-stage "evolutionary tourism partnership model" (table 3). The authors emphasize "the dynamic and cyclical nature of partnership evolution" (Selin and Chavez 1995, 847), although this does not necessarily become obvious in their description and graphic rendition of their model.

Table 3: Evolutionary model of tourism partnerships according to Selin and Chavez (1995)

1) Ante-Cedents	2) Problem-Setting	3) Direction-Setting	4) Structuring	5) Outcomes
-crisis -broker/ convener -mandate -common vision -existing networks -leadership -incentives	-recognize interdependence -consensus on legitimate stakeholders -common problem definition -perceived benefits to stakeholders -perceived salience to stakeholders	-establish goals -set ground rules -joint information search -explore options -organize sub-groups	-formalizing relationship -roles assigned -tasks elaborated -monitoring and control systems designed	-programs -impacts -benefits derived

Darrow (1995) develops a six-phase partnership model for nature tourism in Eastern Caribbean Islands (table 4):

Table 4: Partnership model for nature tourism (Darrow 1995)

1) Finding a fit: selecting a partner	2) Initiating contact: establishing a process	3) Creating a mutual future: sharing visions
-select partners who are knowledgeable about business practices, politics, and culture, and who share mutual long-range goals -need leaderships or/ and involvement of motivated networkers	-determine roles partners will play -grow ability to work together > gradually develop "a sense of trust and commitment toward each other" -test strength of relationship	-define "clarity of purpose" -build energy -establish communications -identify responsibilities -unify around a shared vision
4) Goal setting: making plans	**5) Maintenance of relationships: the dynamic nature of partnerships**	**6) Keys to success: operationalizing the model**
-establish clear objectives -determine alternative means to reach objectives -task structure -management -develop an action plan and implementation schedule to work toward established goals -spell out obligations of all partners -develop contingency plans or exit strategies	-take necessary time and effort to develop a partnership -exercise diplomacy -cope with conflicts as circumstances change -stay in touch with original visions and goals -create new, improved processes for applying partners' expertise and sharing risks -establish standards supporting the partnership process -maintain a sense of fairness and harmony -put terms of agreements in writing	-ability of the partners to make collective changes as needed, based on constant monitoring and evaluation -cross-cultural ties and aiming toward sustainable development -involve tourists as partners

Compared to Selin and Chavez, Darrow's model does not take into account any antecedents or "environmental forces" (Selin and Chavez 1995, 844) such as a crisis but begins with partner selection—a step not clearly identified by Selin and Chavez. The creation and maintenance of the partnership receive considerably more attention by Darrow than by Selin and Chavez, as he allows time to develop the ability to work together, including building energy, establishing communications and cross-cultural ties as well as maintaining a sense of fairness and harmony and coping with conflicts. As opposed to Selin and Chavez, Darrow also accounts for the need to develop standards, a strategic action plan and obligations of partners (i.e., responsibilities and duties) as well as to adapt the partnership

17

approach based on constant monitoring and evaluation. The provision of "contingency plans and exit strategies" in Darrow's model may make stakeholders feel more comfortable to enter into a partnership.

KPMG (1995) designed another five-stage model for tourism partnerships (table 5):

Table 5: Tourism partnership process suggested by KPMG 1995

1) Starting up	2) Finding Partners	3) Negotiations	4) Managing	5) Evaluation
-assess stakeholder's situation/ business -assess stakeholder's position to competitors and industry conditions -establish a strategic direction -examine options for meeting needs -examine what (a) partner(s) could provide, and what one could offer in exchange; -decide whether partnership approach is realistic	-develop a concept and approach to potential partners -be prepared to be approached from others and consider the proposal	-start-up meetings (to learn more about potential partners) -general business proposal (outlining objectives of partnerships arrangement and general terms and conditions) -detailed proposal outlining objectives; roles and responsibilities; contribution of partners; acceptable levels of risk; participation criteria; confidentiality; product packaging; marketing plan; ownership; decision-making; management arrangements; funding and financing ; timetable; partnership logistics; termination of partnership; evaluation process	• Partnership management through -a lead partner -shared management -divided management -independent • Project management -clear set of deliverables -schedule of activities; -budget; -clear, detailed responsibilities	-evaluate achieved success -make improvements to plans and activities over time -communicate success -quantitative measurements (e.g., number of packages sold, profits or clients generated) -qualitative measurements (e.g., improved product quality and service levels; lessons learned; network of established contacts) -evaluate on regular basis (e.g., annually, quarterly, after a project, or over the longer term)

The key difference between this model and the two preceding ones is the inclusion of an additional phase before partner selection. This phase serves to answer the crucial question whether a partnership approach is appropriate at all. It is based on an assessment of the individual stakeholders' situation and their position to competitors and the industry. Phases three and four in Darrow and Selin and Chavez, respectively, are subsumed in KPMG's "negotiations" phase. This phase also includes several important components neglected in the preceding models, such as determining a decision-making process and discussing ownership as well as funding and financing issues. Evaluation of the cooperative arrangement

18

assumes an even greater role in the KPMG model than in the one designed by Darrow. Suggestions for measurements of success are provided, and the necessity to communicate success is stressed.

While consisting of only three stages, Prescott and Williams' model for "strategic partnership development in small and medium sized tourism enterprises" (1999) reveals close similarities with KPMG's model. The three phases of their model comprise 1) a formative stage; 2) a strategic development stage; and 3) maintenance management. Like KPMG, Prescott and Williams consider an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of individual organizations essential before the onset of a partnership, as this helps stakeholders understand what potential benefits they can derive from and what they can contribute to such a partnership (1999, 4). Similar to Darrow, strategic planning assumes a key role in this model along with maintenance of the partnership. The authors stress learning and information sharing as important components of maintenance management, implying the need for continued communication. Similar to Selin and Chavez, Prescott and Williams maintain that the model "is not simply a linear progression of activities and management concentrations. It entails continual reassessment of the partnership's direction and focus" (1999, 8). While the first two stages "give the partnership shape and direction", the last stage "runs throughout the development of the partnership" (Prescott and Williams 1999, 3), designed to monitor and adjust its shape and direction.

Applicable components of these models for cooperative tourism development will be adapted and expanded in chapter 5.2 in order to develop a process model for cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in national protected areas and historic sites in Canada. There are numerous issues, assets and challenges associated with Aboriginal tourism development in protected areas which must be taken into consideration in order to develop a meaningful process model. By analyzing and synthesizing relevant assets, opportunities and constraints in the case of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve, the following chapter provides the basis for the creation of a cooperative tourism development model involving First Nations and Parks Canada.

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 OVERVIEW

This study is based on qualitative research methods. They encompass a literature review to obtain secondary data (chapter two) and a case study of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (PRNPR) in British Columbia as an example of a national protected area working toward the development of more effective cooperative agreements with First Nations. The following sections describe the selection of the case study and use of interviews as well as strengths and weaknesses of the research design. Figure 1 illustrates the sequence of research steps taken.

Figure 1: Research steps taken
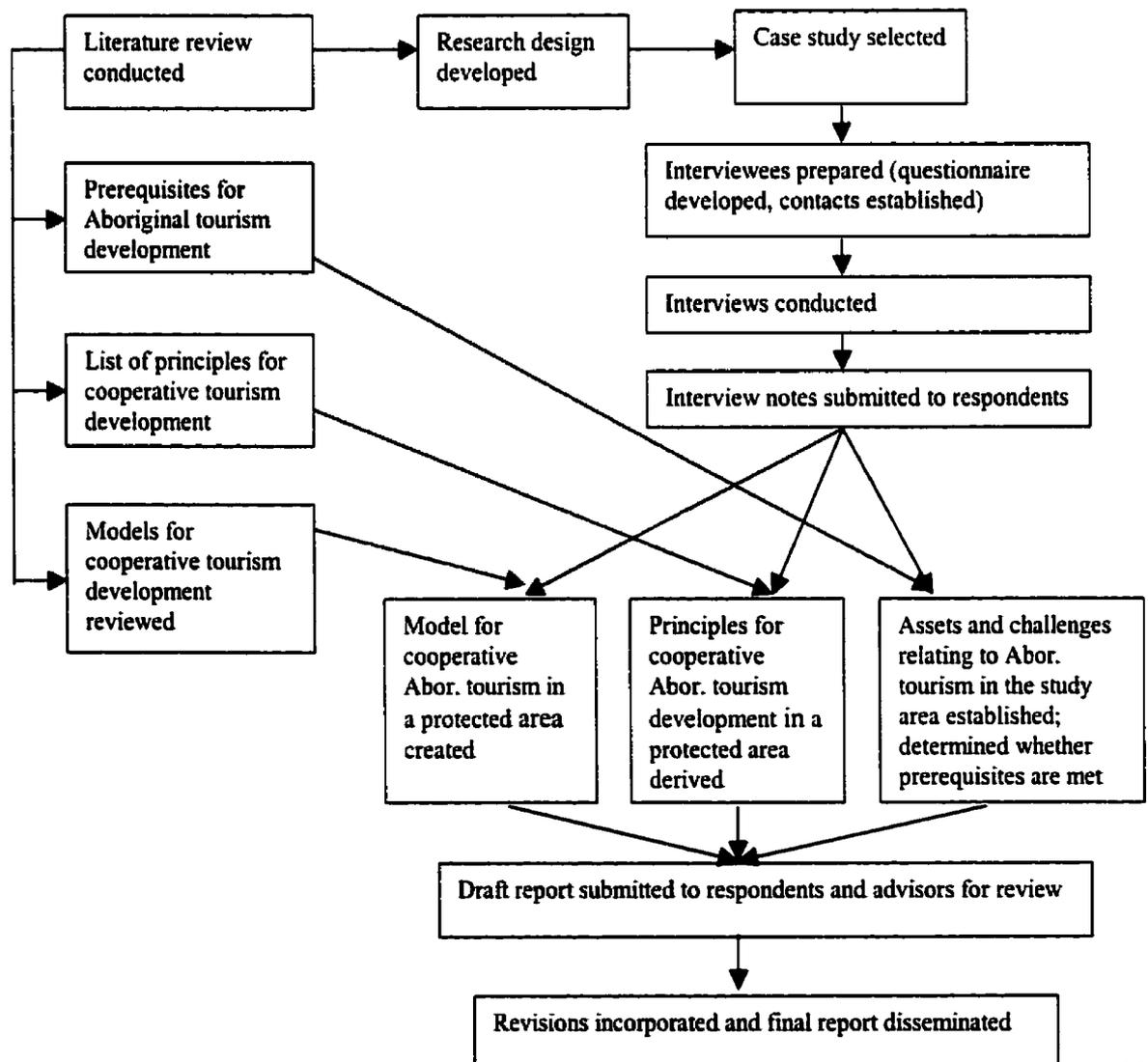
3.2 RATIONALE OF CASE STUDY SELECTION

Case studies can be used to 1) provide description, 2) test theory, or 3) generate theory (Eisenhardt 1989). In this report, the case study approach serves to fulfil all three purposes, namely 1) to provide a description of Aboriginal tourism development in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve that can be instructive to other protected areas and First Nations; 2) to test if models for cooperative tourism development can be applied to Aboriginal tourism in a protected area; and 3) to generate principles for cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in protected areas in Canada.

A case study approach is considered appropriate when a current or contemporary phenomenon is being studied; when the research involves "how" and "what" questions; when control over participant behaviour is not required; and when the subject of the study is complex and not clearly distinguishable from its context (Yin 1994). Moreover, a single case study, as employed for this project, is appropriate when it represents a unique or revelatory case (Yin 1994). All of these conditions are met in the case of Aboriginal tourism development in Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. The core research questions are concerned with what the assets, challenges and principles are and how a cooperative planning model for Aboriginal tourism development in this context might function. Controlling the behaviour of interview participants was neither possible nor desirable. The topic was complex and could only be examined in a meaningful way if related policy, legislative and institutional parameters as well as historical relationships and events were taken into consideration. Aboriginal tourism was a very recent phenomenon in this park as well as in the Parks Canada system that had not been studied before.

Pacific Rim National Park Reserve was selected as the most appropriate case for this research purpose because:

- several promising initiatives related to Aboriginal tourism had been initiated here;
- First Nations with interests in PRNPR had indicated their desire to work together with Parks Canada on Aboriginal tourism and cultural interpretation initiatives;
- the potential to address First Nations groups and communities as well as individual First Nations members seemed particularly high due to the number of different First Nations in this area; and
- the potential to refine principles and process elements from this case study, which could then be applied to other national parks and national historic sites, appeared to be particularly great due to the diversity of Aboriginal tourism opportunities and interests in PRNPR.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION THROUGH INTERVIEWS

3.3.1 Interviewee Selection

While the literature review provided some important background information, personal interviews were the key source of data for this report. In the course of the study, 77 people were interviewed. Interviewees were selected through snowball and purposive sampling approaches (Babbie 1999). Snowball sampling is used when members of a target population are difficult to locate (Babbie 1999). This condition held true for various First Nations members involved in Aboriginal tourism in the study area. With the help of Parks Canada's former First Nations Liaison Manager, Aboriginal band managers and other key informants were identified for each First Nation with land interests in PRNPR. These key informants then provided further guidance with regard to which band members should be contacted. Similarly, key informants within Parks Canada pointed the author to knowledgeable persons within the agency, who in turn provided further potential informant references.

Purposive (or judgmental) sampling is based on the researcher's knowledge of the respondent population and the nature of the research objectives (Babbie 1999). The researcher aims at achieving the most comprehensive understanding of all facets of the subject matter (Babbie 1999). This objective was pursued by contacting all individuals in the study area who were involved or interested in Aboriginal tourism and related initiatives. Respondents fell into three groups, namely a) First Nations members, b) Parks Canada employees (some of them Aboriginal), and c) others, such as tourism consultants and members of economic development and tourism organizations. Interviewees at the management level as well as employees and community members were contacted. Within the First Nations, this included band managers/ administrators and councillors as well as chief councillors and hereditary chiefs; Elders; community members involved in tourism planning and development or related organizations; and Aboriginal tourism operators. Within Parks Canada, this included (senior) managers in the field and in administration; field staff (warden supervisors and wardens); and trainees and office staff in PRNPR. As well, informants in other parks and national historic sites where (Aboriginal) tourism projects have been initiated (such as Banff, Fort St. James, Yoho, Kluane, Gwaii Haanas and Pukaskwa) were interviewed. Table 6 illustrates the distribution of respondents:

Table 6: Distribution of respondents

First Nations			Parks Canada				Others	
Management/ Council		Community members	Management		Employees			
Abor.	Non-Abor.	Abor.	Abor.	Non-Abor.	Abor.	Non-Abor.	Abor.	Non-Abor.
12	6	14	1	5	4	17	5	13
18		14	6		21		18	
32			27				18	
Total respondents: 77*								

*Total Aboriginal respondents: 36; total non-Aboriginal respondents: 41

3.3.2 Interview Structure

Interviews with key informants were semi-structured with open-ended questions. Core questions relating to challenges and requirements associated with cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR remained the same in all interviews. More detailed questions were asked depending on the interviewees' level and type of involvement in Aboriginal tourism initiatives. In-depth interviews with key informants commonly lasted between one and two hours. In most cases, interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis, but in several instances, two or three participants were available at the same time. In addition to these semi-structured interviews, numerous informal discussions and short conversations were carried out using the qualitative interviewing technique (Babbie 1999). These served to complement available information or to clarify certain issues. Length and depth of interviews and discussions depended largely on the extent and relevance of the interviewee's knowledge and experience.

3.3.3 Interview Process

Based on the literature review and previous investigations (Budke 1999a), a comprehensive questionnaire was prepared pertaining to the research questions outlined in chapter one. This questionnaire (see Appendix G)[7] was approved by the Ethics Review Committee at Simon Fraser University. Formal letters introducing the project were then sent to band managers and other key individuals. The letters invited the First Nations' participation in the project as well as feed-back with regards to the suggested study focus, research design and questions. Responses gathered in telephone follow-ups were largely supportive of the project, and suggestions with regards to the project theme and

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[7] It should be noted that not all questions included in the questionnaire were asked at any one time.

focus were incorporated into a revised project proposal. Meetings were then scheduled and interviews carried out during the summer of 1999. The overwhelming majority of these interviews were conducted face-to-face in the study area, i.e., in the park, communities and Indian Reserves. This allowed the researcher to gather additional information through direct observation (Yin 1994). Notes were taken by the author during interviews. These notations were compiled without audio or visual recordings as the author surmised that some interviewees might feel uncomfortable with being recorded. Following the interviews, notes were transcribed and sent back to interviewees (usually by electronic mail or facsimile) for comments and corrections. This resulted in some follow-up interviews in person and by phone. Interviewees were ensured that quotations of their comments would remain anonymous. Anonymity is commonly used in case study research where potential for controversy may arise or participants are concerned about being identified (Yin 1994).

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

To analyze data, Yin (1994) suggests using the following iterative process:
1. Statements or propositions are put forward ◄┐
2. Findings of the case are compared   │
3. Propositions are revised ——————————┘
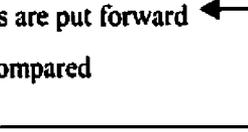
Following the field period of the research period, the collected data was reviewed and sorted. Information related to assets and challenges of Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR was assigned to and compared with the corresponding key prerequisites for Aboriginal tourism development identified in the literature review. Information regarding cooperation was correlated and compared with principles for cooperative tourism development derived from the literature. In the course of this process, the principles identified in the literature were confirmed. Moreover, additional principles could be derived for the specific context of cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area. Based on these findings and the literature review, a model for cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in a national protected area was created. In addition, recommendations addressing each of the prerequisites were made. The draft report was submitted to all respondents for review before the final version was prepared.

3.5 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH DESIGN

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews with a wide range of respondents from different groups provided a

meaningful measure of perceptions and opinions related to the topic. This type and extent of information, which is particularly important in a cross-cultural context, would have been difficult to gather through alternative research methods such as surveys or closed-ended interview questions. On the other side, the use of semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions does not always provide reliable data and may raise questions of validity (Babbie 1999; Yin 1994). Weaknesses associated with qualitative research and the interview methods employed for this study include potential bias, poor recall and errors by the researcher in recording comments as well as inaccurate articulation of ideas by the respondents (Yin 1994). Wherever possible, interview data were corroborated with information from written sources and direct observation (triangulation) in order to address potential concerns of construct validity (Yin 1994). At the same time, the large number of interviewees, the variety of initiatives described in the study area and the inclusion of information about similar Aboriginal tourism initiatives elsewhere (Appendices A-E) helped to strengthen both reliability and validity. Validity was also reinforced by submitting the draft report to all respondents for review (Yin 1994).

The research process revealed that personal rather than telephone interviews were particularly important in order to develop a rapport with interviewees in a cross-cultural context. Further, it was essential to visit interviewees in their respective locales and get to know the natural environment of the park reserve in order to gain a better understanding and appreciation of the pertinent issues revolving around the project topic through direct observation. Travelling to the fairly remote and far apart units of PRNPR as well as the large number of interviewees--resulting from the considerable number of First Nations with interests in PRNPR--posed challenges in terms of required time and economic resources. Similarly, editing and receiving approval of interview transcripts was very time-consuming. Nonetheless, this step helped to further increase reliability by ensuring a correct rendering of the interviewees' comments and perceptions in the cross-cultural research context. It also provided the interviewees with an appreciated opportunity to withdraw certain statements made during the interviews that could be politically sensitive or controversial if included in this report.

Due to the personal nature of the interviews and the in-depth focus on one specific region, caution must be exerted when attempting to generalize the research results (Babbie 1999). Building theory from a case study may result in narrow or idiosyncratic theory (Eisenhardt 1989). Yet, the diversity of First Nations, Aboriginal tourism initiatives and related issues within the study area well as the inclusion of information from other national parks and national historic sites should counteract this concern at least to a certain extent. It is hoped that the case study approach succeeds in illuminating pertinent issues related to the topic. It is further hoped that the case study provides encouragement for other First Nations and parks to join forces in moving forward towards successful Aboriginal tourism initiatives.

4.0 ABORIGINAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN PACIFIC RIM NATIONAL PARK RESERVE (PRNPR): A SITUATION ANALYSIS

4.1 BACKGROUND ON STUDY AREA

The following sections provide background information on PRNPR, which is essential for a comprehensive understanding of the issues related to (cooperative) Aboriginal tourism development in this study area.

4.1.1 PRNPR: Setting, Features, History

PRNPR is situated on the west coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada (fig. 2). Its lands stretch as a narrow band of 125 km length between the towns of Port Renfrew in the south and Tofino in the north. PRNPR is part of Clayoquot Sound, an area which has drawn international interest by tourists and environmentalists due to its remarkable scenery and anti-logging activism. At the beginning of this year, Clayoquot Sound was officially proclaimed a UNESCO Man and Biosphere Reserve.

Figure 2: Location of PRNPR
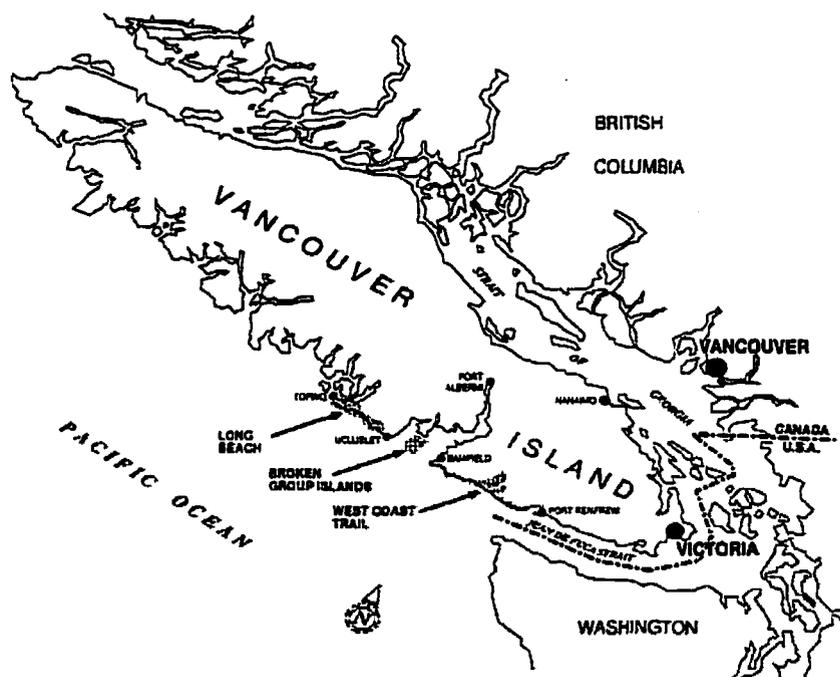
(source: Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994, 7)

Within the Canadian national park system, PRNPR represents a complex and diverse region typified as the "coastal plain portion of the Pacific Coast Mountains Natural Region" (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994b, 5). The park reserve protects habitat for a variety of large land and sea mammals such as black bears, humpback and grey whales, dolphins and sea lions. These along with flocks of seabirds and an inter-tidal zone brimming with life are important "natural attractions" of the park reserve. However, PRNPR was ranked as among the most ecologically stressed of all Canadian national parks in 1997 (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1998a; Parks Canada Agency 2000). "The park's small size also makes it more susceptible to internal human disturbance from increased tourism and recreational use" (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 7.8).

The almost 50,000 hectares of land and ocean covered by PRNPR are divided into three separate geographic units (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994). Each of these units has its distinct natural features, infrastructure, and visitor characteristics. These units are, from north to south, the Long Beach unit, the Broken Group Islands (BGI) unit, and the West Coast Trail (WCT) unit (fig. 2). This geographical division of the park reserve has important implications for Aboriginal tourism development.

Encompassing about 13,700 hectares (more of half of which are land), the **Long Beach unit** is characterised by its long sandy beaches where lush temperate rainforest meets the forces of the cold Pacific Ocean. A well-maintained highway, connecting the towns of Ucluelet and Tofino, runs parallel to Long Beach. Visitors can explore the forested shoreline on a number of board walks and trails. Further, the information/ registration building for park visitors and the Wickaninnish Interpretive Centre, including a restaurant, as well as the park administration, warden service and a large Parks Canada campground are situated in this unit. Its natural beauty, ease of access and well-developed infrastructure make Long Beach "the most heavily visited unit" in PRNPR (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994, 9).

The **BGI unit**, consisting of about 100 small and medium-sized islands and islets in the centre of Barkley Sound, encompasses roughly 10,600 hectares, most of which is water. The BGI can only be accessed by water and thus represents a haven for boaters, kayakers and canoeists that has become increasingly popular in recent years (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994).

The **WCT unit** encompasses 25,600 hectares of land and water, including islands and a spectacular shoreline of temperate rainforest as well as sandy and rocky beaches (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994). Thanks to the renowned 77 km long West Coast Trail, this unit has gained increasing popularity among hikers from around the globe who are seeking a "wilderness experience". In 1992 a registration

27

system was put in place, limiting the number of hikers allowed to start at each end of the trail to 26 per day (Canadian Heritage 1997). Registration/ information booths for WCT hikers are situated at each end of the West Coast Trail, namely on the Pacheedaht Indian Reserve near Port Renfrew to the south and near the community of Bamfield to the north. Besides the West Coast Trail, the WCT unit also includes the Cape Beale headland near Bamfield and Nitinat Triangle. Nitinat Triangle and Bamfield can only be reached via logging road.

Although the West Coast Agreement to establish Pacific Rim National Park was signed in 1970, the national park reserve has not yet been gazetted under the *National Parks Act*. The park reserve is presently managed according to "Management Guidelines" under applicable provincial acts and federal acts. After gazetting, which is expected to occur this year (2000), a management plan will be developed, which will replace the "Management Guidelines" (currently under review).

4.1.2 PRNPR as Aboriginal Homeland--Past and Present

Although often depicted as such, PRNPR is not an unpopulated "wilderness" area. It is and has been the home of the Nuu-chah-nulth[8] people for approximately 4,000 years (Dearden and Berg 1993). The abundance of the area's flora and fauna provided the basis for the wealth and cultural sophistication of these First Nations who lived as subsistence hunters, fishers and gatherers before European contact (Dearden and Berg 1993). Cultural and linguistic diversity characterize the Aboriginal people in this area, who lived in distinct local groups or social units (Haggarty and Inglis 1985). Various dialects and two distinct languages (both belonging to the Wakashan language group) were spoken, namely Nitinaht in the traditional Ditidaht and Pacheedaht territory, and Nootka proper in the rest of the area (Haggarty and Inglis 1985). Sustainable management of resources and the division of lands among tribal and local groups followed an elaborate system of property rights (concerning land and material goods) (Haggarty and Inglis 1985; Greer and Kucey 1997). However, the traditional system was disrupted after the arrival of European trappers at the end of the 18th century. In the course of the European fur-trade and settlement, inter-group warfare resulted in "dramatic changes in both group composition and territorial boundaries" (Haggarty and Inglis 1985, 13). The Native population plunged due to epidemic diseases introduced by the newcomers; the natural resources on which Native societies depended, such as salmon, fur-bearing animals and trees, continued to decline due to overharvesting.

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[8]The word "Nuu-chah-nulth" means "all along the mountains" in the native tongue (Nootka) of the area (Coull 1996, 41). The people formerly referred to as the "Nootka" chose this word in the early 1970s to refer to all First Nations within their tribal alliance.

By the end of the 19th century, Nuu-chah-nulth people had been assigned 150 small reserves by the federal/ provincial Joint Indian Reserve Commission (Kennedy 1995), although they never officially ceded their ancestral lands to the Crown through treaties (Greer and Kucey 1997; Coull 1996). At present, there are 20 Indian Reserves within the outer boundaries and eight directly adjacent to the park reserve. These belong to seven different First Nations with traditional lands in this area. Both the Ucluelet and Tla-o-qui-aht have Indian Reserves within or adjacent to the Long Beach unit of PRNPR. In the WCT unit, the Huu-ay-aht, Ditidaht and Pacheedaht have Indian Reserves and the BGI unit includes reserves of the Tseshaht and Hupacasat.

Except for the Pacheedaht[9], the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations belong to the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC), a contemporary alliance of fourteen First Nations. Since 1980, the NTC member Nations as well as the Pacheedaht First Nation have been pursuing comprehensive land claims affecting their traditional lands (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994, 4). These two claims cover about 15,500 square kilometres on the west coast of Vancouver Island and include all of PRNPR (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994, 4). Both the NTC and the Ditidaht/ Pacheedaht negotiations are at stage four in the six-stage treaty process (Agreement in Principle). The Ditidaht/ Pacheedaht have advanced to the point where a federal-provincial settlement offer was made to them in November, 1999. Ditidaht/ Pacheedaht refused the offer on the basis that it did not include enough land or cash. In addition, the Huu-ay-aht and Pacheedaht First Nations are pursuing specific claims in PRNPR[10]. It is not known whether the settlement of these claims in the future will alter the status and boundaries of PRNPR. The federal government's intention is to gazette the area as a national park reserve "pending the disposition of any claim by aboriginal peoples of British Columbia to any right, title or interest in or to the lands comprised in the reserve and the establishment of a National Park therein" (*National Parks Act*, chapter 48, sect. 15.1).

4.1.3 Regional Players in Aboriginal Tourism in and around PRNPR

Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR likely affects or interests a multitude of parties. These parties include First Nations, First Nations business alliances, federal, provincial and local governments, gateway communities[11], tourism organizations, individual tourism entrepreneurs, and possibly NGOs. These constituents in the study area are presently connected with each other to various degrees through a

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[9] The Pacheedaht have joined the Ditidaht in treaty negotiations with Canada and British Columbia.

[10] The specific claim of the Pacheedaht against Canada for eight acres of land adjacent to Cullite IR is in the process of being settled.

[11] "Gateway communities" are communities situated at the entrance of or adjacent to a protected area (Howe, McMahon and Propst 1997).

29

number of organizations and partnerships. While the relationship and potential for cooperation between Parks Canada and the seven First Nations with land interests in PRNPR is the focus of this report, relations these two parties (should) have with other regional players must also be taken into consideration.

While Parks Canada maintains and fosters informal relations with all seven First Nations, it is engaged in a formal business arrangement with the three First Nations in the WCT unit of the park reserve. Established in 1996, the **Quu'as West Coast Trail Group** is a partnership among the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Huu-ay-aht First Nations, working as a contractor for and in cooperation with Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. Along the WCT, Quu'as provides such essential services as trail repair and maintenance, hiker orientation, cultural interpretation and ferry services. Its main goal is to create jobs and economic opportunities for the involved First Nations (see Appendix A for more information).

Ma-Mook Development Corporation has the same objective. This alliance of the five "Central Region First Nations" (Tla-o-qui-aht, Ucluelet, Hesquiat, Ahousat and Toquaht), in which Parks Canada is not involved, is spearheading a number of economic development projects, one of them being an Aboriginal tourism strategy for the Central Region of Clayoquot Sound.

Tourism planning in the Clayoquot Sound-Alberni regional district, to which PRNPR belongs, is influenced by the **Pacific Rim Tourism Association (PRTA)** and by the newly founded **West Coast Tourism Association (WCTA)**. The WCTA, which is mainly concerned with local development in the Tofino—Ucluelet corridor, has invited representatives of the Central Region First Nations, albeit with limited success.

The **communities of Tofino, Ucluelet, Bamfield, Port Renfrew and Port Alberni**, which are all "gateway communities" to PRNPR, are also potential partners in developing Aboriginal tourism in PRNPR. The Pacheedaht First Nation has joined forces with the **Sooke Capital Regional District** in advancing economic development, including tourism, in the Sooke-Port Renfrew region. In "the first one-to-one agreement in B.C. between a municipal entity [...] and an aboriginal government" (Dutton 1998, E2), they share the costs of a "Comprehensive Analysis and Plan for Economic Development Utilizing Land-Based Business" (Entrecorp Management Systems Ltd and Bob Darnell 1999). Other regional stakeholders include **Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal tourism enterprises** operating in the park, such as the Lady Rose and Juan de Fuca Express (boat services) as well as whale-watching, fishing and dive charter businesses.

4.1.4 Visitation Patterns in PRNPR

Consistent and comprehensive visitation data for PRNPR is not available; while visitor entry statistics are kept for the Long Beach unit and WCT unit, no such data could be obtained for the BGI unit.[12] This presents a challenge with regards to carrying out market analyses for Aboriginal tourism development in the "backcountry" units of PRNPR. The available data (see table 7) suggests that the two First Nations with traditional lands in the Long Beach unit have market advantages over others with traditional lands in the other park units. The Long Beach unit of PRNPR receives by far the highest number of visitors of all park units. Between 1990 and 1999, the average number of visitor person-entries into this park unit per year was approximately 667,400. Compared to these figures, the number of visitors entering the WCT unit of the park reserve appear small, averaging 24,531 per year during the period between 1990 and 1999. While no visitation is recorded from October through April for the WCT and the BGI units, the Long Beach unit receives visitors year-round with increasing winter visitation, turning the this park unit into "a year-round destination" (Parks Canada 1999, 7). Storm-watching during the winter season, for example, is becoming more popular, and the whale-watching season now starts in March. Visitor numbers in all park units peak during the months of July and August. The difference in visitation levels among park reserve units clearly reflects differences in ease and permission of access as well as available infrastructure.

Table 7: Visitor person entries for PRNPR 1990-1999 by park reserve unit

Year	Long Beach unit	WCT unit^
1990	529,143	No data
1991	535,749	21,611
1992	570,753	21,306
1993	621,627	24,566
1994	659,763	25,721
1995	717,060	38,002
1996	663,000	No data
1997	607,503*	15,982
1998	565,734*	No data
1999	536,970*+	No data

* visitor numbers for these years have been adjusted, using a new equation for calculating numbers
+ number of visitors in December 1999 not included
^ total number of visitors hiking the West Coast Trail
(data source: Canadian Heritage 1997)

According to the Clayoquot Sound Tourism and Recreation Visitor Survey for 1997, 18.2% of all visitors to Clayoquot Sound participated in First Nations cultural activities (Rollins & Associates 1998,

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[12] The only available data were user nights, which are not directly comparable with visitor person entry data obtained for the other two units.

31

13). Although no formal survey has been carried out in PRNPR to capture the visitor demand for Aboriginal cultural interpretation and other Aboriginal tourism initiatives, parks staff have observed "a huge demand for cultural information by park visitors" and, specifically, "significant public interest" in First Nations culture (PRNPR employees, pers. comm.). As well, a PRNPR interpreter claims that there is "definite enthusiasm in Parks Canada as well as in the First Nations and the public regarding Aboriginal cultural interpretation. Visitors are curious about 'who are the First Nations in PRNPR?'"

4.2 ABORIGINAL TOURISM INITIATIVES IN PRNPR: SUCCESSES TO DATE

4.2.1 Introduction

Given the considerable prospects for tourism development in Clayoquot Sound and PRNPR, First Nations with traditional territories in the park reserve have expressed a keen interest in Aboriginal tourism development. However, while some First Nations in PRNPR are further advanced in Aboriginal tourism development than others, relatively few well-established tourism products and services owned or operated by First Nations exist in or adjacent to the park reserve. Table 8 provides an overview of these Aboriginal tourism initiatives. Some of these will be referred to again in subsequent sections of this report in order to illustrate challenges and prerequisites associated with Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area. For the purpose of this inventory, the original definition of "Aboriginal tourism" as referring to products and services owned/ controlled by Aboriginal people was followed. While some products and services are owned by a First Nation as a whole, others are owned and operated by individuals and not necessarily sanctioned by the respective band. Those Aboriginal tourism initiatives in which cooperation with Parks Canada played a role will be described in more detail in the following sections of this chapter.

