

Community Perspectives on Bioeconomic Development:  
Eco-Cultural Tourism in Hartley Bay, British Columbia

by

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## Abstract

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The small community of Hartley Bay is located on the Northwest Coast of British Columbia. As members of the Gitga'at First Nation, the residents of Hartley Bay have strong relationships with the lands and waters of their traditional territory going back countless generations. Many members of the community continue to actively engage in wild food harvesting and fishing, as well as other activities associated with traditional Gitga'at resource use. Alongside these customary activities, the resources within the Gitga'at territory also form the basis of the contemporary local economy. Hartley Bay Gitga'at are committed to supporting the ecological integrity of their territory, as well as the vitality of their community and way of life, through carefully selected and implemented local development initiatives.

Tourism is a sector of the economy that many community members believe holds the potential to boost the local economy as well as support their broader vision for the future of the Hartley Bay community. Using a case study approach, this thesis explores Hartley Bay community member perspectives on a locally generated proposal to pursue ecologically supported cultural tourism. The focus of this research, particularly the possibility of linking tourism with the Gitga'at harvest camps, was directed by the Gitga'at Marine Use Planning Committee, as well as through consultations with community elders and other local leaders. The thesis is not intended to provide a financial feasibility assessment or a business plan. Rather, the purpose and value of this research is in providing a forum to explicitly identify the motivations, values and possible outcomes of this potential project, which the community may one day decide to move forward through feasibility studies, business plans, and other processes. The community perspectives gathered here, reflecting what Hartley Bay Gitga'at would like to see in local development, may provide a gauge to weigh some of the trade-offs and decisions surrounding if and how to move forward with tourism development considering local priorities and tourism sector realities.

The project was developed through four trips to the study area. The data were collected over a period of several months in 2009. The primary data collection tools were participant observation, key informants, semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Over 30 members of the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community participated in this research through interviews and/or focus groups, out of a potential pool of about 70 informants. It is their evaluations of the risks, benefits and potentials of this type of economic development that this thesis brings together. These insights help ground ideals often discussed within sustainability discourses in one community's experiences and priorities in the context of local tourism development.

The first objective was to describe aspects of the local context shaping research participant perspectives on the proposed tourism development project. I did this using the concrete example of the Gitga'at seasonal harvest camps and the possibility suggested in the tourism development proposal of linking a tourism experience with them. I found the practices surrounding the harvest camps have responded to changing socio-cultural and economic circumstances. Some of these changes are viewed positively, while others, such as declining community member participation at the camps, were highlighted as concerns. There were a number of concerns surrounding the proposal to link tourism with

the camps. However, many research participants, including regular harvest camp participants, also saw potential in the proposition and in tourism development generally.

The second objective was to synthesise research participant perspectives on the appropriate use of resources from their traditional territory and on the appropriate application and sharing of local and elders' knowledge for such an eco-cultural tourism enterprise. Environmental, cultural and community integrity are deeply intertwined, essential, mutually dependent and non-interchangeable priorities that must be supported by any local development initiative. Tourism may strike this balance, provided that (a) it is developed in a manner that provides benefits across the community and (b) that the use and sharing of local knowledge and other resources is guided by chiefs, elders and other community leaders in consultation with the community as a whole, particularly those who may be the most impacted. An important step in building a tourism enterprise that supports local priorities includes developing mechanisms, such as protocol agreements, and regular monitoring and evaluation strategies, as well as determining geographical areas and knowledge domains that are considered off-limits to tourism, to ensure continued local control and benefits.

Lastly, the third objective sought to identify the desired services from tourism for the community, and linkages with other institutions that the research participants considered important for an eco-cultural tourism business aligned with local development priorities. A number of services for the community were identified by participants as possible outcomes from this type of economic development. These ranged from local retail opportunities to supporting local harvest practices and strengthening cultural pride. Building connections between the proposed enterprise and members of the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community and local institutions (rather than seeking business partnerships outside the Gitga'at community) was suggested as the most desirable and affective way to support these outcomes. Relationships between the Gitga'at and some local tourism operators have helped build local capacity. In this way, these partnerships have acted as steppingstones towards more autonomous Gitga'at tourism development.

There is potential for eco-cultural tourism to support the needs and interests of the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community if its development is directed and controlled by them and based on a process of deliberation within the community. I do not attempt to make recommendations concerning whether or not the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community should move forward the proposal suggested by the Marine Use Planning Committee. However, an array of alternative eco-cultural tourism ideas suggested by research participants that could complement, or be undertaken in lieu of the original proposal, are gathered here. As well, the thesis documents participants' ideas related to the governance of eco-cultural tourism and development policy that they believe will help ensure local priorities. It is clear from participants' responses concerning the 'ifs' and 'hows' of tourism development that such decisions are not clear-cut and reflect a broader spectrum of considerations than merely economic viability. Rather, it is the terms under which these types of initiatives are deliberated, and perhaps pursued, that shape local support and local perspectives. Acknowledging and taking the time to understand these nuances are essential in creating economic opportunities that reflect local goals and interests.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

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This thesis explores one community's perspectives and experiences with the convergence of two trends in First Nations economic development: the use of social enterprise (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006) and involvement in the bioeconomy (Meis Mason, Dana & Anderson, 2007, 2009). Social entrepreneurship employs an alternative perspective on the utility and function of business (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006; Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2007). Rather than business being governed by a normative mandate focused on exponential growth and relying on economic 'trickle down' to realize local benefits, social enterprises are created with the explicit purpose of generating social goods that reflect local needs, values and aspirations for the future as a direct, integral motivation and component of doing business. Within social entrepreneurship, economic outputs are recognized as one goal among many, rather than the primary decision-making criteria (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006). Bioeconomy refers to the use of local biological resources for generating economic opportunities. Many First Nations with significant natural resource endowments see potential in this sector of the economy to further their local development objectives, sometimes through the use of a social enterprise model.

Social entrepreneurship is a feature of many recent First Nations economic development activities (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006). Often the objectives for First Nations include supporting cultural integrity, local autonomy and quality of life of band members (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006; Anderson, & Giberson, 2004; Thornton, 2002). The establishment of development corporations, co-operatives, and other collectively owned businesses are often examples of this type of social enterprise. A social entrepreneurship approach is helping some communities engage with the global economy on their own terms and ensure that benefits from local resource development and other initiatives are reinvested in their community (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006; Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2007; Gitga'at Nation, 2004).

Creating local economic development opportunities based on the use of local biological resources, or involvement in the bioeconomy, is another strategy many First Nations are employing. Natural Resources Canada (2009) defines bioeconomy as

activities “...based on the use of renewable biological resources and bioprocesses for more sustainable and eco-efficient manufacturing of goods and provision of services.” The sphere of bioeconomy, therefore, encompasses an extensive array of economic activities, including the harvest and production of non-timber forest products, aquaculture, ecologically supported tourism, and more technology-intensive activities, such as pharmaceutical development (Cooper, 2008; Natural Resources Canada, 2009; Prescott-Allen & Prescott-Allen, 1986). Many First Nations, and Indigenous People more generally, identify compatibility between their local development objectives, social entrepreneurship, and the opportunities some see to apply and strengthen traditional knowledge and practices through the bioeconomy (Berkes, 2008; Berkes & Adhikari, 2006; Meis Mason, Dana & Anderson, 2007, 2009; Turner, 2001; Turner & Cocksedge, 2001). The convergence of social entrepreneurship with bioeconomic development within some recent First Nations economic development activities is both exciting and significant. It represents an alternative to the conventional “top-down” business models that continue to shape the majority of bioeconomic development projects (Anderson, 2007).

Like many small communities in rural Canada and elsewhere around the world<sup>1</sup>, the Gitga’at First Nation community of Hartley Bay on the Northwest Coast of British Columbia is pursuing local economic development using their local, biological resource endowments. Their goal is to create meaningful local opportunities that reflect individual and collective values and aspirations (Gitga’at Nation, 2004). This thesis focuses on Hartley Bay Gitga’at community member perspectives on a locally developed proposal to expand the community’s involvement in the local tourism economy through the establishment of a collectively owned, ecologically supported cultural (eco-cultural) tourism enterprise.<sup>2</sup> This thesis explores community member responses to this proposal from a number of angles.

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<sup>1</sup> See for example, Berkes & Adhikari, 2006; Meis Mason, Dana & Anderson (2007, 2009); and, Coast First Nations Turning Point Initiative (2010).

<sup>2</sup> The term ecologically supported cultural tourism, shortened to eco-cultural tourism, has been adopted in this thesis to refer to the type of tourism operation that Hartley Bay Gitga’at are considering. This type of tourism would center on providing guest experiences associated primarily with aspects of Gitga’at culture and way of life, including opportunities to learn about local history and customary natural resource use practices. These cultural components, many of which intrinsically depend on the natural environment, may also be supported by other more strictly ecologically-based tourism activities, such as wildlife viewing,

First, the specific proposition to link tourism activities with the Gitga'at annual harvest camps will be explored. I will employ this inductive example to illustrate the complex motivations, opportunities and concerns underlying research participant perspectives on eco-cultural tourism development. From this specific example, the focus will broaden to community member evaluations of the appropriate use of local resources and the application and sharing of local and elders' knowledge for the purposes of eco-cultural tourism more generally. Next, the benefits from tourism development that community members identify as possible and desirable will be discussed and the role of third parties in helping supply these benefits will be examined.

The intent of this research is to gather and synthesise community member perspectives on some of the fundamental issues surrounding tourism development in order to contribute to the community's ongoing decision-making process. I do not attempt to propose what the outcomes of that process should be. Rather I highlight points to consider and areas for further discussion and consultation. The more deliberate and explicit the decision-making process surrounding eco-cultural tourism is, the more likely the outcome will be to reflect the interests of the Hartley Bay Gitga'at in both the short and long term. Should the community decide to move forward with eco-cultural tourism development, the synthesis of community member ideas presented here may prove to be a useful tool in deciding how to undertake eco-cultural tourism in an effective manner that reflects local priorities and objectives.

## **1.1. Research Purpose and Objectives**

This research investigates Hartley Bay Gitga'at perspectives on economic development based on their local resources. I focus on a Gitga'at generated proposal to build an ecologically supported cultural tourism enterprise. The particular objectives are to:

1. Describe the local context as it is influencing Hartley Bay Gitga'at community perspectives on tourism development, using the concrete example of the Gitga'at seasonal harvest camps.

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hiking and kayaking. Elsewhere (c.f. Kutznew, Pamela & Stark, 2009) this approach has been called 'dual-track' tourism. However, ecologically supported cultural tourism seems to present a clearer description of the relationship between the cultural and ecological components of the tourism activities the Gitga'at are considering.

2. Build a synthesis of how Hartley Bay Gitga'at evaluations of appropriate resource use within their traditional territory and of the appropriate application and sharing of elders' knowledge for commercial purposes are shaping local approaches to eco-cultural tourism development.
3. Discuss the relationships between locally desired benefits from eco-cultural tourism and the role linkages and partnerships with other institutions might play in an eco-cultural tourism business aligned with local development priorities.

## **1.2. Finding the Balance in the Bioeconomy**

This research is one of three descriptive case studies being conducted in northern rural communities across Canada as part of a SSHRC<sup>3</sup>-funded research project, "Finding the Balance in the Bioeconomy: New Partnerships between Indigenous Socioeconomic Enterprises, Research Institutes and Corporations," headed by Dr. Robert Anderson (University of Regina), Dr. Fikret Berkes (University of Manitoba), Dr. Iain Davidson-Hunt (University of Manitoba) and colleagues. Dr. Berkes, Dr. Nancy Turner (University of Victoria), Kyle Clifton (Gitga'at Band Member and Marine Use Planning Coordinator) and I comprise the West Coast case study team.