4.2.2 Existing Aboriginal Tourism Initiatives in PRNPR

Table 8: Overview of existing Aboriginal tourism initiatives in and around PRNPR

Type of Tourism Product/Service	Name of Product/Service	First Nation	Location	Park Unit	Parks Canada Involvement
Accommodation	Tin Wis Resort	Tla-o-qui-aht FN	North of Long Beach, close to Tofino	Adjacent to Long Beach unit	No
Accommodation	Matt&Ben's B&B and campground	Tla-o-qui-aht individuals	Indian Island IR 30	Within Long Beach unit	No
Accommodation	Nitinat Motel	Ditidaht FN	Nitinat (Malachan IR 11), north end of Nitinaht Lake	Adjacent to WCT unit	No
Accommodation	Campground	Pacheedaht FN	Pacheenah IR 1, near head of the WCT	Adjacent to WCT unit (south end)	No
Accommodation	Pacheenah Bay Campground	Huu-ay-aht FN	Anacla IR	Adjacent to WCT unit	Yes (through advice)
Accommodation	Bill's Bread and Bannock	Pacheedaht individual	Pacheenah IR 1	Adjacent to WCT unit	No
Nature-based tours	Nitinat Tours	Ditidaht individual	Nitinaht Lake	Adjacent to/ within WCT unit	No
Nature-based tours	Seeserpent Adventures (whale-watching and fishing charters)	Tla-o-qui-at individuals	Clayoquot Sound/ Grice Bay	Adjacent to/ within Long Beach unit	No
Cultural Interpretation	Interpretation program, Kiix?in NHS	Huu-ay-aht FN	Masit IR Keeshan IR 9	Within WCT unit Adjacent to WCT unit	Yes (cooperation for NHS Agenda Paper and Cultural Tourism Agreement)
Transportation	Ferry service to head of WCT trail	Pacheedaht individual	Based out of Pacheenah IR 1	Adjacent/ within WCT unit	Yes, through Quu'as
Transportation	Ferry service across Nitinaht Lake	Ditidaht inividual	At Nitinaht Narrows	Within WCT unit	Yes, through Quu'as
Transportation	WCT Express/ Bus Service	Pacheedaht FN	Based out of Pacheenah IR 1	Adjacent to WCT unit	No
Food&Beverage	Norah's Smokeshop	Pacheedaht individual	Based out of Pacheenah IR 1	Adjacent to WCT unit	No
Food&Beverage	Robbie D's Café	Individual related to Tla-o-qui-aht FN	Schooner Cove Beach	Within Long Beach unit	No
Food&Beverage	"Visitor Centre" (café, shop and gas station)	Ditidaht FN	Nitinat (Malachan IR 11), north end of Nitinaht Lake	Adjacent to WCT unit	No
Arts&Crafts	No data available				

33

Table 8 illustrates that accommodation is the most developed sector of Aboriginal tourism in this area, with facilities established adjacent to the Long Beach and WCT units of PRNPR. This likely reflects available infrastructure and adequate land to develop, visitor demand, and the fact that this sector commonly generates the largest revenues in B.C.'s tourism industry (Entrecorp Management Systems Ltd. and Bob Darnell 1999). Food and beverage and transportation are the second most common sectors of Aboriginal tourism in this region.

The vast majority of the existing Aboriginal tourism initiatives in and adjacent to PRNPR are located in the WCT unit. Products and services in the accommodation, transportation and food and beverage sectors cater to the needs of approximately 7,000 West Coast Trail hikers from around the globe each year (PRNPR internal files). Evidently, the trail has had a positive economic impact on the local communities. In this regard, **Quu'as West Coast Trail Group** has played a key role since its inception in 1996. The partnership, providing those services related to tourism and outdoor recreation described in section 4.1.3 and Appendix A, has become a source of revenues and pride for the involved First Nations. Hopes are now resting on Quu'as to become a catalyst of further Aboriginal tourism development.[13]

While there are some nature-based businesses owned and operated by Aboriginal entrepreneurs in PRNPR, very little is currently offered in terms of culture-based experiences such as Aboriginal interpretive tours, performances, events or arts and crafts. In an effort to explore this market niche, the Huu-ay-aht First Nation has developed a **Cultural Tourism Plan** that concentrates on sharing and explaining the traditional territory, history, and culture of the Huu-ay-aht. In the summer of 1998, the Huu-ay-aht initiated a "successful cultural interpretation program" at their Malsit Reserve in the WCT unit of PRNPR (Huu-ay-aht First Nations 1999, 2). Huu-ay-aht members shared information with West Coast Trail hikers about their Hahoothlee (traditional territory) and the fact that the West Coast Trail transects their traditional territory. For a $20 "donation" fee, hikers were allowed to continue on the trail and received a printed "Visa to the Hahoothlee of the Huu-ay-aht First Nations". The program was discontinued after a conflict over access rights to the trail was resolved by Huu-ay-aht and Parks Canada negotiators. Future cultural interpretive events will take place at heritage sites throughout Huu-ay-aht traditional territory in and adjacent to the WCT unit. The key attraction, however, is the ancient village and fortress site of **Kiix?in**. It is located adjacent to the northern border of the WCT unit (a few kilometres south of Bamfield) on the Huu-ay-aht IR Keeshan.

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[13] Further research should be carried out in order to determine the economic and socio-cultural impacts of the WCT on adjacent Aboriginal communities since it was opened to hikers and since Quua's was established, respectively. It should be determined how many jobs (person years) and revenues have since been generated for each First Nation, and what contributions Quu'as has made in this regard.

Through collaborative efforts between PRNPR and the Huu-ay-aht First Nation to prepare a submission for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Kiix?in was declared a National Historic Site in 1999. Also, the Huu-ay-aht and Parks Canada signed an "Agreement to Cooperate on Huu-ay-aht First Nations Cultural Tourism Economic Opportunities on Huu-ay-aht Reserves within Pacific Rim National Park Reserve" in 1999 (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999). The Huu-ay-aht tourism projects will be referred to throughout this report, and a more detailed description of these initiatives can be found in Appendix B.

In the summer of 1999, another joint Parks Canada--First Nation initiative relating to Aboriginal tourism and cultural interpretation was carried out in the BGI unit. The first **archaeological dig** in PRNPR took place on Benson Island. Benson Island (called "Ts'ishaa" in the Tseshaht language and referred to as such in the remainder of this document) is of outstanding importance to the Tseshaht people, as it is their birth place and one of their former village sites. A Tseshaht person, employed by Parks Canada as an intern, offered tours of the site, explaining the excavation and its purpose as well as his First Nation's history and culture. During the digging period of less than six weeks, the site attracted between 700 to 800 visitors (PRNPR representative, pers. comm.) More information about this project is included in Appendix C.

4.3 ABORIGINAL TOURISM INITIATIVES IN PRNPR: OPPORTUNITIES

Most First Nations in and around PRNPR are still in the early stages of the tourism planning process, collecting and assessing ideas for Aboriginal tourism opportunities. They are currently developing tourism plans in cooperation with consultants and, in some cases, with local and regional interest groups or other First Nations. For example, the Ditidaht First Nation has developed a "three-year strategy plan" for tourism development, intended to be integrated into treaty (Ditidaht representative, pers. comm.). The Tseshaht First Nation has commissioned a feasibility study and business plan for an eco-cultural tour and lodge operation in the BGI unit (Novacorp Consulting and The Economic Planning Group 1999). The Paacheedaht First Nation is involved in a planning process for a "beach eco-tourism lodge" at Port San Juan Bay near the south end of the West Coast Trail. The Ucluelet First Nation is updating an earlier feasibility study for a destination resort on IR #6 (Ucluth) south of the Long Beach unit. Ideally, these projects will complement and expand on the existing Aboriginal tourism initiatives in PRNPR.

It is important to realize that, due to distinct socio-economic, historical, political, cultural, geographic and environmental factors, every First Nation community in PRNPR is unique. Consequently, each First

Nation is in a position to offer very different experiences to visitors. Thus, Aboriginal tourism planning in and around PRNRP should be based on "complementary" rather than "competitive" thinking (cf. Norris Nicholson 1997, 130; Long 1993, 206).

Table 9 summarizes tourism opportunities identified by the seven First Nations with land interests in PRNPR and the author. It must be emphasized that most of these opportunities still represent a collection of ideas, which have yet to be evaluated in terms of their market potential, feasibility, overall sustainability and appropriateness within a protected area. While detailed research of these issues goes beyond the scope and intent of this report and the available data, related assets and concerns will be identified and discussed in section 4.4. In order to avoid unmet expectations or unsustainable operations, it is essential for the respective First Nations and/ or Parks Canada to carry out these evaluations on a project-by-project basis before implementation. Discussions involving First Nations, Parks Canada and other potential stakeholders in the region must precede the development of such opportunities.

Table 9: Summary of Aboriginal tourism opportunities and plans in PRNPR

Accommodation		
Type of tourism product/ service	**Suggested by...**	**Suggested location (in or adjacent to...)**
• ecolodges	• Ditidaht • Pacheedaht • Tseshaht	• WCT (Nitinat Lake) • WCT (Port San Juan Bay) • BGI (Equis IR)
• resorts	• Ucluelet	• adjacent to Long Beach—Ucluth IR
• (wilderness) campgrounds	• Ditidaht	• WCT—Tsuquanah IR and/ or Cheawhat IR
• rustic cabins	• Tseshaht • Huu-ay-aht	• BGI (Cleho IR on Nettle Island) • WCT (Watchmen cabins at Kiix?in NHS and Malsit IR)
• long houses	• Ditidaht	• WCT (Tsuquanah IR)
Food and Beverage		
• traditional (salmon) BBQs at the beach	• various First Nations	• all park units
• cafes, restaurants, bakeries, food-stands, catering services serving traditional Aboriginal dishes	• author	• all park units

(Table 9 continued) • wildfood cooperative	• Ma-Mook Development Corporation	• Long Beach

Culture-based[14] Events and Attractions

Type of tourism product/ service	Suggested by...	Suggested location (in or adjacent to...)
• story-telling	• Ditidaht	• WCT (Tsuquanah IR)
• cultural performances (drumming, dancing and singing)	• Ditdaht	• WCT (Tsuquanah IR)
• traditional skills demonstrations (e.g., carving, basket making)	• Huu-ay-aht • Tla-o-qui-aht	• WCT • Long Beach
• cultural interpretive talks and guided tours (in person or taped) of Aboriginal cultural sites (e.g., archaeological sites and digs; culturally modified trees; petroglyphs; traditional fishing and trapping sites)	• Huu-ay-aht • Ditidaht • Tla-o-qui-aht • Tseshaht • Pacheedaht • Hupacasath	• WCT (Masit IR, Kiix?in NHS) • WCT (Tsuquanah IR) • Long Beach • BGI • WCT • BGI
• cultural (interpretive) centres	• various First Nations	• all park units
• re-enactment of traditional whale-hunt	• Hupacasath	• BGI
• Aborigial heritage sites/ National Historic Sites	• Huu-ay-aht • Tseshaht	• WCT (Kiix?in NHS) • BGI (Ts'ishaa)
• cultural/ Rediscovery camps	• Tsesaht • Huu-ay-aht	• BGI • WCT
• Aboriginal "Cultural Adventures" (similar to Parks Canada's "Research Adventures")	• author	• all park units
• First People's Festival	• consultant	• all park units

Transportation

• ferry and water taxi service	• Tseshaht	• BGI (Port Alberni to BGI and Bamfield)

[14] There is no clean-cut division of nature and culture-based Aboriginal tourism as both are interdependent to various degrees; this categorization merely indicates the main focus of the product or service.

(Table 9 continued)
Arts&Crafts

Type of tourism product/ service	Suggested by...	Suggested location (in or adjacent to...)
• galleries/ shops	• author	• all park units
• studios (with opportunities for visitors to watch artists at work, such as carvers, basket makers, painters and printers)—possibly as part of a cultural interpretive centre	• various First Nations	• all park units
• artisan cooperatives	• author	• all park units
Nature-based Events and Attractions		
• guided canoe and kayak tours • kayak and canoe rentals	• Huu-ay-aht • Pacheedaht • Ditidaht	• WCT • WCT • WCT
• guided hikes on traditional trail-systems featuring Aboriginal resource use and management as well as related cultural beliefs and traditions	• Tla-o-qui-aht • Huu-ay-aht	• Long Beach • WCT (Kiix?in NHS, Malsit IR)
• fishing excursions and boat tours (including marine mammal watching)	• Quu'as • Ditidaht • Pacheedaht • Tseshaht	• WCT • WCT • WCT • BGI
• storm-watching	• Huu-ay-aht • Pacheedaht	
• wildfood tours (incl. traditional Aboriginal knowledge and opportunities to sample and buy traditional forest and ocean-based food products such as wildberry jam, dried mushrooms, and seafood)	• author	• all park units
• stream restoration projects	• Huu-ay-aht	• WCT

4.4 ABORIGINAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN PRNPR: KEY PREREQUISITES, ASSETS AND CONCERNS/ CHALLENGES

4.4.1 Introduction

In the following section, seven key prerequisites or requirements for Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area are identified. Except for the first, all of these prerequisites apply to tourism development in general. The corresponding assets and issues of concern which were identified by community members, consultants, tourism operators and Parks Canada representatives in PRNPR are, however, specific to Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR. Some of the issues outlined are more general in nature and may resemble the experiences of First Nations in other protected areas. The prerequisites and challenges largely refer to the early stages of tourism planning and product development rather than implementation. Although not all of these issues and challenges can be addressed through cooperation between First Nations and Parks Canada, the understanding of their existence and nature is important for developing any cooperative approach to Aboriginal tourism development in this park reserve as well as in other protected areas.

4.4.2 Key Prerequisites, Assets and Concerns/ Challenges[15]

Prerequisite 1: Aboriginal access to and/or tenure over lands and resources
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- **Implications of park establishment**

Tourism in general, and eco-tourism and Aboriginal cultural tourism in particular, are dependent on access to the environment (Altman and Finlayson 1993; Pearce 1991; Altman 1989). Clear tenure to the land on which the Aboriginal tourism initiative will take place, "either through recognised Aboriginal or Indigenous rights, ownership or permit", helps to ensure the sustainability of the future tourism business (Canadian Aboriginal Tourism Association no date). It ensures competition cannot move into the same area, threaten the economic success of the business and harm traditional lands and culture (Canadian Aboriginal Tourism Association, no date).

Unless land claims have been settled, however, Aboriginal people living in or adjacent to protected areas

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[15] These prerequisites, assets and concerns/ challenges are not necessarily presented in order of importance.

39

do not have tenure over those lands. The establishment of early Canadian national parks forced many indigenous people off the lands that they had previously inhabited for millennia because the Euro-American park concept did not allow for human settlements or subsistence activities within park boundaries (Parks Canada Agency 2000; Berg et al. 1993).[16] Until approximately two decades ago, Aboriginal people were rarely or, according to today's standards, insufficiently consulted about newly proposed parks in Canada. Consequently, bitter feelings among Canadian First Nations about the designation of (parts of) their traditional lands as national and provincial parks still run deep. Along with access to their homelands, Aboriginal people often lost their abilities and rights to carry out traditional activities such as hunting, fishing and berry-picking. With certain exceptions, these activities are prohibited by the *National Parks Act*, which applies to all national parks and national park reserves in Canada. Not being able to carry out their traditional activities in these areas, First Nations maintain they are cut off not only from their staples, but also from their cultural roots (Berg et al. 1993).[17] This has repercussions for Aboriginal economic and tourism development today. Young First Nations members who could not learn to "live off the land" are often faced with the dilemma of how to convincingly demonstrate traditional hunting and fishing techniques or to explain the harvesting and preparation of traditional food plants.

In the case of PRNPR, First Nations had relatively little input with regards to the designation and planning of the park reserve (Berg et al. 1993). Before the final park reserve boundaries were determined, Parks Canada commissioned two studies investigating the effects the protected area would have on Indian Reserves within its proposed boundaries (Matrosovs 1973; Schultz & Co. 1971). In addition, meetings were held with potentially affected First Nations to discuss the park establishment and explore options related to Indian Reserves within the proposed boundaries (Parks Canada manager, pers. comm.). This was deemed sufficient and appropriate by the federal government at that time. Later,

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[16] Yellowstone became an influential international model for a park concept in which neither human settlements nor subsistence and commercial uses of natural resources were allowed (Stevens 1997). The Euro-American idea of setting aside untouched wilderness within rigid parks boundaries is an alien concept to Aboriginal peoples, who regard human beings as an integral part of the natural world (Ecotrust 1997; Erasmus 1989). This attitude is based on a worldview of reciprocal, equal, and spiritual relationships between and among humans, animals, plants and the environment held by most Aboriginal cultures (Erasmus 1989).

[17] The new *Canada National Parks Act* (Bill C-27) makes some amendments regarding the exercise of traditional renewable resource harvesting activities in national parks. According to the new Act, "(1) The Governor in Council may make regulations respecting the exercise of traditional renewable resource harvesting activities in … (e) any national park of Canada established in an area where the continuation of such activities is provided for by an agreement between the Government of Canada and the government of a province respecting the establishment of the park. 2) Where an agreement for the settlement of an aboriginal land claim that is given effect by an Act of Parliament makes provision for traditional renewable resource harvesting activities or the removal of stone for carving purposes within any area, the Governor in Council may make regulations respecting the carrying on of those activities or the removal of stone for those purposes in a park that is established in that area (section 17). See also section 16.1 (w).

sections 25 and 35 of the *Constitution Act* (1982) and case law such as *Calder* (1973), *Sparrow* (1990), *van der Peet* (1996), *Delgamuukw* (1998) and *Marshall* (1999) confirmed the existence of Aboriginal rights and title as well as the need for meaningful consultation if these rights are infringed by government interests. According to a Tseshaht representative, PRNPR "was created without sufficient consultation" of the affected Aboriginal communities (pers. comm.). The same interviewee pointed out that the existence of PRNPR restricts his First Nation's usage of the lands within the park reserve boundaries for economic development.

Although PRNPR pursues a flexible and lenient case-by-case approach to traditional Aboriginal resource use[18], the existence of the park reserve clearly imposes tourism-related access and land use restrictions on the respective First Nations. For example, Tla-o-qui-aht representatives pointed out that the restricted foreshore access to their Esowista IR in the Long Beach unit is a potential barrier to tourism development plans. As PRNPR discourages beach access by boat, Tla-o-qui-aht members feel their plans to offer a traditional salmon BBQ for tourists at this place are impeded. A Pacheedaht representative pointed out that natural resources, such as timber, on their traditional lands within PRNPR cannot be used to create revenues and employment. Consequently, the Pacheedaht First Nation regards the development of an eco-lodge as an alternative to utilizing these renewable natural resources. However, it should also be mentioned that First Nations along the WCT have negotiated compensation deals with Parks Canada in exchange for Parks Canada access rights to the West Coast Trail and/ or the preservation of trees on respective reserve lands (Parks Canada internal files). Thus, access restrictions in PRNPR do not only concern First Nations, but also Parks Canada.

A major concern for First Nations interested in tourism development in PRNPR is their restricted land base. Their reserves are relatively small, often difficult to access, and not always suitable for this kind of development. For example, two of the three reserves the Tla-o-qui-aht have in PRNPR (Indian Island and Kootowis) are too swampy to develop tourism initiatives (Tla-o-qui-aht representatives, pers. comm.). According to Tla-o-qui-aht and Hupacasath members, the biggest barrier to tourism development is the fact that their First Nations do not have any land to expand, and Parks Canada is not willing to give up lands within the protected area for development purposes (pers. comm.).

- **Possible implications of treaty negotiations/ land claims**

First Nations, including those in PRNPR, hope to regain control and legal ownership of sizable portions of their traditional territories through treaty negotiations. However, many First Nations are becoming increasingly frustrated by the slow and tedious progress in the treaty process and/ or inadequate settlement offers and are contemplating to pursue litigation instead. Litigation, however, could prolong the waiting for certainty regarding traditional lands in protected areas even further. At the same time, a break-down in treaty negotiations would appear to threaten any partnership or cooperative efforts with Parks Canada. It could force First Nations to "find own-source revenues in their traditional territories [...] Whether Parks Canada will be part of that will depend on Parks Canada's recognition of Aboriginal title" (Ditidaht representative, pers. comm.). Nevertheless, it is possible that Parks Canada and First Nations negotiate **interim arrangements** for Aboriginal tourism development before treaty negotiations or alternative processes have been concluded.

> **Prerequisite 2: Integration of Aboriginal tourism development with Parks Canada's legislative, policy, management and planning frameworks**

Canadian national protected areas and historic sites are subject to specific legislative, policy, management and planning frameworks. In order to make Aboriginal tourism development in these areas feasible, Parks Canada maintains it must be compatible with these guidelines. It is important that these frameworks are understood and scrutinized by both Parks Canada and First Nations in order to determine how they may facilitate or inhibit the development of Aboriginal tourism, and whether and how they should be adjusted to better accommodate Aboriginal tourism.

Legislation mandating Parks Canada activities includes the *National Parks Act*[19], the *Department of Canadian Heritage Act*, the *Historic Sites and Monuments Act*, the *Heritage Railway Stations Protection Act* and the *Department of Transport Act* (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994). Policy and management/ planning frameworks include *Parks Canada Guiding Principles and Operational Policies* (Canadian Heritage 1994); the *Parks Canada National Business Plan* (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada

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[18] The National Parks Act does not apply to PRNRP until it has been gazetted. Remaining ungazetted constitutes "a significant impediment to enforcement and protection" of PRNPR (Parks Canada 1999, 8).

[19] The new National Parks Act (Bill C-27) passed first reading in Cabinet in March, 2000. The text is available at http://www.parl.gc.ca/36/2/parlbus/chambus/house/bills/government/C-27/C-27_1/C-27_cover-E.html.

1995b)[20] and human resources as well as business plans for each field unit (comprising several parks and sites) and management plans for each park and site. Parks Canada's policies and management guidelines are designed to complement and help implement the *National Parks Act*. The three fundamental accountabilities Parks Canada has to Parliament and the Canadian people are 1) ecological integrity[21], 2) service to clients, and 3) wise and efficient management of public funds (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1995a). These accountabilities are reflected in the ten guiding principles of Parks Canada, outlined in *Parks Canada Guiding Principles and Operational Policies* (Canadian Heritage 1994). In summary, these principles comprise

1) protecting ecological and commemorative integrity;
2) developing leadership and stewardship with regards to protecting and presenting cultural and natural heritage;
3) establishing new protected heritage areas;
4) presenting Canada's natural and cultural heritage and educating the public;
5) acknowledging the close relationship between people and the environment;
6) committing to research and science, particularly monitoring;
7) providing essential visitor services and activities while maintaining ecological and commemorative integrity;
8) involving the public;
9) collaborating and cooperating with a broad range of interest/ stakeholder groups to achieve mutually compatible goals and objectives; and
10) being accountable for the application of and adherence to these principles.

Human resources planning as well as field unit business plans and park and site management plans are grounded in these general principles and the respective legislative and policy frameworks. The human resources, business and management planning for individual parks and sites are carried out in a manner that also takes more specific local and regional requirements into account. Relevant legislative, policy, management and planning components will be referred to throughout the following sections of the report.

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[20] The last national business plan comprises the planning period 1995-2000.
[21] The Panel on the Ecological Integrity of Canada's National Parks recently proposed the following definition of ecological integrity: '"An ecosystem has integrity when it is deemed characteristic for its natural region, including the composition and abundance of native species and biological communities, rates of change and supporting processes.' In plain language, ecosystems have integrity when they have their native components (plants, animals and other organisms) and processes (such as growth and reproduction) intact" (Parks Canada Agency 2000).

- **Natural heritage**

As Aboriginal tourism is essentially land and resource-based industry (Shultis and Browne 1999), it depends on intact resources (Timothy 1998). Protected areas are obviously a "double-edged sword" with regards to Aboriginal tourism development. Despite the grievances caused to numerous First Nations by the establishment of national parks, many Aboriginal people acknowledge that protected areas help to conserve the resource base that lies at the core of Aboriginal tourism development. The Tseshaht First Nation, for example, recognize that the "[e]xistence of the National Park Reserve means that no development can occur within the Reserve. This provides a tremendous opportunity to the Tseshaht Band by restricting other land based development in the area" (Novacorp Consulting Inc. and The Econoimc Planning Group 1999, 10). At the same time, national protected areas such as PRNPR can function as "anchors" for Aboriginal tourism development, because visitors are coming to the destination in order to see and experience the protected area. While they are there, they are likely to engage in other tourism activities in the area.

On the other hand, Parks Canada's mandate to preserve ecological integrity may interfere with certain tourism development plans of First Nations, such as hotels and resorts or "eco-lodges" within protected areas. While "the economic value of national parks as places of recreation and tourism destinations" was the driving force behind the evolution of Canadian national parks system since 1885, "[p]arks are now viewed as places for conservation rather than for recreation" (McNamee 1993, 17)[22]. The foundation of the Ecological Integrity Panel[23], whose report was released in March, 2000, is indicative of this change in values. Moreover, the *National Parks Act* prescribes that "[m]aintenance of ecological integrity through the protection of natural resources shall be the first priority when considering park zoning and visitor use in a management plan" (sect. 1.2). This stipulation is reflected in Park's Canada's first guiding principle, according to which "protecting ecological integrity and ensuring commemorative integrity take precedence in acquiring, managing, and administering heritage places and programs. In every application of policy, this guiding principle is paramount" (Canadian Heritage 1994, 16). A member of the PRNPR warden service expressed concern about the fact that First Nations are thinking

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[22] Recently, the findings of the Banff-Bow Valley study were a disturbing reminder that ecological integrity in Canada's oldest national park has been seriously compromised by extensive and often uncontrolled human use and economic development (Banff-Bow Valley Task Force 1996).

[23] "The Panel on Ecological Integrity was struck in November 1998 by the Minister of Canadian Heritage, the Hon. Sheila Copps, to identify issues, examine Parks Canada's approach for maintaining ecological integrity and provide recommendations for improvement" (Parks Canada Agency 2000).

44

of creating tourism-related businesses in national parks at a time when the trend is away from further increasing human use and recreational businesses in these areas. According to him, adding the First Nations as a new interest group in tourism-related businesses in national parks may be very challenging; "it will take a strong management role to manage human use" (i.e., by reducing access, visitor numbers and the number of businesses allowed in national parks) (pers. comm.).

The goal of both Parks Canada and First Nations must then be to arrive at a more integrated approach that does justice to both human use, economic opportunities for Aboriginal people, and environmental protection in national parks. Such an integrated approach would reflect both the Aboriginal belief that human use is an integral part of natural processes, and Parks Canada's fifth guiding principle. This principle states that "[p]rotection and presentation of natural and cultural heritage take account of the close relationship between people and environment" (Canadian Heritage 1994, 17).

- **Aboriginal cultural heritage**

Eco-tourism, and Aboriginal cultural tourism in particular, do not only rely on an unspoiled natural environment, but also on intact Aboriginal cultural heritage (Jamieson 1999). Culture and traditions are the key assets of Aboriginal people who want to engage in tourism development. These include both material evidence of cultural heritage, such as archaeological sites, and immaterial components of Aboriginal culture, such as Aboriginal languages, stories, hunting and fishing techniques or traditional activities.

Aboriginal cultural heritage in PRNPR is rich, although largely unknown to visitors. A Tla-o-qui-aht member, who has spent considerable time with Elders and listened to their stories, states that "there is a lot that has to be told" (pers. comm.). Approximately 300 Aboriginal archaeological sites within the boundaries of PRNPR recall the long and powerful presence of First Nations in the area (Haggarty and Inglis 1985; PRNPR staff, pers. comm.). Both the BGI and the WCT units of PRNPR are particularly rich in Aboriginal sites. The BGI unit "exhibits the highest relative frequency of sites in the general activity, fish trap, burial site, isolated find and historic place categories of the three park units." The WCT unit "exhibits the highest relative frequency of sites in the rock art and tree resource area categories" (Haggarty and Inglis 1985, ii). These sites offer a tremendous potential for Aboriginal interpretation and guided tours in these two park units.

With growing concern, however, First Nations in PRNPR have witnessed the destruction of their cultural sites (including burial caves and middens) by natural processes, such as erosion, as well as

45

human impacts by park visitors. In the BGI unit, several Parks Canada wilderness campsites were established on old midden and settlement sites of the Tseshaht First Nation (Tseshaht representative, pers. comm.). Tseshaht respondents expressed dismay about the fact that, as a consequence, these archaeological sites have witnessed continuous degradation over time. Meetings to discuss this issue have taken place with the Tseshaht and PRNPR representatives.

Similarly, Ditidaht and Huu-ay-aht voiced concerns about impacts on their cultural sites along the West Coast Trail. For example, in the past, hikers burned cedar logs that were remainders of old long houses and accessed ancient burial caves along the West Coast Trail (Ditidaht member, pers. comm.). A study of resources along the West Coast Trail as a part of a timber agreement between Parks Canada and the Ditidaht First Nation found that traditional burial and village sites of the Ditidaht were being eroded.

This suggests that the vision statement of PRNPR concerning cultural heritage remains unfulfilled, namely that "[t]he rich cultural heritage found in Pacific Rim is carefully protected and commemorated. Through partnerships with appropriate aboriginal groups, the aboriginal history is portrayed to visitors in a dynamic, relevant and appropriate manner..." (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994, 14).

This degradation of culturally significant sites originally triggered what was to become the Quu'as West Coast Trail Group (see Appendix A). However, a long-time Quu'as employee observed that only in the first year of the program did Quu'as guardians systematically protect such locations. Sensitive sites, such as Tsuquanah, remain unprotected and are thus in danger of vanishing.[24]

In danger of vanishing, too, are those elements of Aboriginal culture and heritage that are intangible, such as knowledge about traditional activities, hunting and fishing techniques, food and medicinal plants, stories/ legends, customs, and language. As a result of the "colonial legacy" (including discrimination of First Nations people, the residential school system and the long-time denial of Aboriginal title), several generations of Aboriginal people have lost knowledge related to traditional activities, belief systems, and life-styles. Many Aboriginal Elders, who had this knowledge and were able and willing to pass it on to the younger generation, have already passed away. However, without this cultural knowledge, some Aboriginal people find it challenging to share their cultural heritage with visitors.

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[24] In order to address this situation, the Ditidaht First Nation hopes to carry out an archaeological salvage dig at Tsuquanah in the summer of 2000 in cooperation with Parks Canada.

For this reason, it has been difficult for the Quu'as manager to find local Aboriginal people to fill the two positions of cultural interpreters. Similarly, the dance group of the Ucluelet First Nation has difficulty recruiting and retaining enough active members. As a Ucluelet First Nation member explained, the younger generation (about 40-50 years and younger) no longer speaks the traditional language. This affects their songs and dances, some of which could be shared with visitors. Although Elders and singers interpret the songs and dances in English, the English language does not provide a true and meaningful rendition of their original content. "In other words, the English language takes away the beauty and meaning of the Native language" (Ucluelet member, pers. comm.). The Ucluelet member further pointed out the dilemma that community youths have a deep interest in performing and learning the culture, but the language barrier is so significant that the youths often feel uneasy about participating in dancing and singing. However, the Ucluelet dance group is continuously encouraged by community members to practice and perform well in preparation for a day in the future when they may perform for the public.

In order to address these challenges, First Nations in Clayoquot Sound have started to initiate projects to revive their languages, traditions, and cultural knowledge. In an attempt to "get back to the basics", the Ucluelet First Nation is in the process of developing a language program in cooperation with the Ucluelet First Nation Education Committee (Ucluelet respondent, pers. comm.). The Huu-ay-aht First Nation has also initiated a language program that is taught in the local Bamfield Community School. They have already published five study books and are presently working on a dictionary. As language is inextricably linked with culture, Aboriginal cultural tourism is linked to Aboriginal language. It is hoped that these initiatives will not only continue to foster pride and self-esteem among the participating First Nations, but also re-establish an important foundation for Aboriginal cultural tourism development in and around PRNPR.

> **Prerequisite 4: "Human capacity"—skilled, confident people interested in pursuing careers in Aboriginal tourism**

The tourism industry builds on the relationship between hosts, guests, and place (FirstHost 1999). Without hosts who are motivated, trained and qualified to welcome guests at their place or in their territory, no tourism industry can be developed (Campbell 1994). Consequently, local people play the most significant role in Aboriginal tourism development. The biggest asset Aboriginal people have in

47

this regard is a rapidly increasing Aboriginal population with an above-average number of youths.[25] Over the next two decades, this population pattern will be reflected in large increases within the Aboriginal working-age population (Statistics Canada 1996). Recognizing this potential, the Huu-ay-aht First Nation has established a youth band council and organized a youth conference in the summer of 1999 in order to build capacity among their youths and provide them with leadership training, guidance and life-skills.

However, the following facts, repeatedly pointed out by Aboriginal interviewees, represent significant challenges to Aboriginal tourism development. Most Aboriginal communities on Indian Reserves have a very small population base, thus they often lack people with tourism related qualifications and skills. Table 10 illustrates the small size of the First Nations communities in and around PRNPR. In all cases, more Aboriginal people are living off-reserve than on-reserve. In the case of the Huu-aay-aht First Nation, the off-reserve population is more than four times greater than the on-reserve population. Thus, the pool of people from which to draw for creating Aboriginal tourism businesses in and around PRNPR is very limited in most cases, and considerably smaller than in most non-Aboriginal communities.

Table 10: Membership of First Nations with traditional lands in PRNPR

First Nation	Popul. on own reserve	Popul. on other reserve	Popul. off-reserve	Total popul.
Huu-ay-aht	92	11	431	534
Pacheedaht	88	23	122	233
Ditidaht	211	62	306	579
Ucluelet	234	2	364	600
Tla-o-qui-aht	297	8	452	757
Tseshaht	357	29	461	847
Hupacasath	No information available			

(source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2000)

While Aboriginal people are leaving their reserves for a variety of reasons, the main causes are restricted education and job opportunities as well as limited infrastructure on reserve. Among those that remain on-reserve, many educated, skilled and ambitious people are already involved with jobs in the band office or in treaty negotiations (Quu'as representative, pers. comm.). As one Parks Canada

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[25] In the 1996 Census, children under 15 accounted for 35% (38% on rural reserves) of all Aboriginal people, compared with only 20% of Canada's total population. Young people aged 15 to 24 represent 18% of all age groups within the Aboriginal population, compared with 13% in the general population. It is projected that this number will further increase by 26% until 2006. Similarly, the group aged 35 to 54, which comprises the majority of the working-age population, will grow by 41% until 2006 (Statistics Canada 1996).

representative put it (pers. comm.), "Who are you going to find who can do the work who is not already committed to working 60 hours a week?" As a consequence of this restricted human and also financial capacity, it is challenging for these small First Nations communities to deal with more than "one agenda at a time" (Parks Canada representative, pers. comm.). Due to their intense involvement in treaty negotiations, council and community members of many First Nations in British Columbia have not yet been able to pay due attention to tourism development issues.

The lack of education, training and employment opportunities for Aboriginal people was the most frequently quoted challenge with regards to developing Aboriginal tourism in and around PRNPR. Most band representatives estimated the average education level of people within their First Nation between grade eight and ten. As a Pacheedaht representative stated, "there are people on reserve that can do the work, but they do not know about marketing, administration, operation, etc." (pers. comm.). Other barriers repeatedly mentioned by interviewees include internal band "politics" (conflicts of interest), which are often attributable to the loss of traditional Aboriginal government structures in the wake of colonial Indian policies. Health problems and a lack of Aboriginal role models in and knowledge of the tourism industry are further challenges that must be addressed. According to a Pacheedaht representative, it is difficult for people living on reserves with a very limited number of businesses to gain insights into how to run their own business. Although an NEDC representative maintained that their organization assists interested Nuu-chah-nulth members with business planning, several interviewees felt that they did not receive sufficient guidance on how to set up a sustainable tourism business. One Aboriginal interviewee believed that the information provided is too broad and includes "a vast amount of statistics" that is difficult to apply to the individual situation of potential entrepreneurs (pers. comm.).

A Nuu-chah-nulth member stated that "(...) years of being controlled by the Department of Indian Affairs left us in dependency. If you want to run a good tourism business, you have to be flexible and creative; you cannot just depend on your rights. You have to be able to see subtle shifts in the market; you have to want it one hundred percent; you cannot have a minimalist point of view. Even if we got everybody the best tourism training and we were not able to change this attitude, we would not be able to succeed" (pers. comm.). Most importantly, "Aboriginal people have to take matters and responsibilities into their own hands again. They have to redevelop their own drives and rebuild confidence" (Pacheedaht representative, pers. comm.). "Meaningful jobs and either young spiritual leadership or economic leadership are needed in order to proceed with community development" (Pacheedaht respondent, pers. comm.). A community tourism consultant believes that the process of establishing successful Aboriginal tourism businesses could take a siginificant amount of time and resources. The first Aboriginal tourism businesses will likely experience some "growing pains", but they

49

will also serve as "role models" for future Aboriginal tourism initiatives.

First Nations in and adjacent to PRNPR have reason to be proud of several encouraging examples of capacity building for Aboriginal tourism. For example, the Huu-ay-aht First Nation conducts a grade twelve-education program in cooperation with Bamfield Community School, and grade ten to twelve education is delivered through North Island College. Specific tourism training through FirstHost and Superhost has also been delivered in the community, and several Huu-ay-aht members completed interpretation and eco-cultural tourism training programs (Peters and Stewart 1998). According to a Ucluelet representative, the Ucluelet First Nation has also been advancing in capacity building. Several community members have returned to school for refresher courses and entering college and/or university. The Pacheedaht First Nation has founded their own Development Corporation (PDC), which overlooks tourism-related businesses such as the Pacheedaht campground as well as the bus and ferry service. Recently, a course to help facilitate the development of the Pacheedaht campground was organized (Pacheedaht respondent, pers. comm.).

With regards to Parks Canada, a Ditidaht representative deplored that "the agency has not really been involved in the 'grassroots process' of capacity building--there is a perceived lack of ground work" (pers. comm.). Although there has been some success at direct employment, First Nation participation in the Parks Canada agency is still largely "at the planning stage" (Parks Canada representative, pers. comm.). A PRNPR employee mentioned the difficulty of determining the intangible skills and competencies of Aboriginal applicants (e.g., how to react in a stressful situation) who do not have employment histories. Another PRNPR staff member, who regretted the lack of Aboriginal staff available in PRNPR to offer cultural interpretive programs, stated that it is very challenging to find Aboriginal people with the necessary skills to work in Parks Canada; "increasing the number of Aboriginal people within Parks Canada would be a huge benefit for us" (pers. comm.). It is hoped that the new Parks Canada Aboriginal Employment Strategy will help to move good intentions in this regard forward to the implementation stage.

The **Quu'as** initiative holds particular potential for developing role models in Aboriginal tourism businesses. Now heading into its fifth year in business, Quu'as has established itself as an important source of training and employment opportunities for the WCT First Nations (see Appendix A for more information). The **Aboriginal Youth Intern Program** carried out in PRNPR in 1998/1999 is another important milestone on the road to cooperative capacity building and Aboriginal tourism development. The program, jointly supported by YMCA, Career Edge, participating First Nations and PRNPR, enabled twelve Aboriginal youths from First Nations in and around PRNPR to undergo training and

50

gather work experience related to park services and tourism. Participants were engaged in visitor education (bear awareness), patrolling of campsites, cultural interpretation and carving. Although several participants dropped out of the year-long program, those who remained felt that they had gained much. Similar internship programs are being carried out in Fort St. James National Historic Site, where Aboriginal youths work in a café and reconstruct an old schooner; and in Auyuittuq and Quttinirpaaq (Ellesmere Island) National Parks, where Inuit students acquire knowledge and skills in visitor services, resource conservation, research, archaeology, and related areas through the FSWEP program (Budke 1999a).

Prerequisite 5: Adequate tourism infrastructure/ facilities

Any tourism development relies, to varying degrees, on existing infrastructure (Jamieson 1999; Zeppel 1997; Pearce 1991). Tourism infrastructure refers to the basic facilities, equipment, services, and installations needed to support tourism development. It includes water supply, sewage and waste disposal, lighting and power, fire protection, street systems, banks, shops, accommodation, health and security services (Pearce 1991; Gunn 1988) and facilities to accommodate guests as well as host services. A challenge common to all First Nations with traditional lands in PRNPR is the fact that their reserve communities have limited infrastructure, which is frequently in need of repair or extension. For example, there are difficulties with providing clean drinking water on Esowista IR in PRNPR. Tourism research suggests that "indigenous communities are much more likely to identify tourism development objectives in the area of community infrastructure and service upgrading than non-indigenous communities" (Hinch and Butler 1996, 15). Built and maintained under the responsibility of the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, infrastructure on Indian Reserves was intended to serve a relatively small population base. The potential for population growth and economic development projects, such as tourism development, was usually not sufficiently taken into account. For example, the Port Renfrew area (traditional Pacheedaht territory) has experienced significant tourism growth in recent years, which can be largely contributed to the growing popularity of Juan de Fuca and Botanical Beach provincial parks. A challenge related to this increase in visitation is the lack of water and appropriate sewage facilities in Port Renfrew and on the Pacheedaht IR. A Pacheedaht representative believes that "Parks Canada's concerns must include how Port Renfrew will service the needs of hikers" (pers. comm.). In general, Aboriginal tourism development in protected areas, which are often situated in rural and remote settings, is considerably more challenging in terms of available infrastructure than comparable development in an urban environment.

With regards to available infrastructure, the Ucluelet and Tla-o-qui-aht as well as the Tseshaht and

51

Hupacasath First Nations have a comparative advantage over other First Nations in PRNPR because their traditional lands in the park reserve are either situated near towns with a well-developed tourism infrastructure (Tofino, Ucluelet), or they can be accessed relatively easily from such a town (Broken Group Islands via boat from Port Alberni or Ucluelet). Thus, these First Nations need to be less concerned about available accommodation facilities and other essential tourism services (such as restaurants, banks, medical services, sewer and water) than the Aboriginal communities along the West Coast Trail. Moreover, access to these towns is considerably faster and more comfortable than access to Bamfield, Nitinat and Pacheenaht/ Port Renfrew. In order to get to the latter destinations, visitors have to put up with several hours of driving on unpaved logging roads. At the same time, accommodation facilities are sparse; while there is a summer campground in each of these locations, accommodation in the shoulder and winter seasons is very restricted or not available at all. Thus, these Aboriginal communities can accommodate and consequently retrieve revenues from considerably fewer visitors than those First Nations in the Long Beach and BGI units of PRNPR. However, the rich heritage resources and relative remoteness of these communities are pull-factors that could compensate for the shortcomings in infrastructure, given the trend towards nature and wilderness tourism and the fact that many visitors today own sport utility vehicles.

Office space and facilities for cultural events, performances and Aboriginal craft sales are needed by all First Nations in PRNPR. Tla-o-qui-aht members pointed out that office space, which is essential for booking visitors on tours, is very expensive and difficult to obtain both in Tofino and in PRNPR because of the restricted land base. Providing parking space for tourists is another related concern. Moreover, most First Nations do not have adequate facilities on their reserves in PRNPR to store and display artifacts or sell arts and crafts.[26] A request by a First Nation to sell Aboriginal baskets at the Wickanninish Centre could not be accommodated by Parks Canada because PRNPR's policies do not currently allow for commercial sales in their protected area. A building is needed in a strategic location which provides both effective shelter from the unpredictable westcoast weather and an appropriate ambience for Aboriginal cultural performances and events.

A key question relating to infrastructure and access in the context of Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area is what kind and extent of infrastructure would be necessary and appropriate for Aboriginal tourism development on Indian Reserves inside PRNPR. So far, the park reserve has attempted to maintain the "wilderness" character (i.e., no development of permanent structures) at least

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[26] The Huu-ay-aht, for example, have tackled this shortage by building a small kiosk at the entrance to their Pacheenah Bay campground where they sell gifts and hand made crafts.

in the back-country (BGI and WCT units) (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994). As First Nations do not necessarily share the European distinction between 'wilderness' and natural space inhabited by humans[27], they may be ready to develop their Indian Reserves inside PRNPR as tourism destinations while Park Canada will likely be reluctant to support such plans. What should be kept in mind when addressing this issue is the fact that the promise of a "wilderness experience" is the major appeal of PRNPR for many visitors, especially for those hiking the West Coast Trail and exploring the Broken Group Islands. As pointed out in the introduction, many people interested in Aboriginal (cultural) tourism products want to enjoy these in a natural setting.[28]

It may require a legal opinion whether First Nations are entitled to construct roads through PRNPR in order to access their Indian Reserves for tourism development purposes. However, Parks Canada would not be in favour of this due to the associated impacts on the environment and visitor experience (Parks Canada manager, pers. comm.). At the same time, Parks Canada must contemplate whether it would (have to) allow alternative access of otherwise inaccessible Indian Reserves within PRNPR, e.g., via seaplane, for the purpose of tourism development.

Prerequisite 6: Sufficient financial support and revenues (economic sustainability)

- **Financial support/ funding**

Like infrastructure, sufficient funding is an essential foundation for developing any tourism initiative (Jamieson 1999; Altman and Finlayson 1993). However, most interviewees named accessing sufficient funding, particularly loans and grants, one of the most pertinent challenges with regards to Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR. For example, searching for an appropriate person to spearhead their beach resort project, the Pacheedaht First Nation had to turn to an outside investor, because no band member has the required funds to start such a project. Relying on an outside investor, however, often implies a loss of community control over the development (Woodley 1993). Several First Nations representatives were hopeful that Parks Canada may have the necessary funding to support their tourism initiatives. In northern national parks that were subject to land claims, such as those in the Nunavut region, funding for Aboriginal economic development, such as tourism, is provided as part of the claim settlement (see 5.3.2). However, such funding is not (yet) available in southern national parks where

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[27] For instance, a Tseshaht representative found it "ironic" that, prior to European contact, about 35,000 Nuu-chah-nulth people lived in the PRNPR region, which is now considered a "wilderness" area.

[28] For example, 62% of backcountry visitors in Clayoquot Sound felt that fully enclosed huts were not acceptable in the backcountry, and 72% were opposed to full-service lodges (Rollins & Associates 1998).

treaties are still being negotiated.

Consequently, PRNPR representatives pointed towards chronic budget shortages. For example, Quu'as is made possible through utilizing West Coast Trail revenues. However, this unique financial arrangement does not necessarily guarantee economic sustainability for the partnership, as the West Coast Trail is presently operated at a loss (Parks Canada manager, pers. comm.). Parks Canada's Coastal British Columbia Field Unit "continues to struggle with inadequate A-base resources[29]. This shortfall is most critically felt in PRNPR, which has yet to be formally 'established' as a national park and historically was not allocated an adequate A-base" (Parks Canada 1999, 2). As PRNPR is "short-staffed" and "chronically underfunded", its capacity is restricted with regards to time and money available to cooperate with First Nations in developing Aboriginal tourism (senior PRNPR representative, pers. comm.). "There is no pot of money labelled 'Aboriginal tourism/ interpretation in PRNPR'; [...] it is a dire situation" (senior PRNPR representative, pers. comm.).[30] The same respondent pointed out that even those Aboriginal training programs that are funded by outside agencies still incur considerable costs to individual parks. For example, while the YMCA funded the salaries for the 1999 Aboriginal internship program, PRNPR was responsible for the program implementation costs, including transportation, gas, uniforms, equipment, etc. According to the senior park representative, PRNPR contributed about $100,000 "in-kind" to the internship program (of a $600,000 operational budget). As training and development are very costly and time-consuming, the task is to create benefits from cooperation for both First Nations and Parks Canada (PRNPR employee, pers. comm.).

- **Sustainable revenues**

Competition:

While sufficient funding is essential to start Aboriginal tourism businesses, the continued success of tourism initiatives rests on sustainable revenues. However, Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs are often unable to generate sustainable revenues because connections with the tourism industry are still in their infancy. Insufficient start-up capital as well as lacking office space pose further challegens. For example, a combination of factors drove two Nuu-chah-nulth tourism partners out of their charter tour business (whale-watching, fishing) in Clayoquot Sound. In the wake of considerable media attention paid to Clayoquot Sound in recent years, an influx of new entrepreneurs has increased competition in the

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[29] A-base resources refer to the ongoing operating budget that a park receives each year.
[30] By contrast, another Parks Canada manager stated that "PRNPR has everything they need to develop Aboriginal tourism, they just have to DO it".

nature-tour/ wildlife-viewing industry. The two Nuu-chah-nulth operators in Tofino could not afford buying or renting waterfront property for office space and thus booked their clients through a kayaking outfitter/ rental business. However, this arrangement did not produce sufficient revenues because their business only received "left over" clients when other businesses were booked.

Among (Aboriginal) tourism operators in the WCT and BGI units of PRNPR, competition is not a serious issue, yet, mainly because of the small product base. However, this situation may change in the near future with the implementation of numerous Aboriginal tourism development plans in PRNPR. Aboriginal tourism operators in PRNPR who have been in business for over two decades expressed some concern about the prospect of other Aboriginal entrepreneurs entering the relatively small market with a similar product. These concerns have to be addressed in order to ensure the sustainability of both existing and new Aboriginal tourism initiatives in PRNPR.

Market:

A Pacheedaht representative stated that a major concern relating to their proposed resort development are restricted visitor numbers. In order to prevent ecological damage and maintain the "wilderness experience" of the West Coast Trail, Parks Canada is curtailing visitor numbers to this park unit to between 7,000 and 8,000 annually. Yet, this is an insufficient number for establishing an economically sustainable resort (Pacheedaht representative, pers. comm.). It would appear that First Nations in the Long Beach unit, which receives close to one million visitors annually, have a distinct market advantage over those Aboriginal communities in the WCT and the BGI units of PRNPR. However, this is assuming that visitors to all units are equally interested in Aboriginal tourism offerings. Given the distinct characteristics of visitors frequenting the different park units, this might not be the case. Also, the First Nations along the WCT may take advantage of the existence of unique natural and cultural attractions in their vicinity that are not (yet) subject to access restrictions. While the Pacheedaht First Nation can profit from the existence of Juan de Fuca and Botanical Beach provincial parks, the Ditidaht First Nation can derive benefits from nearby Walbran and Carmanah Provincial Parks. With the establishment of Kiix?in as a National Historic Site, the Huu-ay-aht have created an attraction distinct from and complementary to the West Coast Trail that will likely attract not only hikers but also other visitors. More market research is necessary in order to further explore these assets and concerns.

Marketing:

Marketing is an essential tool for promoting and selling Aboriginal tourism products once they have

55

been developed. In cooperation with a consultant, Quu'as has developed a marketing strategy in order to make its name and services known to a larger market. Yet, there are several factors that may inhibit effective marketing of Aboriginal tourism products and services in PRNPR and other national protected areas. First, the number of well-developed, marketable Aboriginal tourism products and services is still limited at present. Aboriginal tourism initiatives should not be promoted prematurely, i.e., when they are still in the planning or development phases, as this can create false expectations among visitors, potentially resulting in disappointed clients and damage to the reputation of budding tourism buisnesses. Second, the existing Aboriginal tourism products and services in PRNPR directly related to the West Coast Trail (e.g., bus and ferry services) will unlikely benefit from increased promotional efforts as the visitor numbers they are servicing are limited by Parks Canada. Third, the Ecological Integrity Panel recommended a down-scaling of product-based marketing efforts by Parks Canada in order to relieve visitor pressures on damaged eco-systems in Canada's protected areas. Fourth, Parks Canada is an "administrative, not market-oriented" organization (Ditidaht respondent, pers. comm.). As an Aboriginal tourism consultant pointed out, Parks Canada's business planning does not coincide with the marketing requirements for tourism products, as the marketing for the coming season must start in the preceding fall in order to be effective. Each field unit's business plan, however, is generally not completed until late fall or early winter, which does not allow an adequate window for marketing Aboriginal tourism.

Type and quality of Aboriginal tourism products and services:

There are several potential concerns associated with the type and quality of future Aboriginal tourism products and services in PRNPR as they relate to economic sustainability. Aboriginal tourism initiatives in national protected areas should offer experiences that are unique and of high quality. For example, interpretive events alone might not generate the number of jobs and income First Nations are looking for unless they offer outstanding, "very well thought-out" programs or exceptional tours that provide information which is not in the public domain (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.). On the other hand, accommodation facilities, which promise high returns (such as hotels or resorts), may not be compatible with Parks Canada's mandate to protect ecological integrity.

Seasonality:

The seasonality of the tourism industry on the west coast of Vancouver Island is another concern with regards to revenue generation from Aboriginal tourism initiatives. Although the Long Beach unit of PRNPR is becoming an "all season destination", most visitors arrive at the park in the summer months

(June to August). While the Long Beach unit also receives respectable visitor numbers during the winter and shoulder seasons, hardly any visitation occurs during this time in the other two park units. Thus, employment in and revenues from Aboriginal tourism in PRNPR are largely seasonal, necessitating creative approaches in order to address this challenge.

Prerequisite 7: Community support and control

"[T]he fact that tourism is so dependent on local hospitality makes it mandatory that development proceeds in accord with the desires and customs of local people" (Murphy 1985, 37). "The need for community control of tourism development and the necessity for outsiders to create effective relationships with the community are crucial" (Shultis and Browne 1999, 110-111). Community support and control of Aboriginal tourism can "provide a mechanism for re-establishing aboriginal approaches to land use and resource management" (Shultis and Browne 1999, 111). At the same time, it can help to prevent negative socio-cultural impacts often associated with Aboriginal tourism (Brandon 1993), such as cultural sell-out or commoditization. Community involvement can also contribute to "a more equitable distribution of the economic benefits of tourism" (Woodley, A. 1993, 138).

In PRNPR, community support of, involvement in and control over Aboriginal tourism initiatives varies; First Nations who are involved in planning tourism initiatives in PRNPR want to know whether Parks Canada or the First Nations (will) have control over these initiatives (Tseshaht representative, pers. comm.). Support and willingness of Aboriginal community members to become involved depend to a large degree on their perceptions of the benefits and impacts associated with the respective tourism projects. As the case of the Quu'as partnership illustrates (Appendix A), these perceptions, in turn, depend on the availability of information and the effectiveness of communication.

Prerequisite 8: Good relations and effective cooperation

- **Parks Canada—First Nations**

As the literature review revealed, cooperation of stakeholders and interest groups is an essential prerequisite for creating sustainable tourism initiatives (Jamieson 1999; Shultis and Browne 1999; Haywood 1993). A PRNPR employee pointed out that "partnering with Parks Canada offers chances for First Nations, because they can use the agency's reputation to help facilitate their tourism plans" pers. comm.). In addition, First Nations can profit from Parks Canada's facilities, programs and expertise.

Vice versa, Parks Canada would benefit from the cultural enrichment of its parks and sites and associated programs. Accordingly, the Coastal BC Field Unit Business Plan 2000-2003 emphasizes the need to "continue to build relationships [with Aboriginal people] in support of park objectives including treaty negotiations, specific claims, employment equity, cooperative management, heritage protection and cultural interpretation" (Parks Canada 1999, 5).

Relationship and attitudes of parties in general:

In the case of PRNPR, relations between First Nations and Parks Canada appear to be "two-tiered". An unspoken distinction is made between day-to-day "working relations" and the "official" relationship between First Nations and Parks Canada as a federal agency. While the former refers to cooperation of individuals in field operations, the latter one is concerned with the administrative, historical and political dimension of the relationship, revolving around policies, questions of authority, and Aboriginal rights and land claims.

Maintaining a positive, open attitude

Aboriginal assessments of the working relationship with PRNPR staff ranged from "ok, but not overly friendly" to "fairly positive" and "fairly healthy" to "good" or even "very good". A Tla-o-qui-aht representative noticed that park managers in PRNPR all "seem to be fairly open" (pers. comm.). Interviews indicated a general readiness among First Nations to continue cooperation with PRNPR. According to a PRNPR warden, cooperation between the park reserve and First Nations has improved over the past few years, and there are more personal contacts between individuals, not just between band councils and park management. These positive reactions are most likely a result of the efforts, good will and resources First Nation members as well as Parks Canada staff have invested in PRNPR over the past few years to build and improve relations. "[R]elationship building and initiatives with First Nations in areas of cooperative management, cultural interpretation, hiring and career development" are key actions proposed for PRNPR in the 2000-2003 Coastal B.C. Field Unit Business Plan (Parks Canada 1999, 4) that have also been important components of preceding business plans.

Developing rapport and trust

The creation of a First Nations Liaison position in the park reserve was a crucial step in advancing the relationship building process. First Nations communities and the PRNPR liaison officer work together on a variety of issues, including projects and programs (e.g., equity staffing, Quu'as, internship program,

58

Kiix?in, etc.), agreements (e.g., Huu-ay-aht/ Parks Canada Cultural Tourism Agreement), workshops and working groups (e.g., Tsheshaht and Tla-o-qui-aht) and specific claims. The park reserve is continuing efforts to support training and employment opportunities for First Nations through programs such as the Aboriginal Youth Internship program and the newly developed "Quu'as Approach to Aboriginal Training and Development" (Pacific Rim National Park Reserve and Quu'as West Coast Trail Group 2000). In 1999, PRNPR adopted an "Aboriginal relations strategy" comprised of the following six principles, which are all relevant to Aboriginal tourism development. However, "advancing economic opportunities for First Nations" is noticeably missing in this approach:

1) Respect traditional lands and Aboriginal rights

2) Build respectful cooperative relationships and processes

3) Foster a diverse and welcoming workplace

4) Make special efforts in cultural heritage interpretation

5) Engage in specific claim negotiations

6) Engage in the British Columbia treaty process.

These principles are reflected in interactions between Parks Canada and individual First Nations in PRNPR (e.g., through meetings and informal working groups), which address issues such as the protection of archaeological resources (Tseshaht), timber purchases on Indian reserve lands (Tla-o-qui-aht, Ditidaht, Huu-ay-aht, Pacheedaht) and shellfish harvesting (Hupacasath).

Despite these efforts and a generally positive evaluation of the working relationship between PRNPR and the First Nations, there are also more cautious and reserved tones among both First Nations and Parks Canada staff. It must be emphasized that the following observations were made by people who are involved in cross-cultural cooperation to different degrees. Those interviewees with a greater involvement in cooperative efforts also seemed to hold more positive views of the working relationship.

Organizational dynamics and authority

A PRNPR warden felt that there is presently "very little relationship between First Nations and parks staff, although staff is clearly advised to develop a relationship." He usually experiences people in cross-cultural meetings as "guarded". According to him, "park wardens cannot be as forthright as they would like to be because they don't have the authority, or are unaware of the bigger political agendas". With regards to improving the relationship, "challenges within Parks Canada are the fast turn-over of staff and achieving professionalism and consistency in the relationship" (PRNPR employee, pers. comm.). Likewise, a frequent turn-over of key positions within First Nations was mentioned as a

59

challenge by a consultant (pers. comm.).

Institutional barriers

Aboriginal perceptions relating to the "corporate" or institutional dimension of the relationship with the Parks Canada Agency indicate that there is still room for improvement. Pacheedaht and Hupacasath respondents mentioned administrative barriers to effective cooperation, referring to Parks Canada's "bureaucracy" and restricted decision-making authority of local managers and superintendents. They felt that Parks Canada policy makers, who are usually removed from local realities and issues, often do not know the individual regions or understand the location-specific First Nations issues.

Conflicting interests in treaty process

With regards to larger political issues, the relationship between First Nations and Parks Canada (as a federal government agency) is affected by the land claims process, which causes "a mutual wariness of the participants as sovereignty issues are re-examined" (Parks Canada manager, pers. comm.). A Ditidaht representative stated that "Parks Canada's vision is different from our vision. As both groups want control, there is tension [...]; potential tension will depend on how much economic power the treaty accords to us" (pers. comm.). Conflict potential, which could affect future Aboriginal tourism plans negatively, results from Parks Canada's interest in maintaining the land base of PRNPR without land selection for claim settlements. First Nations, on the other hand, maintain that lands within the park reserve must be negotiable. "We're at a critical point for our future relationship with Parks Canada" in terms of treaty negotiations (Tseshaht representative, pers. comm.).

Cross-cultural prejudices

Referring to the historical impacts of park establishment, a Pacheedaht representative stated that First Nations feel that their desires are not necessarily identical with Parks Canada's desires. Aboriginal respondents expressed the view that many Parks Canada managers or policy makers are not fully aware of the cultural differrences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people and the effects the colonial legacy has had on First Nations. The Tseshaht First Nation feel that they "cannot suddenly jump at an opportunity to cooperate with the park reserve" (Tseshaht representative, pers. comm.). Similarly, a Pacheedaht representative stated that "after a long history of oppression, it is not easy for the Pacheedaht First Nation to react favourably when Parks comes along asking for cooperation. The question is, how do you work together with this history?" (pers. comm.).

Cooperation regarding Aboriginal tourism development:

Resistance to change

Cooperation between Parks Canada and First Nations with regards to tourism development is not only affected by the general character of the parties' relationship, but also by their attitudes to and perceptions of tourism development in a park context. A Parks Canada representative observed that there is "still some difficulty in Parks culture in being totally comfortable with tourism. We have a strong cultural image of what a park is supposed to be, about the man-land relationship" (pers. comm.). In his opinion, a rethinking of this rationale is required. In terms of Aboriginal tourism, Parks Canada is "just coming to understand what it takes to integrate First Nations into tourism development" (pers. comm.). He noticed that, at least in the north, perceptions of what tourists want to do and should be allowed to do differ between First Nations and Parks Canada.[31]

Conflict potential

Potential areas of conflicting interests between Parks Canada and First Nations with regards to cooperative tourism development in PRNPR, mainly concerning "ecological integrity", have already been alluded to in preceding sections. However, other issues with the potential to affect Parks Canada's public image and reputation could also arise. For example, a re-enacted whale-hunt in PRNPR could become a politically sensitive Aboriginal tourism initiative if a Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation with whom Parks Canada is affiliated should decide to resume whaling. Moreover, Parks Canada will likely be associated with Aboriginal tourism products and services offered within the park reserve. Thus, Parks Canada will have an interest in ensuring quality of product and service delivery, possibly according to certain standards, and addressing liability issues.

• Relationships among First Nations

In order to successfully develop Aboriginal tourism initiatives in a protected area with multiple First Nations interests, cooepration and coordination among different Aboriginal groups is essential. Most First Nations interviewed indicated a willingness to cooperate with other First Nations, and the existing Aboriginal partnerships in this region (Quu'as and Ma-Mook) illustrate that such efforts can be

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[31] For example, First Nations in Kluane National Park believe that motorized access to the park is essential for tourism development, whereas Parks Canada's position is against motorized access for ecological reasons.

successful. However, the fact that First Nations in PRNPR are distinct and do not form a homogenous group also affects intertribal cooperation. Differences are not only evident at present, but reach back into the past, when various First Nations and/ or their local groups were at war over lands. In addition, the "land selection model", on which treaty negotiations are based, could induce tension among First Nations whose territorial claims overlap. Last, but not least, tourism is a fundamentally competitive industry. Tourists can be seen as a (limited) resource for which the different First Nations may compete. Without sufficient resources dedicated to cooperation and market evaluation/ research, Aboriginal tourism or interpretive programs will probably not be viable in the long run. Consequently, the central question to be addressed in the following chapter is: "How can First Nations, Parks Canada and other potential partners work together in order to take advantage of exisiting assets and address the challenges to sustainable Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR and other national protected areas?

5.0 THE ROLE OF COOPERATION: MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS

5.1 PRINCIPLES FOR EFFECTIVE COOPERATION IN ABORIGINAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN PROTECTED AREAS

5.1.1 Introduction

Clearly, most First Nations interested in Aboriginal tourism development are ultimately seeking political and economic self-determination and independence. The literature review revealed that cooperative arrangements for Aboriginal tourism development can serve to enhance local empowerment and self-determination by increasing economic efficiency; reducing risk, and maximising flexibility; helping to use limited resources effectively; and preventing negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts. The interviews conducted with First Nations representatives, Parks Canada staff and non-Aboriginal tourism operators in PRNPR indicate a cautious readiness among all parties to start and/ or continue and intensify cooperation related to Aboriginal tourism development. However, there are no "fast and easy" ways of developing the assets and addressing the challenges and concerns outlined in the preceding chapter.

The situation analysis of PRNPR in the preceding chapter affirms that the challenges to and principles for cooperative tourism development in general are also valid in the context of cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area. At the same time, the gathered field data reveals that cooperative tourism development in this particular cross-cultural, government-to-government context poses unique challenges. Thus, several additional principles for cooperative tourism development in this specific context were identified. They are discussed in the following sections along with a number of previously identified principles that appeared most pertinent to cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area (see table 11 for an overview of these principles).

Table 11: Overview of cooperative principles discussed in this chapter

Key Process Elements for Developing Cooperative Aboriginal Tourism	Principles
Relationship and attitudes of partners *Participation* *Communication*	• foster cross-cultural awareness, understanding and learning • pursue a traditional territory approach • recognize and integrate traditional Aboriginal knowledge • address colonial and historical legacies (to facilitate healing) • recognize the roles of Elders, Hereditary Chiefs and youth • support community-based tourism planning • develop and implement effective communication plans
Time	• allot a generous amount of time, patience and long-term commitment
Direction setting *Vision* *Goals and needs*	• pursue an "open", integrated and adaptive approach • share a common vision • understand each other's needs and jointly formulate clear goals
Organization *Roles, rights, risks, responsibilities and control* *Structures*	• determine partners' roles, rights and responsibilities • make Parks Canada's system more "transparent" and adaptable • chose appropriate "arrangements" for cooperation
Process monitoring, evaluation and adjustment	• establish mechanisms/ standards to measure success and continuously evaluate and adjust cooperative tourism development arrangements

5.1.2 Discussion of Key Principles

> **The "core" principle: Build cross-cultural relationships of trust, credibility and respect**

The collected data suggest that in order to develop sustainable Aboriginal tourism in a protected area, a **genuine partnership** between First Nations and Parks Canada must be built by focusing on the process of developing and improving relationships between and among partners. As a Parks Canada employee stated, "it has to be increasingly recognized by Parks officials, funding agencies and First Nations that often the product [of cooperative projects] is the relationship" (pers. comm.). Along these lines, a Parks Canada superintendent emphasized the necessity to "invest more in people and processes rather than in

infrastructure", to focus on the local level and community work (pers. comm.). Consequently, building cross-cultural relationships of trust, credibility and respect—a principle identified as crucial to both cooperative tourism development (see 2.6) and effective cooperative management in Canadian national parks (Budke 1999a)--must be placed at the centre of cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in protected areas. Accordingly, the principles focussing on "relationship and attitudes of partners" derived from the literature review must receive particular attention in this context.

Key element: relationship and attitudes of partners

Foster cross-cultural awareness, understanding and learning

To cooperatively develop Aboriginal tourism, potential partners from different cultural backgrounds need to be aware of differences and commonalities that may affect their relationship. There is a need to identify the complexity of the situation, including differences in philosophies, expectations, etc. (Pacheedaht respondent, pers. comm.). "It is important for non-Aboriginal people to understand what the contemporary issues concerning First Nations are, so that they can change their behaviour and attitudes" (Ma-Mook representative, pers. comm.). "Community-sensitivity and awareness building among both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people are essential; it is a simple formula: awareness creates better understanding, which creates acceptance. People often pound on improving understanding, but they forget that awareness creates more information to feed your own thoughts" (Ma-Mook representative, pers. comm.). Mutual respect for each other's traditions and belief-systems, and particularly the differences therein, is essential in cross-cultural tourism partnerships. For example, as a potential tourism partner of First Nations, Parks Canada must be aware of and follow protocols Aboriginal communities have for cooperating with outsiders (Shultis and Browne 1999, 113).

Several First Nation members believed that it is necessary to make Parks Canada staff in PRNPR more aware of the Aboriginal cultural environment and heritage that is present within the reserve boundaries and to point out that more than merely biophysical elements have to be protected and presented to visitors. There seems to be a need to deconstruct stereotypes of Aboriginal people that still exist in the minds of many non-Aboriginal people. "The problem is that the First Nations are seen as 'wilderness excitement' belonging to the landscape of the West Coast Trail. However, there is "a need to break away from this concept" (Ditidaht representative, pers. comm.). Instead, First Nations should be regarded as entrepreneurial partners, not just as "wilderness partners" or people who need support. This would, in the view of the Ditidaht respondent, entice more local participation in Aboriginal tourism.

To promote cross-cultural interaction and learning, **cross-cultural awareness workshops** for Parks Canada staff and Aboriginal communities should be held, as suggested previously by the Huu-ay-aht First Nation (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999). While it is desirable to hold workshops in each Aboriginal community in order to acknowledge the distinctness of each First Nation, this may be logistically challenging. In PRNPR, it may be more feasible to organize workshops in each of the park units, namely in the WCT unit for the Quu'as First Nations; in the Long Beach unit for the Ucluelet and Tla-o-qui-aht; and in the BGI unit for the Tseshaht and Hupacasath. However, such an arrangement will only be successful if it is endorsed by all First Nations; if controversial treaty issues between Parks Canada and the First Nations (and among First Nations themselves) can be put aside for the time of the workshops; and if broad representation of Aboriginal communities and Parks Canada can be ensured. In addition, all Parks Canada staff in parks and sites should participate in cross-cultural "sensitivity training." (Over the past few years, several staff in PRNPR have taken part in such training sessions.)

Entertaining events in a more informal setting, such as field-trips, BBQ's/ dinners or cultural performances for (and by) First Nations members and Parks Canada employees can further enhance mutual trust and credibility, cross-cultural learning and a "sense of comfort" (Budke 1999a). Such events could also involve tourists, as visitors who are aware of cross-cultural sensitivities and differences will contribute to "reducing cultural antagonism and establishing a better fit into the economies and societies, thus contributing to the indigenous systems" (Darrow 1995, 51). In addition, creating positions for **First Nations liaison managers and or/ community liaison officers** in parks and sites such as in PRNPR will demonstrate Parks Canada's determination to improve cross-cultural understanding and facilitate Aboriginal tourism development in individual parks. However, a Tseshaht representative cautioned that "to develop good will and trust alone is not sufficient", but issues of shared powers and decision-making must also be addressed (pers. comm.).