The overarching project seeks to document Aboriginal peoples' perspectives on the appropriate uses of natural resources from their traditional territories and the culturally appropriate role of Traditional Ecological Knowledge in bioeconomic development. It also aims to investigate the ways in which partnerships related to the development of biological resources may lead to new socioeconomic opportunities for northern Aboriginal communities and under what conditions such partnerships are desirable and/or possible (Anderson, 2007).

## **1.3. Methodology and Methods**

This research followed a qualitative, social science approach and employed a descriptive case study strategy of inquiry, guided by participatory and interactive, adaptive concepts (Creswell, 2007; Howitt & Stevens, 2005; Nelson, 1991). In keeping with the principles of participatory community-based research, the focus of this project was developed

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<sup>3</sup> Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada is a federal agency supporting academic research, including community-based research, in social sciences and humanities.



through consultation with members of the Hartley Bay Gitga’at community, particularly with the Marine Use Planning Committee and their coordinator and “Finding a Balance” team member, Kyle Clifton. Throughout this research project, I have continued to be guided by their input and knowledge and have endeavoured at all times to follow proper research practices as set out by the University of Manitoba and the Gitga’at First Nation.

Semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, active participation and participant observation were the primary investigative tools I used to gather my data (Bernard, 2006; Creswell, 2007; Dunn, 2005; Fals-Borda, 1987). These approaches allowed for a diversity of ideas and perspectives to emerge over the course of my research (Howitt & Stevens, 2005). An interactive, adaptive organizational framework allowed for flexibility and adaptability during data gathering and throughout my research process in order to accommodate the complexity and changeability inherent to any community-based research context (Nelson, 1991).

Over the course of my fieldwork,<sup>4</sup> I engaged in an iterative process of data analysis by keeping clear records of my observations, activities, interviews and focus group discussions. In order to ensure the validity of my findings and my accountability to the Hartley Bay Gitga’at community, I reported my activities and evolving understandings to the Elders group, the Marine Use Planning Committee, and other community leaders for comment, input, and confirmation on a semi-regular basis throughout my research. A primary purpose of this research is to serve the needs and interests of the Hartley Bay community, and I have attempted to keep this requirement paramount throughout the course of my research.

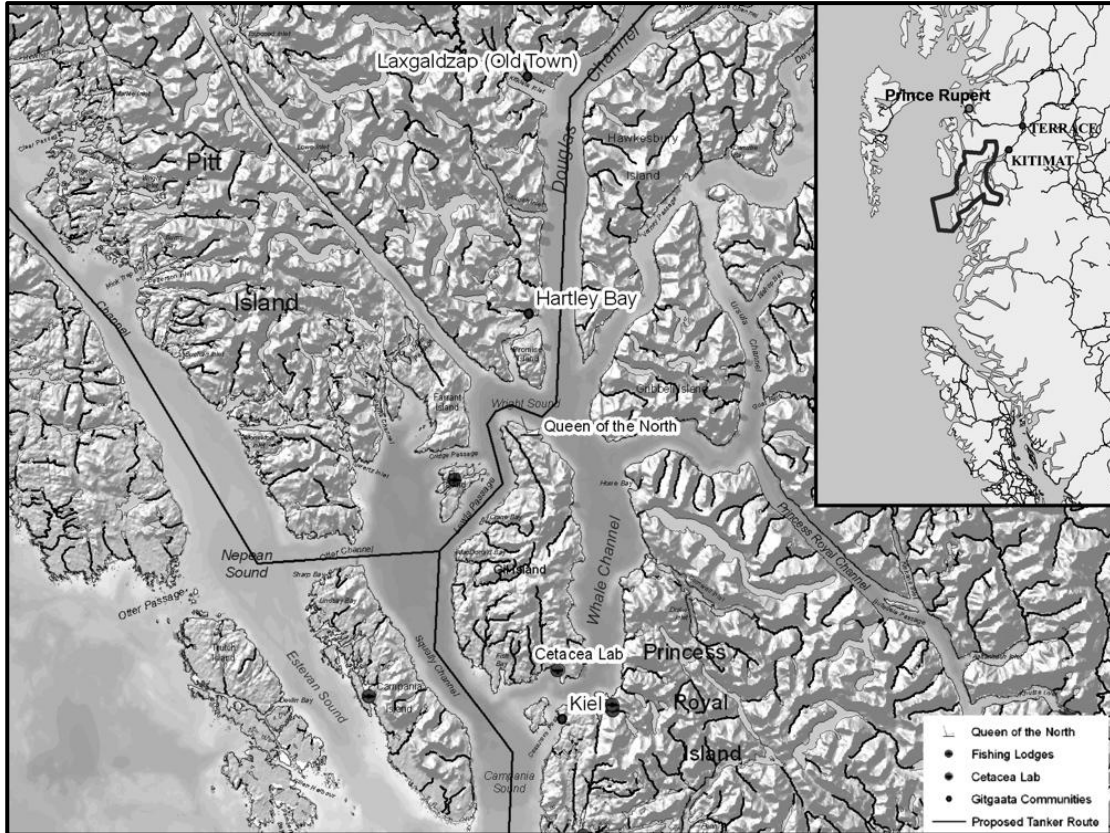
## **1.4. Case Study Community**

The traditional territory of the Gitga’at First Nation is an extensive area of land and sea on the Northwest Coast of British Columbia stretching from the mouth of the Douglas Channel, past numerous islands, out to the Pacific Ocean (Figure 1.1.; Gitga’at, 2004). Historically, the Gitga’at made seasonal rounds within their territory in order to take

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<sup>4</sup> This includes a preliminary consultation visit to Hartley Bay in February 2009, data gathering during May, June, late August and September 2009, and a verification visit in late November/early December 2009.

advantage of the diverse resources available in different areas throughout the year (Gitga'at, 2004; Turner & Clifton, 2006). With the arrival of Europeans and the colonization of British Columbia, there have been many changes in Gitga'at society and way of life particularly over the last 150 years (Campbell, 1984, 2005; Gitga'at, 2004).



**Figure 1.1.** Map of British Columbia and the Gitga'at Territory  
(Map: Jessel Bolton; Map insert: Sonesinh Keobouasone)

Over this time, many Gitga'at have retained an active connection with their territory and continue to harvest and process wild foods throughout the year. Many of these activities are now carried out as day trips from the permanent village site at Hartley Bay. Some community members, however, continue to spend the months of May and September at two permanent harvest camps: spring camp at Kiel on Princess Royal Island for seaweed and halibut, and fall camp at Old Town on the Quaal River for salmon, berries and moose.

Approximately 170 members of the Gitga'at First Nation now live in Hartley Bay, with another 450 living away from the traditional territory in urban centres (Gitga'at,

2004). A downturn in the commercial fishery, which until recently provided the primary economic base for many in the community (Campbell, 1984; Lutz 2008), coupled with other pressures, are prompting the Gitga'at to pursue other economic development options, including tourism. At the same time, in recognition of changing lifestyles and opportunities, they are also seeking new ways to support valued cultural activities, such as food harvesting, that the Gitga'at are committed to ensuring remain central features of their way of life and identity in the future. It is out of the convergence of these concerns that the proposal to develop a community-owned ecologically supported cultural tourism enterprise has emerged. A more detailed description of the Gitga'at First Nation will be presented in Chapter 4.

## **1.5. Significance of the Study**

This study is significant on two primary levels. Firstly, it will support the efforts of the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community as they consider establishing an eco-cultural tourism enterprise. In particular, the information gathered through this research will help the Hartley Bay community in their decision-making process and could contribute to the development of a business approach that furthers the community's overall objectives, addresses their concerns, and generates the widest distribution of benefits for the community as a whole. By exploring Gitga'at perspectives and experiences with eco-cultural tourism development, it may also reveal insights and lessons useful to other rural communities in Canada.

Tourism is an area of bioeconomic development, for example, that has been identified by the Coastal First Nations Turning Point Initiative as a strategic direction for the economic development of First Nations on the coast of B.C. (Turning Point Initiative Coastal First Nations, 2009c). Consequently, research concerning community perspectives on this sector is important not only for the Gitga'at in making informed decisions about their involvement in tourism, but also potentially for other First Nations communities who might wish to undertake similar projects. Particularly, this research will highlight some of the cultural and social dimensions of economic development decision-making. For, although there is ample information on ways to measure economic feasibility and environmental impacts, few tools exist to assess the positive and negative

impacts of development within socio-cultural realms. Recognizing and explicitly exploring them, however, is a necessary step to ensure that initiatives, like eco-cultural tourism, are successful and positive for the people involved.

Secondly, the research contributes to bioeconomic literature and theory, particularly that concerned with alternative approaches to bioeconomic development. Bioeconomic development is often initiated by third parties, who are physically and contextually removed from the needed resource bases, primarily to serve their interests, rather than those of local and indigenous peoples whose knowledge and resources are utilized (Kuanpoth, 2005). Consequently, the majority of bioeconomic development projects offer few benefit-sharing opportunities and only restricted partnership roles to indigenous communities (Anderson, et al., 2005). Often these roles are limited to supplying some form of local or traditional knowledge, for example to identify and locate plants that may contain compounds of commercial value, or to providing a convenient pool of inexpensive labour for picking berries or harvesting medicinal plants (Davidson-Hunt, Oct 17, 2008). These dynamics are rooted in long-standing attitudes and practices dating back to the first bio-prospecting activities carried out by European explorers in the late 1800s and to other long-standing colonial practices of resource exploitation and commodification (Merson, 2000; Nestle, 2000).

A lack of consultation and careless, disrespectful over-exploitation of culturally, nutritionally and spiritually valuable resources are some of the concerns that continue to surround bioeconomic development for many First Nations communities today (Prescott-Allen & Prescott-Allen, 1986; Turner, 2001). Ironically, along with overexploitation of their resources, Indigenous Peoples usually receive little benefit or compensation for their use. Consequently, Indigenous resource rights and ability of Indigenous community's to apply their time-honoured stewardship and resource management practices are often drastically curtailed (Deur & Turner, 2005). In many cases, the majority of benefits go to third parties, often non-indigenous corporations or universities (Anderson, 2007). The exploitation and mismanagement of the abalone fishery in Gitga'at territory is a case in point (Hill, 2007; also see Box 2.1.).

This case study will explore how members of the Gitga'at First Nation are choosing to pursue bioeconomic development on their own terms and to further their community

developments goals and aspirations. Their bioeconomic development initiatives demonstrate an alternative approach to the dominant mode of economic development.

## **1.6. Thesis Organization**

This thesis is comprised of eight chapters. Chapter 1 has provided a brief background and a general overview of my research. Chapter 2 considers pertinent literature in the areas of cultural and development theory, First Nations' approaches to local development, and the bioeconomy. The purpose of this chapter is to situate my research within a theoretical and social context. Next, Chapter 3 presents an outline of the methodology and research methods I employed. Chapter 4 contains an overview of the Gitga'at First Nation and Hartley Bay community. Chapter 5 utilizes the Gitga'at seasonal harvest camps as an inductive example to focus on my findings related to Objective 1. This objective is concerned with understanding the context for Hartley Bay Gitga'at community members' thinking concerning tourism development. Chapter 6 synthesises Hartley Bay Gitga'at perspectives on the use of local resources and on the application and sharing of local knowledge for tourism purposes, as per Objective 2. Following this, Chapter 7 focuses on Objective 3, which explores the services and linkages members of the Hartley Bay Community identify as desirable and necessary for a tourism enterprise that supports community objectives for local development. Each of these three findings-related chapters incorporates discussion and conclusions sections related to the focus objective for that chapter. Finally, Chapter 8 presents an overview of the key findings, discussion of ways forward and final conclusions.



## **Chapter 2: Culture, Development and the Prospects of the Bioeconomy: A Review of Relevant Literature**

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*[A] strategy that has been garnering attention from scholars is enterprising engagement – the use of business enterprises as a vehicle for development, control of local resources and self-determination.*

Berkes and Davidson-Hunt, 2007, p. 210

In this chapter I present a review of literature related to my community-based research focused on Hartley Bay Gitga'at community members perspectives on local resource-based economic development, specifically concerning an internally generated proposal to establish a collectively owned eco-cultural tourism enterprise. I will begin by situating this case within the broad context of development theory and the interplay between orthodox approaches to development and non-Western cultures and societies. I will then proceed to narrow my review to focus on First Nations' economic development and First Nations' entrepreneurship. Bioeconomic development and eco-cultural tourism will be discussed next with particular reference to First Nations' entrepreneurship in these areas. I will argue that the convergence of First Nations' entrepreneurship with bioeconomic development represents a new trend in First Nations' development. This trend challenges orthodox approaches to development and suggests ways forward for some communities that better reflect local needs and aspirations for the future.

### **2.1. Cultural Aspects of Economic Development**

Diverse, locally relevant and culturally informed approaches to development are phenomenon only recently recognized in modern Canadian society. Colonial and modernist development policies have often identified non-Western cultures as an impediment to economic development (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994). However, many First Peoples, including the Gitga'at First Nation, whose home community is Hartley Bay on the north coast of British Columbia, have retained much of their cultural heritage and are navigating new approaches to economic development that reflect their values and objectives.

### **2.1.1 Colonialism and Modernist Approaches to Development**

In the late 1940s, development economics emerged internationally as a practice concerned with improving the lot of its constructed object of study: those of the underdeveloped economy. This construction of the underdeveloped, backward economy, and consequently of the associated society, is a direct outgrowth of colonialism, wherein colonial projects were justified through discourse that portrayed local peoples as backward and non-modern. Pálsson (2006) explains, “The concept of modernism usually connotes at least three related characteristics: the dualism of nature and society, the notion of objective science, and the assumption of linear control” (p. 72). Societies and communities with different ontologies were branded as inefficient, wasteful, and irrational (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994). In Canada, as well as other European settler colonies, these ideas were used to justify the appropriation of land and resources from Indigenous Peoples (Arnett, 1999; British Columbia, 1987; Lutz, 2008; Menzies, 2006). For example, in British Columbia, Joseph Trutch, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works to the Colonial Secretary, commented on Sept. 20, 1865: “I am satisfied from my own observation that the claims of Indians over tracts of land, on which they assume to exercise ownership, but of which they make no real use, operate very materially to prevent settlement and cultivation...” (British Columbia, 1987, p. 30; also see Turner & Turner, 2008).

The colonial resettlement policies, which cleared the way for settler and industrial expansion, were also tied to paternalistic attempts to reeducate First Nations people in the ‘better’ ways of Euro-Canadian society: “...the provincial government argued that small reserves would force Native peoples into the workplace, there to learn the habits of industry, thrift, and materialism, thus becoming civilized; and also (less stated) to provide cheap seasonal labour for burgeoning industries—arguments that joined self-interest and altruism” (Harris, C., 2002, p. 35; also see Lutz, 2008). These same attitudes were embodied in the establishment of the Canadian residential school system, supported by government, and primarily run by churches of various denominations, which was designed to inculcate Euro-Canadian values and ways of life in Aboriginal children (Haig-Brown, 1988; John & Moran, 1988). The desired outcome was a Christian, English



speaking, Aboriginal population with ‘useful’ skills ready for entry into the wage economy.

These paternalistic attitudes have carried on in the guise of modernist development theory and practice that came to dominance in the international arena in the 1950’s. As in colonial times, ideas of Western cultural superiority helped construct the non-Western oppositional ‘Other’ as a passive object for development. Namely, the ‘Other’ was, “trapped in their own poverty and lacking the knowledge and understanding, constrained by traditions and cultural practices, fixed in time and needy of ‘help’ to develop and to emulate the successful ‘West’” (Skelton & Allen, 1999, p. 3). Instead of culturally distinctive trajectories for development, the Western development model – born out of the historical and cultural vantage point of Western Europeans and their descendants – was positioned, with very few exceptions, within development discourse as the only possible modernity (Sen, 2004; Skelton & Allen, 1999; Worsley, 1999). Modernist development entails economic growth based on free market assumptions of self-maximization and capital accumulation, industrialization, secularization, and the extension of bureaucratic institutions as components of the standard model (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994; Rapley, 2002).

Within the North American context, policies and attitudes towards First Peoples maintained many of the same simultaneously paternalistic and culturally dismissive characteristics as the colonization period. Black (1994) explains:

In the case of tribal and reservation development, no attention was paid to existing systems, cultural norms and institutions... In the case of economic development strategies developed from outside tribal communities, the prevailing wisdom was based on an assumption that existing systems and activities needed to be modified to fit economic development goals based on western models (p. 11).

In Canada, for example, the last residential schools were not closed until the early 1980s; nor were First Nations granted suffrage at the federal level until 1960 (Campbell, 2005, p. 227). The livelihoods of First Nations communities have also been directly compromised as a result of some Canadian natural resource policies. Some communities, particularly in Northern areas, were forced to relocate to make room for hydroelectric development (Miller, 1991), while government mismanagement of marine resources has severely impacted coastal First Nations (Harris, 2001) such as the Gitga’at (Hill, 2007; also see

Box 2.1). Furthermore, under the government's fishing quota system, many First Nations households are no longer able to afford the high cost of licenses (Ommer, 2007).

**Box 2.1: DFO and the (Mis)management of Commercial Fisheries**

"Over the long period," RP04 told me, "we've seen a big decline in a lot of our resources because of Global Warming and the way Fisheries [the Department of Fisheries and Oceans] manage fisheries here." Many research participants expressed concern and frustration over DFO's management of marine resources within the Gitga'at territory. "We used to catch every species of fish here: Sockeye, Chums, Coho, everything," RP04 continued, "Now you're not allowed to touch Coho. You're not allowed to catch Chums [for the commercial fishery]." In some years, Hartley Bay Gitga'at have also chosen not to exercise their right to catch Coho for the community food fishery because of concern over the low numbers of returning fish. "We didn't know that we could have," Marvin Robinson testified, "we were just told we were not to harvest Coho, because the numbers were really low. So we just stuck with that. We didn't really push our aboriginal right and just go fishing." Many people in the community blame the declining fish stocks experienced all along the coast on high DFO fishing quotas for commercial and recreational fisheries, including the sports fishing taking place at the lodges in the Gitga'at Territory (JB, RP04, RP07).

As a result of poor management by the DFO, Daniel Danes reflected, "The fish are tiny. It won't be long; there'll be no fish. What are we going to eat then?" Hartley Bay Gitga'at also worry about whether wildlife, particularly the spirit bears, are finding enough food. DFO, however, is not receptive to community advice about fishing policy. "We try to say," RP04 explained, "give them less days, but let them harvest everything they've caught." In the past, First Nations were allowed to keep by-catch<sup>5</sup> from the commercial fishery for consumptive purposes. DFO, however, has become increasingly restrictive about the use of by-catch. The regulatory framework to separate commercial and non-commercial activities reduces the flexibility of Gitga'at food harvesting activities and consequently is inhibiting access to traditional foods and ways of life, as well as producing wasted food, which is considered to be a disrespectful behaviour.

In the past, the majority of Hartley Bay Gitga'at were employed seasonally in the commercial fishery. "When we were young," RP04 told me, "pretty well every household in the village had a small gillnetter..." Many people made a good living through participation in the fishing industry and the seasonality of the work allowed families to engage in other activities, such as the Gitga'at harvest camps and other harvesting activities, during the year. The high cost of licenses, coupled with a major decline in the West Coast fishery beginning in the early 1990s, have resulted in a dramatic shift in the local economy away from fishing in recent years. Currently, only a few community members employed in the commercial fishery. A sense of anger and betrayal around the mismanagement of the fishery and other marine resources is still palpable in the community. Cameron Hill attested to this, saying:

As a fisherman, I put my faith in government agencies, DFO to be exact, that they knew what they were doing and if they were going to let us fish, we would fish. But due to mismanagement there is no more fishing industry, no commercial fishing industry. You cannot make a living at that.

<sup>5</sup> Non-target species caught inadvertently.

Another potent example of the impacts of mismanagement on Gitga'at resources and society that is still forefront in the minds of many Hartley Bay Gitga'at is the commercialization of northern, or pinto, abalone (*Haliotis kamtschatkana*), which DFO promoted until declining numbers prompted the closure of the harvest in 1990. As a result of low recruitment and illegal poaching, abalone is still showing no signs of recovery and in 2003 northern abalone was listed as a threatened species under the Species at Risk Act (SARA)<sup>6</sup> and classified as endangered.

To the Gitga'at, the loss of abalone, an important ceremonial and food species, was a tragic outcome of mismanagement. Stanly Robinson told me about the loss of abalone:

When I was young, my first time going picking abalone, I got three buckets. That was four cases of jarred abalone and that lasted my mom two years. Now you can't even find a couple. It is the divers. You have got all the divers coming up from down south. They come in selling bags of it. You call the Fisheries and it takes them three days to get here.

A deep regret is the community's unwitting participation in the commercialization of abalone. Before DFO opened the fishery, they came to Hartley Bay and asked elders and harvesters to show them the prime harvesting locations. The Gitga'at provided this information, unaware of how it was to be used. DFO based its abalone licensing and zoning on this information and proceeded to allocate all commercial harvest licenses to non-Gitga'at without informing the community of what was taking place. As a result of this betrayal, some Hartley Bay Gitga'at, like Daniel Danes, are very leery of any development that might further comprise Gitga'at resources. Danny explained:

You show people where we get our food, and it's gone. Like we did with our abalone. Showed them where it was. Now where is it? There is none. We can't even pick it anymore. We used to go out every year in the spring. We would go out and pick abalone one or two times and we would have enough to last us all year. We never picked again... It is slowly happening to a lot of our food. It's too much people [the lodges and the sports fishermen] coming in.

Denial of political and cultural sovereignty, and the appropriation and careless exploitation of natural resources have had profound consequences for the well-being of First Nations people. As Turner and colleagues describe (2008), "Human existence has always depended on our ability to respond and adapt to change. However, rapid change, particularly when forced from the outside, can have extremely negative consequences" (p. 7). Resultantly, today First Nations populations in Canada are overrepresented in statistics related to poor health, inadequate access to safe drinking water, over-crowded housing, unemployment and low income, and numerous other indicators reflecting quality of life and social status (Anderson & Giberson, 2004; Helin, 2006). Turner et al. (2008) also emphasize that many of the profound losses that have accompanied

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<sup>6</sup> See: Government of Canada, Species at Risk Public Registry:  
[http://www.sararegistry.gc.ca/species/speciesDetails\\_e.cfm?sid=603](http://www.sararegistry.gc.ca/species/speciesDetails_e.cfm?sid=603)

colonialism and development often go unrecognized. Such losses are related to a variety of domains, including, culture and lifestyle, identity, health, self-determination and influence, emotional and psychological well-being, world order, knowledge, access to economic and other opportunities.