Pursue a traditional territory-approach

Along with cross-cultural awareness comes the recognition that although Aboriginal communities may appear similar and share the same language, they are, in fact, quite distinct with regards to their socio-economic, cultural and political realities. These distinct realities are rooted in each First Nation's traditional territory. This makes a universal approach to cooperation in any protected area with more than one Aboriginal stakeholder group unaccaptable to many First Nations. On the other hand, a "traditional territory approach", such as the one adopted by PRNPR, acknowledges the distinctness of each First Nation and the connection of the people to their traditional lands. It thus creates a solid basis

for cooperation.

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Recognise and integrate traditional Aboriginal knowledge

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The connection of Aboriginal peoples to their traditional lands and cultures manifests itself in traditional Aboriginal knowledge. Traditional Aboriginal knowledge provides a rich source of information for cultural tourism development and continues to influence contemporary Aboriginal realities. It should therefore be recognized and actively employed in the cooperative process for developing Aboriginal tourism (see 5.3.4).

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Address colonial and historical legacies (to facilitate healing)

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In conjunction with greater cross-cultural awareness and understanding must come the recognition that "[p]erhaps the greatest influence on economic development in aboriginal communities is the shared colonial past of aboriginal people" (Shultis and Browne 1999, 110-11). According to many Aboriginal interviewees in PRNRP, cooperation between Parks Canada and First Nations in Aboriginal tourism development has no foundation without dealing with the colonial and historical legacy. "You have to revisit the past in order to create a future" (Ma-Mook representative, pers. comm.); "Parks Canada must look back in order to determine how to re-establish a relationship with First Nations" (Tseshaht representative, pers. comm.).

The interviews with Aboriginal people in PRNPR suggest possible ways of answering the critical question "how can we address the past in a protected areas context?" A Tseshaht representative pointed out that it is essential for Parks Canada to listen to First Nations' concerns and to revise some decisions that impact First Nations' cultural heritage, such as the location of campsites in the BGI unit on old midden sites. "What is required are recognition and apologies that Parks was ignorant of First Nations' rights and interests when the park reserve was created" (Tseshaht representative, pers. comm.). However, according to the Tseshaht representative, this is presently prevented by a fear of Parks Canada and the federal government, respectively, that First Nations might want more than the government is prepared to give. He pointed out that "without such recognition and apologies, there will always be a sore point and mistrust" among the affected First Nations (pers. comm.). Recognition of First Nations rights and interests and compensation for past wrongs, the Tseshaht representative suggested, could partly be facilitated through parks policy, while part of it is dealt with through the treaty process. The following questions, raised by Aboriginal representatives in PRNPR, should also be considered in the context of other national protected areas: Will the federal government make a special effort to provide

67

incentives and opportunities for First Nations to "catch up" with tourism development, which has been impeded to a certain extent by the establishment of national parks? Will First Nations who refrain from developing any tourism business on their (reserve) lands within a national protected area be compensated for their lost opportunities?

With its "Gathering Strength" initiative, the federal government has responded to the urgent need to address past mistakes and injustices to which many Aboriginal people in Canada were subjected (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1999a). The four main components of this initiative (renewing the partnerships with Aboriginal people; strengthening Aboriginal governance; developing a new fiscal relationship with Aboriginal people; and supporting strong Aboriginal communities, people and economies) have an urgent relevance in the context of Aboriginal tourism development in Canadian national parks and historic sites. The "Statement of Reconciliation" prepared by the Government of Canada as part of the "Gathering Strength" initiative acknowledges that a federal "healing strategy" is necessary to assist Aboriginal individuals and communities in dealing with the consequences of past injustices (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1999b). This was recently confirmed by the Ecological Integrity Panel, which recommends "that Parks Canada initiate a process of healing between Aboriginal peoples and Parks Canada" (Parks Canada Agency 2000).

It is recommended that Parks Canada seek to play an active role in the delivery of local programs and projects associated with the "Gathering Strength" initiative. Further, a **statement of reconciliation and a healing strategy** to address past injustices specifically related to national protected areas and historic sites should be prepared by the agency in cooperation with affected First Nations. This will require meetings and workshops or "healing conferences", as described earlier, in order to move "from confrontation to collaboration" (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 7.8).[32] Events similar to the west coast "potlatch" put on by Parks Canada in respective parks and sites could be a symbolic step towards apologizing and compensating for impacts national protected areas have (had) on First Nations and preparing the stage for cross-cultural cooperation and economic development in the future.

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[32] In Kluane National Park, for example, Parks Canada and the Champagne-Aishihik First Nation have participated in a series of four workshops in 1999 in order to recognize what their past exclusion from the park lands has meant to First Nations people and to reintroduce them to the land. At the same time, the workshop series intended to re-establish relations between both parties and to review the park management plan.

In order to build cross-cultural relationships of trust and credibility, it is particularly important for Parks Canada to identify, respect and interact with those First Nations members who traditionally assume the roles of mentors, spiritual leaders and decision-makers in their communities, namely Elders and Hereditary Chiefs (Budke 1999a). Elders and Hereditary Chiefs not only possess a wealth of cultural knowledge, but they also have the authority to decide which parts of their culture, traditions and spirituality are appropriate to be shared with visitors. Moreover, Elders "have the capacity to understand the benefits of co-operation between the two cultures, designed to allow winning strategies to emerge"; they "possess a wisdom perfectly suited to a healing between oppressed and oppressor" (Thirteen Moon Horizons 1997, 2). Elders "are not confused by the dominant culture, imposed band council politics, or the politics of the government of the day" (Thirteen Moon Horizons 1997, 10).

Acknowledging the crucial role Elders and Hereditary Chiefs must play in developing Aboriginal (cultural) tourism, Parks Canada in partnership with the Aboriginal communities should take steps to actively address and involve Elders and Hereditary Chiefs in cooperative tourism planning efforts. In PRNPR, this has taken place in some cases on a more or less informal basis. However, a more formal process should be contemplated. In addition to participating in an Aboriginal tourism roundtable or working group, **"talking circles"** for Elders of Aboriginal communities in national protected areas could be created. They could serve to establish policy guidelines for Aboriginal tourism development and cross-cultural cooperation. A "national council of Elders" (13 Moon Horizons and Canadian Tourism Commission 1997) for the purpose of national policy development in this regard should also be contemplated, although the logistics and financing of its implementation will likely be challenging.

Being connected to the past, Elders and Hereditary Chiefs are also deeply concerned about future generations. As the hopes of Aboriginal communities for economic enhancement rest on their young people, special efforts should be made by Parks Canada and First Nations alike to integrate Aboriginal youth into tourism planning and development (Budke 1999a). Parks Canada can play a significant role in helping Aboriginal youth to become involved in tourism development by offering education and training opportunities through programs such as Quu'as or Aboriginal internship/ summer student programs such as those carried out in PRNPR, Fort St. James NHS and Auyuittuq and Quttinirpaaq National Parks (Budke 1999a; see also 5.3.5).

As indicated above, community involvement and control are essential prerequisites for sustainable Aboriginal tourism development. Consequently, Aboriginal tourism in a protected area cannot be planned and implemented at the management level only (i.e., Parks Canada managers and First Nations leadership). It must allow for a "bottom-up" approach that also includes field staff and Aboriginal community members in planning and decision-making. For example, a Ucluelet member pointed out the need for Parks Canada to "inform community members, not just band councils" by indicating in correspondence with the band council which information should be made available to the whole community (pers. comm.).

While Aboriginal communities must decide whether and how to develop tourism via a community-based approach, Parks Canada's task should be to acknowledge and respect the approach chosen by each Aboriginal community. At the same time, Parks Canada should adopt the role of **"regional coordinator"** to help integrate various Aboriginal tourism projects and maintain a park-wide perspective. This is essential in order to make Aboriginal tourism in any protected area economically sustainable (see 5.3.6). Parks Canada should further provide support and encouragement for community-based Aboriginal tourism projects wherever possible and required. At the outset of a community-based tourism development process, awareness of and support for tourism development must be created, followed by building tourism planning capacity within the communities (Budke 1999b; see also 5.3.5). Parks Canada can play a supportive role in both of these fundamental steps by sharing experiences and lessons learned with regards to tourism development in various national protected areas and historic sites. A critical factor for successfully developing capacity in community-based and cooperative tourism planning is effective communication and information sharing (Budke 1999a and b).

Develop and implement effective communication plans

The data gathered in PRNPR affirm that effective and continuous communication and information exchange between and among all parties is a crucial ingredient for cooperative Aboriginal tourism development. Effective communication and information exchange generates cross cultural awareness and understanding as well as trust and can help to avoid conflicts. Moreover, knowledge generates power within stakeholder groups (Rennie and Singh 1996), and well-informed community members and partners generally have more favourable opinions about the planned tourism project than ill-informed participants (Keogh 1990). "Collection, analysis, dissemination and interpretation [of information] must be strategically planned with the participation of information users" (Boothroyd 1994, 145).

70

Consequently, Parks Canada and First Nations should develop **park-wide and park-specific communications and information-sharing plans or agreements** regarding Aboriginal tourism development as well as related issues. A consultant pointed out that "Parks Canada must come a long ways in this regard and negotiate formal information sharing protocols that recognise the legitimate existence and authority of First Nations governments" (pers. comm.). Such protocols or agreements should include provisions to open and maintain communication channels between Parks Canada and the respective First Nations as well as among First Nations, within each Aboriginal community, and with other potential partners (such as tourism operators and organizations). Mechanisms must be put in place that allow for a two-way rather than one-way flow of information between interest groups, so that there are opportunities for mutual feed-back and discussion. Surveys and interviews, for example, are one-way communication tools. They are less suitable than workshops, informal working groups or circles, and formal cooperative management arrangements (see below), which allow two-way communication.

In addition to ensuring two-way information flow, parties must also take care to ensure that the information is "accessible or in a form that is readily understood" (Keogh 1990, 460). In this regard, special attention should be paid to the fact that the communication and information sharing means and needs of Aboriginal people may differ from those of non-Aboriginal people (Budke 1999a; MacGregor 1993).[33] These differences must be recognized and accommodated in cross-cultural communication plans for Aboriginal tourism development. Conflict resolution mechanisms and training that take the cross-cultural tourism planning situation into consideration should be developed at the same time. Appendix A offers suggestions for developing a communication plan for Quu'as West Coast Trail Group.

Key component: time

Allot a generous amount of time, patience and long-term commitment

As the example of Quu'as (Appendix A) shows, considerable time is necessary to establish, adjust and consolidate tourism-related partnerships in a cross-cultural context. Time requirements for cooperative

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[33] For example, oral communication still plays an exceedingly important role in many Aboriginal cultures while non-Aboriginal people tend to put more emphasis on written documents and, more recently, electronic information. While most non-Native people are trained to think in a linear, task-oriented fashion ("fast", "selective"), many Aboriginal people tend to follow a "slow, inclusive" approach (MacGregor 1993) that explores issues more fully in a holistic manner and emphasizes the ability to listen (Budke 1999a).

Aboriginal tourism projects between First Nations and Park Canada can be expected to be higher than for other tourism partnerships due to the cross-cultural challenges and burdened past. Thus, it is necessary to allocate a time frame that accommodates these specific circumstances; expectations should focus on long-term achievements rather than immediate results, necessitating long-term commitments of human and financial resources.

Besides long-term planning, patience with each other is crucial for partners in cooperative Aboriginal tourism development. If non-Aboriginal partners such as Parks Canada, tourism planners or operators force their interests and ideas onto Aboriginal communities before these are ready and willing to develop tourism initiatives, the process will not be successful (tourism consultant, pers. comm.). Partners must realize that the process of getting to work together will require "a lot of give and take on both sides" (Pacheedaht representative, pers. comm.) as well as "more small steps" in advancing the relationship between First Nations and Parks Canada (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.). Direction for this has to come "from the top", because the opportunities for making these small steps have to be provided, e.g., through scheduling regular meetings, formalizing the process for dealing with complaints, discussing business opportunities, providing sufficient staff and resources, etc. (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.).

Key component: direction setting

Pursue an "open", integrated and adaptive approach

To create Aboriginal tourism initiatives in national parks and historic sites, Parks Canada must be open to cooperation with First Nations, and, most importantly, First Nations, must *perceive* this openness. This openness must prevail at all levels—administration, management and field staff in case of the agency; council and community members in case of the First Nations. An open or "blank-piece-of-paper-approach" to cooperation in Aboriginal tourism development is necessary in order to begin developing opportunities and ideas *together* in good faith and to build trust and credibility (consultant, pers. comm.). However, government agencies tend to prepare strategies for cooperation before they have approached the potential partners and gathered an understanding of the issues relevant to these potential partners; "people in bureaucracies are scared to go into a meeting with no agenda, no plan and only goodwill" (consultant, pers. comm.). The policy of Parks Canada managers in PRNPR to listen to Aboriginal concerns and suggestions with an open attitude before discussing possible approaches is likely a significant contributor to the development and maintenance of positive working relationships in this national park reserve.

Besides being open, potential partners in Aboriginal tourism development in protected areas should also pursue an integrated approach that reflects the holistic world views of Aboriginal peoples as well as the diversity and interconnectedness of issues associated with Aboriginal tourism development. Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area cannot take place without addressing past legacies, present socio-economic conditions, training needs, resource protection, administrative and legislative structures, and other issues. The cooperative planning approach should also be adaptive, i.e., "responsible and responsive" (Haywood 1988) to changing situations, challenges and needs of the involved parties.

Share a common vision

Based on common goals and needs, a shared vision of partners in Aboriginal tourism development should be established. "Creating a shared vision is important because it provides a blueprint for the future [of the partnership]. People may differ on how to achieve the [...] vision, but without a blueprint nothing will happen" (Howe, McMahon and Propst 1997, 48). The "development of a shared vision in partnering encourages genuine interaction between [partners], leading to a greater interest in sustainable tourism development while further developing trust and commitment to the partnership" (Darrow 1995, 50). In developing a vision, parties should concentrate on similar values and interests rather than differences. In the case of Parks Canada and First Nations interested in Aboriginal tourism development, the shared values and interests include protecting and commemorating environmental and cultural resources and generating revenues.

Understand each others' needs and jointly formulate clear goals

Before a partnership between Parks Canada and First Nations to advance Aboriginal tourism development is established, the goals of each party and whether they coincide must be determined. For example, it is necessary to clarify "whether tourism is intended to provide an economic opportunity for a community, or whether it is an enterprise serving other social and cultural priorities", for "[w]ithout clarification of such diverse objectives, some of which may be incompatible, commercial success is extremely difficult to achieve" (Altman and Finlayson 1993, 43). Parks Canada staff must understand the needs of First Nations communities, which may differ from one First Nations to another. "Parks Canada has to actively look and find out what it is First Nations want", which may "take a few years" (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.). Vice versa, First Nations should seize opportunities to become familiar with Parks Canada's objectives. Studies like this can help to create an overview of important needs, goals and expectations of Aboriginal communities in a specific protected area. However, the dialogue to determine needs and goals of First Nations and Parks Canada must be initiated and

73

continued in each protected area and historic site throughout the parks system.

Key components: partnership organization

Determine partners' roles and responsibilities

After goals and needs have been determined, partners, and particularly Parks Canada, have to ask themselves, "what can be our role in Aboriginal economic development?" Ideally, Parks Canada would become "a capable tool for Aboriginal communities to meet their needs" (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.). Each national park (reserve) or site may play a distinct role for First Nations with regards to tourism development, as possible attractions such as Aboriginal cultural heritage, geographic factors, resources, etc. vary among protected areas and First Nations.

At the same time, all partners in Aboriginal tourism development must be empowered to make decisions and take actions through shared responsibility. "As empowerment grows, misconceptions are ended and respect grows; the partnership becomes more powerful" (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 7.4). A Tseshaht representative emphasized that Aboriginal tourism development in a national park necessitates looking at the "bigger picture" of First Nation's involvement in park decision making and management by re-evaluating the present decision-making processes and addressing the issues of power and responsibility distribution (pers. comm.). According to a Tseshaht representative, the success of cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in PRNPR will depend on a) what impact the treaty settlement will have on the relationship between the federal government/ Parks Canada and First Nations, and b) what kind of model of First Nation involvement or cooperative management will be established (pers. comm.).

Cooperative management arrangements may provide an organizational or process framework that helps to create equitable relations between or among partners in terms of shared powers, mandates, rights and decision-making processes.

Make Parks Canada's bureaucratic system more "transparent" and adaptable

The fact that Parks Canada is an inherently bureaucratic organization does not readily facilitate the implementation of organizational principles for cooperative Aboriginal tourism planning, such as establishing clear but flexible, innovative and jointly developed planning and management structures. This realization seemed to fuel those interview statements that were critical of the federal agency's

"bureaucracy". At the same time, many Aboriginal people seem to lack (access to) information about Parks Canada's administrative and managerial system and the policy and legislative frameworks by which it is bound. However, in order to be able to suggest amendments to the system that would facilitate cross-cultural cooperation, partners must understand how the system works. Thus, attempts should be made to make Parks Canada's organization, including its jurisdictional and administrative pillars, more "transparent" to potential Aboriginal partners. At the same time, Parks Canada should be aware of the management/ governance structure as well as obligations and restrictions of First Nations interested in Aboriginal tourism development. A better understanding of each others' organizational frameworks will make it easier for involved partners to discuss issues, claim rights and make informed decisions relating to Aboriginal tourism development.

It is recommended that members of partnerships related to Aboriginal tourism development, such as Quu'as, are offered information materials and/ or sessions which outline relevant Parks Canada structures, values, policies and legislation as well as management and business planning criteria and documents. The newly proposed "Quu'as Approach", for example, incorporates delivery of this type of information in its training schedule. Also, budget information of individual parks and sites and/ or the national budget should be accessible to Aboriginal partners. This would help Aboriginal partners to gain a better appreciation of the financial restrictions under which national parks and sites operate.

At the same time, it is suggested that efforts be made on a national level to make Parks Canada policies as well as park management and business planning more flexible and adaptable to First Nations concerns and interests regarding economic opportunities, such as tourism. "More creative thinking and flexibility are needed" (Hupacasath representatives, pers. comm.). First Nations' knowledge and expertise in managing natural resources, particularly traditional knowledge, should be integrated into park management policies and practices. According to a Hupacasath representative, "park policies were established with little consultation of First Nations. Now Parks Canada seems to be open to cooperative management, but the agency still seems to want to fit the new policies into the old ones. Parks Canada needs to seriously look at their policies in order to find out if they enable their commitment to cooperate with First Nations" (pers. comm.)

Chose appropriate "arrangements"/ structures for cooperation

All principles described above should become integral components of any cooperative arrangement to develop Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area. The examples of tourism-related initiatives between Parks Canada and First Nations in PRNPR point towards a variety of possible mechanisms or

75

arrangements for cooperation in this regard, ranging from informal to more formalized structures. The choice of arrangement will necessarily depend on the goals and available resources of the involved parties.

- ## Business partnerships/ joint ventures

If generating long-term profits as well as training and employment opportunities are the main goals of Aboriginal tourism development, a business partnership such as Quu'as West Coast Trail Group should be considered. There are different ways of structuring such a business partnership. As the Quu'as case study shows (see Appendix A), setting up the partnership as a contract between a park or site and a group of First Nations has both advantages and disadvantages. While this arrangement ensures funding of the First Nations contractor, the contractor is dependent on the federal agency and obligated to fulfil the contract requirements regarding the type and location of services to be provided. Moreoever, such a contract-based partnership will only work in those parks and sites that have a large enough budget or reliable sources of revenue, such as the West Coast Trail, to ensure continued funding. As securing funding from Parks Canada will be one of the biggest challenges to establishing a successful business partnership related to Aboriginal tourism, sources of external funding must be explored (see 5.3.6). At the same time, business partnerships should aim towards generating own-source revenues as soon as possible. The Quu'as case shows that such revenue generation necessitates a business plan outlining an appropriate strategy as well as start-up capital to establish business infrastructure (e.g., boats and docking facilities for water-based nature tours) and skilled, motivated people. The observation that time is required to establish these prerequisites for revenue generation validates the approach taken by Quu'as as a temporary contractor for Parks Canada.

Care and time must be taken to allow such a business partnership to create its own services and products outside of contract obligations with Parks Canada if it is to become self-sufficient. Achieving non-profit status should be contemplated when founding a similar partnership, as this enables the society to save tax dollars that can be reinvested. Yet, it must be realized that a non-profit society does not allow for the distribution of revenues among partners.

In PRNPR, where such a business partnership exists in one of the three park units, First Nations and Parks Canada may want to examine whether it is desirable and feasible to establish similar business partnerships in the other two park units, or to extend Quu'as to include other First Nations. The creation of additional business partnerships between First Nations and Parks Canada in the park reserve must respect traditional Aboriginal territories, and, at the same take into consideration possible historical and

political tensions between First Nations.

● Cooperative research

If the goals of potential partners relate predominantly to collecting data and expanding the knowledge base of Aboriginal issues in the context of tourism development and heritage presentation, cooperative research projects may be the avenue of choice. In fostering cross-cultural understanding, such projects can also help to improve the relationship between Parks Canada and First Nations, as the joint archaeological dig on Ts'ishaa (Benson Island) illustrates (see Appendix C).[34] At the same time, cooperative research can carry out important ground work for developing tourism attractions such as interpretive programming and cultural centres/ historic sites as well as providing training for Aboriginal people.[35]

The Ts'ishaa project in PRNPR shows that such research initiatives can be successful without introducing formalized cooperative structures. Necessary community guidance and support of the research can be achieved through a loosely structured working group which includes knowledgeable and respected Aboriginal representatives (e.g., Hereditary Chiefs, Elders), Parks Canada staff and researches who have established a relationship of trust with the respective Aboriginal communities. Cultural and archaeological research projects like the archaeological dig in PRNPR may be carried out best in cooperation with individual First Nations (as opposed to a group of First Nations), as every Aboriginal community strongly identifies with its own culture, history, and traditional territory.

● Informal working groups/ circles/ round tables

Informal working groups such the "joint working group" between the Tseshaht First Nation and Parks Canada or the "Roundtable" in Riding Mountain National Park could also serve as planning forums for Aboriginal tourism in protected areas. Such groups can, for example, help to open channels of

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[34] More examples of relationship building between Parks Canada and Aboriginal people through cooperative research in archaeology and oral history are provided in Budke (1999a) and Fox (1997), who describes the Inuvialuit Cultural Study, the Paulatuk Community Archaeology project as well as projects involving the communities of Sachs Harbour, Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk.

[35] Successful examples of this are the Tungatsivvik Archaeological Project in Nunavut and the "Nunavut Cultural Resources Management Plan" for Sirmilik (North Baffin) National Park that was developed according to the Tungatsivvik model (Stenton and Rigby 1995). Directed by the community through the Parks Committee, Elders Committee and Tourism Committee, the project for Sirmilik National Park combines archaeological survey work, oral history documentation, archival research, documentation of local place names and the development of community teaching/ learning sites as well as a natural/ cultural interpretation centre (Stenton and Rigby 1995).

communication between and among interest groups. They can play an important role in gathering tourism-related ideas and concerns, evaluating existing tourism resources, researching funding opportunities and developing tourism strategies that reflect the needs of all stakeholders. The key for the establishment of such planning groups is inclusiveness; broad stakeholder input is necessary in order to coordinate Aboriginal tourism planning on a park-wide or regional basis. Ideally, such working groups or circles should include one or more representatives from each First Nation, a Parks Canada representative, interested tourism operators, tourism organizations and representatives of gateway communities. Particularly important is the participation of a resource person or team with knowledge and specific experience in Aboriginal and/ or participatory tourism planning. Such a group or table would be most likely advisory in nature, providing feed-back and information to their constituencies. The final decision on Aboriginal tourism projects within a park (reserve) or site could be made by an Aboriginal tourism steering committee, consisting of chiefs (elected and hereditary) and Elders of the involved First Nations as well as the park superintendent.

However, an inclusive working group approach as outlined above also bears certain risks that have to be given due consideration. The most obvious challenge is the potential size of such a group or roundtable, especially in protected areas with a multitude of different First Nations interests such as PNRPR or Wood Buffalo NP. A large group can easily become unmanageable and thus ineffective because logistics and individual schedules cannot be coordinated adequately. Also, the more parties are involved, the more difficult it is to accommodate the diversity of interests (Brandon 1993). Conflict resolution and cross-cultural awareness and communications training should be offered to these working groups at the time of their establishment. Depending on the group size, diversity and dynamics, the involvement of a professional facilitator may also be advisable.[36]

In areas with a large number of Aboriginal interest groups, it may be advantageous or even necessary to form smaller, more manageable groups according to traditional territories or park units. In the case of PRNPR, the geographic layout of the park reserve and the existence of the Quu'as partnership in the WCT unit suggest the formation of three Aboriginal tourism working groups (one for each park unit), one of whom could be facilitated through Quu'as. Groups would have to coordinate their plans by communicating and exchanging information among each other. Challenges to this kind of arrangement are restricted human and financial capacities of both the First Nations and Parks Canada. A less costly and time-consuming alternative would be to hold a series of workshops in each park unit similar to those

[36] For example, several cooperative management boards in Canadian national parks have made good experiences with hiring facilitators (Budke 1999a).

suggested above for enhancing cross-cultural awareness, but with a focus on Aboriginal tourism development issues.

• Formal agreements and cooperative management

In some cases, Parks Canada and First Nations may want to formalize partnerships or cooperation in order to consolidate mutual commitment to the respective Aboriginal tourism initiatives. This can be done through memoranda of understanding (statements of political intent) outlining "joint control over the implementation and outcomes of a project" (Shultis and Browne 1999, 113) or legally binding agreements. Examples for such agreements are the Cultural Tourism Agreement between the Huu-ay-aht First Nation and Parks Canada in PRNPR or the Siksika Heritage Agreement between Banff National Park and the Siksika First Nation.

Another, more comprehensive, way of formalizing tourism partnerships between Parks Canada and First Nations is to integrate provisions for Aboriginal tourism businesses and related cooperation into cooperative management agreements or side-agreements to treaties. As mentioned earlier, cooperative management arrangements can provide frameworks for implementing key elements of cooperative Aboriginal tourism planning, such as communication plans, organization (e.g, roles and responsibilities, decision-making processes), monitoring approaches, and securing resources/ funding. Principles for effective cooperative management in Canadian national parks determined by Budke (1999a) closely correspond to principles for cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in Canadian national parks and historic sites.

In Canada's north, provisions relating to Aboriginal tourism development have been incorporated into (constitutionally protected) land claim agreements or associated "Impact and Benefits Agreements" (not constitutionally protected). For example, the Inuit Impacts and Benefits Agreement (IIBA) for the Nunavut claim area (1999), affecting Sirmilik (formerly North Baffin), Quttinirpaaq (formerly Ellesmere) and Auyuittuq National Parks, includes articles related to visitor access and use (art. 8), Inuit career and training opportunities and benefits (art. 9) and Inuit economic opportunities (art. 10). The latter article includes provisions for Inuit first priorities for park business licences (further discussed in 5.3.2); an economic opportunities fund (provided by the federal government, not Parks Canada); and an Inuit tourism strategy to be developed for each of the six Inuit communities adjacent to the parks. "The process for developing the Inuit Tourism Strategies will be collaborative and coordinated with any similar or related activities taking place in the communities" (10.4.4).

Key component: monitoring/ evaluation and adjustment

Establish mechanisms to monitor/ evaluate and adjust cooperative tourism development process

Monitoring, evaluating and adapting cooperative arrangements between Parks Canada and First Nations for the purpose of tourism development plays an important role in striving towards sustainable and effective partnerships. Recognizing this, Parks Canada and Quu'as redrafted the original Quu'as Business and Operations Strategy to reflect lessons learned during the first three years of the Quu'as Partnership. This resulted in a compilation of "Renewed Principles and Objectives" and a "Renewed Business Structure", confirming the partnership's significance and providing new directions (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999). In addition, Quu'as has established an annual evaluation system (audit), which helps the partnership to check and adjust its course (see Appendix A).

5.2 A Suggested Process Model for Cooperation/ Partnerships in Aboriginal Tourism Development in National Protected Areas

5.2.1 Introduction

A four-phased process model for cooperative Aboriginal tourism planning in Canadian national protected areas and historic sites is suggested in the following section. Each phase is described in table format with the necessary "stepping stones" as well as related questions and "tools" for potential partners. Based on a synthesis of the cooperative tourism development models reviewed in chapter two, this model takes into account the particular challenges and issues that surfaced in the course of the field work for this project. It integrates the principles discussed above in a chronological fashion. Although largely derived from the case study of one selected national protected area, key elements of this model can likely be applied to other national protected areas and historic sites that are facing similar issues and challenges.

5.2.2 Phase I: Preparation (Situation Analysis)

The majority of the reviewed tourism partnership models assume that stakeholders have already decided that a) they are ready to become engaged in tourism development, and b) they need (a) partner(s) in

order to be successful in their undertakings. However, the steps necessary to arrive at these decisions should be included in a cooperative process model for developing Aboriginal tourism. In order to make these important decisions, parties such as Aboriginal communities and Parks Canada should first conduct a thorough situation analysis within their own constituencies. Such a situation analysis should be community-based in the case of the First Nations and park-based in case of Parks Canada and include the steps outlined for phase I in table 12. The key step in phase I is a "resources and issues inventory" or business assessment. This entails an analysis similar to that carried out in chapter 4. 4 of this paper, resulting in a "checklist" of community or agency resources (assets, strengths) (including human, financial, natural, cultural resources), internal and external challenges (weaknesses, constraints, threats) and opportunities. This "checklist" will help to determine whether the goals/ vision and the prerequisites for Aboriginal tourism development can be fulfilled by each party alone, or if partners are needed. It should also include community or agency policies, values and mandates, for these will help to determine whether it is appropriate for the respective party to become involved in Aboriginal tourism development at all.

Table 12: Cooperative Aboriginal tourism development process model: phase I

Phase I: **Preparation (Situation Analysis)** **(within each party)**			
	Stepping Stones	**Questions**	**Tools**
Build tourism planning	1. **Create awareness** about Aboriginal tourism	• What is Aboriginal tourism? • Are there examples of what Aboriginal tourism can do/ entail?	• Case studies • Community/ staff meetings (e.g., informal dinners) • Excursion to visit successful Aboriginal tourism projects
	2. **Determine expectations/ needs, preliminary goals and vision** for Aboriginal tourism development	• What do we need? • What do we want to achieve? • What do we want to avoid? • Where do we want to be in x years?	• Visioning exercises • Community/ staff meetings • Aboriginal tourism working groups (see 5.1.2) • Interviews
	3. **Identify key prerequisites** for meeting expectations/ goals and vision and developing opportunities	• What are the essential requirements/ prerequisites for successfully developing such Aboriginal tourism initiatives?	• Literature reviews • Chapter 4.4.2 in this report • Community/ staff meetings and surveys • Participatory Action Research (PAR)[37]

[37] PAR is "a process of systematic inquiry, in which those who are experiencing a problematic situation in a community or workplace participate collaboratively with trained researchers as subjects, in deciding the focus of knowledge generation, in collecting and analyzing information, and in taking action to manage, improve, or solve their problem situation" (Deshler and Ewert 1995; see also Fox et al. 1998).

	Stepping Stones	Questions	Tools
Build tourism planning capacity	4. **Assess whether and how goals/ vision and prerequisites can be met** ⇒ **Create an inventory (or "checklist")** of values, resources, challenges and opportunities relating to Aboriginal tourism development ⇒ **Rank assests and challenges** according to their importance and potential impact	• What are our strengths/ assets? • What are weaknesses/ challenges/ barriers? • Which resources can and do we want to share? • Do we have the resources and skills to meet the goals and fulfil the prerequisites? • What additional resources and skills do we need? • What Aboriginal tourism opportunities can we develop with the existing resource and human capacities? • What are the most important assets and challenges?	• SWOT analysis[38] • IPCOST (Indigenous People's Cultural Opportunity Spectrum) (Sofield and Birtles 1996)[39] • Policy analysis • Bioregional mapping (Aberley 1993) • PAR • Community/ staff meetings • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)
	5. **Determine whether to get involved in Aboriginal tourism initiatives and in what types of initiatives**	• Do our present resources, policies and values allow us to further pursue Aboriginal tourism development? • If so, what types of Abor. tourism development would be appropriate for us?	• SWOT analysis • IPCOST (Sofield and Birtles 1996) • Policy analysis • Bioregional mapping • PAR • Community/ staff meetings • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)

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[38] SWOT analysis is an effective method of identifying one's (internal) strengths and weaknesses and examining the (external) opportunities and threats one is facing (Tellus Consultants Ltd. 2000; Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Illinois 2000).

[39] IPCOST is a model for developing appropriate Aboriginal cultural tourism that is based on principles of sustainable development and strives for the maintenance of both cultural and ecological diversity. IPCOST "transfers responsibility for determining a community's capabilities to the community members themselves", thus empowering Aboriginal communities who want to engage in Aboriginal tourism development (Sofield and Birtles 1996, 401). It provides an Aboriginal community with tools to

1. Catalogue its culture in terms of potential opportunities for tourism ventures;
2. Carry out its own assessment of its capacity to undertake development generally and cultural tourism specifically;
3. Decide whether it should therefore venture into cultural tourism at all;
4. Decide which particular option(s) represent the best opportunities to pursue according to the range of cultural and social values as well as economic considerations (Sofield and Birtles 1996, 402).

Stepping Stones	Questions	Tools
6. **Determine whether to enter into a cooperative arrangement**	• In which way(s) do we have to enhance our capacity and resources in order to develop such initiatives in the future? • Can we develop these tourism opportunities by ourselves? • Do we have the resources and capacities to cooperate? • What are potential advantages and disadvantages of cooperation?	• PAR • Community/ staff meetings • Aboriginal working group or committee (see 5.1.2) • Literature review (see 2.3)

(left margin, vertical text: Build tourism planning capacity)

5.2.3 Phase II: Partnership Formation (Structuring)

Once the decision to get involved in Aboriginal tourism and to cooperate with partners has been made, potential partners must approach each other and determine whether and under which conditions they can work together. In a concerted effort, essential partnership structures and components are negotiated in this phase. They should include key principles and structures for effective cooperation; organization (roles, responsibilities etc.) as well as a communication plan and conflict resolution mechanism. The latter two elements, which are largely neglected by most cooperative tourism development models referred to in chapter two, are crucial components in a cross-cultural setting (see table 13).

Table 13: Cooperative Aboriginal tourism development process model: phase II (partnership formation/ structuring)

Phase II: Partnership Formation (Structuring) (discussion and cooperation among parties begins)		
Stepping Stones	**Questions**	**Tools**
7. **Select partner(s)**	• With whom do we want/ need to cooperate? • What are the strengths and weaknesses of potential partners (concerning resources, expertise, funding)? • What do we expect from our partner(s)? • What can we give in exchange? • When do we start (and end) cooperation?	• Community/ staff meetings • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)

Stepping Stones	Questions	Tools
8. **Compare/ assess each other's resources (assets and constraints)** by sharing results of situation analyses of partners	• What are our combined strengths/ challenges? • What are our areas of complementarity?	Results of • SWOT analyses • Policy analyses • Bioregional mapping process • PAR • IPCOST • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2) • Checklists
9. **Determine key principles for effective cooperation and relationship building**	• What are the constraints to successful cooperation? • What are the requirements/ principles to overcome these constraints? • How will we implement these principles?	• Literature review • Chapters 2.4, 4.4, and 5.1 of this report • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)
10. **Determine appropriate arrangements/ structures for cooperation** and possibly subgroups	• Which cooperative arrangement(s) would be most suitable for the type of issues/ challenges and parties in our case? • Do we need to establish subgroups?	• Case studies of similar partnerships/ cooperative arrangements (see appendices to this report for examples) • Chapter 5.1 of this report
11. **Determine roles, responsibilities and mandates; decision-making process, etc.**	• Who will take on which roles and responsibilities? • Who will be leading the initiative? • What will a shared decision-making process look like? • Will decisions be based on consensus?	• Case studies of similar partnerships/ cooperative arrangements (see appendices to this report for examples)
12. **Develop and implement effective communication plans**	• How can we ensure effective and efficient communication between and among partners? • Who must be included in a communication plan?	• PAR • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)
13. **Establish a conflict resolution process**	• What process(es) will we employ in case of conflict of lack of consensus?	• conflict resolution manuals • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)

5.2.4 Phase III: Strategic Development (Direction Setting/ Planning)

In this phase, the partnership or cooperative agreement is given direction—focus is taken off structuring and planning becomes more goal-oriented (see table 14).

Table 14: Cooperative Aboriginal tourism development process model: phase III (strategic development/ direction setting/ planning)

Phase III: Strategic Development (Direction Setting/ Planning)		
Stepping Stones	**Questions**	**Tools**
14. Create a common vision and mutual goals	• How can we amalgamate our individual expectations/ needs/ goals and visions?	• Visioning exercises • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)
15. Re-evaluate opportunities identified by each party in Phase I based on combined situation analysis (issues, assets, challenges) of parties	• What types of Aboriginal tourism initiatives are possible and suitable to help achieve common vision and goals?	• PAR • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)
16. Identify desirable actions to cooperatively achieve common vision and goals as well as prerequisites for Aboriginal tourism development (see 5.3)	• What are the desirable actions we should take on cooperatively?	• Case studies/ success stories, best practice codes • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)
17. Prioritize desirable actions	• Which are the most urgent and essential desirable actions to be taken?	• Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)
18. Develop a plan for implementing desirable actions	• What is needed to implement desirable actions? E.g., • Researching the market • Developing business and marketing/ promotion plans • Hiring consultants • Checking applicable policies and legislation • Contacting tourism organizations and institutions • Securing financing • Developing training programs, etc.	• Suggested "Tourism Action Plans" and "tourism action step worksheets" (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1993)

Phase III (continued): Strategic Development (Direction-Setting/ Planning)		
Stepping Stones	**Questions**	**Tools**
19. Implement desirable actions	• How can we implement the desirable actions most effectively and efficiently?	• Case studies/ success stories, best practice codes • Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2)

5.2.5 Phase IV: Maintenance and Adjustment (Monitoring/ Evaluation)

The maintenance and adjustment phase, as illustrated in table15, should not be understood as a separate phase, but as an ongoing, iterative process accompanying all phases.

Table 15: Cooperative Aboriginal tourism development process model: phase IV

Phase IV: Maintenance and Adjustment (Monitoring/ Evaluation)		
Stepping Stones	**Questions**	**Tools**
20. Continue cross-cultural relationship building	• How are we doing in terms of enhancing cross-cultural awareness, learning and trust? • Are there alternative or additional processes we could employ?	• Surveys/ questionnaires (anonymous) • Discussion with partners
21. Monitor/ evaluate the effectiveness of cooperation; adjust roles, forms of cooperation, etc. if necessary	• How are we doing in terms of fulfilling our objectives and vision; assuming our roles and responsibilities; achieving sustainability...?	• Surveys/ questionnaires of partners and tourists (anonymous) • Discussion with partners • Independent audit • Sustainability indicators

5.3 MEETING PREREQUISITES COOPERATIVELY: DESIRABLE ACTIONS

5.3.1 Introduction

The following section focuses on the key aspect of phase III in the model for cooperative Aboriginal tourism suggested above, namely identifying desirable actions. Ideas and desirable actions for cooperative Aboriginal tourism development in a national protected area are identified based on the prerequisites, assets and challenges discussed in chapter 4.4. Once partners have agreed on a suitable cooperative arrangement for developing Aboriginal tourism in PRNPR, they will have to determine which of these suggested ideas or actions they want to implement, and which will take priority.

5.3.2 Provide Access to/ Tenure over Land and Resources for First Nations

> *Honour Aboriginal land rights*

In order for Aboriginal people to be included in tourism strategies in any meaningful way, "[g]overnments must first honor indigenous peoples' land rights" and title (Johnston 1999, 58). The ultimate and possibly only satisfactory means of addressing the issue of Aboriginal access to and control over land and resources is the settlement of outstanding Aboriginal land claims in protected areas. The settlement of northern land claims (e.g., Inuvialuit Final Agreement, Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, Champagne-Aishihik Umbrella Final Agreement) and the introduction of cooperative management agreements between First Nations and Parks Canada has resulted in a reinstatement of Aboriginal access to and traditional rights in numerous protected areas (as provided in the respective land claim agreements). Parks Canada should engage in and help to advance the treaty process (where it is supported by First Nations), as Aboriginal tourism development promises to be most successful in those areas where Aboriginal land claims have been settled.

Until land claims are settled, more informal, interim solutions to Aboriginal concerns of access must be found. This will require the flexible interpretation of policies, regulations and park management guidelines, for example with regards to foreshore access. Aboriginal suggestions for adjusting policies and guidelines in order to better meet the requirements for Aboriginal tourism development within the park reserve could be gathered in Aboriginal tourism working groups or work shops. Such policy and management amendments would function as interim arrangements until treaty negotiations are completed (or Aboriginal land claims have been addressed otherwise). The case studies in PRNPR as well as examples from Banff National Park (Siksika Heritage Site and cultural program) and at Fort St.

87

James National Historic Site illustrate that cooperative Aboriginal tourism development can be successful despite unsettled land claims in the respective areas.

> **Implement first rights of refusal/priority rights and quotas for Aboriginal tourism opportunities**

First rights of refusal or priority rights and quotas for Aboriginal tourism businesses are another way of guaranteeing Aboriginal access to protected areas and providing First Nations with tourism-related economic opportunities. National and provincial parks in Canada with such provisions include

- Kluane National Park (Champagne-Aishihik First Nation Final Agreement 1993): the Champagne-Aihishik First Nation will be involved in the planned redevelopment of Haines Junction visitor centre; based on the Champagne-Aishihik Final Agreement, they have the first right of refusal for any commercial development within the centre.

- Sirmilik (formerly North Baffin), Quttinirpaaq (formerly Ellesmere) and Auyuittuq National Parks (Baffin IIBA 1999): the Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) is guaranteed first priority for park business licences for visitor accommodation or any business permitted in the park

- Tuktuk Nogait National Park (Tuktuk Nogait Agreement 1996): use of Inuvialuit guides licensed to operate in the park is encouraged (sec. 12); Inuvialuit priority for park business licences is established (sect. 15).

- Tatshenshini-Alsek Provincial Park (Tatshenshini-Alsek Park Management Agreement 1996): "preferential, but not exclusive", economic opportunities for Champagne and Aishihik First Nations are determined (sect. 10)

Notwithstanding these opportunities, in many cases, priority rights have not (yet) been realized by First Nations, most likely because they are facing challenges related to limited industry kowledge, start-up capital and infrastructure.[40] This is yet another indication that support for First Nations to overcome these common challenges must be intensified.

The potential value of such business priorities for First Nations in PRNPR has to be assessed in the context of treaty negotiations. While a claim settlement is not likely to be reached in the immediate future, it may be possible to outline such provisions in a **side agreement** that could be approved by the federal cabinet at the Agreement-in-Principle (AIP) or Final Agreement stage. In PRNPR, tour operators

with water and land-based guiding businesses in the park reserve do not require a business licence at present. Thus, the introduction of first rights of refusal or priority rights for Aboriginal tourism operators might lead to frictions with the existing non-Aboriginal tour operators.

5.3.3 Recognize and Protect Aboriginal Cultural and Natural Heritage

> **Inventory Aboriginal archaeological sites and carry out traditional use studies**

Inventorying all Aboriginal cultural/ archaeological sites in a national park reserve is an essential prerequisite for developing Aboriginal cultural tourism within its boundaries. It is equally important to carry out a traditional use study (TUS) for the respective park (reserve), covering Aboriginal resource uses such as grass and berry picking, cedar bark stripping, hunting, fishing, etc. Such research can assist in determining potential sites and themes for Aboriginal cultural interpretation and guided tours. At the same time, traditional use studies provide guidance as to which areas should be exempt from tourism development, such as certain sacred sites. For example, a TUS of their traditional territory helped the Huu-ay-aht First Nation to "draw the division between what is sensitive and what can be shared" (Huu-ay-aht representative). TUS also help to ensure that chosen sites and themes are interpreted only by those First Nations in whose traditional territories they are found. For example, a TUS for PRNPR could help to revive the traditional trail system of First Nations such as the Tla-o-qui-aht, who have contemplated offering guided hikes on these ancient routes.

In the context of treaty negotiations, First Nations with traditional territory in PRNPR have carried out or are still involved in preparing TUS of the respective lands. However, Parks staff in PRNPR confirmed that no comprehensive TUS for PRNPR has been carried out to date although several related studies have been prepared over the past decade or so.[41] They include the first systematic archaeological survey of Aboriginal sites in all three units of the park reserve (Haggarty and Inglis 1985)[42] and a more recent Archaeological Resources Description and Analysis.[43] Also, an ethnographic document on Aboriginal

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[40] For example, no First Nation individual is presently operating exclusively in Kluane National Park. Out of three Champagne-Aishihik horseback outfitters, only one leads trips in the park, along with a number of other non-Aboriginal guides (Parks Canada representative, pers. comm.).

[41] According to Tla-o-qui-aht representatives, a marine traditional use study, which excludes PRNPR, was recently carried out in the area (pers. comm.). Tla-o-qui-aht representatives did not know whether Parks Canada had completed its inventory of all archaeological sites within PRNPR.

[42] The survey was funded by Parks Canada and carried out by staff of the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria, B.C. in cooperation with members of the First Nations; of 319 recorded archaeological sites in PRNPR, 289 were associated with Native history. These sites were classified into general activity (shell midden) sites, fish trap sites, burial sites, rock art sites, tree resource area sites, isolated find sites and historic places.

[43] Since 1993, approximately 40 new sites were added to the park inventory (PRNPR representative, pers. comm.).

place names and oral histories was produced (Haggarty and Inglis 1985). Two ethnobotany studies, sponsored by Parks Canada, were also carried out in PRNPR. An Aboriginal toponomy (study of place names) for PRNPR would expand the available information that can facilitate the development of Aboriginal interpretation and cultural tourism programs within the park reserve.

The fact that the interviewed First Nations members (all of whom were involved in band administration or council) were not aware of that these studies have been completed indicates that the communication flow between the park reserve and surrounding Aboriginal communities with regards to such research can be improved. Information relating to archaeological research and traditional resource use should be exchanged openly and frequently between Parks Canada and the First Nations (if endorsed by them). Every opportunity for cooperating and providing jobs for Aboriginal people in related projects should be seized. The possibility of compiling traditional use information from individual First Nations for all of PRNPR should be examined. Provided the consent and cooperation of all First Nations, Quu'as may be able to take on such a task—at least with regards to traditional use in the WCT unit. This would benefit Quu'as as the society would then be able to ground future interpretive programs or events in this data. However, there are certain sensitivities attached to such TUS data, which is employed in treaty negotiations (e.g., for determining the extent/ borders of traditional territories). Many First Nations are also concerned that once knowledge about such sites becomes available in the public domain, the risk of looting increases. Thus, TUS and inventories of sacred areas should be kept "secure and private" (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 7.9) unless requested otherwise by First Nations.

The Huu-ay-aht Cultural Tourism Program (see Appendix B), which is firmly based on the Huu-ay-aht TUS (Peters and Stewart 1998), and the Tsleil-Waututh First Nation's combined TUS/ eco-tourism project (see Textbox 1 in Appendix E) provide examples of the relevance of TUS and inventories to Aboriginal tourism development.

Conduct archaeological research

Archaeological research, often carried out in cooperative efforts between Aboriginal people, universities, governments and other organizations, can provide an important basis for developing Aboriginal tourism and interpretation initiatives.[44] A successful example is the project initiated by the

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[44] This was the case for Aboriginal cultural interpretive centres and heritage sites such as Ninstints UNESCO World Heritage Site on Haida Gwaii, Wanuskewin Heritage Park/ NHS, Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump Interpretive Centre/ UNESCO World Heritage Site, Xaytem Interpretive Centre/ NHS, Secwecpmec Native Heritage Park and Kekerten Historic Site near Auyuittuq National Park on Baffin Island .

Metlakatla First Nation near Prince Rupert (see textbox 2 in Appendix E). This and other sites illustrate the many benefits of archaeological investigations relating to tourism development, training, and cooperation that were already alluded to earlier. However, the most important function of archaeological digs is to facilitate learning about and protection of Indigenous cultural heritage. A PRNPR employee maintained that "there is a need to learn more about the historical use of the areas in order to better protect the sites" (pers. comm.). Such archaeological research is warranted by Parks Canada's Guiding Principles, which state that "[r]esearch activities are encouraged and managed to ensure that commemorative and ecological integrity are maintained" (Canadian Heritage 1994, 18).

In PRNPR, there is an immediate need to stop erosion in order to preserve the archaeological site at Tsuqanah (Ditidaht IR) in the WCT unit. It is suggested that a salvage dig be coordinated by Parks Canada, Quu'as, the Ditidaht First Nation and qualified archaeologists. Extrapolating from the Ts'ishaa experience, visitor interest in such a salvage dig will be considerable, particularly as this site is in close proximity to the West Coast Trail. A dig at this site would provide Quu'as interpretive guardians with a concrete cultural "theme" to relay to visitors; the archaeological dig (and, later, interpretation of its findings) could become the main attraction of an Aboriginal tourism package offered by Quu'as and/ or the Ditidat First Nation (see 5.3.6).

However, potential impacts of visitors on the sites must be taken into consideration before opening an archaeological dig as a "tourist attraction". On-going communication between and among partners is required in order to address cultural sensitivities associated with the site. There is some hesitancy among First Nations with regards to making archaeological sites accessible for the public because Aboriginal people are concerned about "pot hunters" devastating sites once these locations are known. When carrying out cooperative archaeological research in a protected area, it is essential to follow the directions and wishes of the respective Aboriginal communities; "[t]o protect their heritage, indigenous peoples must [...] exercise control over all research conducted within their territories, or which uses their people as subjects of study" (United Nations 1995). The "Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous People" (United Nations 1995) provide a reference guide for how to appropriately and respectfully approach Aboriginal heritage conservation projects.

Develop monitoring and guardian programs as well as codes of conduct

As the Tsuquanah example illustrates, Aboriginal heritage sites can be threatened by natural as well as human-induced processes. In addition to erosion and decomposition, trampling (causing plant damage and soil erosion), (human) waste disposal, and improper visitor behaviour, often due to ignorance, can

heavily impact such sites. Thus, monitoring programs should be implemented in cooperation with Parks Canada and First Nations. Based on "a commitment to integrated scientific monitoring" by Parks Canada (Canadian Heritage 1994, 18), PRNPR in collaboration with First Nations has established a monitoring program for sensitive cultural resources of First Nations (Parks Canada 1999). As part of such monitoring programs, it is recommended that Aboriginal guardians be placed at sensitive cultural/ archaeological sites to advise visitors of proper and respectful behaviour. The Haida Watchmen program in Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve/ Haida Heritage Site has set a role model that can be used and adopted by other First Nations who want to protect their cultural heritage while opening it to tourist visitation (see textbox 3 in Appendix E).

In PRNPR, the Huu-ay-aht First Nation hopes to position two guardians at each of the three heritage sites that will be part of their cultural tourism program. The long-term plan of the Huu-ay-aht is to establish a guardian cabin at each of their six reserves in and adjacent to the PRNPR. A Huu-ay-aht representative estimates that ten to twelve trained people are needed in order to protect and interpret these sites. Interpretive guardians will be distinguished from those guardians who are mainly safeguarding the sites, as different training is required for each position (Huu-ay-aht representative, pers. comm.). Such guardians would also be needed at future sites of archaeological excavations, such as Tsuquanah or Ts'ishaa (Benson Island) for a follow-up dig. A training program for such guardians is necessary. It must provide general skills and knowledge in Aboriginal heritage protection while leaving room for adaptation to the specific requirements and cultural characteristics of each First Nation who intends to employ guardians. Recommendations for the delivery of such a training program under the auspices of Quu'as West Coast Trail Group are outlined in section 5.3.5. In the meantime, Quu'as and Parks Canada could help to organize an information exchange between representatives of the Haida watchmen program and First Nations in PRNPR who are interested in establishing their own guardian programs.

In conjunction with a guardian and monitoring program, codes of conduct for both visitors and (Aboriginal) tourism operators should be developed in cooperation with Parks Canada and First Nations in order to help protect natural and Aboriginal cultural heritage sites. Examples for such codes of conduct or guidelines are manifold in the eco-tourism industry (e.g., Ceballos-Lascurain 1996; Gjerdalen 1999; Alaska Wilderness Recreation and Tourism Association 1995; Ecotourism Society 1993; Ecotourism Association of Australia (no date); Tourism Industry Association of Canada (no date)). Applicable codes of conduct should be selected and adapted by an Aboriginal tourism working group (see 5.1.2) to fit the specific requirements of Aboriginal tourism initiatives in a protected area.

Once an Aboriginal archaeological site has been identified and sufficiently researched, the potential of declaring it an Aboriginal heritage or a national historic site should be examined. This is in accordance with the recommendation of the Ecological Integrity Panel to "ensure protection of current [Aboriginal] cultural sites, sacred areas and artefacts that are under the auspices of Parks Canada" (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 7.9). Besides granting commemoration and protection of Aboriginal heritage, this process results in two main economic advantages, namely better access to funding and greater public exposure of the respective sites. Kiix?in NHS is a successful result of Parks Canada and a First Nation joining forces in protecting outstanding Aboriginal heritage in the vicinity of a national protected area and placing it at the centre of an Aboriginal community tourism plan. It corresponds with Parks Canada's commitment to "[i]mprove representation of Women's, Aboriginal and Ethno-cultural history in the National Historic Sites System" (Parks Canada 1999, 15). At the same time, it represents an encouraging step towards achieving the vision of PRNPR, according to which "the rich cultural heritage found in Pacific Rim is carefully protected and commemorated" (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994, 14).

Parks Canada has also been cooperating with the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation north of Clayoquot Sound in designating Yuquot NHS. National Heritage Sites that are not administered through Parks Canada, such as Yuquot and Kiix?in, can receive funding through the **National Historic Sites Cost-Sharing Program**. Through this program, the federal government contributes up to fifty percent to the respective partner's[45] expenditures such as planning; conservation, and presentation (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada no date). In order to receive approval for cost-sharing, Parks Canada and First Nations should join efforts in preparing the required commemorative integrity statement and conservation and presentation report, as was the case for Kiix?in and Yuquot.[46]

Carefully plan type, size, design and location of Aboriginal tourism businesses

Parks Canada maintains that any kind of tourism development in a Canadian national park must be in accord with the paramount values and purposes of such a protected area (Canadian Heritage 1994). Canadian national parks in which tourism has been developed in the past without paying due attention to

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[45]Qualifying partners are a province, territory, municipality or an incorporated body (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada no date).
[46] The Coastal BC Field Unit Business Plan 200-2003 provides for Parks Canada's continued assistance of First Nations with future cost sharing agreements at Xa:ytem, Yuquot and Kiix?in National Historic Sites (Parks Canada 1999, 15; 29).

93

this paramount principle, such as Banff, are now deeply troubled with regards to the state of their environment (Parks Canada Agency 2000; Banff-Bow Valley Task Force 1996). Although there is "a widespread lack of even basic data" on the human dimensions and impact of visitor use in Canada's protected areas, it is clear that "[a]ll forms of recreation in a park affect ecological integrity (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 11.4; 11.2). The type and severity of potential impacts of Aboriginal tourism initiatives will vary depending on the type, size, design and location of individual products and services. For example, an Aboriginal resort may cause environmental impacts in a relatively large area, e.g., affecting groundwater (sewage), air quality (transportation of visitors by air or road) or critical species habitat (e.g., through use of beaches or forests by visitors).[47] However, these negative effects can be minimized if such facilities are designed according to strict environmental management principles. In comparison, impacts of guided interpretive tours on a heritage site, for instance, will most likely result in more localized, small-scale environmental impacts (such as damage from trampling or littering). However, such culture-based initiatives may have socio-cultural impacts on the respective First Nations, e.g., as a result of disrespectful behaviour of visitors or crowding at a site or in an Aboriginal community (e.g., Minerbi 1999; King and Stewart 1996; Wolfe-Keddie 1993; Cohen 1988).

It follows that "the precautionary principle should be the guiding rule in determining whether a particular type or level of activity is appropriate in a specific national park" (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 11.2). The Ecological Integrity Panel's recommendations regarding "Enjoyment and Appropriate Use" (Parks Canada Agency 2000) must be taken into consideration in the context of Aboriginal tourism development in Canadian national parks. Moreover, the type, size, design and location of new Aboriginal tourism initiatives in protected areas must be carefully chosen and evaluated. What might be sustainable from an economic perspective may not be sustainable from an environmental or socio-cultural perspective. As a consequence, First Nations and Parks Canada should not only ask themselves how many visitors are needed in order to make a resort, lodge or guiding business economically viable, but also how many (if any) visitors the Aboriginal community, heritage site or park (reserve) can sustain. It may be necessary to implement **visitor quotas** at certain sites, as was done in Gwaii Haanas (Wight and Associates 1999). It should also be carefully examined whether planned Aboriginal (and other) tourism businesses must be located inside a national park (reserve) or whether they can be established outside the park boundaries, for example, in gateway communities. According to Parks Canada's Guiding Principles and Operational Policies, "the location of commercial services and facilities should take place in adjacent communities" (Canadian Heritage 1994, 4.3.2). Due to the diverse nature of

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[47] External stress on an ecosystem, such as potentially caused by visitors, "can be classed into four broad categories—1) the introduction of non-native species, 2) toxics and pollutants, 3) habitat destruction and 4) direct impacts on individual wildlife" (S. Woodley 1993, 88).

94

Aboriginal tourism projects suggested for PRNPR, it is not possible to make any recommendations regarding the feasibility and sustainability of such initiatives until details of the respective project plans are known (S. Woodley 1993).

At present, PRNPR has a policy to consider each project proposal in a case-by-case approach (PRNPR senior manager). According to Parks Canada policy, "only outdoor activities which promote the appreciation of a park's purpose and objectives, which respect the integrity of the ecosystem, and which call for a minimum of built facilities will be permitted" (Canadian Heritage 1994, 4.1.3). Once a cooperative management arrangement has been established for PRNPR, decisions about the type, size, design and location of Aboriginal tourism businesses in the park reserve will likely be made by the respective representatives of Parks Canada and the First Nations. These decisions must be grounded in the park management plan, which will likely be developed as a cooperative effort between PRNPR and First Nations. In the mean time, a roundtable or working group on Aboriginal tourism should be tasked with the evaluation of the feasibility and overall sustainability of suggested Aboriginal tourism initiatives.

• **Zoning**

Any decision on Aboriginal tourism development initiatives in a Canadian national park (reserve) will be influenced by the respective zoning plan. PRNPR's proposed zoning plan[48] is based on the Canadian national parks zoning system. This national zoning system "is an integrated approach by which land and water areas are classified according to ecosystem and cultural resource protection requirements, and their capability and suitability to provide opportunities for visitor experiences" (Canadian Heritage 1994, 2.2). It is organized according to five distinct zones for each terrestrial and marine areas and, as an adjunct, the category "environmentally sensitive areas" (ESAs) (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994). The spectrum of zones, which allows for progressively more intense visitor use, ranges from "special preservation" with strictly controlled or prohibited access and use to "wilderness" and "natural environment" to "outdoor recreation" and "park services" with a concentration of visitor and support facilities (Canadian Heritage 1994). Most areas in PRNPR suggested by Aboriginal people for potential Aboriginal tourism development are situated within or surrounded by proposed "wilderness" areas (zone 2). Table 16 provides an overview of suggested Aboriginal tourism projects and corresponding park zones in or adjacent to which they would be situated.

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[48] The "proposed" zoning plan will officially come into effect when the park reserve is gazetted under the National Parks Act.

Table 16: Planned Aboriginal tourism projects in PRNPR and corresponding park zones

Park reserve unit	Proposed Aboriginal tourism initiative	Zone
Long Beach unit	• System of traditional trails in Schooner Cove area (Tla-o-qui-aht FN)	2 ("wilderness")/ 3 ("natural environment")
	• Recreation of old canoe portage trail between Grice Bay and Long Beach (Tla-o-qui-aht FN)	ESA/ 2 ("wilderness")/ 3 ("natural environment")
	• Destination resort south of Long Beach unit (Ucluelet FN)	Bordering 3 ("natural environment)
WCT unit	• Eco-lodge at Nitinat Lake (Ditidaht FN)	Bordering or inside 2 ("wilderness")
	• Guided tours in Hobbiton Lake area (Ditidaht FN)	2 ("wilderness")
	• Archaeological dig on Tsuquanah IR (Ditidaht FN)	Surrounded by 2 ("wilderness")
	• Eco-lodge at Port San Juan Bay (Pacheedaht)	Surrounded by 3 ("natural environment") (?)
	• Cultural interpretation at Masit IR 13 (Huu-ay-aht FN)	Surrounded by 2 ("wilderness")
	• Cultural interpretation at Kiix?in (IR 9) (Huu-ay-aht FN)	Bordering 2 ("wilderness") and possibly ESA
	• Cultural interpretation at Anacla IR 12 (Huu-ay-aht FN)	Bordering 3 ("natural environment")
BGI unit	• Day-stop for eco-cultural tours on Nettle Island, Cleho IR 6 (Tseshaht FN)	Surrounded by 2 ("wilderness")
	• Archaeological dig on Ts'ishaa (Benson Island) (Tseshaht FN)	2 ("wilderness")

Source: Canadian Heritage/Parks Canada 1994

According to Parks Canada's policy, zone 2 in combination with zone 1 "will make the greatest contribution towards the conservation of ecosystem integrity" (Canadian Heritage 1994, 2.2.3.2). It is intended to offer visitors "the opportunity to experience remoteness and solitude" with "few, if any, rudimentary services and facilities...motorized access and circulation will not be permitted" (Canadian Heritage 1994, 2.2.3.2). If the proposed zoning system for PRNPR is maintained after the park reserve has been gazetted, it may pose some stumbling blocks to the implementation of certain Aboriginal tourism initiatives suggested for the park reserve.

• **Impact Assessment**

Besides zoning, impact assessment requirements will also affect decisions on Aboriginal tourism development in Canada's national protected areas. It is to be anticipated that, under the amended Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (1999), most proposed Aboriginal tourism initiatives in a Canadian national park (reserve) would have to undergo an environmental and/ or cumulative impact

96

assessment. This holds true for

-Recreational activities that take place outdoors in a national park or national park reserve outside the boundaries of a town or a visitor centre as defined in subsection 2 (1) of the National Parks Lease and Licence of Occupation Regulations (1991) [...] (sect. 13.1)

-Physical activities taking place within a national park, national park reserve or national historic site, outside the boundary of a town or visitor centre as defined in subsection 2 (1) of the National Parks Lease and Licence of Occupation Regulations (1991), that are related to a military exercise, national or international sporting event or competition, jamboree or festival (sect. 13.3)

-The establishment, expansion or relocation of a trail, campsite or day-use area within a national park, national park reserve, national historic site or historic canal (sect. 13.5).

Thus, cooperation between First Nations and Parks Canada should also include environmental impact assessment issues.

Initiate environmental and cultural stewardship projects

Another tourism-related area with potential for cooperation between First Nations, Parks Canada and other interest groups such as NGOs and schools are environmental and cultural stewardship projects. Such projects, which can contribute to preserve or restore ecological integrity in national protected, could focus on stream restoration. In an area like Clayoquot Sound, where salmon streams have been heavily impacted by logging activity, such restoration projects are more than warranted. For example, while Huu-ay-aht Ha-Houlthee (traditional territory) comprised 35 fish-bearing streams in the past, there are presently only four or five streams left intact (Huu-ay-aht representative). Huu-ay-aht representatives suggested reaching out to schools, colleges, universities, the Bamfield Marine Station and NGOs to cooperatively engage in stream restoration projects in their Ha-Houlthee. Such restoration projects could be integrated into **Aboriginal heritage tour packages** within PRNPR, educating visitors about the interconnectedness of environment and Aboriginal culture. Information gathered in traditional use studies (see above) can help to point out traditional fishing sites, traps, camp sites, etc. A similar project, providing an inspiring example of how Aboriginal cultural tourism and stream restoration can be combined, is carried out by the Musqueam First Nation in Vancouver in cooperation with several partners (see textbox 4 in Appendix E).

River restoration in traditional Aboriginal territories could also become part of an **"Aboriginal Cultural**

Experiences" or stewartship program. The concept of Parks Canada's "Research Adventures"[49] (currently offered in Yoho, Kootenay, Banff and Waterton/ Glacier National Parks), could be adopted to the context of Aboriginal cultural and natural heritage. "Aboriginal Cultural Experiences" would help to foster understanding and stewardship of the unique Aboriginal cultural heritage in Canada's national parks and provide opportunities for the public to support and participate in Aboriginal heritage protection. In small groups and under the leadership of Aboriginal and Parks Canada experts, visitors could assist with archaeological research, monitoring impacts on cultural sites, or constructing trails while learning about and appreciating Aboriginal cultures past and present.

5.3.4 Revive and Share Aboriginal Cultural Knowledge and Traditions

Build on traditional Aboriginal knowledge, spirituality, and languages

A workshop on Aboriginal tourism development held in 1999 in Kluane National Park revealed that more efforts are necessary to support cultural revival in order to develop Aboriginal (cultural) tourism. Parks Canada must recognize that the lands encompassed by national parks are "platforms for traditional knowledge" of local First Nations (senior Parks Canada representative, pers. comm.), and that Aboriginal cultural tourism builds on both material and immaterial elements of Aboriginal culture. Thus, efforts to protect and share the material testimonies of Aboriginal cultures must be accompanied by efforts to revive and share the intangible components of Aboriginal cultures, such as traditional skills and knowledge, oral histories, spirituality and Aboriginal languages (Thirteen Moon Horizons 1997). This can take place in many different ways. For example, several successful traditional knowledge and oral history projects have been carried out in–mostly northern—national parks in cooperation with Aboriginal communities, Parks Canada and universities (e.g., in Wapusk, Ivvavik, Aulavik, Vuntut, Auyuittuq, Kluane, Gwaii Haanas) (Budke 1999a). Often, these projects integrate archaeological and oral history research, as a combination of both forms of data gathering can be a powerful tool for explaining the past and directing future management decisions. Selected parts of this information already gathered could be made available to visitors by incorporating it into interpretive programs at the respective sites. Aboriginal communities, and particularly Elders and Hereditary Chiefs (see above), should decide what information can be made public. Demonstrations of traditional skills are another way of reviving and sharing Aboriginal culture. For example, a multicultural "traditional skills week" could

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[49] "Research Adventures" offer visitors a unique learning experience as they pay to take part in hands-on research projects such as trout recovery; bird, bear and sheep surveys and wetland and wildwater research. The goal of these Research Adventures is "to promote understanding and stewardship of Canada's national parks by providing unique

be carried out in PRNPR or other parks, during which skills such as carving, canoe making, basket weaving, or preparing grass, cedar bark and fish could be taught and demonstrated in Aboriginal communities. Such an event, which could become a regular program, would be an educational experience for Aboriginal community members—particularly the young--and visitors alike. Rediscovery camps, such as those organized by the Hesquiaht and Tseshaht First Nations, are another way of reviving and sharing Aboriginal culture with both Native and non-Native, young and old people, including visitors (Peters and Stewart 1998; Rediscovery International Foundation 2000). Further, cultural camps for Elders and Aboriginal youth, such as those carried out in cooperation with Parks Canada in Aulavik National Park, provide opportunities for sharing traditional knowledge of the land (Budke 1999a). "Shawenequanape Kipichewin" (Southquill Camp) in Riding Mountain National Park is an inspiring example of how the development of a cultural program for tourists can bring together Elders and youths and trigger renewed interest in customs and skills in the younger generation of involved First Nations (see textbox 5 in Appendix E). In general, Parks Canada should encourage and support "the execution of ceremonies and rites that Aboriginal people believe necessary for their culture" (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 7.9).

Aboriginal knowledge and culture are inextricably linked with Aboriginal language, as language conveys important cultural concepts and belief systems. Several First Nations interviewees pointed out the importance of reviving Aboriginal languages as a foundation of Aboriginal cultural tourism development. "The native language has a deep, rich meaning, expressive of traditions, connected to spiritual roots, thus enhancing the meaning of communication" (Thirteen Moon Horizons 1997, 7). "Policies designed to recognize and encourage the preservation of the [Aboriginal] language will go a long way to bridging the gap between the cultures. To allow for areas where the language can be used in the development of aboriginal cultural tourism is a major step to reducing the gap" (Thirteen Moon Horizons 1997, 7). Again, Elders play a crucial role in Aboriginal language programs as they are often the only ones who still speak their languages.

Parks Canada can (continue to) play an important role in laying the groundwork for Aboriginal cultural tourism by seizing opportunities to support and cooperate in oral history/ traditional knowledge projects, Rediscovery camps, and Aboriginal language programs.

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opportunities for the public to support and actively participate in park research and educational programs"

Educating visitors and thereby increasing cross-cultural awareness, understanding and respect is one of the primary goals of sharing Aboriginal heritage and culture. This goal coincides with Parks Canada's principles of presenting Canada's natural and cultural heritage and educating the public as well as acknowledging the close relationship between people and the environment (Canadian Heritage 1994). In the face of increasing Aboriginal interest in using park lands there is an urgent need to educate visitors and interest groups about traditional Aboriginal rights and activities in protected areas; "First Nations need to educate visitors about their cultures and contemporary issues" (PRNPR employee, pers. comm.). This need is reflected in the recommendation of the Ecological Integrity Panel to "empower and enable First Nations people to tell their own stories in the parks, including direct participation in interpretive program planning and delivery" (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 7.9).

A PRNPR interpreter remarked that Indian Reserves within PRNPR, such as Esowista in the Long Beach unit, generate questions by many visitors. A Tseshaht representative deemed it important to educate visitors about the fact that his First Nation does not regard the Broken Group Islands as a tourist destination but as an area "defined through Tseshaht history, genealogy, and culture" (pers. comm.). Hupacasaht representatives conceded that Aboriginal cultural interpretation in PRNPR would also be "great in order to create understanding among people for the treaty process" (pers. comm.). Thus, First Nations culture and national parks can be "a very good marriage" (PRNPR employee, pers. comm.), particularly as education and culture are potential growth areas in national protected areas and historic sites.