An approach to development imposed from the outside that seeks implicitly and explicitly to undermine the right to self-determination and replace one way of life with another, has resulted in a long list of actions and programs of the type that Shiva (1989) has referred to as “maldevelopment,” within the territories of First Nations peoples in Canada (Anderson & Bone, 1995; Black, 1994), similar to those experienced by other minority peoples around the world (Ferguson, 1994; Shiva, 2000).

### **2.1.2. The Emergence of Post-Development Thought**

As a result of the negative impacts of modernist development models, some have called for a rejection of this approach altogether (Escobar, 1995). Post-development thought emerged in the 1990s and is heavily informed by Indigenous rights, environmentalism, feminist and other social movements that began in the 1970s as well as by a growing concern for the homogenization of the world’s valuable and diverse cultures, languages, worldviews and ways of life (Carlson & Maffi, 2004; Escobar, 1995; Rapley, 2002). In contrast to prior approaches to development, it emphasizes the importance and validity of diverse human experiences and understandings. Much of the discourse surrounding cultural preservation, however, harkens back to a salvage anthropology mindset of dying societies, dying people, and the noble salvage (King, 2003). Demands to retain cultural diversity have often been steeped in utilitarian motivations and assumptions. As Pálsson (2006) explains, “...indigenous knowledge is sometimes presented as a marketable commodity – a thing like cultural capital” (p. 89). He continues:

The proper response to the modernist agenda is not to adopt a romantic adherence to the past and make a fetish of traditional knowledge, but rather to construct a management framework that is democratic enough to allow for a meaningful dialogue between experts and practitioners and flexible enough to allow for a realistic adaptation to the complexities and contingencies of the world – in sum, a communitarian ethic of ‘muddling through’ (p. 89).

From the modernist and post-development schools, debates surrounding culture and development are often essentialized into two oppositional and irreconcilable camps

presenting a binary choice for non-Western societies between static cultural retention on the one hand—as development “may lead to the elimination of its traditions and cultural heritage” (Sen, 1999, p. 31)—and fundamental cultural transformation on the other, based on the notion, “...it is better to be rich and happy than to be poor and traditional” (Sen, 1999, p. 31; also see Sen, 2004).

### **2.1.3. Finding a Balance**

In reality, it is unrealistic to believe that the pursuit of development—the improvement of well-being—can be ignored, that Aboriginal communities in Canada or elsewhere can live in isolation from broader society, or that this would be deemed desirable if it were possible. Similarly, to suggest that the loss of cultural heritage and traditional ways of life is inconsequential in comparison to gains wrought through Western style development denies the inherent value of culture—the inter-generational knowledge developed over millennia (Marglin, 1990)—and the devastating consequences to societies when their cultural integrity and cultural sovereignty are compromised (Gregory, Failing & Harstone, 2007; Turner et al., 2008). Fortunately, these two extremes are by no means the only possibilities.

Community-based, human-centered theories present a more balanced alternative. Within these approaches, development is recognized as a heterogeneous phenomenon reflecting human agency, adaptability and distinct cultural, environmental, political, social and economic contexts (Anderson & Bone, 1995; Black, 1994; Wuttunee, 2004). Recognition of the previously unacknowledged inextricable linkages between ecological and social systems (c.f. Berkes & Folke, 1998) is also an important part of this new thinking, particularly in the context of First Peoples (Brown & Brown, 2009; Turning Point Initiative Coastal First Nations, 2009b).

Worsley (1999) and Long (2000) argue that societies around the world are making spaces for multiple, simultaneous forms of development, informed by different cultural traditions, and that rather than living in an increasingly uniform global environment, “We live in an increasingly diversified world that only has the trappings of homogeneity” (Long, 2000, p.185). Redfield (discussed by Worsley, 1999), argues that ‘little traditions’—those older and smaller than ‘great traditions’, such as world religions—have

always existed and survived alongside ‘great traditions’ with more socio-political and economic clout, because rather than being subsumed by them, ‘little traditions’ “...undergo revival, transformation and synthesis” (Worsley, 1999, p. 35). Such processes of loss, gain, and exchange of specific characteristics or properties of cultures reflect a dialectical process of cultural change and transformation constantly undertaken either implicitly or explicitly (Arce & Long, 2000; Worsley, 1999).

These new community-based approaches to development represent a negotiated middle ground between modernist development thinking championing of a uniform development model, and post-development thinking rejecting all Western influences. From this perspective, it is not change itself—neither its existence nor its absence—that is a cause for celebration or concern but rather the terms and conditions under which it occurs (Arce & Long, 2000; Marglin, 1990; Sen, 2004).

## **2.2. New Ways Forward**

Many First Nations communities are now seeking new forms of economic development that prioritize locally determined and culturally relevant objectives, approaches, and measures of success. Yet in most cases First Nations do not seek to isolate themselves from the Canadian or global economies (Anderson, 1997; Anderson & Giberson, 2004; Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006).

### **2.2.1. Agency, Adaptation and Resilience**

This negotiation between old and new values, ideas and traditions is not a recent phenomenon. There is evidence of First Peoples in North America dating back 15,000 years, and it is widely accepted that the continent has been continuously occupied by humans for at least the last 12,000 years (Haggan et al., Aug 2004; Helin, 2006). In British Columbia alone there are at least 30 distinct major Aboriginal groups, with unique languages and cultural identities, each with complex social, political and economic systems (Helin, 2006). On the Northwest Coast potlatches, clan systems, and trading relations are examples of only a few of these (Campbell, 2005; Harris, 2002; Helin, 2006). As Calvin Helin (2006) describes, “...Aboriginal societies were self-reliant, socially-coherent, healthy, and had clear direction” (p. 66).

There was also much trade and exchange of goods, ideas, and stories between different cultural groups, as evidenced by shared words and trading dialects (Lutz, 2008). The Gitga'at, for example, traded their highly prized seaweed for the equally valued oolichan grease from the Haisla people at Kitimat and the Nisga'a of the Nass River (Ommer, 2007; Turner & Clifton, 2006). When Europeans first arrived on the West Coast in the 1770s (Campbell, 2005), the Ts'msyen nations and others traded with them and readily incorporated new foods and technologies into their lives, just as Europeans incorporated new items into theirs (Lutz, 2008). Such exchanges took place up and down the coast.<sup>7</sup> Aboriginal societies were adaptable and took advantage of the new opportunities available to them. The practices associated with the Gitga'at seaweed harvest, for example, have not remained static, as is reflected in their adoption of motorized boats, use of new types of containers, generators and freezers, and the adaptation of gender divisions of labour to allow men to participate more fully in the harvest (Turner, 2003, 2005; Turner & Clifton, 2006; also see Chapter 4).

The problem is not change, or the lack thereof, but rather the terms under which that change takes place. In spite of the impacts of colonialism and subsequent Canadian development policies, Aboriginal peoples have not lost their sense of cultural identity or nationhood. Rather, many are seeking to reaffirm and reassert their sovereignty and rights to self-determination and cultural integrity. They are negotiating new ways forward through a focus on community-based development initiatives in order to address community concerns in community-relevant ways (Coastal First Nations, 2010; Gitga'at, 2004). As Anderson and Giberson (2004) and others (c.f. Aboriginal Tourism Association of BC, 2009; Berkes & Davidson-Hunt 2007; Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006; Helin, 2006; Wuttunee, 2004) note, entrepreneurship is an important tool being employed by many First Nations to achieve these goals and enhance the overall well-being of First Nations individuals, families, communities and societies.

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<sup>7</sup> The Coast Salish, for example, who have long cultivated camas (*Camassia quamash*), rapidly adopted the low-input potato both for their own consumption and as a trade item with Europeans (Deur & Turner, 2005).

### **2.2.2. Regulation Theory**

Anderson and Giberson (2004) argue that, “The key to successful Indigenous development lies in recognizing in each culture those forces conducive to development and designing development plans accordingly” (p. 147). The Regulation Theory of economic development suggests that it is possible for diverse, community-based approaches to development to exist successfully and simultaneously alongside the well-entrenched geopolitical and economic system, based on modernist development principles.

Regulation Theory centers on the paramount role of human agency and local context in shaping the dynamics and outcomes of economic development (Anderson & Bone, 1995; Anderson & Giberson, 2004). It postulates that an economy, rather than following path-dependant laws, is a social construct and consequently reflects societal choices and historical contexts. Therefore, as Anderson and Bone (1995) state: “...it should be possible for a particular people, through the mode of social regulation they adopt, to create a mode of development consistent with the requirements of the regime of accumulation and with their traditions, values, and objects” (p. 125). Many First Nations’ economic development initiatives can be seen through this theoretical framework (Anderson, 2007; Anderson & Bone, 1995; Anderson & Giberson, 2004).

### **2.2.3. Characteristics of First Nations’ Business**

While not all First Nations who choose to opt-in to local, national and global economies do so in the same ways; there are several key features common to many First Nations’ businesses that can be identified. Primary among these is the recognition that financially successful business, while important, is not an end in and of itself (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006). Rather, entrepreneurship, which Anderson and Giberson (2004) define as: “...the identification of unmet or undersatisfied needs and related opportunities, and the creation of enterprises, products and services in response to these opportunities...” (p. 143), is an important tool employed by First Nations communities to help achieve their broader socioeconomic objectives. Anderson and Giberson (2004) highlight four of these objectives as follows:



(i) greater control of activities on their traditional lands; (ii) self-determination and an end to dependency through economic self-sufficiency; (iii) the preservation and strengthening of traditional values and the application of these in economic development and business activities; and (iv) the improvement of socioeconomic circumstances for individuals, families and communities (p. 143).

Many First Nations businesses, therefore, can be considered social enterprises that focus on creating social-value opportunities (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006; Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2007). Anderson (1997) and Anderson et al (2005) also note the role that partnerships and linkages with other organization or institutions play in supporting, and in some cases enabling, First Nations' enterprises. Social entrepreneurship, the incorporation of cultural values and support through partnerships and linkages are characteristic of indigenous enterprises that Berkes and Adhikari (2006) also identify in their analysis of 42 indigenous enterprises from around the world involved in the UNDP Equator Initiative.

The first comprehensive study on Aboriginal development is an ongoing project begun in 1987, by the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and Udall Center for Public Policy at the University of Arizona Harvard, entitled the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (Harvard Project, 2004). The key findings of this project concern the roles of sovereignty, institutions, culture and leadership:

When Native nations make their own decisions about what development approaches to take, they consistently out-perform external decision makers... For development to take hold, assertions of sovereignty must be backed by capable institutions of governance... Successful economies stand on the shoulders of legitimate, culturally grounded institutions of self-government. Indigenous societies are diverse; each nation must equip itself with a governing structure, economic system, policies, and procedures that fit its own contemporary culture... Nation building requires leaders who introduce new knowledge and experiences, challenge assumptions, and propose change (Harvard Project, 2004).