The following strategic objective of PRNPR reflects these requirements; "[i]n partnership with the appropriate Band Councils and the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, study and present the aboriginal cultural heritage of the park reserve and manage cultural resources related to their history in ways that respect their traditions and contemporary values" (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1994, 45). However, the current interpretation program in PRNPR (Long Beach unit) does not include any Aboriginal component, because non-Aboriginal Parks Canada interpreters in PRNPR have a policy not to engage in Aboriginal cultural interpretation without the support of First Nations (PRNPR interpreter, pers. comm.). Nevertheless, several efforts have been made to advance Aboriginal interpretation in PRNPR in the past. For instance, in the summer of 1997, a Ucluelet member was hired to offer a guided

(Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1999).

100

walk in the park reserve about the history of Nuu-chah-nulth people and plants. This program was very well received by visitors. Moreover, participants of the Aboriginal internship program in 1998/99 received some exposure to interpretation (Interpretation Canada's Training Modules 1 and 2). On Aboriginal Day in 1999, two interns, accompanied by a Ucluelet Elder, offered an interpretive walk in the Long Beach Unit that focused on uses of plants in Nuu-chah-nulth culture. The event was attended and well-received by over 30 visitors. Also, a Ucluelet member was engaged in story-telling at the amphitheatre in the Parks Canada's Long Beach campground during the Whale Festival in the spring of 1999. While representing promising beginnings, these were isolated events that lacked an overall structure or program to tie them together. In order to address this shortcoming, PRNPR is presently preparing to develop an Aboriginal cultural interpretation program (Parks Canada 1999). Such an interpretive program should be integrated with related initiatives in PRNPR, namely Quu'as, the Huu-ay-aht Cultural Tourism Program, the Ts'ishaa (Benson Island) archaeology project and the Aboriginal internship program.

Essentially, there are three ways of involving First Nations in interpretation in a national protected area, namely as a) Parks Canada employees and/ or trainees, and/ or b) contractors for Parks Canada, and/ or c) as independent tour guides, and/ or d) as volunteers. The choice of avenue depends on the goals and concerns of First Nations, Parks Canada, and, last but not least, the Public Service Alliance of Canada. Local union representatives indicated the union's preference for hiring Aboriginal people as Parks Canada employees rather than contractors; their position is that involvement of Aboriginal people as contractors or independent tour guides must not endanger any Parks Canada positions. Likewise, Parks Canada seems to be more likely to invest in training Aboriginal people if these become employees from which the agency can benefit in the long run (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1998b). First Nations preferences with regards to becoming Parks Canada employees or working as contractors seem to vary; while some seem to regard employment with Parks Canada as a potential avenue to gain more influence with regards to management decisions, others seem inclined to remain independent.

Further issues to be addressed when developing Aboriginal interpretation programs include the following:

• **Training and standards**

The format and content of training for Aboriginal interpreters would depend on the status of these interpreters as Parks Canada employees, contractors or independent guides. Parks Canada interpretation has to meet certain standards set by Interpretation Canada. While Aboriginal interpreters who are hired

101

as Parks Canada employees would have to meet those standards, this may not necessarily hold true for independent Aboriginal interpreters or contractors. The question arises whether those standards lend themselves to Aboriginal interpretation, or if and how they should be adapted in order to accommodate the unique requirements and issues relating to Aboriginal cultural interpretation.[50]

- **Aboriginal control over information shared with visitors**

It is important for First Nations to know that they maintain control over the information that is shared with visitors.

- **Facility for interpretation/ cultural interpretive centre**

It was pointed out by many interviewees that a building, which would limit impacts of visitors on the land and allow interpretation independent of weather conditions, is essential. A cultural interpretive centre is "a key element in Aboriginal tourism development; [...] it can contribute to community healing and it helps to communicate to outsiders" (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.). Discussions are currently underway in PRNPR to make Aboriginal cultural interpretation an integral part of the planned Clayoquot Sound Biosphere Reserve Centre. However, due to the diversity of First Nations cultures in PRNPR, individual First Nations are calling for their own cultural interpretive centres (Ma-Mook representative, pers. comm.).

National and international examples of successful Aboriginal cultural interpretive centres that can provide inspiration and "lessons learned" include the Dreamtime Cultural Centre in Australia (Willan 2000), the Polynesian Cultural Centre on Oahu, Hawaii (Stanton 1989); Alaska Native Heritage Centre in Anchorage, Alaska (Alaska Native Heritage Centre 2000); Wanuskewin Heritage Park in Saskatchewan (Budke 1999a); Head-Smashed-in-Buffalo Jump in Alberta (Ingram 1998), Xaytem National Historic Site and Interpretation Centre in Mission, British Columbia (Ingram 1998; Coull 1996); Cowichan Native Village in Duncan, British Columbia (Coull 1996), and Secwecpmec Native Heritage Park near Kamploops (Coull 1996). Visitor centres with Aboriginal themes and interpretive displays that arose from cooperation between Parks Canada and Aboriginal people are located in Pangnirtung (Auyuittuq National Park), Pond Inlet, Inuvik and Dawson City (Tr'o-ju Wech'in Heritage Site) (Budke 1999a). Others are presently being planned by the Innu in Mingan National Park (Quebec) and the Haida on Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia).

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[50] Training for Aboriginal interpretation is further discussed in section 5.3.5.

- **Content of interpretation**

As mentioned before, First Nations cultural interpretation should not be restricted to the past but also explain current realities of Aboriginal life. For example, a Dene interpretive tour of Twin Falls in the Northwest Territories informs participants about the sacredness of this site and Dene cultural traditions. In addition, guides share "some of the harsh realities of Aboriginal community life. We share the experience of effects of cultural oppression, the development of social breakdown and addiction issues in our communities and what people are doing to take back responsibility and what some of the further challenges are to becoming strong again. People respond very, very well to that kind of open and honest portrayal of who we are today and they get a sense of what things were like in pre-contact times" (Lawrence 1999).

In PRNPR, the Nuu-chah-nulth custom of having beach keepers on the seashore to prevent enemies from invading their territories could be brought back to life on guided walks along the beaches of the park reserve. Further, the Nuu-chah-nulth whaling tradition offers ample interpretation material. However, this topic could also become controversial if Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations were to lobby for resuming whaling in the future. Aboriginal botanical tours about traditional plant use are another possible interpretation topic. However, collecting plants on wild food tours in the park reserve could be problematic as it contravenes the National Parks Act. Obviously, discussions between First Nations and park management addressing these issues will have to precede the implementation of these potential interpretation topics in PRNPR or other national parks.

- **Elders**

As mentioned above, Elders should play a decisive role in the development and delivery of Aboriginal cultural interpretation. In PRNRP, Elders could be stationed at the Ts'ishaa and Tsuquanah archaeological sites during the summer to share oral histories connected to these important places. At the same time, Elders could demonstrate traditional skills and share some of their language with interested visitors. An example of an interpretation program involving Elders and youth is the "Elder Host/ Junior Park Ranger Program" in Herschel Island Territorial Park (textbox 6 in Appendix E).

- **Representativeness**

It is important to convey to visitors the diversity of First Nations cultures in protected areas like PRNPR with a multitude of Aboriginal groups. They must understand that each Aboriginal interpreter can only

represent and adequately explain his or her own culture. Likewise, Aboriginal interpreters should be assured that they will not be asked to speak on behalf of all Aboriginal people in the respective protected area.

- **Information exchange about successful Aboriginal interpretive programs**

There is a perceived need to create regional or national networks of Aboriginal cultural interpreters within the Parks Canada system in order to exchange information about unique challenges, requirements and successes related to Aboriginal interpretation. "We all have our issues, which are similar; we need a 'sounding board' to hear what works or does not work for Aboriginal interpreters" (Aboriginal interpreter, pers. comm.). The basis for such networks would be an inventory of all Aboriginal interpretation initiatives in national parks and sites across Canada so that Aboriginal interpreters can find out "who is where and doing what in First Nations interpretation" (Aboriginal interpreter, pers. comm.). A brief case study of the Aboriginal cultural interpretation program in Pukaskwa National Park can be found in Appendix D.

5.3.5 Build Human Capacity

Building "capacity" is the most immediate and most frequently mentioned requirement for developing Aboriginal tourism. Capacity building includes education, job training, and skill development, which will allow Aboriginal people to successfully enter and participate in the tourism industry. While capacity building must be offered to all interested Aboriginal persons, it should focus on the biggest asset of Aboriginal communities, namely their youth. Job training for Aboriginal youth "is critical when seeking to enhance the development of aboriginal cultural tourism" (Thirteen Moon Horizons 1997, 6). This is also recognized in Parks Canada's Aboriginal Employment Strategy, which outlines a number of requirements and recommendations for enhancing job opportunities for Aboriginal people in the federal agency (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1998b). The strategy also acknowledges that job training alone is not sufficient; it must be complemented with adequate formal education opportunities (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 1998b) and a climate that is conducive to learning. A Huu-ay-aht representative noted that Aboriginal parents need to know that their children must go to school and that it is important "to bring up the kids in a more positive fashion to build an economy in our own territory" (pers. comm.).

Cooperation between First Nations and regional and local schools, colleges and universities should be supported in order to facilitate grade twelve as well as post-secondary education. As part of an "outreach program" (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 7.9), relationships should be established with teachers and principals of local schools serving Aboriginal communities in and around national parks. In this way, information about tourism and related careers in Parks Canada could be integrated into curriculae. This would not only foster interest in tourism careers among students, but could also increase the number of school groups visiting the respective national parks and participating in guided Aboriginal interpretive tours. Also, opportunities for Aboriginal high-school students to participate in volunteer practica or work experience programs in Parks Canada and associated programs, such as Quu'as, should be explored in cooperation with schools.[51] Aboriginal youth conferences, such as the one organized by the Huu-ay-aht First Nation in summer 1999, present further opportunities for Parks Canada and Quu'as to advertise their career opportunities and training programs related to parks, tourism, and cultural interpretation.

Offer life-skills training

In addition to formal education, life-skills training is an essential component of capacity building for Aboriginal tourism development. The goal should be to develop not only professional but also personal skills along with confidence, pride and leadership qualities. This is recognized in the new "Quu'as Approach" to training and development of Aboriginal people, which promises to build life-skills in financial management, personal development and cross-cultural awareness (see Appendix A).

Provide tourism-related training

"If people aren't doing what they want to do for a career, they are going to fail" (Pacheedaht representative, pers. comm.). As a consequence, it is necessary to determine what type of tourism positions Aboriginal people are seeking. It is likely that most Aboriginal people would be interested in positions for which they have related experience. According to a Ditidaht representative (pers. comm.), answers must be found to the key question, "What is the potential of the people?" It is important to build tourism businesses and training around the existing skills and knowledge of Aboriginal people. Given

the overwhelming presence of the ocean in PRNPR, many Aboriginal people in this region have extensive experience in fishing and boat handling, which can be utilized in creating water-based tourism businesses. They are also very familiar with the land and its resources, which provides them with essential knowledge and skills for guiding and interpretive tours. Opportunities for First Nation members to start their own businesses must be developed along with a process for implementing these businesses. A key element of such a process must be a tourism training plan or strategy. Such an **Aboriginal tourism training strategy** should be tailored to the specific tourism goals and plans of individual Aboriginal communities, which in turn depend on the varying cultural, natural and human resources each First Nation can access for tourism development. However, there are also training needs and challenges related to tourism development that are likely shared by many First Nations across Canada. Thus, it may be possible to develop a regional or national framework for Aboriginal tourism training with general components, which will then be complemented by training modules that are specific to individual First Nations or protected areas and sites. Both the general and more specific components of such an Aboriginal tourism training strategy for national protected areas should be developed as a cooperative effort between Parks Canada and First Nations. The training strategy should address the following questions:

- who will be trained?
- for what purpose(s)?
- in which areas/ skills and tourism sector(s)?
- when?
- for how long?
- by whom (partnerships and cooperation)?
- how (process of delivery)?
- with which (financial and human) resources?

- **Training purpose**

Parks Canada and the involved First Nations should determine whether the ultimate purpose of an Aboriginal tourism training strategy is to train future Parks Canada employees or to prepare Aboriginal people to become contractors or self-employed tourism entrepreneurs. Naturally, Parks Canada is more likely to invest in training those people who will remain with the agency. The agency is further bound to justify the funding of training projects by showing that this creates positive effects on the park reserve (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.). However, Parks Canada should also have an interest in

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[51] See Appendix A for further suggstions specifically related to Quu'as.

supporting Aboriginal tourism trainees who do not intend to become Parks Canada employees; in the long-run, both Parks Canada and Aboriginal communities will profit from well-trained Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs whose businesses inside the park operate sustainably and in tune with Parks Canada's mandate. As a tourism consultant pointed out with regards to PRNPR, Parks Canada should not necessarily plan to "scoop up" Quu'as graduates, but also help to establish a process that supports former Quu'as employees or trainees in creating their own tourism businesses (pers. comm.). Elements required for such a process are described in the following paragraphs.

• Partners in training development and delivery

In PRNPR, Quu'as' and Parks Canada seem to be the most plausible partners for developing **custom-tailored, location-specific tourism training modules** that could fit into a larger (national) framework. This would be an opportunity for Quu'as to fulfil its first objective, namely "skill development for First Nations people, based on community direction and with specific training plans for specific careers" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 6). However, Quu'as does not yet have the capacity and expertise to carry out this type of Aboriginal tourism training on its own. Therefore, Quu'as' role would resemble that of a **training coordinator** for the time being. In developing a flexible tourism training program that takes the special characteristics of PRNPR and the local First Nations into consideration, the society would have to rely on partners. Besides Parks Canada, potential partners in this regard could include Lake Cowichan Education Centre (Vancouver Island); Malaspina and North Island College (Vancouver Island); Capilano College (North Vancouver); Simon Fraser University (Burnaby); First Host (Vancouver); Native Education Centre (Vancouver), which offers an Aboriginal tourism program; and Pacific Rim Institute for Tourism (Vancouver). Also, expert advice should be sought with regards to training in natural and cultural resource management and archaeology. Possible contacts in this regard are archaeologists (including Parks Canada staff), the Royal British Columbia Museum (Victoria), the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver) and consultants who have previously worked with First Nations in related fields. Quu'as would thus be responsible for establishing, coordinating and marketing such a tourism training program. In doing so, the society would contribute to fulfilling its second objective, which is to "facilitate the development of First Nations businesses related to outdoor recreation within the area by serving as a coordinating point of contact to match services to clients [...]" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 6).

- **Financial resources**

Fees for participating in the training program would cover the costs incurred by institutions or individuals providing the training components as well as the costs incurred by Quu'as for coordinating the program. In order to keep participation fees affordable, efforts should be made to access additional funding from Quu'as' Aboriginal development fund as well as external sources (such as the Nuu-chah-nulth Economic Development Corporation (NEDC) or Aboriginal Business Canada (ABC)).

- **Participants**

In order to make such as program economically feasible, participation should be invited from all First Nations with interest in or around PRNPR (as opposed to just those in the WCT unit). The less location-specific components of the program could also be opened up to other First Nations on Vancouver Island or in the province.

- **Training areas/ skills**

Support with business planning was identified by many interviewees as one of the most immediate tourism training needs. A tourism consultant stressed that "Aboriginal people need to be provided with more skills about how to do business plans; they need more business guidance" (pers. comm.). Aboriginal interviewees confirmed this view; while the Nuu-chah-nulth Economic Development Corporation (NEDC) provides financial support and advice with regards to business planning, it was felt by several interviewees that more personalized guidance is needed. It was suggested to provide "a personal step-by-step approach" that offers "a clear picture [how] to get a [tourism] business started" (Nuu-chah-nulth member, pers. comm.). In the past, Quu'as delivered a one-day workshop on business planning (Quu'as representative, pers. comm.). It was "highly recommended" to expand this training component as many Quu'as trainees "expressed a keen interest in seeking guidance for small business development" (Malaspina University College 1998, 2). However, this recommendation has not been implemented, yet, mainly because Quu'as has discontinued the training program delivered through Malaspina College.

Tourism-related training for Aboriginal people should focus on both **small business planning** (including program/ project development; funding and loan application process) and **small business management** (including finance, customer service, entrepreneurial and human resource skills, establishing industry contacts and developing marketing strategies). It would be desirable to integrate

"Aboriginal tourism development and entrepreneurship" as another "function area" into the newly developed "Quu'as Approach" to training and development of Aboriginal people. The "Quu'as Approach" already includes several tourism-related training elements. These are financial management/ finance and administration skills; client service (First Host training); proposal writing and entrepreneurship; interpretive planning and presentation skills; safe travel, marine and terrestrial skills; and eco-system management (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 2000). It should be contemplated to also make **resource management training** an integral part of Aboriginal tourism training, given the fact that most Aboriginal tourism plans depend on intact natural and cultural resources and many Aboriginal people consider resource management "a natural link with tourism training" (Native Consulting Services 1998, 5). In several Aboriginal communities across Canada, "on-the-job training and transfer of skills in forest-related occupations and operations were part of the tourism training for their members" (Native Consulting Services 1998, 5).

Another important component of an Aboriginal tourism training strategy for PRNPR is **training for guardians**. First Nations such as the Huu-ay-aht have expressed keen interest in training their people as guardians to protect and interpret their heritage sites. At present, Quu'as provides such training for the three First Nations in the WCT unit, but the other four First Nations with interests in PRNPR do not have access to such training. In order to provide more equitable opportunities for Aboriginal guardian training in PRNPR, it should be contemplated to offer an Aboriginal guardian training program through Quu'as. By coordinating such a park-wide program, Quu'as would fulfil its third objective, which is to "[f]oster greater understanding among visitors to the area of the 'cultural landscape': develop cultural interpretation programming; explore opportunities for on-site and guided cultural heritage experiences" (Quu'as 1999-2002 Business and Operations Strategy, 1999, 6). As opposed to the status quo, the majority of Quu'as trainees would not be trained to become Quu'as employees, but would participate in the guardian training only for the duration of the program. The respective First Nations would pay Quu'as a training fee for each participant. Similar to other components of the Aboriginal tourism training strategy, guardian training should also include modules that address the specific training requirements of individual First Nations.

As indicated above, Quu'as may have to outsource such a guardian training program to a qualified educational institution (such as Malaspina College or Lake Cowichan Education Centre) in the beginning because the society does not yet have the necessary teaching capacity. However, with the implementation of the new "Quu'as Approach" to training and development of Aboriginal people, it is feasible that Quu'as, in partnership with Parks Canada, will train its **own instructors** over the next few years to deliver programs in Aboriginal heritage protection and interpretation. The coordination of such

109

an Aboriginal guardian and/ or tourism training program through Quu'as would most likely require the hiring of additional Quu'as staff. If successful, such as guardian training program could grow to provide its services to First Nations across British Columbia[52] or even Canada.

- **Additional avenues for advancing Aboriginal tourism training in PRNPR**

Besides Quu'as, other existing or planned programs and projects could play important roles in advancing Aboriginal tourism training in PRNPR. For example, the Aboriginal internship program is well-suited to deliver tourism-related training and assist in creating Aboriginal tourism attractions. In conjunction with the planned Aboriginal interpretation program, interested interns could be trained and gather experience in basic interpretation. Artisan projects offer the opportunity for interns to learn about traditional skills such as carving/ wood working or painting and to explain these skills and traditions to visitors. The canoe carving project in PRNPR, in which several interns and a local carver were engaged in 1999, is one example of such a project. The ship-building project in Fort St. James National Historic Site, in which Aboriginal students funded by YMCA are engaged, is another example. After its completion, the replica of a historic schooner will be used for guided boat tours to pictographs and other Aboriginal sites along the near-by lake. This would provide an extended training ground with employment opportunities in the tourism industry for the Aboriginal participants in Fort St. James National Historic Site. Likewise, the carving project in PRNPR could become an integral part of a cultural interpretation program and/ or guided dug-out canoe tours within the park reserve. Continuity and the trainees' willingness to work on a regular schedule are important requirements for the success of such programs.

Further, projects and programs related to archaeology and cultural resource management, such as the archaeological dig on Ts'ishaa (Benson Island) in PRNPR, can be tailored towards the training and employment requirements in the Aboriginal tourism industry. The Ts'ishaa project illustrates the potential of archaeological sites to become the training ground where Aboriginal students can gather experience in interpretation and customer service. Care has to be taken to include trainees from those First Nations on whose traditional territory the respective sites are located.

Invite Aboriginal people living off-reserve back onto Indian Reserves

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There is an immediate need to increase the pool of available and skilled Aboriginal people on reserves to work in the tourism industry. As pointed out by several interviewees, Aboriginal people living off-

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[52] For example, there is a need for guardian training in Gwaii Haanas.

reserve with training or interest in tourism should be invited to return to the reserves. "Off-reserve people often don't know about the opportunities on reserve [...] There are few applicants for interpretive guardians because people don't know about the opportunities" (Huu-ay-aht representative, pers. comm.). A Huu-ay-aht representative emphasized the important role communication plays in this case again; off-reserve band members should be informed about tourism plans and human resource needs on reserves through personalized letters and appropriate advertisement. However, job opportunities must be created and infrastructure (particularly housing) improved and/ or extended in order to encourage off-reserve band members to take this step.

5.3.6 Achieve Economic Sustainability

As mentioned before, protected areas such as PRNPR and the newly established UN Biosphere Reserve in Clayoquot Sound draw tourists to the area, "bringing focus to the region as well as marketing opportunities" (Ma-Mook representative, pers. comm.). In order to address the economic challenges described in chapter four and successfully seize the opportunities these protected areas present for indigenous tourism development, local Aboriginal people and Parks Canada should cooperate closely in the areas outlined below.

Create "anchor attractions" and "package" products and services

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By creating key or "anchor" attractions within a region or protected area, visitors can be directed to certain places of interest, or away from culturally and/ or environmentally sensitive sites. At the same time, anchor attractions can become the focus of packaged tours, providing opportunities for "spin-off" businesses and thereby increasing employment and revenue opportunities of local Aboriginal people in the tourism industry. Aboriginal tourism initiatives that could provide such "anchors attractions" in a protected area include **visitor/ cultural interpretive centres**. Such central facilities would help to address several economic challenges related to Aboriginal tourism development; by providing office, parking and weatherproof performance space and potentially drawing large visitors numbers, an interpretive centre can help to extend the tourist season and increase opportunities for revenue generation as well as for Aboriginal cultural revival.

A regional **First People's Festival** could become another "anchor event" that would generate spin-off businesses for local communities and, with the right timing, extend the tourist season besides offering opportunities for cross-cultural learning (Hinch and Delamere 1993). Other potential key attractions mentioned in chapter four include **eco-lodges and resorts**. Such accommodation facilities do not

111

necessarily need to be situated inside the protected area in order to fulfil this key function, as the examples of the Yulara tourist village outside of Uluru National Park in Australia (Altman 1989) and Tin Wis Resort adjacent to PRNPR show. Further, **Aboriginal heritage and archaeological sites**, such as Kiix?in and the Ts'ishaa dig in PRNPR, can become anchor attractions around which other tourism initiatives can be developed (see Appendices B and C).

Provide funding and support for grant applications

- ## Internal (federal) funding

To fulfil Parks Canada's commitment to enhance economic opportunities for First Nations, one of the main priorities of an "Aboriginal tourism strategy" envisioned by the agency must be to address the shortage of funding available in individual parks and sites to support Aboriginal tourism and training projects. Before relying on external funding sources to advance Aboriginal tourism in Canada's national parks and sites, it must be examined what funds are needed in order to implement Aboriginal tourism initiatives in various national parks and national historic sites. It should be contemplated whether a **national fund** for Aboriginal tourism development in national parks and historic sites, approved by Treasury Board and administered through Parks Canada's Aboriginal Secretariat, could be established. For example, pilot projects could be supported in selected parks and sites that would provide learning opportunities for other areas. Funds could be made accessible to individual parks and sites on a merit basis. In order to ensure that funding is used wisely and effectively, allocation criteria should be employed, which take into account that tourism opportunities, needs and interests of individual First Nations as well as parks and sites vary. Criteria should include urgency; chances of success; expected benefits and investment needs of suggested Aboriginal tourism projects as well as resource capacities of the respective First Nations and parks and sites. Individual parks and sites would apply for funding by providing a business case for the suggested project(s). A national Aboriginal tourism fund should allow national parks and sites to use part of the allocated funds for hiring a liaison officer dedicated to developing and coordinating Aboriginal tourism initiatives.

Besides researching the possibility of establishing a national fund for Aboriginal tourism and economic development in Canada's national parks and historic sites, possibilities of securing funding for southern parks through the **treaty process** should be researched and coordinated with the Federal Treaty Negotiation Office. Given that Aboriginal economic development—and funding for it—are integral parts of most recent land claim and cooperative management agreements in Canada's north (e.g. Inuit Impacts and Benefits Agreement for Auyuittuq, Quttinirpaaq and Sirmilik National Parks (1999), referred to as

"IIBA" below), it seems logical that future treaty agreements in the south would include similar provisions. Such funding provisions for Aboriginal tourism development, to be negotiated between Parks Canada and the parties involved in the treaty process, could be included in a side agreement (not constitutionally protected) as in the case of the IIBA. In this agreement, funding for economic development in the respective national parks is shared between the federal government and Parks Canada; the federal government provides a "one-time grant of three million dollars to establish a National Parks Economic Opportunities Fund" (art. 60, 10.3.1). This fund is intended to provide Inuit of adjacent communities "with financial assistance to enable them to take advantage of economic opportunities related to the Parks" (art. 60, 10.3.2). Parks Canada will a) "contract for the development of an Inuit Tourism Strategy for each of the six adjacent communities; and b) commit a total of two hundred and forty thousand dollars to pay for the contracts" (art. 60, 10.4.1).

However, based on the findings of this study, financial support for Aboriginal tourism development in Canada's southern national parks/ park reserves, such as PRNPR, is needed immediately, well before treaties are expected to be settled. Thus, creativity is necessary in order to acquire and allocate respective funding. The case of Quu'as West Coast Trail Group provides an example of such a creative funding arrangement (see Appendix A). As a **non-profit society** relying on outside funding, Quu'as is not a true joint venture. However, it uses one of the main benefits of joint ventures to its advantage, namely reduced financial responsibilities and risk for its partners. Funding arrangements similar to that of Quu'as should be contemplated for Aboriginal tourism projects in other national parks and sites. Regardless of the kind of funding arrangement, however, it is essential for all partners to arrive at a coherent vision of how funding and revenue dollars should be invested.

- **External funding sources**

Besides internal and treaty-related funding, potential external funding sources for Aboriginal tourism development in national parks and sites must be researched. As funding organizations support different types of tourism development[53], the type of planned Aboriginal tourism projects should first be determined in order to direct applications for financial support to the appropriate agencies. Effective and frequent dialogue between First Nations, Parks Canada and regional interest groups will play a crucial role in accomplishing this (see above). A comprehensive compendium of funding sources and contact details for Aboriginal tourism development in Canada is presently being prepared by Parks Canada's

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[53] For example, while Aboriginal Business Canada (ABC) finances Aboriginal eco- or cultural tourism initiatives, the First Nations Forestry Program (a partnership between the Department of Northern and Indian Affairs (INAC) and the Canadian Forest Service (CFS)) supports Aboriginal tourism initiatives that are forestry-based.

Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat. It will be distributed to First Nations as part of a "tool kit" for Aboriginal tourism development.

As written proposals and detailed business plans are required for securing loans and grants for Aboriginal tourism projects, Parks Canada can also (indirectly) assist Aboriginal people with acquiring funding by providing training in business planning and proposal writing, as discussed above.

Build regional coordination and partnerships

It has become clear in the course of this research that in order to develop Aboriginal tourism initiatives that are environmentally, socio-culturally and economically sustainable, the integration and coordination of regional stakeholders and interest groups is essential (see also Norris Nicholson 1997; Long 1993). Aboriginal tourism development "must fit into an overall regional economic development plan" (Long 1993, 206). As a Parks Canada manager noted, "it is necessary to take the focus off ourselves" and to acknowledge that national parks are regional players (pers. comm.). While the initiative for Aboriginal tourism development must clearly come from the First Nations, and Parks Canada is a logical partner in a national parks and sites context, other interest groups to be consulted and possibly involved include the travel industry (tourism operators and organizations), governments at all levels, gateway communities, NGO's, and education institutions such as schools, colleges, and universities (see 4.1.3). "There is a need to establish areas of complementarity so as to network between similar types of operators, [and] avoid unfair bases of comparison while balancing ways to coordinate activity" (Norris Nicholson 1997, 130). Cooperation and information exchange among interest groups and potential partners at a regional scale will help to prevent duplication of Aboriginal tourism products and services. It will also contribute to designing appropriate anchor attractions and tourism products and services that complement rather than conflict with each other, thus increasing economic benefits for each Aboriginal tourism initiative. At the same time, regional partnerships allow for creative approaches to challenges such as seasonality and infrastructure shortages.

- **Meet infrastructure and seasonality challenges**

Parks Canada could become a partner in such cooperative arrangements for educational Aboriginal tourism. For example, an "Aboriginal Cultural Experience" program (see above) could be developed in partnership with First Nations as well as education and research institutions. The partnership between the Huu-ay-aht First Nation and the Bamfield Marine Station in PRNPR is an example of such an arrangement, in which Parks Canada could partake (see textbox 7 in Appendix E).

114

Further, the involvement of accommodation facilities such as Tin Wis Resort and non-Aboriginal tourism operators in Aboriginal tourism initiatives of Parks Canada and First Nations will contribute to the economic sustainability of such enterprises, as infrastructure and expertise can be shared. For example, a booking office for Aboriginal cultural tours in PRNPR and a stage for Aboriginal cultural performances and events could be incorporated into Tin Wis Resort. This would allow for the development of tourism packages that include accommodation and guided tours or other nature and culture-based events. At the same time, Parks Canada should examine whether some of its facilities such as theatres can be made available for First Nations' interpretive or cultural events and performances. The theatre in PRNPR, for example, reminiscent of an Aboriginal long house with seats for approximately 200 people, would be well-suited for such purposes.

Cooperation between individual (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) tourism operators can further help to share resources and infrastructure in an effort to help individual tourism enterprises to achieve economic sustainability. This is illustrated by an example of cooperation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal tourism operators in Clayoquot Sound for the purpose of sharing infrastructure (see textbox 8 in Appendix E).

- **Marketing and market research**

Regional cooperation is not only beneficial with regards to sharing resources such as infrastructure and developing Aboriginal tourism initiatives. It is also advantageous with regards to market research and marketing of Aboriginal tourism products and services, because regional cooperation in this regard is more cost-effective. For example, cooperative design and printing of promotional materials as well as acquiring mailing lists and distributing promotional brochures is less expensive for a group of tourism operators than for individual entrepreneurs (Patterson 1997). Moreover, "[a] marketing partnership can create a larger presence in the marketplace than an individual operator can" (Patterson 1997, 79). [...] Marketing partnerships are very powerful but take many months or years to develop, so they should be incorporated into a marketing plan along with other activities that generate business in the shorter term" (Patterson 1997, 79).

In the context of Aboriginal tourism development in national parks and sites, Parks Canada and First Nations appear to be logical partners for cooperative marketing efforts. The potential marketing partners should examine the possibility of including information about Aboriginal tourism businesses on Parks Canada's **internet site** and/ or linking Parks Canada's website with websites of those Aboriginal tourism businesses that are operating within various parks and sites. It would appear that those Aboriginal

115

tourism products and services to be advertised through Parks Canada must be compatible with the agency's mandate and meet certain quality and sustainability standards in order to garner Parks Canada's support. Further, Parks Canada should examine the possibility of adjusting its business planning cycle in order to better accommodate Aboriginal tourism marketing.

First Nations and Parks Canada should also involve local, regional and national (Aboriginal) tourism associations, such as Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia (AtBC) and Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada (ATTC), as key marketing partners and experts. In fact, cooperation in this regard is already underway; Parks Canada has a representative on the board of ATTC, and regional service centres have recently been instructed to make contact with the respective provincial or territorial Aboriginal tourism organizations. Moreover, national protected areas such as PRNPR and Gwaii Haanas are members of provincial Aboriginal tourism associations (AtBC). This membership helps to appropriately present and advertise the Aboriginal tourism products and services in theses protected areas to an international audience. It also provides the respective First Nations and Parks Canada with an important tool of shaping visitor expectations before they arrive at the destination. For example, in response to Haida concerns about visitor impacts on their heritage sites, Gwaii Haanas' marketing campaign is now focussing mainly on the natural environment rather than Aboriginal sites.

Marketing can thus become a management tool by directing tourists away from (culturally and/ or environmentally) sensitive areas to those places that are more resistant to visitor impacts. This type of marketing, called "social marketing", aims at changing the behaviours and attitudes of visitors. The Ecological Integrity Panel (EIP) proposes social marketing as an alternative to product-marketing, which Parks Canada has traditionally pursued. The EIP recommends "that Parks Canada immediately cease the product marketing of national parks in general and the product marketing which attempts to increase overall use of parks or divert demand to shoulder seasons or so-called 'under-used' parks in particular" (Parks Canada Agency 2000, 10.21). This recommendation implies that marketing should aim at reducing rather than increasing visitor numbers in order to ensure the ecological integrity of Canada's national protected areas. Together, First Nations and Parks Canada must determine if and how this recommendation can be fulfilled while ensuring the economic sustainability of planned Aboriginal tourism initiatives.

As virtually no market research for Aboriginal tourism in Canadian national parks and sites has been conducted, such research should become a priority item in Parks Canada's national Aboriginal tourism strategy. Without thorough market research, the economic sustainability of new Aboriginal tourism products and services is endangered, and cooperative efforts (including financial and human resources)

116

that went into their development are wasted. Parks Canada and First Nations should turn to local and regional universities and colleges for support in conducting affordable market research.

6.0 CONCLUSIONS

Canadian national protected areas and historic sites offer great potential for creating Aboriginal tourism initiatives thanks to the unique combination of First Nations cultural resources and natural environments. However, careful planning and thorough consideration of potential challenges, many of which are unique to First Nations and protected areas, are necessary in order to seize this potential in a sustainable manner. The foremost concern of any Aboriginal tourism development in a protected area must be to ensure economic, socio-cultural and environmental sustainability of both the project and the environment in which it is placed. The recent report of the Ecological Integrity Panel exposes the multiple threats to which Canada's national park system has been subjected for many decades. Its call for a more serious and consistent commitment to protecting ecological integrity in national parks could directly affect Aboriginal tourism development in these places. Parks Canada, First Nations, and possibly other stakeholders will have to work together in order to find feasible ways of uniting each other's mandates, needs and goals without endangering the foundation of Aboriginal tourism--namely an intact natural and cultural heritage.

In order to achieve this, partners in Aboriginal tourism development in Canada's national parks and national historic sites must follow an integrated, holistic approach. The field work for this report clearly revealed that Aboriginal tourism development in protected areas cannot be tackled without addressing a multitude of issues. These relate to the development of human capacity and genuine partnerships as well as other resources such as infrastructure and monetary support. Moreover, it requires flexibility and the adaptation of policies and guidelines, as well as planning and decision-making processes and structures. The ambiguous relationship between Aboriginal people and Parks Canada can be turned into an effective partnership if all parties activate all possible resources. Time and money, as well as good will and optimism, must be invested in order to build cross-cultural relationships of trust, respect, and credibility—thereby contributing to healing the wounds of the past.

Notwithstanding that the past must be addressed in order to plan for the future, partners in Aboriginal tourism development in Canada's national protected areas and historic sites are advised to employ a forward looking perspective. It is suggested that they start out on small, feasible projects that allow room for learning and expansion. Pilot projects in selected parks and sites that require a relatively limited pool of resources can help to gain important insights into what type of Aboriginal tourism initiatives would be appropriate, sustainable and feasible in a national park context. (Pilot) projects like those carried out in PRNPR provide inspiration for other First Nations and parks and sites across the

118

country, or even beyond Canada's boundaries, to pursue similar initiatives.