Some of these themes are also noted by Black (1994). She describes an "Elements to Development" Approach to First Nations Development, which is based on four axes, reflecting the strengths of First Nations societies: *assets* (the natural, human, institutional, organizational, legal, and other resources that can be drawn upon); *kinship* (household, clan and community-based networks); *personal efficiency* (the self-confidence, leadership and strong work ethic deeply rooted in First Nation culture); and *spirituality* (the

mutually supportive relationship with the environment and obligations to future generations). The characteristics of this approach also fit Wuttunee's (2004) description of successful economic development strategies for Aboriginal communities.

New measures of success—drawing on a blended spectrum of values from capitalist to traditional (Wuttunee, 2004, p. 12)—are also being created to reflect both quantifiable indicators, such as employment, as well as those less amenable to quantification, such as a contribution to self-sufficiency as well as ecological and cultural integrity (Wuttunee, 2004). Cavalcanti (2002) connects this thinking with what he terms 'ethnoeconomics':

This is the territory not only of the economic perspectives of traditional and indigenous peoples, but also of the latter's perceptions of a higher order of reality in which the economy is integrated with nature, social organization, culture and the supernatural world, as just another element of this larger whole.

First Nations scholars and development practitioners (c.f. Brown & Brown, 2009; Coastal First Nations, 2010; Helin, 2006) also emphasize a similar perspective in recent work and publications.

Preliminary analyses conducted by Anderson and Giberson (2004) underscore that First Nations approaches are not only challenging conventional development approaches, but that they are also producing enterprises that can be successful in the long-term. There are still challenges, however, ahead for First Nations' enterprises. Wuttunee (2004) explains that although First Nations businesses are building new ways forward, "Room for these approaches has not been made by the business establishment, where the common attitude is that 'business,' 'success,' 'strategies' are the same for all Canadians" (p. 12). The list of factors supporting the success of First Nations' economic development, however, is also growing. Attitudes within the non-aboriginal business community towards doing business with Aboriginal enterprises are slowly shifting towards the realization that partnerships can make good business-sense on both sides, and also better reflect shifting societal attitudes in Canada towards corporate social responsibility (Anderson, 1997; Lazor, May 14, 1999).

Land claims settlements and a growing recognition of aboriginal land titles, by establishing rights and in some cases providing capital, are also important enablers of First Nations led economic development (Anderson et al., 2005). Anderson, Dana and

Dana (2006) point to the Calder decision and the McKenzie Valley Pipeline as key milestones in the land claims struggle. In British Columbia, the provincial government has committed to what it terms a 'New Relationship' with First Nations in the province (Integrated Land Management Bureau, Dec 2006). This includes entering into government-to-government agreements with many First Nations, including the Gitga'at (see Gitga'at, 2004). These agreements, while not treaties, acknowledge First Nations rights and title and commit both parties to engage in Land Use Planning Processes based on principles of Ecosystem Based Management and collaborative management (Integrated Land Management Bureau, Dec 2006). A part of this new approach, for example, includes the development of a new protected areas designation: Conservancy. This new designation explicitly recognizes and protects First Nations' social, cultural, spiritual and economic uses of conservancy areas, based on recommendations and management plans developed by the First Nation in whose territory the conservancy is nested (Turning Point Initiative Coastal First Nations, 2009a). The Gitga'at Marine Use Planning Process, to which this project is connected, was initiated as part of the Coastal Strategic Planning Process that emerged out of the government-to-government agreements with the province. This new direction represents a significant shift in First Nations-Government relations in B.C. and seems to foster a much more conducive environment for locally-driven economic development that reflects the needs and aspirations of the Gitga'at and other First Nations communities (Turning Point Initiative Coastal First Nations, 2009a; 2009b; 2009c).

Furthermore, a number of First Nations controlled and directed organizations focused on supporting the activities of different First Nations have emerged in Canada and elsewhere in North America. The First Nations Development Institute based in Colorado (see [www.firstnations.org](http://www.firstnations.org)), Aboriginal Tourism BC (see [www.aboriginalbc.com](http://www.aboriginalbc.com)), and the Coastal First Nations Turning Point Initiative (see [www.coastalfirstnations.ca](http://www.coastalfirstnations.ca)) are some examples. As Wuttunee (2004) concludes, "The will and hope of the people drive the leadership to continue to forge ahead despite the obstacles" (p. 18).

#### **2.2.4. Examples of First Nations' Enterprises**

Along with some common characteristics, there is also a great deal of diversity within First Nations, reflected both in sectoral focus and approach. First Nations across Canada are finding opportunities that best fit their contexts, resources, and local aspirations. Wuttunee (2004) cites examples of First Nations across Canada involved in economic ventures ranging from golf course development, housing development and lumber mills, to clam farms and shopping malls. Others are providing cultural tours (Aboriginal Tourism Association of BC, 2009; Gitga'at, 2004), building vineyards (Petten, Sept 2001), or have adapted traditional resource harvests to take advantage of new markets, such as the Asian market for B.C. fish spawn-on-kelp (Newell, 1999). The Kuh-ke-nah Network of Smart First Nations, for example, is choosing to use modern information technology to build the economic capacity of their small and isolated communities (Taillon, Aug 2001). In keeping with the social entrepreneurialism characteristic of many First Nations:

In addition to employment and economic benefits, the [Deer Lake, Fort Severn, Keewaywin, North Spirit Lake, and Poplar Hill] First Nations [in northern Ontario] are claiming the opportunity to showcase their culture and empower their individual citizens in daily life (p. 2).

Many other First Nations, however, are looking specifically at the economic potential of the natural endowments of their traditional territories. Bioeconomic theory has made the economic potential and use of biological resources its object of study and as such it will play a significant role in informing my research.

### **2.3. Developing the Bioeconomy**

At the most essential level, 'bioeconomy' refers to a synergy between biological resources and an economic system (Cooper, 2008). As noted previously, Natural Resources Canada (2009) refines this concept to define bioeconomics as "...the use of renewable biological resources and bioprocesses for more sustainable and eco-efficient manufacturing of goods and provision of services."

The economic use of biological resources is far from a new phenomenon. In their seminal text, Prescott-Allen and Prescott-Allen (1986) explain that: "Wildlife is the first resource: the exclusive source of food, fiber, fuel, and medicines for the first 99% of

human history” (p. 1). Similarly, trade in biological resources is an ancient practice around the world (c.f. Emery & McLain, 2001; Government of Canada, 2007). In North America, market and non-market exchanges of biological resources have accompanied subsistence uses for hundreds to thousands of years (Emery & McLain, 2001; Lutz, 2008; Turner & Cocksedge, 2001).

Bioeconomic activity continues to make huge contributions to the livelihoods of both indigenous and non-indigenous people across North America. Prescott-Allen and Prescott-Allen (1986) divide economic roles of North American wild species into two categories: biological (including raw materials and services) and psychological (including recreational, socio-cultural, aesthetic, artistic, cultural, religious, and symbolic). Bioeconomics, thus, includes a broad spectrum of activities ranging from commercial fisheries and logging, to gathering genetic material for pharmaceutical production, to basket making, and to providing recreation activities through cultural and eco-tourism.

In some literature emerging in recent decades, bioeconomic activity, however, has become synonymous with the growth of life science, the rise of biotechnology, and an emphasis on bio-inventions in order to facilitate the often controversial use of biological resources in the development of pharmaceutical, nutraceutical, cosmetic, and new forms of microbial, plant and animal life through genetic engineering (c.f. Cooke, 2007; Cooper, 2008; Juma & Konde, 2005; Kuanpoth, 2005). This type of bioeconomic development has often been promoted as an opportunity for developing nations and Indigenous Peoples (Juma & Konde, 2005).

Bioeconomic development involving genetic manipulation and exploitation of phytochemical resources, however, raises many concerns (c.f. Prescott-Allen & Prescott-Allen, 1986; Prescott-Allen & Prescott-Allen, 1988; UN, 2009). Bioeconomic activity often begin with the exploitative bioprospecting of plants and animals from territories of Indigenous Peoples (Kuanpoth, 2005). Bioprospecting and subsequent screening activities are financially and technologically intensive, and consequently, the involvement of a few monopolistic “Life Science” corporations and/or universities is almost always a prerequisite for this type of economic development activity (Cooke, 2007; Cooper, 2008; Kuanpoth, 2005). Although more protections for the Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples are emerging in international agreements, such as the Convention on

Biological Diversity (Articles 8, j and 10, c) and the World Trade Organization's Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) (Kuanpoth, 2005; Watal, 2005), and many countries are also developing their own *sui generis* systems (Kuanpoth, 2005; Posey & Dutfield, 1996), a legacy of bioprospecting and even "biopiracy" continues, and there is a long way to go before the knowledge and resources of Indigenous Peoples are truly protected (Posey & Dutfield, 1996; Shiva, 2000).

Although there are examples—such as the case of benefit sharing agreements developed around a bioprospecting initiative in Guinea, discussed by Carlson and colleagues (2001)—that suggest that where there is good will on both sides mutually beneficial arrangements can be reached. The "partnership" roles of Indigenous Peoples are nonetheless often limited to providing traditional knowledge to help identify plants with potentially valuable properties and to the provision of labour for guiding research teams and collecting resources (Kuanpoth, 2005). The majority of profits from these activities are enjoyed by the third parties involved, rather than by local people in the regions of exploitation (Kuanpoth, 2005). Furthermore, there is occasionally conflict around sacred, highly valued, medicinal knowledge that communities—or at least some members of communities—do not want to share, and the resources that are of greatest interest to pharmaceutical companies and others interested in bioprospecting. There are also fears about the over-exploitation of resources when commercial production is steered by powerful outside interests, as was the case in the development of Pacific yew (*Taxus brevifolia*) as a cancer-fighting drug (Turner, 2001).

For these reasons and others, the high-tech bioeconomy is not the focus of most bioeconomic initiatives being undertaken by First Nations communities. Rather, many communities, including the Gitga'at, are looking to other sectors of the bioeconomy in which they can retain a higher degree of control, ensure ecological sustainability and receive a fair and appropriate level of benefits. Furthermore, many of the non-high-tech bioeconomic development options have the added benefit of providing opportunities to use, celebrate, promote learning, and in some cases rebuild traditional knowledge connected with natural resources uses, and engage in activities that many people find culturally satisfying as well as lucrative (Turner & Cocksedge, 2001). For example, the Coastal First Nations Turning Point Initiative, of which the Gitga'at First Nation is a part,

is pursuing community economic development activities within the bioeconomy. They explained: “We can create a future that includes meaningful jobs and businesses in sectors that have a lesser impact on our environment, such as tourism and shellfish aquaculture” (Turning Point Initiative Coastal First Nations, 2009b, p. 1). Likewise, the Inuit Communities of Rankin Inlet and Coral Harbour, Nunavut, have adapted their customary caribou harvests to include a commercial industry, producing value-added caribou meat and other products that are sold in Canada and in Europe (Meis Mason, Dana & Anderson, 2007, 2009).

In British Columbia, Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFP) contributed \$600 million to the provincial economy in 1997 (Province of British Columbia, Mar 2008), and Turner & Cocksedge (2001) explain: “Many aboriginal forest-based communities have retained their values, traditions, and practices regarding use of the land, and therefore are in a good position to effectively move into this niche” (p. 39). Berkes and Adhikari (2006) in their work on Indigenous enterprises involved in the UNDP Equator Initiative also recognized the comparative advantage some Indigenous Peoples may hold in sectors of the bioeconomy as a result of their traditional ecological knowledge and resource assets. Retaining and rebuilding the connection between social and ecological systems, which historically were closely (if not synonymously) linked within the ontology of many Indigenous Peoples, is an essential component of cultural identity (Berkes, 2008; Berkes, Colding & Folke, 2003; Berkes & Folke, 1998; Suzuki, 1999; Turner et al., 2008). Complex knowledge, belief systems and cultural practices are bound to many of the sophisticated plant and other resources management techniques connected with the harvesting and use of resources used to produce non-timber forest products (Emery & O'Halek, 2001; FAO, 1995; Thadani, 2001).

Beginning in the late 1980s and 1990s, NTFPs have been promoted increasingly by aid agencies, governments and non-governmental organizations as a vehicle to encourage economic development and help communities find a balance between the need to provide economic opportunities and environmental protection (Belcher, Ruiz-Perez & Achdiawan, 2005; FAO, 1995; Thadani, 2001). Furthermore, long-standing stewardship practices, which include institutions to manage customary harvest practices and reflect a

close relationship that many First Peoples continue to hold with the land, can contribute to the sustainability of NTFP production (Turner & Cocksedge, 2001).

While sometimes classified differently, eco-tourism is a form of non-timber forest use and falls well within the definition of bioeconomic development provided by Environment Canada (Government of Canada, 2007). Many of the same advantages of other NTFPs discussed above also apply to this type of bioeconomic activity.

### **2.3.1. Eco-Cultural Tourism**

Ecotourism and cultural tourism industries are becoming increasingly prevalent around the world (Hendry, 2005; Richards, 2007). Both sectors are often promoted by organizations like UNESCO as ways of preserving cultural heritage and ecological integrity (UNESCO, 2008). A growing body of literature, however, has also problematized these claims. Hendry (2005) comments in relation to cultural tourism that, while many tourists seek “authentic” intercultural experiences, there is sometimes a tendency to dismiss the real authenticity they encounter if it does not match their preconceived ideas of a cultural group, which are often based on historical stereotypes (also see Richards, 2007). Other concerns regarding negative impacts on local communities have also been raised. These include: an invasion of privacy, potential exposure to disrespectful and inappropriate behaviour by guests, and poor distribution of benefits within communities (Giaoutzi & Nijkamp, 2006; Hendry, 2005). Paralleling many of these cultural and community integrity critiques are those raising concerns about the ecological sustainability and environmental impacts of ecotourism (Higham, 2007).

While it must be concluded that ecotourism and cultural tourism development are not a panacea, there are advantages to this type of economic development, particularly, as per my discussion above, when it is locally-driven, locally-controlled, and the benefits are retained equitably within the local community. Unlike many external, or local elite-imposed tourism developments, the enterprise being considered by the Gitga’at Nation, if pursued, will be initiated, run, and controlled by the community. Many First Nations have considered these issues and have still decided to engage in ecotourism and cultural tourism because of the potential of these activities, not only to realize economic benefits, but also to provide a forum for celebrating, strengthening, and building pride and



awareness of the richness of First Nations cultures and of their long-standing stewardship and resource management practices in their territories. The opportunity to actively engage in self-representation is another empowering potential of cultural tourism (Hendry, 2005; Weaver, 2009). The growing number of First Nations-owned tourism enterprises, Aboriginal Cultural Centres, Friendship Centres and Museums<sup>8</sup>, as well as many Aboriginal Tourism Associations<sup>9</sup> across Canada are a testament to this (Hendry, 2005).

A synergy of ecotourism and cultural tourism is an area that the Gitga'at First Nation is interested in pursuing. Many Gitga'at community members continue to practice their traditional seasonal food harvest rounds and retain a deep knowledge about, and connection to, their territory and resources. They have been working collaboratively with King Pacific Lodge and other tourism operators in their traditional territory for several years, but with these businesses serving as the main hosts for tourists. Now, the Gitga'at are considering a role as primary hosts, inviting tourists to share cultural experiences, including the possibility of visiting their food harvest camps, and so have the opportunity to learn more about the Gitga'at culture and way of life, while experiencing the beauty of the Gitga'at territory. For the Gitga'at, this enterprise, in addition to creating a forum to share and celebrate their culture, would also help to financially support Gitga'at food harvesting activities, ensure that their community receives a greater share of revenues from tourism taking place in their territory, and assume greater control over such economic ventures and the resources that are affected by them.

## 2.4. Conclusions

Power dynamics in land and resource use are shifting in Canada and elsewhere, and First Nations and other Aboriginal peoples are finding ways to reassert their status and authority as self-determining Nations. This represents a major shift from past

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<sup>8</sup> See for example: Spirit Bear Adventures owned by the Kitasoo in Klemtu, BC (<http://www.spiritbear.com/>); the Gitksan's 'Ksan Historical Village, Hazelton, BC (<http://www.ksan.org/>); Tsa-Kwa-Luten, the Ocean Front Resort at Cape Mudge, Quadra Island, BC (<http://www.capemudgeresort.bc.ca/>); Haida Heritage Centre at Kaay Lnagaay, Skidegate, Haida Gwaii (<http://www.haidaheritagecentre.com/index.html>); the Quw'utsun' Cultural and Conference Center owned by the Cowichan in Duncan, BC (<http://www.quwutsun.ca/index.htm>); the National Association of Friendship Centers (<http://www.nafc-aboriginal.com/>); and the U'mista Cultural Society, in Alert Bay, BC.

<sup>9</sup> These include Aboriginal Tourism Canada (<http://www.attc.ca/>) and the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia ([www.aboriginalbc.com](http://www.aboriginalbc.com)).

circumstances, when first colonialism and later, modernist development policy failed to recognize, actively suppressed and often undermined the value and creative potential of non-Western cultures. Economic development initiatives are important components of this new status. Many of the businesses developed by First Nations are social enterprises, with objectives and measures of success informed by a blend of Aboriginal and Western values (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006; Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2007; Wuttunee, 2004).

In this way, “First Nations are creating a new geography of development across Canada as they identify development objectives and pursue strategies directed towards the achievement of those objectives” (Anderson & Bone, 1995, p. 121). These new paradigms of development are beneficial to First Peoples and may also be of help to non-Aboriginal society, by pointing to new ways of measuring success that do not elevate profit above social, cultural and environmental sustainability (Marglin, 1990; Wuttunee, 2004). The bioeconomy is an area in which First Nations, including the Gitga’at, are choosing to engage. While no panacea, some areas of the bioeconomic activity, such as eco-cultural tourism, offer many opportunities for entrepreneurship that meets the economic, social, cultural and political objectives of some First Nations.

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

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### **3.1. Research Approach and Guiding Concepts**

My research followed a qualitative, social science approach and employed a case study strategy of inquiry, guided by participatory and interactive, adaptive concepts. In keeping with the principles of participatory research, and as required by my research agreement with the Gitga'at First Nation, my purpose and objectives were developed in consultation with members of the Hartley Bay community. The Marine Use Planning Committee, community elders, Clan Chiefs and other community leaders continued to guide and provide feedback to me over the course of my research. Adopting an interactive, adaptive strategy, as outlined by Nelson (1991), allowed for planned flexibility to incorporate this feedback and my own reflections over the course of my research.

Dowling (2005) argues that researchers engaged in community-based research—in addition to ethics reviews and establishing and respecting community protocols (c.f. McDonald, 2004)—must engage in an ongoing process of critical reflexivity. Critical reflexivity means, he explains, “...acknowledging rather than denying your own social position and asking how your research interactions and the information you collect are socially conditioned” (p. 27). Broadly, my paradigmatic approach to this research is interpretive-constructivist. At the heart of the interpretive-constructivist paradigm is the belief that meanings are rooted within social and historical contexts, and that, as a result, meanings and values are variable and multiple (Creswell, 2007).

### **3.3. Strategy of Inquiry**

As noted, I used a case study approach for this research. A case study is defined as a study, or multiple studies, of phenomena taking place within a bounded system—a defined group or setting—over time (Creswell, 2007). Case studies are appropriate for the study of numerous and diverse phenomena, particularly of organizational processes, social relationships and the impacts of public policy (Yin, 1994). Case studies, Yin (1994) concludes, are appropriate when “how” and “why” questions are the focus of inquiry and the investigator has little control over events playing out in a contemporary,

real-life context (Yin, 1994). My research fits these criteria: I explored why bioeconomic development in the form of eco-cultural tourism is or is not desirable and how it might take place; I had little control over the events surrounding bioeconomic development; and my research focused on a contemporary issue unfolding in Hartley Bay.

There are many variations in approach and intent within case study strategies of inquiry (c.f. Creswell, 2007; Stake, 1998; Yin, 1994). My case study may best be defined as a single intrinsic case (Creswell, 2007), which Yin (1994) would term descriptive. My research in Hartley Bay was not “undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem” (Stake, 1998, p.88) as in an instrumental case study, but rather because the economic development process unfolding in Hartley Bay is interesting in and of itself. Stake (1998) emphasizes, however, that the lines between an instrumental and an intrinsic study (where the focus is on the unique nature of the case itself) are by no means clear. He contends instead that both orientations are always present to some degree. Although this case is an intrinsic case study, it may also provide instrumental insights and will be used to complement other “Finding a Balance” case studies, including work with the Pikangikum First Nation, Ontario, and the Inuit Communities of Rankin Inlet and Coral Harbour, Nunavut.

The emphasis of an interpretive-constructivist paradigm on context is also reflected in a case study framework of inquiry. Yin (2003) confirms that, “The case study is the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context” (p. 4). In order to accommodate this complexity, case studies employ a broad set of data collection tools in order to gather diverse perspectives and gain a nuanced understanding of the case study context (Creswell, 2007).

### **3.3.1. Case Study Selection**

Three descriptive case studies were selected as part of the “Finding a Balance” Research Program. Collectively, these cases were selected based on community interest in participating in the project, community involvement or interest in the bioeconomy, and geographic representation. Working with the Hartley Bay Gitga’at community resulted from a practical convergence and compatibility of interests. This linkage between the Gitga’at First Nation and the “Finding a Balance” Project was facilitated by Dr. Nancy

Turner (University of Victoria), who has been working with the Gitga'at since 2001. From the perspective of this project, the Gitga'at have been active in the bioeconomy, both through tourism and shellfish aquaculture, for several years. Furthermore, they have extensive experience with partnerships and are interested in social enterprise. The experience and perspectives of Hartley Bay Gitga'at community members, therefore, provide valuable insights into one community's motivation and concerns surrounding bioeconomic development.

The focus on eco-cultural tourism was identified by the Marine Use Planning Committee and community leaders as an area in which research would be both welcome and useful. The Gitga'at First Nation's experience with the tourism sector provides a very important and complex example of bioeconomic development for this thesis. It illustrates both the potential benefits, as well as the trade-offs and possible conflicts that this type of development entails.

### **3.4. Data Gathering Timeline and Techniques**

My first visit to Hartley Bay took place in March 2009, when Dr. Turner and I visited the community in order to undertake further consultation concerning the direction and scope of this project. I returned to Hartley Bay for May and June 2009. During this field period, I spent over two weeks living with Helen Clifton and her family at the Gitga'at spring harvest camp at Kiel. July and early August were spent away from Hartley Bay in order to conduct preliminary analysis of my findings and gain distance from the research context before returning to the community in late August. Splitting my field season into two sections served both the purposes outlined above and also was intended to facilitate my participation in both seasonal harvest camps (Kiel in May and Old Town in September). For a number of reasons beyond the scope of this thesis, the harvest camp at Old Town did not take place in 2009. Consequently, I spent the second part of my field season in Hartley Bay, continuing my interviewing and consultation process. In late November/early December, Dr. Berkes and I traveled to Hartley Bay to review my findings and analysis to date with research participants.