However, while there are a number of general prerequisites for Aboriginal tourism development and cooperation in Canada's national parks and historic sites, it must be kept in mind that the situation and requirements of each First Nation and each protected area or site vary. Thus, a national approach to Aboriginal tourism development by Parks Canada must be cautioned against ignoring local and regional characteristics and needs that set Aboriginal tourism initiatives in one part of the country, province or territory apart from those in another part. Ideally, a national Aboriginal tourism strategy for Canada's national protected areas and historic sites would be developed in cooperation between Parks Canada and First Nations. It would provide a flexible, modular framework with general principles and guidelines that can be adapted and complemented by Aboriginal tourism working groups at each park and historic site. It is hoped that this report contributes to an approach that results in processes and projects that are endorsed by all parties involved and that, at the same time, enhance the well-being of hosts, guests, and protected places.

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8.0 APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CASE STUDY: QUU'AS WEST COAST TRAIL GROUP, PRNPR

A Partnership Approach towards Enhancing Economic and Tourism Opportunities for First Nations[54]

1.0 Introduction

Quu'as[55] West Coast Trail Group (Quu'as) is a business alliance among the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Huu-ay-aht First Nations, working as a contractor for and in cooperation with Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (PRNPR). Quu'as is unique in Canada as it is the only partnership of its kind between First Nations and Parks Canada. The business partnership has been operating successfully since its inception in 1996, providing essential services related to outdoor recreation and tourism on the West Coast Trail (WCT) that include trail repair and maintenance, cultural interpretation and resource protection, hiker ferry services, and retail sales. During the four years of its existence, Quu'as has built a solid reputation and carried out many successful projects while it has had to cope with several changes and challenges at the same time. This case study provides an overview of Quu'as' history as well as the partnership's achievements and challenges in the first four years in business. It reveals that Quu'as provides a powerful model of a business alliance between First Nations and Parks Canada for the purpose of economic and tourism development, from which other First Nations and parks can learn important lessons.

2.0 History of Quu'as

According to a Ditidaht representative, the original catalyst for Quu'as was a deep concern among WCT First Nations about the deterioration of important Aboriginal heritage sites along the trail. For example, hikers had burned cedar logs that were remainders of old long houses and accessed ancient burial caves. Two concerned Ditidaht members, then councillors, started to lobby in their band council and later

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[54] The case-study is based on interviews and informal discussions with the managing director of Quu'as, Quu'as employees and board members. It also takes into consideration an Issues Analysis conducted by a consulting firm (Hambleton and Associates 1998) and relevant documents referring to the establishment, business and operations strategies, etc. of Quu'as.

[55] "Quu'as" means "one people" in the Nuu-chah-nulth language.

132

approached the leadership of the neighbouring Pacheedaht and Huu-ay-aht First Nations to work together on protecting their important heritage sites along the West Coast Trail. The main objective was to create a guardian program designed to prevent further damage to sensitive Aboriginal sites along the trail. It took more than two years to build support among the three First Nations for their idea. The Ditidaht First Nation began to place guardians at some of the sensitive sites. Later, the federal and provincial governments (Parks Canada and BC Parks) expressed interest in supporting and expanding the program with the three First Nations and agreed to fund the program which became Quu'as.

In June, 1995, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed between Quu'as, the Department of Canadian Heritage and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. In this MOU, "The Pacheenaht, Ditidaht and Ohiat First Nations as represented by Quu'as agree to a working relationship and business initiative with Pacific Rim National Park Reserve that will advance the aboriginal content, natural and cultural resource protection, guardianship and maintenance of the West Coast Trail and provide a formal business entity in which to operate effectively" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Department of Canadian Heritage/ Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1995). The signing of this MOU was preceded by a lengthy search for a model of cooperation that appropriately reflected the specific situation of the WCT area and the interests of all three First Nations and the park reserve.

While Quu'as members cooperate as business partners, the Quu'as initiative does not constitute a cooperative or co-management agreement and "will not in any way prejudice or otherwise affect any party involved in any claims or treaty process agreed to by Canada, British Columbia and the First Nations" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 4).

3.0 Partnership Structure and Employees

Board of Directors

During the first three years of its existence, Quu'as was run as a "corporate joint venture" between the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht and Huu-ay-aht First Nations, providing services as a contractor to Parks Canada. In 1999, Quu'as became a non-profit society, enabling the partnership to save tax dollars. Quu'as' is managed by a Board of Directors (formerly called "steering committee") that is headed by the managing director. Each partner First Nation and Parks Canada is represented by one member and one alternate on the board. In the early phase of the Quu'as partnership, board members included the chief councillor and/ or a hereditary chief of each First Nation and the superintendent of PRNPR. At present, board members are comprised of one councillor of each First Nation and the First Nations liaison manager of

133

PRNPR. The board makes its decisions by consensus.

Staff

At present, Quu'as staff consists of a trail team of six[56], made up of two members of each partner First Nation, four trainees, and an administrative assistant. Job descriptions have somewhat changed since Quu'as' inception. In the past, the trail crew included several trail head staff, who provided hikers of the WCT with an orientation at each entrance to the trail, and "interpretive guardians". Guardians' duties included trail maintenance and repair as well as the protection of sensitive Aboriginal sites and cultural interpretation along the trail. However, following a suggestion by Parks Canada, separate job descriptions for interpretive guardians and trail maintenance staff were developed in 1999. Presently, two interpretive guardians and four trail staff work on the WCT. In addition to its full-time employees, Quu'as provides temporary employment to local Aboriginal people, particularly at the beginning of the season when the trail is cleared and repaired. The two Aboriginal ferry operators on the WCT are also affiliated with Quu'as.

4.0 Expectations and Reasons for the Business Partnership

The *Quu'as Business and Operations Strategy 1999-2002* outlines several key reasons for and benefits of the Quu'as partnership:

- "Parks Canada and the three First Nations are already partners [...and] members of the three Bands have worked in WCT operations in various programs and capacities for over 20 years";
- "Parks Canada can no longer manage and operate the WCT unilaterally [...]";
- "Operation of the WCT will be significantly enhanced through the Quu'as business relationship in areas of upgraded customer service and market appeal, improved public safety and upgraded asset upkeep and maintenance."
- As Quu'as takes over maintenance and interpretation on the WCT, Parks Canada can dedicate more resources to the protection of natural and cultural resources within PRNPR;
- The Quu'as/ Parks Canada partnership "offers a unique opportunity [...] to demonstrate that Parks and First Nations can work together towards implementation of long-term and mutually advantageous partnerships";

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[56] In past years, Quu'as employed as many as nine trail staff.

- Quu'as "will support and provide meaningful and sustainable economic opportunities, a healthy business climate and skills development and training programs for the three First Nations" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 4).

5.0 Quu'as' Objectives and Principles

The general purpose of this business relationship/ partnership is "to form a strong collective body to foster unique opportunities that build on mutually held values" and to "serve as a noteworthy model of concrete action in forging meaningful partnerships with the Pacheedaht, Ditidaht, Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Parks Canada" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 3). Further, Quu'as agreed on three more detailed "strategic objectives", which clearly indicate the emphasis the partnership places on activities related to Aboriginal cultural interpretation and tourism development:

1) "Skill development for First Nations people, based on community direction and with specific training plans for specific careers."

2) "Quu'as will facilitate the development of First Nations businesses related to outdoor recreation within the area by:

    -serving as a coordinating point of contact to match services to clients

    -serving as a point of contact between First Nations businesses and Parks Canada in the area."

3) "Foster a greater understanding among visitors to the area of the 'cultural landscape':

    -develop cultural interpretation programming

    -explore opportunities for on-site and guided cultural heritage experiences."

(Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 6-7).

In order to help implement Quu'as' objectives, the *Quu'as Business and Operations Strategy 1999-2000* outlines four key principles (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 5-6). These principles are based on lessons Quu'as learned with regards to developing an effective partnership in its first three business years. They closely correspond with the principles and requirements for cross-cultural partnerships in (Aboriginal) tourism development determined in this report.

1) "Quu'as is a shared effort and a shared responsibility with shared benefits."
- all parties contribute resources

135

- all parties should take ownership of the program
- benefits should accrue not only to Quu'as First Nations and Parks Canada, but also to park visitors

2) "Quu'as must be adaptable and flexible in order to respond to change in the marketplace."
- Quu'as' structure and mandate must allow change
- the managing director must have the freedom and authority to make significant decisions
- expansion of services beyond park boundaries must be allowed

3) "First Nations communities provide active guidance."
- communities have real and continuous input and will be consulted frequently

4) "Quu'as will strive to develop services that generate internal revenue, either for member First Nations or for Quu'as."
- Quu'as needs to weaken the financial dependency on Parks Canada funding over time and create stronger bonds between the market and services offered

6.0 Funding

Initial grants to establish Quu'as WCT Group were provided by the Parks Canada program of the Department of Canadian Heritage ($100,000), HRDC/ Employment Canada ($18,587) and the Province of British Columbia ($15,000) (internal Parks Canada document). During the subsequent three years, Parks Canada/ Department of Canadian Heritage provided $300,00, $290,000, and $285,00, respectively (Hambleton and Associates 1998). These annual funds are derived from revenues created by Parks Canada's operation of the West Coast Trail. It was important for Parks Canada to ensure that the use of these funds for the purpose of supporting Quu'as does not undermine "the financial assumptions of the National Business Plan" (internal Parks Canada note 1995). The funding of Quu'as through WCT revenues was based on the assumption that the partnership would generate increasing profits, thus relying less on Parks Canada funding each year. "After the third year (1999) of funding Quu'as through WCT revenues, it is expected that Quu'as will have achieved a degree of sustainability as a functioning corporation with earned income source independent of Parks Canada WCT revenue streams" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1996, 14).

However, these expectations were not met because development of First Nations business ventures through Quu'as was delayed as the partnership was experiencing some growing pains, and addressing

immediate challenges regarding contract fulfillment with Parks Canada took priority. The renewal of the contract between Quu'as and Parks Canada in 1999 acknowledged the important role Quu'as plays with regards to outdoor recreation in the West Coast unit of PRNPR. For the following three years, Parks Canada will provide core funding "in the amount of a maximum of $285,00.00 per year" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 9). The parties (i.e., the three Quu'as First Nations and Parks Canada) shall reach a "true consensus agreement" each year "regarding how the block Parks Canada funding will be utilized" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 9).

For the fiscal year 1999/2000, funding was allocated in two separate funds, namely a) a Service Contract Fund over $152,000.00 and b) an Aboriginal Development Fund over $133,000.00. The Service Contract Fund, which may be adjusted each year after review, is utilized for specific service contracts related to clearing, brushing and campground/ maintenance. The Aboriginal Development Fund is intended to be used for the development of Aboriginal employment initiatives and "to facilitate the development of cultural heritage programming for the partner First Nations" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 9).

Additional funding for training and employment is provided by Aboriginal organizations such as the Nuu-chah-nulth Economic Development Corporation (NEDC) and the Nuu-chah-nulth Employment and Training Board. Also, Quu'as member First Nations provide occasional funding and in kind support (e.g., labour and materials for special projects).

7.0 Achievements and Challenges

One year after Quu'as' contract was renewed and its business strategy amended, it seems timely to look back and determine whether Quu'as has been able to meet (some of) the expectations and objectives outlined above, and which challenges the partnership has been facing. The fact alone that the Quu'as contract was renewed for another three years speaks to the success of the partnership. It must be acknowledged as a significant achievement that three First Nations and the Parks Canada Agency were able to get together, put their differences aside and concentrate on common goals. Under its present managing director, Quu'as has mastered the difficult tasks of keeping the partnership going, moving it along towards achieving its goals and vision, and adjusting its course when necessary.

- Skill development and training programs for local First Nations

Since 1996, Quu'as has provided steady and relatively well-paid summer employment for seven to ten Aboriginal people from local communities each year. Moreover, Quu'as provided additional work for temporary contractors during spring brushing and clearing. Quu'as has enabled an even larger number of local Aboriginal people to take part in a comprehensive and diverse training program focusing on skills related to eco- and adventure tourism/ outdoor recreation, cultural heritage interpretation, First Aid, boat operation and natural and cultural resource issues. This training provides local Aboriginal people with skills that are also transferable to jobs outside of Quu'as, thus enhancing participants' chances of successfully entering the job market. In past years, Quu'as has also provided Aboriginal students with the opportunity to work together with Quu'as staff as trainees during the summer months. At the beginning of 2000, Pacific Rim National Park Reserve and Quu'as developed "The Quu'as Approach" to training, which promises to build life-skills in financial management, personal development and cross-cultural awareness (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 2000). Personal development skills include, among others, assertiveness/ self-esteem training, time management, and goal setting/ career planning. Cross-cultural awareness training includes addressing differences in communication and philosophies as well as working with Elders.

Nevertheless, Quu'as' managing director pointed out that it has been somewhat challenging to find motivated, skilled people from the local communities who want to work for and stay with Quu'as. Numerous educated people on reserve are employed in other jobs, and there still seems to be a lack of information and awareness among local community members about the career and training opportunities Quu'as offers.

- Development of First Nations tourism businesses that generate internal revenue

Local Aboriginal tourism operators benefit from Quu'as as the partnership provides business advice, marketing support and helps with paper work. A ferry operator stated that "I don't have to worry about anything anymore—Quu'as does the marketing and advertising for my business" (pers. comm.). Quu'as is presently assisting several individuals of its member First Nations in developing their own tourism businesses by providing advice and support regarding business planning and financing. However, Quu'as staff and management are not trained in tourism planning and marketing, which makes it somewhat challenging for Quu'as to engage in the establishment of new Aboriginal tourism businesses. For this reason, Quu'as' focus has been on maintenance, repairs and ferry services during its first four years in business. Another reason for this emphasis of Quu'as' efforts is the fact that the partnership is

largely funded through trail use fees, so that "Quu'as efforts must be directed to providing services and support back to the WCT and its hikers and customers" (Quu'as West Coast Trail and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1996, 6).

- Enhanced understanding among visitors of local Aboriginal culture

Quu'as staff report that visitor reactions to their presence on the trail are usually very positive; "hikers think that it's great" (Quu'as staff, pers. comm.). Through Quu'as staff, and particularly the interpretive guardians, hikers get the chance to learn about the local First Nations and their traditional territories. This fosters cross-cultural awareness and understanding and can lead to a greater appreciation of the Aboriginal cultural landscape of the WCT among visitors. However, Aboriginal cultural interpretation on the WCT is still somewhat sporadic, taking place on an "ad hoc" basis whenever Quu'as interpreters meet interested hikers on the trail. There are no predetermined times or areas where interpretation is scheduled on a regular basis. It was also mentioned by interviewees that it can be difficult for Quu'as interpreters to retrieve sufficient information to effectively interpret their culture and history to visitors. Interpretation is still a relatively new area for the interpretive guardians that requires outgoing personalities and time to grow into. Clearly, Quu'as has not exhausted the significant market potential for Aboriginal cultural events, including interpretive tours by foot or boat, story-telling, traditional salmon BBQs as well as singing, dancing and drumming.

The original objective of Quu'as, namely the protection of Aboriginal cultural sites along the WCT, does not seem to be met at present. Neither the first nor the subsequent Quu'as business plans explicitly refer to archaeological site protection and related visitor information as a necessary prerequisite for developing cultural interpretive programming and tourism opportunities along the WCT. The initiators of Quu'as expressed disappointment about the direction the partnership has taken away from Aboriginal heritage protection and the fact that sensitive sites, such as Tsuquanah, remain unprotected.

- Upgraded customer service, asset upkeep, and improved public safety

Quu'as has contributed to enhanced customer service associated with the WCT in several ways. The partnership took the lead in establishing regular schedules for the two ferry services, benefiting both hikers and ferry operators. Quu'as has also taken over the remuneration of ferry operators, who, in the past, collected fees from individual hikers. Both clients and ferry service providers benefit from this convenient arrangement. Quu'as staff further contribute to "upgraded customer service", maintaining the assets of the WCT, and improved public safety by carrying out trail maintenance and repair, patrolling

139

the trail to address hazards and emergencies and providing cultural interpretation. "Quu'as staff have helped countless people on the trail" who were hypothermic, injured or in need of information (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.). According to its managing director, Quu'as has fulfilled its contracts for trail brushing and clearance promptly in the recent past. In 1999, for example, Parks Canada expected a delayed opening of the trail as it was obstructed by large amounts of windfall. However, the Quu'as crew was able to successfully clear the trail before the expected date so that the WCT could be opened in time.

When Quu'as was established, one of the main objectives of its member First Nations was to protect sensitive Aboriginal sites along the WCT, such as burial caves and old long house sites. In the past, such sites have been vandalised by hikers. At present, however, Quu'as' activities do not seem to concentrate on the protection of these sites, much to the regret of several interviewees.

- Improved working relationship/ meaningful partnership between Parks Canada and First Nations

Doubtless, Quu'as has contributed significantly to building a good working relationship between the WCT First Nations and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. At the beginning of Quu'as' existence, a lack of communication, some mistrust, and even underlying racism seemed to permeate the relationship between Parks Canada and Quu'as staff. A Quu'as representative speculated that Quu'as staff might have been perceived as "overshadowing" park wardens due to the strong presence of Quu'as staff on the trail as well as positive comments they received from hikers (pers. comm.). However, over the past years, "Quu'as has improved communications and the relationship between First Nations and Parks Canada and among the three First Nations. It has also improved the understanding of the parties' roles and responsibilities along the West Coast Trail" (Quu'as representative, pers. comm.). "Presently, Parks Canada and Quu'as are working really hard at further improving the relationship" (Quu'as representative, pers. comm.). This is facilitated by several changes in Parks Canada staff as well as enhanced cross-cultural awareness and communication. As a Quu'as board member pointed out, the involved parties "should learn the positives for the future from the negatives of the past" (pers. comm.).

- Community guidance

Quu'as is envisioned as establishing itself "as a community based economic development entity" (Quu'as West Coast Trail Group and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve 1999, 7). While community support for and involvement with Quu'as is growing, one of the most demanding challenges of the

140

program was to "get community support and understanding" (Quu'as representative, pers. comm.). The key constraint in this regard seemed to be a lack of effective communication on several levels. During the beginnings of Quu'as, information flow between the steering committee and the individual communities appears to have been limited (Quu'as board member, pers. comm.). Likewise, communication flow between the Quu'as steering committee and Quu'as staff was not always sufficient (Quu'as board member, pers. comm.). Community members seemed unclear about the role Parks Canada plays in Quu'as and the level of control the First Nations have in the partnership. The common misconception appeared to be that Parks Canada owns and controls Quu'as, whereas the First Nations have very little control (Quu'as board member, pers. comm.).

In the past year or two, however, Quu'as and the managing director have invested considerable time and efforts to garner broad community support for the program; "Quu'as has done their best to inform the communities" and explain the concept and approach of the partnership to community members (Quu'as representative, pers. comm.). For example, two Quu'as newsletters were sent to the band offices; before the renewal of the Quu'as contract, a letter was sent to the community members of all three Quu'as First Nations, asking for their expectations, opinions and suggestions regarding the partnership. However, Quu'as received very few responses, possibly because not all community members could be reached by communicating through the band offices. In order to gain better community support and involvement, the question "How can we communicate better?" must be addressed (Quu'as board member, pers. comm.).

In the meantime, understanding and acceptance of the partnership is increasing. For example, a Quu'as board member, who used to be doubtful about the degree of First Nations' control over Quu'as, now regards the partnership as an opportunity to exert Aboriginal control regarding traditional use, tourism development and related issues in PRNPR.

8.0 Suggested Actions

As a unique partnership between First Nations and Parks Canada related to outdoor recreation, Aboriginal cultural interpretation and tourism, Quu'as can serve as an instructive and encouraging model for other First Nations, parks and sites across Canada, possibly even across the globe. This section provides some ideas/ suggestions for actions Quu'as could take in order to accelerate movement towards its goals.

- Consider cooperation among the three member bands and local/ regional schools to organize and carry out grade 12 education programs to enlarge the number of educated people available to apply to Quu'as.

- Consider determining minimum education requirements for specified positions in Parks Canada and Quu'as (education/ skill requirements may vary according to job descriptions).

- Continue to provide opportunities for young people to "shadow" present Quu'as employees as trainees.

- Consider reaching out to local schools and establishing relationships with teachers and principals to incorporate information about Quu'as into their curriculae.

- Consider advertising the partnership by holding information sessions once or twice a year in schools (starting in grade eight) with the managing director, a Parks Canada representative and Quu'as employees.

- Consider introducing awards for outstanding achievements of employees.

- Continue to work towards implementing the "Quu'as Approach".

- Consider making Quu'as the coordinating body for an Aboriginal tourism training program that focuses on protected areas. Potential partner organizations could inclued Malaspina University College, Lake Cowichan Education Centre, FirstHost, and the Native Education Centre (see 5.3.5 for more details).

Building a strong team

- Consider helping employees to develop a sense of pride and to take ownership of Quu'as and the respective job responsibilities by involving them in planning (e.g., developing a work plan for the season) and decision-making.

- Consider providing opportunities to all Quu'as staff for exchanging information, voicing concerns, and generating ideas for future projects on a regular basis. This could take place in a monthly or bi-monthly meeting with the managing director (and possibly the board).

- Consider providing opportunities at the beginning of the season for new Quu'as employees to get to know the other staff and create a team spirit. This could happen during an orientation week-end or a group trip.

Development of First Nations tourism businesses that generate internal revenue

● Contemplate organizing customized seminars for Aboriginal groups or individuals who need assistance with creating their own businesses. Advice and support is not only needed with how to "sell" the business (i.e., writing a business plan and applying for financial support), but also with the steps that must be taken beforehand. These steps include determining and reflecting upon the benefits and challenges of becoming an Aboriginal tourism operator; developing/ defining a product or service; learning about the market and the tourism industry; involving the community; creating partnerships, etc. (Growth Management Strategies 2000). It is important that advice pertaining to these issues is not provided on a sporadic basis (i.e., once or twice a year), but continuously. It would be ideal if Aboriginal people interested in developing their own tourism business had a knowledgeable advisor whom they trust and whom they could contact anytime for advice.

● Consider integrating tourism business planning and management into the "Quu'as' Approach". In this regard, cooperate with organizations that have relevant expertise and have gained the trust of the First Nations involved, such as the Nuu-chah-nulth Economic Development Corporation (NEDC), FirstHost, and selected colleges (see above).

Enhanced understanding among visitors of local Aboriginal culture

● Examine the possibility of Quu'as interpretive guardians "shadowing" an experienced interpreter (e.g., from Parks Canada) for a predetermined length of time to help achieve consistent and high quality of cultural interpretation.

● Contemplate involving Elders in the interpretation aspect of Quu'as. Elders could be brought out onto the trail (if their health allows this) to provide advice and support to Quu'as guardians and engage in story-telling.

● Consider involving Elders in the training of Quu'as interpretive staff.

● Contemplate introducing predetermined locations for Aboriginal cultural interpretation and events along the WCT. If interpretation took place at certain campsites or at the Quu'as cabins, hikers might be in a better position to listen attentively to First Nations stories and histories. Moreover, interpretive events would be less weather dependent at such "fixed" locations. Quu'as interpreters could experiment with introducing campfire talks at certain locations that are particularly suited (e.g., at Carmanah Creek, Tsusiat Falls, and Pacheena Point campsites). Also, interpretive talks at the campgrounds at either end of the trail could be offered.

● Consider gathering feed-back from visitors regarding the cultural and/ or interpretive events they attended on the WCT. This could be done informally, but formal feed-back might be more effective

in the developing stages of the Quu'as interpretation program. Feed-back forms could be handed out with the trail registration and collected either at the interpretation sessions or upon completion of the trail. Feed-back forms should have a clear and simple structure so they are quick and easy to fill out and review. Such feed-back could provide important information on which aspects of interpretation need to be improved and how this could be done. At the same time, positive visitor feed-back will support and motivate Quu'as interpretive staff.

Improved working relationship between Parks Canada and First Nations

- Consider offering cross-cultural communications and conflict resolution training for Quu'as and Parks Canada staff and/ or the board of directors. Funding for such training sessions could be allocated from Quu'as' "Aboriginal Development Fund".
- Take care to carefully outline and distinguish the roles and responsibilities of Parks Canada employees from those of the of the partnership's employees. This will help to prevent potential resentment among staff on both sides who might otherwise be concerned about losing their jobs, credentials or responsibilities. It will also accommodate the union's position that no Parks Canada jobs must be endangered as a result of such a partnership arrangement.

Community guidance and reaching out

- Consider informing communities about the achievements of the partnership through a newsletter, which could be issued two or three times per season. Such a newsletter should be distributed to every household of the Quu'as First Nations (not just to the band office or Chief and Council) and could be attached to the regular community newsletter.
- Consider making information about Quu'as available through local media (radio, TV stations, newspapers) if and where possible. Inform media about any special events and provide them with updates of the partnership's achievements at least once or twice a year.
- At the same time, consider reaching out to increase Quu'as' regional, national and international profile by establishing appropriate media contacts (e.g., TV channels such as Knowledge Network, CBC or Discovery Channel).
- Consider using the internet, i.e. the Quu'as website, as a means of updating Quu'as First Nations and others about recent achievements and issues relating to the partnership.
- Consider organizing community events that provide opportunities for information exchange and community feed-back, e.g., a salmon BBQ or dinner to "kick-start" or close the season. At such events, photos, slides or a video of the projects Quu'as is engaged in could be shown to increase

144

awareness of Quu'as' role on the WCT. Members from all three communities should be invited to such events, and invitations should be sent to every household.

APPENDIX B: CASE STUDY: HUU-AY-AHT CULTURAL TOURISM PROGRAM AND KIIX?IN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, PRNPR

Merging Aboriginal Heritage Protection with Cultural Tourism in a Collaborative Approach

1.0 Introduction

In February, 1999, the Huu-ay-aht First Nation (HFN) finalized the Huu-ay-aht First Nations/ Parks Canada 1999 Cultural Tourism Program (HCTP). It is the result of several years of discussions about and planning for cultural tourism development in traditional Huu-ay-aht territory (Hahoothlee). This case study will trace the concerted efforts of the HFN to plan for cultural tourism as a way of preserving culture and creating jobs and revenues for their members. Special attention will be paid to the role partnerships with Parks Canada and other institutions (can) play in the HFN's tourism endeavours.

2.0 Protecting Kiix?in as a prerequisite for Huu-ay-aht cultural tourism development

The declaration of the traditional Huu-ay-aht capital, Kiix?in, as a National Historic Site in 1998 provided the HFN with an invaluable "anchor" for Aboriginal tourism and economic development. Kiix?in is expected to serve as a catalyst for cultural tourism, attracting increasing numbers of visitors to the Huu-ay-aht Hahoothlee. Ideas for cultural tourism development evolved during the long process of protecting Kiix?in, and both processes have become inseparable from each other.

Discussions about protecting and commemorating Kiix?in, a place of tremendous importance to the HFN, have taken place among HFN leaders, Elders and members "for over two decades" (Huu-ay-aht First Nations 1998, 6). According to a Huu-ay-aht representative, the time for taking action became finally ripe with a change in the political climate in Canada and British Columbia towards fostering Aboriginal commemoration. The HFN established a project team to write a Kiix?in Agenda Paper for the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, which was to become a crucial part of the application process for national historic site status. The clear objective of this initiative was to fulfil the HFN's long-term plan to protect Kiix?in and to develop tourism. The "Kiix?in Agenda Paper Project Team" was comprised of the HFN ta'yii ha'wilh (head chief), a HFN cultural researcher, three non-Aboriginal consultants, and the Parks Canada First Nations liaison. The project team was endorsed by and accountable to the Aboriginal community. It appears that the HFN's application to the Historic Sites

and Monuments Board was successful not only because the First Nation owns a world-class heritage site, but also because the HFN established a project team whose members were willing and able to work collaboratively in an atmosphere of trust.

3.0 Community-based tourism planning

Once the Kiix?in Agenda Paper was in place, the next priority of the HFN was to develop a thoughtful tourism plan which is "firmly based in the community", takes the community needs into account, and calls for slow, successive development ("taking one step at a time") (Kiix?in project team member, pers. comm.). They wanted to create tourism opportunities that are achievable and affordable. In doing so, the HFN is building on the successes it has enjoyed to date, such as the Kiix?in protection, a cultural interpretation program offered at Malsit in 1998[57] and the Pacheena Bay campground. This campground was completely refurbished in 1998 when it "underwent a major facilities upgrade, including new roads, Gatehouse, Bath House, RV sites, tent sites, the installation of electrical power and a septic field, and a successful marketing program including a website" (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Traditions Consulting Services Inc. 1999, 8). Parks Canada provided in-kind assistance with the design of picnic tables, technical advice to architects and training for Huu-ay-aht campground personnel. While Kiix?in provides a key incentive for visitors to come to the Huu-ay-aht Hahoothlee, the campground is an essential facility to accommodate these visitors during the summer months. At the same time, it captures revenues from hikers who have completed or are about to start hiking the West Coast Trail. According to the HFN cultural tourism manager, the campground and its associated gift shop will be joined by other tourism products and services in the season to come. These are outlined in the HCTP, and work is presently underway to facilitate the implementation of some of these initiatives in the 2000 season.

Part of the HFN's tourism success to date appears to be the fact that they have followed a number of essential steps for the development of sustainable, community-based (Aboriginal) tourism. The following section attempts to trace the route to sustainability that the HFN has taken in cooperation with their partners. It appears to be a route that, by and large, can provide other First Nations with an indication of what the key ingredients are in a tourism development process that is rooted in the Aboriginal community.

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[57] Huu-ay-aht members shared information with West Coast Trail hikers about their Hahoothlee (traditional territory) and the fact that the West Coast Trail transects their traditional territory. For a $20 "donation" hikers were allowed to continue on the trail and received a printed "Visa to the Hahoothlee of the Huu-ay-aht First Nations".

1. Creating a common vision

The HFN realized that in order to develop a sustainable tourism program, they needed a common vision that would help guide the development of cultural tourism in their Hahoothlee. The HCTP is based on the Huu-ay-aht Tourism Vision Statement, which reads as follows: "The Huu-ay-aht, following the ways of our ancestors, will develop opportunities to share our knowledge, traditions, values, history and culture with guests to our territory, and to provide training and employment opportunities for our people" (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Traditions Consulting Services Inc. 1999, 4). This vision is in accordance with one of the HFN pre-treaty objectives (1998/99), namely "[to] plan, develop and implement cultural tourism projects that provide immediate training and employment for Huu-ay-aht people. Projects will be small-scale, achievable, and require limited and/ or available financial resource" (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Traditions Consulting Services Inc. 1999, 4).

The Huu-ay-aht's strive towards a sustainable future that is anchored in the past and present is also evident in a larger vision for their community: "Huu-ay-aht's vision is that present and future generations will live in a healthy, prosperous, self-sustaining community where our culture and language flourishes where the jurisdictions (hahoothlee), authorities and responsibilities of our ha'wiih are recognized and exercised, and where future generations of Huu-ay-aht can reach their greatest potential and rise to our historic greatness" (Huu-ay-aht Negotiation Team 1998, 2). In developing a clear vision of what to accomplish, the HFN have set the foundation for developing successful tourism initiatives that are in tune with HFN culture, believes and traditions.

2. Setting goals

An important part of a visioning exercise is to identify the goals, needs, and expectations pertaining to the proposed project(s). Identifying their needs and objectives is the first step for communities "to mobilize their own capacities, be social actors rather than passive subjects, manage the resources, make decisions, and control the activities that affect their lives'" (Cernea 1991 quoted in Brandon 1993, 139). With regards to tourism development, the HFN have determined 13 goals for the 1999 Tourism Program, which are in tune with their tourism vision statement. These goals include providing employment; generating revenue; educating about HFN culture and traditions and creating a solid base for future growth while remaining consistent with the HFN traditions and the "hish uk tsa'wak" ("all is one") concept. The goals also include to "further develop the partnership between the Huu-ay-aht and Parks Canada" and to "train HFN and Parks Canada staff in the delivery of specific program elements" (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Traditions Consulting Services Inc. 1999, 5). These goal statements

148

clearly indicate the desire of the HFN to further the relationship building process with Parks Canada that began in recent years and to cooperate with regards to Huu-ay-aht tourism development plans.

3. Inventorying cultural resources and traditional land use

The HFN recognized that tourism planning and development can only be successful if they have a thorough knowledge of their tourism-related resources and assets. The HFN accomplished this by conducting a traditional use study (TUS) in their Hahoothlee with the assistance of community members and Elders. The TUS provides a comprehensive overview of culturally significant sites of their First Nation, including hunting and fishing areas, housing sites and culturally modified trees. It "'arose from the Huu-ay-aht community need for a database of information to assist with land-use planning, natural and cultural resource management and Treaty negotiation'" (TUS Proposal (1996) quoted in Peters and Stewart 1998, 4). "'The TUS provides a foundation for the development of Huu-ay-aht industries such as ecological and cultural tourism'" (TUS Final Report (1997) quoted in Peters and Stewart 1998, 4).

4. Developing an effective, knowledgeable community tourism committee/ working group

In order to facilitate effective planning, a local committee for cultural tourism development was established. It was formed as a subcommittee of the natural resources board that the HFN had established earlier. The core tourism working group consisted of the HFN head chief (ta'yii ha'wilh), another hereditary chief (ha'wiih), a HFN cultural researcher, and two consultants. Most of these people had also played key roles in the establishment of Kiix?in. Their knowledge and the experience they gained through their involvement in the Kiix?in project were essential for developing a tourism program that focuses on cultural protection and interpretation.

5. Involving the community in the planning process

While the tourism working group produced a number of draft cultural tourism plans, community input and approval was actively sought by holding two cultural tourism workshops in Anacla in the beginning of 1999. These meetings were accompanied by a meal or snacks, which likely contributed to the good turn-out of community members. The workshops were designed to help draft and, later, fine-tune the cultural tourism plan (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Traditions Consulting Services Inc. 1999).

6. Following a holistic approach while building on traditions

The guiding principle and "essential component in all Huu-ay-aht programs and ventures", including the HCTP, is the ancient "hish uk tsa'wak" ("all is one") concept (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Traditions Consulting Services Inc. 1999, 5) along with "iisak" (respect). The HFN understand themselves as stewards of the environment and their cultural heritage. Consequently, the HCTP must be in harmony with these principles and address not only cultural protection and presentation but also the protection of the natural environment, relationships between people and their environment and inter-personal relationships.

7. Establishing partnerships and reaching out

a) Cooperation with Parks Canada

As mentioned above, the development of partnerships forms an essential part of the HCTP. In particular, the HCTP counts on "the cooperation, assistance and support of Parks Canada" with developing and implementing new tourism initiatives (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Traditions Consulting Services Inc. 1999, 3). The HFN "look forward to developing many new and innovative cultural tourism initiatives with Parks Canada in 1999 and subsequent years" (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Traditions Consulting Services Inc. 1999, 3). In April, 1999, the HFN and Parks Canada signed an "Agreement to Cooperate on Huu-ay-aht First Nations Cultural Tourism Economic Opportunities on Huu-ay-aht Reserves within Pacific Rim National Park Reserve." In this agreement, "The Huu-ay-aht and Parks Canada agree to work together to actively pursue Huu-ay-aht cultural heritage interpretation opportunities and Huu-ay-aht cultural tourism opportunities both on the Reserves and within the Park".

Realizing the importance and potential positive cultural and economic implications of protecting Kiix?in, Parks Canada supported the HFN's strive to get this site approved as a national historic site and became fully involved in the process. According to a project team member, the First Nations liaison officer from Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (PRNPR) as Parks Canada's contact became "a critical component" in the process. He attended the meetings and provided the project team with information on the expectations of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board as well as Parks Canada, and circulated drafts of the Agenda Paper within Parks Canada. Parks Canada also provided funding for the preparation of the Agenda Paper. However, Parks Canada was not involved in the development of the HCTP and no funding support for implementing the plan (e.g., for boardwalks or cabins) has come forth by the federal agency. Yet, financing these developments is one of the biggest challenges the HFN is currently facing.

b) Cooperation with other interest groups

In addition to partnering with Parks Canada, the HFN "intends to work cooperatively with the Bamfield community in general and to expand the present excellent working relationships with the Bamfield Marine Station and the School for Field Studies" (Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Traditions Consulting Services Inc. 1999, 2). The HFN and the Bamfield Marine Station (BMS), which together have carried out a number of educational projects to date, propose an "Educational Partnership" (Peters and Stewart 1998). Such an educational partnership can contribute to the advancement of Aboriginal cultural and educational tourism by providing programs for school groups, senior citizens (in cooperation with Elderhostel) and other visitors. The partnership would also provide the HFN with access to infrastructure (such as the accommodation facilities of the BMS), logistical, administrative and educational expertise (Peters and Stewart 1998) (see also chapter 5.5.6). Programming is intended to include combination of cultural and nature-related experiences, such as language and cultural recovery, ethnobotany, traditional Huu-ay-aht diet and lifestyle as well as marine mammal and seabird watching (Peters and Stewart 1998).

4.0 Implementing the Huu-ay-aht Cultural Tourism Program

The HFN is presently working hard at implementing their cultural tourism program. Issues to be addressed in this step include selecting those program elements to be implemented first; finding interpreters and guardians and providing training for them; creating a business plan; creating a marketing plan and engaging in marketing. As mentioned above, accessing funding in the form of grants for implementing the program is perceived as the most significant challenge along with developing an appropriate training program. While implementation will take money and time, it is to be expected that the HFN, with the support of their partners, will establish themselves as an important player on the Aboriginal tourism map of British Columbia.

Recognizing, Reviving and Sharing Aboriginal Cultural Heritage through Cooperative Research

1.0 Introduction

In the summer of 1999, Benson Island in the Broken Group Islands (BGI) was the location of the first archaeological dig to take place in PRNPR (Bill and Foxcroft 1999). Benson Island, called "Ts'ishaa" in the Tseshaht language, is situated in the traditional territory of the Tseshaht First Nation (TFN). According to Tseshaht oral history, "Benson Island is the birth place of the Tseshaht people" (Bill and Foxcroft 1999, 1), thus it is "an extremely important site" for the TFN (archaeologist, pers. comm.). It is also the site of a former village where a shell midden has accumulated during the occupation of the site. A sample from the site was dated to between 2300-2500 years B.P., and there is indication that only in the late 1800s did the TFN move their year-round village to another site (archaeologist, pers. comm.). More recently, the site and its vicinity have been used as a back-country campsite for visitors in the BGI unit of PRNPR.

2.0 Project purpose and partners

The Ts'ishaa project was suggested by the TFN in cooperation with two archaeologists who have worked with the Tseshaht for over 25 years. The project idea was advanced through the Tseshaht/ Parks Canada working group, which focuses on management, protection and interpretation of cultural history and resources in the BGI unit. As archaeological research has the potential to be intrusive, Parks Canada's archaeological projects are usually salvage-oriented. However, in this case, an interest proposal by the TFN offered the chance to initiate a cooperative archaeological research project (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.). Cooperation between Parks Canada and the TFN made the Ts'ishaa excavation "very unique" (Bill and Foxcroft 1999, 1). In addition to funding, Parks Canada provided "a lot of assistance", including a surveyor and an archaeologist (archaeologist, pers. comm.). The agency also provided logistical help from the warden service and supported a Tseshaht interpreter position (archaeologist, pers. comm.).

One project purpose of the TFN was to retrieve more interpretive information on the cultural history of the Broken Group Islands and to re-establish the TFN's relationship with Ts'ishaa. At the same time, it was hoped to make the public more aware of the cultural landscape in the BGI, as very few people know

152

that Aboriginal people populated this area for millennia prior to European contact. Project partners also regarded the archaeological dig as an opportunity to initiate a new relationship with Parks Canada in PRNPR that is characterized by more intense cooperation, information sharing and communication. Another important objective of the excavation was to provide training in archaeological field techniques and interpretation for Tseshaht people.

3.0 Employment and training

In total, 34 people worked at the Ts'ishaa dig in the summer of 1999, including trained archaeologists, Aboriginal people, summer students enrolled in the Young Canada Works Program, and 22 volunteeers. Aboriginal individuals, most of whom were participants in PRNPR's Aboriginal internship program, included three Tseshaht, three other Nuuchah-nulth members and one Cree. Several archaeologists, including one Parks Canada staff member, provided hands-on training in basic archaeological field techniques. For instance, they provided instructions how to locate, excavate and record artifacts; how to recognize and record archaeological features, and how to identify food remains. One Tseshaht member and participant in PRNPR's Aboriginal intership program was trained as an interpretive guide and provided visitors to the site with interpretive tours.

4.0 Site visitation and interpretation

The Ts'ishaa dig took place in the months of July and August, the peak tourism season. During the four-week period of excavations, the site attracted a total of 761 visitors, with an average number of 40 visitors per day. Most of the visitors were kayakers or boaters exploring the BGI unit of PRNPR either on their own or on guided trips. For them, the archaeological site offered an unusual and highly educational destination. "People were extremely interested" (archaeologist, pers. comm.), and it is "a real excitement for visitors to see people do things, to see the actual hole in the ground" (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.). Free interpretive tours of the site were offered twice every week-day. An achaeologist stated that because a popular campsite for paddlers in the BGI unit had to be closed for the purpose of the dig, "we had to offer something in return" (pers. comm.). Interpretive tours focussed on the importance of this spiritual place to the TFN by referring to the Tseshaht's oral history, findings at the site and archaeological research carried out in other areas of the traditional Tseshaht territory and adjacent Nuu-chah-nulth groups.

"'There is great physical beauty in the landscape, but there is so much more. This is the home of the Tseshaht. That is what is missing from the park, tourists talk about the trees and the mountains'" (Denis

153

St. Claire quoted in Bill and Foxcroft 1999, 5). Visitors to the BGI unit of PRNPR seemed to search for this "missing link". According to a Tseshaht intern, visitors expressed keen interest in the culture and history of the TFN. Several of them were well-informed about midden sites and their significance even before they participated in the guided tour. Many people visiting the dig also indicated that they were very interested in taking part in "strictly Native tours" (Nuu-chah-nulth member, pers. comm.). These observations provide a clear indication that there is a keen interest among park visitors to learn more about history of Aboriginal population and culture in PRNPR. The archaeological dig with its interpretion program can be seen as a significant first step towards providing visitors with a better understanding and appreciation of Aboriginal history and culture in PRNPR.

In addition to visitors, the actual hosts, members and Elders of the TFN, came to visit their birthplace during the archaeological project. Dancing and drumming took place upon their arrival, and they sang a "welcoming song" which had not been sung at this location for over a century. This was "very, very special" and "really an exciting experience" (archaeologists, pers. comm.).

5.0 Information sharing/ communication

Tourism operators offering guided trips in the BGI unit were informed about the dig and interpretive tours in the preceding spring by PRNPR. Announcements were also made on CBC radio, and according to an archaeologist, word of mouth spread very quickly because "everybody was very keen and excited" (pers. comm.). During the excavations, the project also enjoyed wide coverage in five newspaper articles and two TV reports.

6.0 Funding

The total budget for the project was $ 33,000 and thus relatively limited. It was provided in a joint effort by Parks Canada (Cultural Resources Services, Western Canada Service Centre, Calgary) and the BC Heritage Trust. The TFN provided in-kind support such as lumber for the scaffolding. Parks Canada provided logistical assistance through the warden service, including equipment transportation.

7.0 Project evaluation and future plans

The project was considered a success by all parties. It led to better cooperation between the TFN and Parks Canada, more open communication and mutual respect--"some real progress was made" (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.). The archaeological dig created "enthusiasm, interest and pride" among

154

Tseshaht elders, youth, band members, and particularly among the Tseshaht youth employees and volunteers working at the site (Bill and Foxcroft 1999). Moreover, it provided them with important and interesting training and work experience. The cooperative project was also successful in informing visitors about Aboriginal cultural history within PRNPR. No permanent environmental damage resulted from the dig, as project leaders had taken every precaution to avoid such impacts (for example, tents were set up on specially designed platforms to avoid soil and grass disturbance).

A follow-up dig is planned at the same site for the summer of 2000 in the hope of finding a larger number of artifacts and faunal remains than in the first dig. It is also hoped that the next dig will be supported by a larger budget (approximately $100,000) so that the research period can be extended to six weeks. If another interpretive program at the follow-up dig can be offered, it should be contemplated to charge an appropriate fee (in fact, many visitors to Ts'ishaa indicated that they would be willing to pay for such a service). Another (or additional) option would be to establish an archaeological fund to which visitors can contribute donations.

APPENDIX D: CASE STUDY: ABORIGINAL CULTURAL INTERPRETATION IN PUKASKWA NATIONAL PARK

1.0 Introduction

In the early 1990's, a program for Aboriginal heritage interpretation was developed in Pukaskwa National Park, which is situated in the traditional territory of Anishinabe First Nations. In 1994, a year-round position for First Nations cultural interpretation was created in the national park. The ensuing Aboriginal interpretation program has since drawn many visitors who have left the place with an enriched sense and appreciation of Anishinabe life past and present.

2.0 Training of the Aboriginal cultural interpreter

The position of First Nations cultural interpreter, held by a member of the Robinson Superior Treaty Group (RSTG), is presently classified as a training position. It is intended to become an indeterminate position once the current employee has completed her post-secondary education. Training requirements are flexible, depending on the trainee's previous education and training, aptitude, and progress. It includes "on-the-job" training and at least two years of post-secondary education relating to cultural, natural or heritage resources management (Pukaskwa National Park 1993). The training program manual provides for regular appraisal sessions with a review board to help to assess the trainee's achievements for the purpose of promotion (Pukaskwa National Park 1993). During the summer, the year-round interpreter is assisted by a local Elder from the Pic River First Nation, who holds a seasonal indeterminate position with the national park. In addition, a local Aboriginal student is given the opportunity to job-shadow the cultural interpreters during the summer. The student position is financed through the local bands. "We try to give the students some meaningful work experience here" (Parks Canada employee, pers. comm.); for example, they help with monitoring sensitive cultural sites of the Anishinabe First Nations, such as the Pukaskwa Pits.

3.0 Functions and duties of the Aboriginal cultural interpreter

The functions and duties of the Aboriginal cultural interpreter in Pukaskwa include 1) providing guidance to the park management team regarding the identification, protection and presentation of First Nations cultural resources in the park, 2) developing and presenting cultural interpretive programs of traditional Aboriginal culture, 3) determining comprehensive communication and presentation strategies for delivering information specific to the cultural identity of Aboriginal people in Canada, and 4)

156

gaining further knowledge of traditional First Nations culture, language and spiritual teachings (Pukaskwa National Park 1993).

Besides developing interpretation programs and maintaining relations with local Aboriginal communities, the Aboriginal interpreter in Pukaskwa also delivers cross-cultural sensitivity training to new heritage interpretation staff in the park. The sensitivity training provides information pertaining to general First Nations issues, the RSTG and the park's obligations towards this alliance of First Nations as well as appropriate conduct with regards to contacting and involving Aboriginal people, particularly Elders.

4.0 Community consultation and involvement

The Aboriginal interpreter in Pukaskwa communicates regularly and intensely with the surrounding Aboriginal communities belonging to the RSTG. In order to facilitate communication with more than ten First Nations who have interests in Pukaskwa National Park, the Pic River First Nation was given authority by the other bands to act on their behalf with regards to the cultural interpretation program. The park's Aboriginal interpreter keeps Chief and Councils along with local Elders abreast of planned interpretation projects so that they can comment on and approve their content. Aboriginal community members have also participated in the program in exchange for honoraria. The Aboriginal interpreter stressed that the program "'isn't about my view of the culture, it's about their's, about what they want to say about themselves, the stories they want to tell'" (Kruzenga 1997, 28).

5.0 Purpose of the Aboriginal cultural interpretation program

"One of the main purposes of the Native program...is to demonstrate to visitors that Anishinabe culture is 'alive, not static, not just something from the past. It's still a vital, spiritual and social way of life'" (Kruzenga 1997, 27). "The program also promotes understanding between Anishinabe and other peoples and fits the park's larger aim to protect and promote both is natural and cultural resources" (Kruzenga, 1997, 27). For example, many visitors are ignorant about the location and sacredness of the Pukaskwa Pits. The interpretive program attempts to fill this knowledge gap without giving away information that is not public. In "bouncing a fine line" between sharing and protecting local Aboriginal knowledge, "we have to be more vocal to better educate people" (Aboriginal interpreter, pers. comm.).

6.0 Content of the Aboriginal cultural Interpretation program

A visit to Wanuskewin Heritage Park in Saskatchewan aided in collecting ideas and themes for the Pukaskwa interpretation program. Interpretive themes in Pukaskwa range from traditional Anishinabe hunting, trapping and fishing techniques and foods to spirituality, ceremonies and oral traditions. Interpretive events offered in the park include the following:

- a "Walk in the Native tradition", on which visitors learn about fundamental concepts of Anishinabe culture, such as respect for mother earth, the importance of the circle, sacred medicines and the Anishinabe creation story.
- a sunrise ceremony, which is "very powerful and really well received" by participants (Aboriginal interpreter, pers. comm.)
- traditional meals
- participation in a local events such as pow-wows and sweat lodges
- children's and family programs about Anishinabe every-day life, pictographs, artefacts (midden sites) and the creation story

Local Aboriginal communities invite the participation of visitors in their ceremonies and events. Before accompanying them to such events, the Aboriginal interpreter briefs visitors about the events' meaning and appropriate conduct. By providing visitors with this unique opportunity to immerse themselves in a Native culture, the interpretation program facilitates cross-cultural learning and awareness building. Although the First Nations cultural interpretation program in Pukaskwa is relatively small, "'in the long run it can have very positive results'" (Kruzenga 1997, 27).

158

Textbox 1: Combining Traditional Use Study and Eco-tourism Planning: the Case of the Tsleil-Waututh First Nation

In cooperation with Ecotrust Canada, the Tsleil-Waututh First Nation is carrying out two types of mapping to record their cultural uses and values in their traditional territory (covering Indian Arm Provincial Park near Vancouver, B.C.):
1) a traditional use study (TUS) and 2) a bioregional mapping project. For the TUS, five interviewers have conducted 85 interviews with Tsleil-Waututh First Nation members, marking cultural use and occupation sites on a series of map overlays. The bioregional mapping project involves articulating Tsleil-Waututh visions of the land through a series of over 50 thematic mapping layers. Combined, both mapping exercises will result in a complete visual image of traditional use, occupation, and culturally significant sites and events in Tsleil-Waututh traditional territory. One of the end products of this work will be a comprehensive atlas of the traditional territory, used for planning and decision-making. For eco-tourism planning, these maps will help to identify areas which are particularly suited for eco-tourism development and areas that should be excluded from tourism development due to sensitive cultural features.

One of the goals of the project related to Aboriginal tourism development is putting traditional trails back into use and setting up camps at old campsites. In cooperation with a consultant, the Tsleil-Waututh tourism development team, who was also involved in carrying out the TUS, is currently developing a cultural tourism project in Vancouver, "Takaya Tours". Visitors will be paddling in Aboriginal canoes from Granville Island to Vanier Park in Vancouver. Along the way, Tsleil-Waututh tour guides will point out Aboriginal sites of historic and cultural significance, explain about animal and plant species that provided the staples of Coast Salish people, and tell appropriate stories. The Tsleil-Waututh TUS thus provides some of the important information that tour guides will share with visitors.

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[58] Unless otherwise noted, these examples are based on information provided by respondents listed in Appendix F.

In a joint project with the Northwest Maritime Institute, the Metlakatla First Nation has developed a cultural tourism program on Pike Island situated approximately ten kilometres from Prince Rupert, British Columbia. It lies within Metlakatla Pass, an area that acquired historic site status in the early 1970s as the wintering site of many Tsimshian tribes. The small island, belonging to the Metlakatla Indian Reserve, is characterized by outstanding natural scenery, featuring a mature forest cove and beautiful beach. It also contains five Aboriginal archaeological sites, including two petroglyph sites and three former village sites, two of which date back to approximately 2000 B.P. and are characterized by very high middens. A landing dock, outhouse facilities and approximately two kilometres of trails with signage were constructed at the onset of the project, allowing visitors to explore the different sites. Several Aboriginal people were hired for construction jobs, and a handful of Metlakatla members went through a training program for tour guides that consisted of a "variety of mini-courses", such as Superhost, First Aid training, and interpretive guiding. In addition, Metlakatla trainees carried out research on their culture and developed a tour script. For two years now, three Metlakatla tour guides have provided a half-day interpretation program that includes a boat ride to the island, a guided walking tour to the sites and a "semi-traditional smoked salmon meal". A ferry operated by the Metlakatla FN, which provides a shuttle between the island and Prince Rupert for Metlakatla school children, is used to transport visitors to and from the island. The project was financed mainly with Forest Renewal British Columbia (FRBC) funds. The Metlakatla FN in cooperation with the Allied Tsimshian Tribes is currently working with Parks Canada on the nomination process for achieving historic site status for Pike Island.

Textbox 3: The Haida Gwaii Watchmen Program

In 1981, before Gwaii Haanas (South Moresby) was designated a Haida Heritage Site (1985) and National Park Reserve (1988), the Skidegate Band Council and Haida Nation initiated the Haida Watchmen Program on Gwaii Haanas. The program was developed in response to concerns about the potential for vandalism and other damage to old Haida village sites that received increasing visitation. In the beginning, volunteers (often Elders) travelled to these sites to camp there for the summer season. They acted as guardians for approximately six different sites, helping to protect their natural and cultural heritage. "At the same time, they presented visitors with a first-hand introduction to Haida culture by exposing them to Haida life and sharing their knowledge of the environs as well as stories, songs and dances associated with the sites" (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 2000).

Since the implementation of the Gwaii Haanas Agreement (1993), "key elements of the Haida Gwaii Watchmen program remain unchanged" (Canadian Heritage/ Parks Canada 2000). Similar to the Quu'as program in PRNPR, the Haida Gwaii Watchmen program is run through a contract arrangement with Parks Canada. "Parks Canada has worked together with the Haida Gwaii Watchmen to create a training and development plan that is now being implemented" (Parks Canada 2000, 7.5). This will contribute to the continued safeguarding of Haida heritage places and cross-cultural exchange between Aboriginal hosts and their guests.

Textbox 5: "Shawenequanape Kipichewin" (Southquill Camp) in Riding Mountain National Park

"Shawenequanape Kipichewin", which opened its doors to visitors four years ago, is an example of successful community involvement in the development of cultural tourism, although with relatively little input from Parks Canada. The camp is operated by Anishinabe Village Inc. and Western Economic Development Corporation (WREDCO), which consists of six First Nations. Following a proposal by WREDCO for a cultural camp, Parks Canada issued a licence of occupation for an existing campground in the park. The participating First Nations have since developed a diverse and extensive cultural program for their visitors, which provide 'hands on' demonstrations and training in hide tanning, weaving, making of traditional dresses and moccasins, traditional cooking and pow-wow dancing. They also offer teachings on herbs and medicines, the medicine wheel, weaponry and tools, as well as teepee readings, story-tellings, fire-side discussions, pipe ceremonies and various outdoor activities such as nature viewing, berry-picking, nature walks/hikes, bike rides and canoeing. The program was developed in cooperation with as many as 50 Aboriginal Elders, who made clear which practices they did not want to share with the public, such as sweat lodges. Besides being a successful tourism undertaking, "Shawenequanape Kipichewin" has also contributed to cultural revival, as Aboriginal youths attend the camp along with visitors and learn about their own traditions from the Elders. While their dance group, consisted of five dancers at the beginning, the group has since grown to 50 people, including a considerable number of youths (Budke 1999a).

Textbox 4: The Musqueam Tourism and Stream Restoration Project in Vancouver

In response to an initiative by *Detours* – a Vancouver-based (non-Aboriginal) tourism operator, the Musqueam First Nation has developed a holistic tourism package around their river restoration project in cooperation with the David Suzuki Foundation, the Museum of Anthropology and *Detours*. Developing the tour package took approximately one year and required numerous meetings with the four partners involved. The First Nation community, particularly Elders, were consulted about the appropriateness of the project, and a young Musqueam person was trained as a tour guide in cooperation with the Museum of Anthropology and the David Suzuki Foundation. Tours, which were first offered in the summer of 1999, are promoted and marketed by the tourism operator, who shares revenues with the Musqueam First Nation and employs band members. Excursions begin at the Museum of Anthropology, where the Musqueam person guides visitors through the exhibit, explaining artefacts and interpreting Musqueam history and culture. Groups then proceed to the river restoration site on Musqueam reserve lands where visitors learn about the interrelatedness of the natural environment and Musqueam culture and the importance of protecting both. A luncheon on the Musqueam reserve, provided by a Musqueam caterer, completes the half-day tour, which has been very well received both by visitors and the First Nation community.

Textbox 6: Advancing Aboriginal Interpretation through Cross-generational Partnerships

In Herschel Island Territorial Park (Yukon), Elders are actively involved in the "Elder Host/ Junior Park Ranger Program", which is "creating a symbiotic relationship" between Aboriginal Elders and youth (Duncombe 1998; 36). Park rangers and Elders act as ambassadors for the island, greeting visitors and sharing stories of the island's rich and colourful past" (Duncombe 1998; 36). Four Aboriginal youth have the opportunity to share the summer with two Elders and one coordinator, acquiring different interpretation techniques. At the same time, youth learn traditional hunting practices and food preparation while spending time with their Elders. The program is supported by the Inuvik Community Corporation, resident air carriers and the territorial Government (Duncombe 1998).

Textbox 7: Huu-ay-aht First Nation partners with local and regional institutions

The Huu-ay-aht FN is actively seeking partnerships with local and regional players such as the community of Bamfield, the local school, Bamfield Marine Station (BMS) and Elderhostel to assist with tourism product development and implementation and to meet the challenges of seasonality. A Huu-ay-aht representative stated that it is important to create an economy within and for the whole community of Bamfield, not just for the Huu-ay-aht FN. The proposed "Educational Partnership" between the Huu-ay-aht FN and BMS provides an opportunity to attract visitors to the area in the shoulder and winter seasons and offers a solution to the shortage of accommodation facilities in the area. The BMS, whose public education programs from early September to the end of April are attended by approximately 2,000 visitors per season (Peters and Stewart 1998; 5) can accommodate 120 guests at any time. During the months of January through May, the Marine Station receives groups of about 25 people who are taking part in the Elderhostel program. By capturing this clientele and offering educational tours for school groups, the Huu-ay-aht in cooperation with BMS can further expand their off-season tourism market without having to invest in new accommodation facilities.

Textbox 8: Sharing Tourism Infrastructure in Clayoquot Sound

Remote Passages, a Tofino-based outfit offering whale-watching and sea-kayak excursions in Clayoquot Sound, has initiated cooperation with several Aboriginal tourism businesses in the same area. (for example the Wild Side Trail on Flores Island and Matt and Ben's B&B and campground on Indian Island). *Remote Passages* rents camping gear and runs shuttles to drop of campers at these locations. Also, the whale-watching outfit has recently built a second dock with a full-time retail location, which is now being leased to other tourism operators, including Ahousat First Nation members. *Remote Passages* thus maintains a "front end location" for (Aboriginal) communities inside Clayoquot Sound who are interested in tourism, but for whom it is logistically very challenging to establish and maintain the necessary infrastructure that allows them "to keep the door open" for tourists. It is also possible for First Nations tourism operators to use this facility for marketing and selling their tours. The goal is to develop "complementary tourism" in order to ensure the economic sustainability of all existing tourism businesses and, at the same time, advance knowledge of and caring for Clayoquot Sound. According to the same tourism operator, it will likely take several years to develop an Aboriginal tourism product from Tofino, as infrastructure at the destinations such as the Wild Side Trail, is still lacking. She pointed out that it is important to bring people together create reliable products, and agree on the scheduling. *Remote Passages* and its partners are "trying to weave the product out there and the visitors' interests together", but it is "really challenging to bring all the pieces together". However, despite numerous stumbling blocks, "a lot of good energy" and "informal arrangements" are fuelling the cooperation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal tourism operators in Clayoquot Sound.

Appendix F: List of Interviewees

1.	Amstutz, David	Local president, Public Service Alliance of Canada
2.	Anderson, Rundi	Back-country warden, PRNPR
3.	Archer, David,	Program Director, Archaeology, Northwest College, Prince Rupert
4.	Bekker, Yur	Area supervisor Clayoquot Sound, B.C. Parks
5.	Bird, Sharon	Former Aboriginal internship coordinator, Parks Canada, PRNPR
6.	Blair, Don	Ma-Mook Development Corporation, Clayoquot Sound
7.	Campbell, Barry	Parks Canada, PRNPR
8.	Clarkson, Peter	Supervisor, warden service, PRNPR
9.	Cofsky, Brian	Band manager, Ditidaht FN
10.	Congdon, Brian	Tour operator, Ucluelet
11.	Cormier, Paul	First Nations Liaison, PRNPR
12.	Croteau, Bob	Administrator, Pacheedaht FN
13.	Curley, Tom	Tourism operator, Tla-o-qui-aht FN
14.	Day, Birnie	Songhees FN
15.	Dewar, Bruce	Tourism consultant
16.	Edgar, Carl	Ferry operator (Quu'as), councillor, Ditidaht FN
17.	Edgar, Joe	Elder, Ditidaht FN
18.	Fedgje, Daryl	Archaeologist, Parks Canada
19.	Fox, William	Manager, Ecosystem Secretariat, PRNPR
20.	Frank, Bruce	Hereditary chief, Tla-o-qui-aht FN
21.	George, Damian	Eco-tourism planning team, Tsleil-Waututh FN
22.	George, Justin	Eco-tourism planning team, Tsleil-Waututh FN
23.	George, Luke	Tseshat FN, Parks Canada intern, PRNPR
24.	Green, Ken	Senior interpreter, PRNPR
25.	Grill, Bob	Parks Canada site manager, Fort St. James NHS
26.	Hais, Bob	Band manager, Ucluelet FN
27.	Hartman, Peggy	Nuu-chah-nulth Economic Development Corporation, Port Alberni
28.	Heron, Robin	Heritage Outreach and Extension, Pukaskwa NP
29.	Hirano, Mitch	CEO, Tseshaht FN
30.	Jack, Butch	Ferry operator (Quu'as), Pacheedaht FN
31.	Johansson, Silva	Interpreter, PRNPR
32.	Johnson, Larry	Quu'as director and councillor, Huu-ay-aht FN
33.	Joseph, Robert	Administrator, Ditidaht FN
34.	Jules, Alex	Aboriginal intern, PRNPR
35.	Landry, Anne	Parks Canada, Yukon FU
36.	Lem, Tawney	Treaty advisor, Hupacasath FN
37.	Livingston, Anne-Marie	Treaty coordinator, Pacheedaht FN
38.	MacDonald, Ross	Coordinator for Parks Canada Research Adventures, Parks Canada

39.	Martin, Moses	Chief Councillor, Tla-o-qui-aht FN
40.	Martini, Kati	Tour operator, Tofino
41.	McCormick, John	Parks Canada, Western Canada Service Centre
42.	McMillan, Leah	Ecotrust Canada, Tsleil-Waututh mapping project
43.	Mills, Irene	Parks Canada, Gwaii Haans NPR/ Haida Heritage Site
44.	Morgan, Jim	Former First Nation liaison, Parks Canada, PRNPR
45.	Morrison, Jim	Consultant
46.	Mundy, Debbie	Community liaison for Ma-Mook Development Corporation, Ucluelet FN
47.	Mundy, Violet	Treaty advisor, Ucluelet FN
48.	Neary, Kevin	Tourism consultant
49.	Neufeld, David	Historian, Parks Canada, Yukon FU
50.	Nookemus, Conny	Cultural tourism program coordinator, Huu-ay-aht FN
51.	Olsen, Barry	Manager, First Nations Issues and Treaty Negotiations, Parks Canada, Western Canada Service Centre
52.	Paradis, Dan	Ma-Mook Development Corporation
53.	Parsons, Ron	Local vice president, Public Service Alliance of Canada
54.	Pearlman, Birnie	Tourism consultant
55.	Perry, Jerry	Ma-Mook Development Corporation
56.	Peters, Spencer	Hereditary chief, Huu-ay-aht FN
57.	Peters, Stella	Councillor, Huu-ay-aht FN
58.	Ralston, Louanne	Director, West Coast Tourism Association
59.	Robinson, Kathryn	Nuu-chah-nulth Economic Development Corporation, Port Alberni
60.	Ross, Darrell	Tseshaht FN
61.	Samuel, Wally	Managing Director, Quu'as West Coast Trail Group
62.	Sayers, Judith	Chief councillor, Hupacasath FN
63.	Sieber, Paul	Former Quu'as employee; natural resources officer, Ditidaht FN
64.	Simcox, Lori	Eco-tourism planning team, Tsleil-Waututh FN
65.	Sumpter, Ian	Archaeologist, Parks Canada
66.	Tarnowski, Pernell	Senior seasonal park warden, PRNPR
67.	Tatoosh, Cameron	Aboriginal intern, PRNPR
68.	Thompson, Jack	Chief councillor, Ditidaht FN
69.	Thur, Rodney	Band manager, Pacheedaht FN
70.	Tom, Howard	Former band manager, Tla-o-qui-aht FN
71.	Touchie, Barbara	Elder, Ucluelet FN
72.	Touchie, Rose	Ucluelet FN
73.	Veinotte, Pam	Coordinator, Aboriginal cultural tourism program, Banff NP
74.	Wawia, Nancy	First Nation Cultural Interpreter, Pukaskwa NP
75.	West, Duane	Superintendent, Kluane NPR
76.	Williams, John	Councillor, Tla-o-qui-aht FN
77.	Zellermeyer, Alex	Superintendent, PRNPR

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APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Questions	Interviewees
A. Survey of existing and planned Aboriginal tourism initiatives in and around PRNPR	
1.What existing and/ or planned Aboriginal tourism initiative(s) in and around PRNPR are you aware of? *OR:*	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
2.What tourism initiative(s) has/ have been or will be developed by your FN?	FN w/ ongoing or planned tourism projects
3.Can you describe this/ these initiative(s) (e.g., what is being offered, where, when, to whom, by whom) and/ or provide contact names and numbers?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
4.How long did it take to develop and implement this/ these initiative(s)?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
5.Who is/ was involved in the development of this/ these initiative(s) (individuals, groups, communities, corporations, governments, etc.)?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
6.Was everybody involved who, in your opinion, should have been involved?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
7.If not, who else should have been involved?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
8.Is this initiative/ Are these initiatives supported by the FN community/ your community (Elders, Chief and Council, others)?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
9.In your opinion, what are the major benefits of this/ these Aboriginal tourism initiative(s)?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
10.Do you think this/ these initiative(s) are successful, i.e., economically, socio-culturally and environmentally "sustainable"? *(interviewer will define/ explain "sustainability")*	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
11.What are/ were the major challenges in developing this/ these initiative(s) (e.g., challenges within your First Nation; challenges in cooperating with Parks Canada and/ or other interest groups; logistical challenges such as financing and training, etc.)?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
12.What, in your opinion, would be required in order to tackle these challenges effectively?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
13.In your opinion, what are critical success factors/ requirements for developing "sustainable" Aboriginal tourism initiative(s) in PRNPR/ in protected areas in general?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
B. Assessment of Parks Canada's Role and Cooperation in Aboriginal Tourism Initiatives	
1.Does/ Did Parks Canada play a role in the mentioned initiative(s)?	FN, PC staff
2.(If yes) What is/ was the nature of Parks Canada's role (i.e., cooperation in which respect)?	FN, PC staff

3.(If yes) Is this cooperation still ongoing?	FN, PC staff
4.(If yes) Has Parks Canada's role been changing over time?	FN, PC staff
5.(If yes) Is the cooperation effective, and why (i.e., what are the success factors for effective cooperation)?	FN, PC staff
6.(If no) In case of insufficient or lacking cooperation, what would have to be changed or improved in your opinion to effectively cooperate with Parks Canada (i.e., what would be the main requirements and challenges)?	FN, PC staff
7.(If no) Would you be interested in cooperating with Parks Canada in the development of such (an) initiative(s)?	FN
8.(If no) Would PC be willing and able to cooperate with the respective FN in the development of such (an) initiative(s)?	PC staff
9.(If "no" to questions 19 and 20) Why?	FN, PC staff
10.(If "no" to questions 19 and 20) Under which conditions would you be willing/ able to cooperate?	FN, PC staff
11.Which other Aboriginal tourism initiative(s) in or around PRNPR have been/ are being developed in cooperation with Parks Canada?	FN, PC staff
12.In your opinion, how can the objectives of Aboriginal tourism and protected areas be merged so that both benefit from each other?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
C. Assessment of further opportunities for Aboriginal tourism initiatives in and around PRNPR	
1.What other promising opportunities for successful/ sustainable Aboriginal tourism initiatives exist in and around PRNPR in your opinion?	FN, PC staff, tourism operators, consultants
2.What type(s) of tourism initiative(s) would be suitable and appealing to be explored by your FN?	FN
3.Why?	FN
4.What type(s) of tourism initiative(s) would be unsuitable/ not appealing to your FN?	FN
5.Why?	FN
6.What are your expectations/ interests and needs associated with such (an) initiative(s)?	FN *and* PC staff
7.To what extent has your FN discussed the development of such initiatives a) with FN members, b) with Parks Canada, c) with others?	FN
8.Who is/ was involved in such discussions? (If applicable)	FN
9.Would such (an) initiative(s) be supported by your community (Elders, Chief and Council, others)? (s.a.)	FN
10.Would you need and/ or want to cooperate with Parks Canada in the development of such (an) initiative(s)? (s.a.)	FN
11.Why? (s.a.)	FN
12.Would you need and/ or want to cooperate with other First Nations and interest groups (tourism operators, tourism associations, nearby communities)?	FN
13.If not, why?	FN
14.If yes, what would be the requirements for effective cooperation in your opinion? (s.a.)	FN

15.What do you anticipate as major obstacles or challenges in the process of developing such initiatives (e.g., challenges within your First Nation; challenges in cooperating with Parks Canada and/ or other interest groups; logistical challenges such as financing and training, etc.)? (s.a.)	FN
16.What, in your opinion, would be required in order to tackle these challenges successfully? (s.a.)	FN
17.In your opinion, what would be the major benefits of such (a) tourism initiative(s)? (s.a.)	FN