I utilized three main data gathering techniques during my research: semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and active participation and participant observation. It is

important to use a variety of methods and to consult with a diverse group of research participants in order to gain an understanding of community perspectives that is as representative and complete as possible. Table 1 presents a summary of how these techniques connect to and support my objectives.

**Table 3.1.** Summary of research methods

Objective	Data gathering technique	Examples of data
1.) Describe the local context as it is influencing Hartley Bay Gitga'at community perspectives on tourism development, using the concrete example of the Gitga'at seasonal harvest camps.	- Semi-structured interviews - Focus-group discussions - Active participation/participant observation	Activities that take place at the camps, the value of the camps, changes in the practices and activities at the camps over time, visions for the future of the camps, and responses to the eco-cultural tourism development proposal to link tourism with the camps.
2.) Build a synthesis of how Hartley Bay Gitga'at evaluations of appropriate resource use within their traditional territory and of appropriate application and sharing of elders' knowledge for commercial purposes are shaping local approaches to eco-cultural tourism development.	- Semi-structured interviews - Focus-group discussions - Active participation/participant observation	Information related to the social, cultural, ecological and livelihood value of the natural resources, as well as broader values and philosophies connected with the environment and the use of natural resources, and how these relationships inform the use of resources in new contexts, such as tourism.
3.) Discuss the relationships between locally desired benefits from eco-cultural tourism and the role linkages and partnerships with other institutions might play in an eco-cultural tourism business aligned with local development priorities.	- Semi-structured interviews - Focus-group discussions	Potential benefits of eco-cultural tourism perceived by community members and the relationships between the proposed business, community and non-community based entities that would further or hinder the benefits available to community members.

It should also be noted that other research methods, such as a community survey, were also considered. Although surveys may have provided a more balanced cross-section of community member respondents, it was decided after discussions on methods with advisors in the community, including my community liaison and fellow project member, Kyle Clifton, that a focus on in-depth responses from key informants would better suit the local context. Particularly since community research fatigue was highlighted as a concern for local participation. Additionally, the decision to focus on key

informants also allowed for deeper conversations that explored and in some cases deconstructed research participants' complex and often conflicting perspectives on local resource use and tourism development.

This research is sensitive in nature because of the implications for community member privacy, different assessments of the desirability, or lack thereof, of incorporating monetary components with valued traditional practices, fears surrounding fair benefit distribution, and many other issues and concerns. It is for these reasons that a participatory approach—one endeavoring to respect and value diverse individual research participants' views and ideas—was both essential to research participant support for this research and a precondition established by the community for this research project to take place. It is also as a result of the complexity, nuance and sensitivity of these issues, which are beyond the ability of a researcher working in the Hartley Bay community for a relatively short period of time to fully grasp, that recommendations are not an objective of this research. Rather, this project seeks to gather and synthesize research participant perspectives and ideas surrounding the research objectives in a form that will further the local decision-making process by providing food for thought and a starting point for more in-depth, focused consultation and dialogue on the potentials for eco-cultural tourism development.

### **3.4.1. Research Participants**

A special note must be made about the selection and involvement of research participants. As noted above, although the membership of the Gitga'at First Nation exceeds 600, only about 170 Gitga'at are full-time residents within the Gitga'at Traditional Territory. Research participants involved in this project were primarily limited to full-time residents of the Village of Hartley Bay. Exceptions included individuals with particular interest in the research topic who continue to spend significant time in Hartley Bay and who identified themselves as members of the Hartley Bay community. Other exceptions include four non-Gitga'at individuals who provided special insights into the regional tourism sector or held other expertise in areas related to this research.

The term “Hartley Bay Gitga’at” is used in this thesis to refer to community members who participated in this research, and does not include the broader Gitga’at Band membership. The decision to focus on Hartley Bay Gitga’at perspectives on tourism development was largely a pragmatic one based on resource and time limitations (Section 3.7 Study Limitations). It must be clearly stated that if the scope of this research project had included Gitga’at living away from Hartley Bay, it is likely that the results would have been different, as those band members may hold different opinions and perspectives on the research concerns presented in this document.

As already noted, the research participants who were involved in this study are not a random sample of the Hartley Bay Gitga’at community. Rather, they were selected as key informants. Research participants include: Clan Chiefs, Elders, community leaders, members of the Marine Use Planning Committee (MUPC), Gitga’at Band employees, elected council members and policy makers, community members who regularly go to the spring and fall harvest camps (or have for a significant period in the past)<sup>10</sup>, as well as Gitga’at and non-Gitga’at individuals involved in the tourism sector, including Gitga’at artists and employees of the fishing and wilderness lodges operating in the Gitga’at Territory. Often these stakeholders had interest in the project from multiple personal and professional angles, for example, representing their clan on the MUPC, spending time at the camps, and being involved in Band administration.

Letters of informed consent (Appendix A) were reviewed and signed by interviewees and participants before interviews were conducted. Some research participants wish to be identified and acknowledged, while others do not. The confidentiality of research participants has been maintained by using the designation Research Participant X and assigning a code based on that designation (Table 3.2.). For the rest of the research participant group, names or codes have been used to reference quotes or specific information provided. The exception is if the research participant identified, or I determined, a specific quote, idea, or piece of information might compromise the participant. In such cases, “community member” or “research participant” was used as an alternative to a name or code.

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<sup>10</sup> For a variety of reasons (discussed in Chapter 4), some of the research participants have not spent time at either or both the spring and fall camps for a number of years. Some, however, still have houses or cabins at the camps and retain strong interest in these places and the activities that take place at them.



This group of 30 research participants (15 female/15 male) includes 26 Gitga'at Band Members, of whom 12 were male and 14 female. These participants comprised a diverse age groups: 7 research participants between the ages of 30-39; 6 age 40-49; 3 age 50-59; 4 age 60-69; and 6 over the age of 70. It is notable that no one between 18-29 was represented as a key informant in this research. A few community members in this age group were approached, however, they were either reluctant to participate or it was not possible to coordinate an interview time. Although, it was not a formal part of this research project, I also gave a presentation on my research project to the grade 7-12 students at the Hartley Bay School and after they discussed their views on tourism in their territory.

**Table 3.2. Research Participants in Alphabetical Order**

<b>Code</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Date</b>
JB	Jessel Bolton	June 16/09
BC	Barbara Clifton	June 23/09
HC1/HC2	Helen Clifton	June 23/09; Dec 3/09
PC	Pearl Clifton	Sept 14/09
DD	Daniel (Danny) Danes	June 23/09
SD	Shelly Danes	Sept 1/09
NH	Norman Hann	Sept 9/09
EAH	Eva-Ann Hill	June 14/09
CH	Cameron Hill	June 14/09
LH	Lynne Hill	June 16/09
EH	Ernest (Ernie) Hill, Jr.	June 16/09
MGR	Margaret (Goolie) Reece	June 18/09
DR	Darryl Robinson	Sept 14/09
MR	Marven Robinson	June 24/09
SR	Stanley Robinson	June 17/09
TR	Teresa (Teri) Robinson	June 12/09
VT	Violet (Tina) Robinson	Sept 15/09
NZ	Nick Z.	June 23/09
RP01	Research Participant 01	June 13/09
RP02	Research Participant 02	June 14/09
RP03	Research Participant 03	June 14/09
RP04	Research Participant 04	June 18/09
RP05	Research Participant 05	June 18/09
RP06	Research Participant 06	Sept 11/09
RP07	Research Participant 07	June 11/09
RP08	Research Participant 08	June 13/09
RP09	Research Participant 09	June 19/09
RP10	Research Participant 10	Sept 22/09
RP11	Research Participant 11	Sept 22/09
RP12	Research Participant 12	Dec 30/09

### 3.4.2. Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with 30 individual research participants outlined above provided the bulk of my data. Howitt and Stevens (2005) argue that semi-structured, informal interviews are the most effective and respectful way to gather information in intercultural contexts, because unlike formal questionnaires or structured interviews, “...they can be interactive discussions or conversations in which there can be reciprocal exchange of information” (p. 45).

Semi-structured interviews follow a flexible question guide (Appendix B) that provides focus for the interview while allowing greater freedom and latitude for responses than possible in a structured interview, as well as the flexibility to include follow-up questions and other probes to better explore interesting points raised during the interview (Dunn, 2005). I also used narrative elicitation techniques, or a focus on stories. These techniques are well suited to exploring environmental values (Satterfield, 2001). In some cases, visual elicitation techniques based on historical photos were also employed, in order to prompt recollections and feelings about the value of camp experiences for individuals and the Hartley Bay community as a whole (Pink, 2007).

Interviews were conducted in English and, when agreed to as part of the informed consent process, the interviews were recorded digitally. I also took brief notes during the interviews in order to build prompting or follow-up questions. Where digital recording was not agreed to, I took more extensive notes during the interview and wrote extended summaries as soon after the interview as possible. I made summaries of each interview (recorded or not) as part of my field notes. Later, I transcribed each recorded interview (either in the field or during fall 2009) following a mix of smooth verbatim transcription and summary content protocols.<sup>11</sup> Within this protocol, false starts and other distracting verbal tics were not transcribed, and in some cases minor grammar correction was done in order to increase comprehension. In some sections of some interviews, a summary content protocol was used to reduce transcription time by summarizing discussions or responses that were either repetitive or outside the central research concerns of this project. The majority of interviews were conducted one-on-one; however, five interviews

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<sup>11</sup> My transcription protocol was adapted from Franklin Square Transcriptions. See: Franklin Square Transcriptions. (2007). Home page. Accessed June 2009: <http://www.franklin-square.com/transcriptionformat.htm>.

(with ten research participants) were conducted in pairs at the request of the research participants.

### 3.4.3. Focus groups

Focus groups were another important data collection method. Focus groups usually consist of interactive discussions between small groups of individuals (Creswell, 2007). The ideas and perspectives that emerge during focus groups often reflect shared understandings, rather than the individual views that emerge during one-on-one interviews (Creswell, 2007). Interviews, however, give more anonymity to respondents and so can provide more candid opinions (Dunn, 2005). Both, therefore, are important and complementary.

Five short focus groups (approximately 1-1.5 hours) were held over the course of this research, three of which took place during my verification visit to Hartley Bay (Table 3.3.). Focus groups included the Marine Use Planning Committee, Elders' group, and one other group of research participants who were unable to attend the other meetings. Focus group discussions usually followed a presentation from myself on my research activities to date and preliminary understandings, findings and analysis. These sessions were very helpful in shaping my research process and contributed to my understanding of the local decision-making process concerning eco-cultural tourism development. These sessions were not recorded. Rather I took notes during them and wrote summaries as soon afterwards as possible. With few exceptions, those involved in the focus groups were also interviewed as part of this project.

**Table 3.3.** Focus Group Sessions

<b>Code</b>	<b>Focus Groups</b>	<b>Date</b>
FG1	Elders' Tea	June 16/09
FG2	Elders' Meeting	Aug 31/09
FG3	MUPC Meeting	Nov 26/09
FG4	Hill Family	Nov 27/09
FG5	Elders' Meeting	Nov 27/09

#### **3.4.4. Active Participation and Participant Observation**

Over the course of my fieldwork, I engaged in both active participation in community activities and participant observation. Participation refers to active involvement in activities with community members and facilitates building relationships with community members as well as furthering understanding of their resource use practices (Berg, 2004; Fals-Borda, 1987). I was very fortunate to be invited to participate in a number of different activities with community members. These include opportunities, particularly during time at Kiel, to help with food harvesting and processing activities, such as picking and drying seaweed, and processing halibut. During other times, however, it was more appropriate for me to simply observe proceedings unless asked directly to contribute. Such times included during Elder's, MUPC or community meetings. Many of these opportunities to interact with community members served as 'walking probes' (De Leon & Cohen, 2005) and were an invaluable way to gain insight into the context of my research. Field notes allowed me to gather active participation and participant observation data (Bernard, 2006), as did informal photography for research activity record-keeping purposes and documentation of information.



**Figure 3.1.** Spreading seaweed to dry during the spring harvest camp at Kiel (Photo: K. Turner)

### **3.5. Data Analysis, Results Verification and Dissemination**

In keeping with interactive, adaptive concepts (Nelson, 1991) my analysis was an iterative process that began during the data collection phase of my research. My field season was split into two periods: one in May and June 2009, and the other in late August and September 2009. This centered my data gathering activities around the time frame of seasonal harvest camps (May and September) as well as existing peak tourism periods, particularly bear-viewing in September. The interval between gave me a valuable opportunity to assess my data and evaluate my progress in gathering information needed to meet my research objectives. This reflection allowed to me adapt my techniques, recognize deficiencies in my existing data, and focus on filling those gaps in my data during the second part of my field season.

The majority of my transcriptions were completed after I left Hartley Bay during the fall. This process also allowed me to revisit and familiarize myself with my data. After I completed my transcription process, I proceeded to code my data by hand using thematic codes based on my objectives. The coded data were then grouped and collated in data tables and computer documents to facilitate analysis. This process allowed crosscutting themes to become visible and helped me to organize my data. From these themes, my findings, discussions and conclusions are drawn.

A trip to Hartley Bay to verify results took place in late November/early December 2009. During this visit, copies of transcriptions were given to those participants who indicated they would like to receive a copy of the transcription or interview summary as part of their informed consent process. Three focus groups (FG3, FG4, and FG5) were also conducted at this time in order to present preliminary findings, receive feedback on them and elicit clarifying information. As well, between April and June 2010, a few key informants reviewed the First Draft of this document and their comments were incorporated into this revised document. Dissemination was carried out through a plain language version of the thesis, posters, and full copies of the thesis.

### **3.6. Study Limitations and Scope**

My research was conducted within a spectrum of constraints imposed by time and resources limitations. As a Master's research project, the scope of my research was necessarily limited. For example, data were collected within the space of months, rather than over a longer period. One implication of this is that the number and geographic location of research participants was intentionally limited to Gitga'at living in Hartley Bay having a special interest in this research. Furthermore, my research only captures a "before" picture of Hartley Bay Gitga'at perspectives surrounding the proposed eco-cultural tourism enterprise. Should this initiative be developed further and brought to fruition, an interesting, valuable and complementary subject for future research could be to reexamine the issues raised during this research in the context of the established enterprise. This could provide further insights into the Gitga'at's eco-cultural tourism development process and possibly contribute to its evolution in the future, as well as informing other, similar bioeconomic development activities for the Gitga'at and others.

The Gitga'at have been developing and enacting their vision for innovative sustainable economic development for many years, as evidenced by their signing of official agreements of cooperation with King Pacific Lodge, the David Suzuki Foundation, and the Natural Resources Defense League at Kwełts'uu (Cornwall Inlet) in August 2000 (Uehara, Nov 2001), as well as participation in the Coasts Under Stress research project (Ommer et al., 2007). Careful and sensitive development of eco-cultural tourism in concert with Gitga'at cultural and food-harvesting traditions has the potential to help the Gitga'at pursue this vision. I hope that my research will support their goals and provide them with some of the information they seek in deciding if and how to move forward with this proposition.





## Chapter 4: Hartley Bay and the Gitga'at First Nation

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The village of Hartley Bay (*Txalgiu*) is situated approximately 145 km southeast of Prince Rupert on the north coast of British Columbia and is the sole year-round settlement within the Gitga'at Territory (Figure 4.1.; Figure 1.1.). Hartley Bay is home to approximately 170 members of the Gitga'at First Nation, with an additional 450 Gitga'at Band members living outside of their traditional territory, primarily in Prince Rupert, Vancouver and on Vancouver Island (Gitga'at Nation, 2004).



**Figure 4.1.** The Village of Hartley Bay (photo: K. Turner)

## 4.1. Gitga'at: People of the Cane

The Gitga'at are one of the Ts'msyen nations.<sup>12</sup> The coastal Ts'msyen speak Sm'algyax, which today has both oral and written forms (Campbell, 2005). Gitga'at, translated into English, means 'People of the Cane', and refers to an *adawx*, or sacred history, of the settlement of the Gitga'at at the meeting of two rivers at what is today called *Lax Galtsap*, or Old Town (Gitga'at, 2004). Some Gitga'at lineages trace their origin through the *adawx* directly to this area, while the *adawx* of other lineages tell of migration from the Skeena River to their present day territory (Campbell, 1984; Gitga'at, 2004). *Pte'ex* (clans) are a central institution in Gitga'at and Ts'msyen society (Campbell, 2005; Gitga'at, 2004; First Nations Education Service, 1997). The clans are matrilineal—with titles passing along the mother's line from maternal uncles to nephews—and each has distinct sets of names, crests, stories and lands belonging to them (Campbell, 2005; Gitga'at, 2004). There are four Gitga'at clans: *Ganhada* (Ravens), *Laxsgiik* (Eagles), *Gispudwada* (Blackfish or Killer Whales), and *Laxgibuu* (Wolfs). The sm'oygit (hereditary Clan Chief), who is supported by other high-ranking clan members, is the head of each clan. The chief of the Blackfish Clan holds the name *Sm'oygit Wahmoodmx*, and is the highest ranking of the Clan Chiefs, and the overall Hereditary Chief of the Gitga'at (Gitga'at, 2004).

The Gitga'at territory is comprised of areas of land and sea owned by the Gitga'at clans. Within the clan territories, different lineage groups have the right to harvest resources in certain areas. Although they are nested within clan territory, some places within the territory, such as Hartley Bay and the harvest campsites at Kiel (also spelled K'yel) and Old Town, are shared. The Clan Chiefs, supported by their advisors, make decisions about the use of their resources and the activities that take place in their territories. Cam Hill clarified:

And that is not to say that the clan with the least amount of land is the poorest. That is not it at all, because there is always a sharing. Always an underlying knowledge that what you got and what you harvested would be shared with all of our community and all of our clans.

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12 There are several alternative spellings of Ts'msyen, the most common of which is Tsimshian. According to Campbell (2005), Ts'msyen best captures an accurate pronunciation of the word in written Sm'algyax. Ts'msyen is the Sm'algyax spelling used by Campbell (2005), and I will follow that convention throughout this document, unless quoting an historical source.

Feasting and trading were both mechanisms that helped support the sharing of resources within Gitga'at Society, as well as with neighbouring Ts'msyen and other First Nations (Campbell, 2005). The clans are a feature across Ts'msyen society and communities are linked together through these lineages (Campbell, 2005). Trade with neighbours was also a central component of Gitga'at society.



**Figure 4.2.** Hartley Bay school students dancing behind the high table at a feast in Waaps Wahmoodmx Gitga'at Cultural Centre (Photo K. Turner)

## **4.2. Resource Use within the Traditional Economy**

A complex set of rules and institutions regulate the access and use of resources within the Gitga'at traditional economy. In addition to the clan-based governance of resources, there are also many widely accepted rules and norms that guide how individuals should interact with, harvest and use resources. Lynne Hill explained, "...the spirits and the land are close and you have to respect that." She continued:

Don't take more than you need and don't waste anything that you take. And if you do, you will be punished because you won't have anything. You have to give thanks for what you do get. If you take the bark off of a tree, you thank the tree for allowing you to do that. If you catch a fish, you thank the fish for giving itself to you. Humans aren't any more important than the tree, than the bush, than the fish. They are charged with looking after it, but they are seen as an equal part. Not above it. So you don't make fun of anything. Whatever you have you use, and if you aren't going to use it, you return it to where it came from. Like the bones of the fish, you either burn it or you bring it back to the water. Just [be] very careful and mindful of what you are doing all the time.

Not wasting food or other resources once they have been harvested is part of respecting other living beings and the environment, of which humans are only a part. In the Hartley Bay Cultural Centre there is a small exhibit room. Marven Robinson told me about a basket that is housed there that was made for the late Hereditary Chief Johnny Clifton by Johnny's mother, Lucille Clifton, when he was a very small child. That basket is over 90 years old, Marven reflected, and sometimes he wonders where she harvested the materials to make it. Somewhere out in the territory, he explained, there is a living tree still bearing the scar. "There is sacrifice for every action that you make," Marven summarized. The acknowledgement that human actions impact other living things is reflected in practices of respect surrounding food resources as well as in resource management techniques and approaches to prevent overharvesting and the depletion of resources.

Extensive trade routes over land and water linked the Gitga'at with other First Nations communities, and later with Hudson's Bay Trading Posts (Campbell, 2005). "What we did as a people," Cam Hill explained, "was trade what we had... The Gitga'at people are renowned for their seaweed. That was a big trading item for us. And in true trade, we always got what we needed. Never taking more than what we needed." Trade with friends and relatives in Kitimat was especially important. Many of the Gitga'at trading items would be harvested and processed in the spring at Kiel and in the fall at Old Town.

### **4.3. Changing Times**

The arrival of Europeans on the West Coast of what is now Canada in the late 1700s had wide ranging impacts on the Gitga'at and other First Nations (c.f. Campbell, 1984, 2005;

Duff, 1997; Marsden & Galois, 1995). The year 1793 is the first recorded date of contact between the Gitga'at and Europeans, when Captain George Vancouver anchored at a small bay on Gil Island near the present site of Hartley Bay (Campbell, 1984). Initially, relations with Europeans were based primarily on trade with the Hudson's Bay Company (Gitga'at, 2004). As the European, British Columbian and finally Canadian presence grew, so did the impacts on Gitga'at society. Epidemics had a devastating impact on the population (Campbell, 2005; Duff, 1997).

The spread of new diseases also coincided with the arrival of missionaries in the region in the second half of the 1800s. Many Gitga'at converted to Christianity during this period, particularly when the lay preacher, William Duncan began a concerted effort to convert the Coastal First Peoples. Campbell (1984: 7) explained, "While the Hudson's Bay Company dominated the coast, traditional lifestyles continued much as they had previously, but under Duncan's influence the Kitka'ata [Gitga'at] embarked on a completely new way of life". When Duncan established a Christian "model village that encouraged strict discipline and industry" (Campbell, 1984: 7) at Metlakatla, many Gitga'at relocated there during the 1860s and 1870s. While some remained or returned to the Gitga'at territory, others eventually followed Duncan when he moved his community in the late 1880s to New Metlakatla in Alaska. Those who returned decided to relocate their winter village from the previous site at *Lax Galtsap*, now called Old Town, where the fall harvest camp is located, to the current village site of *Txalgiu*, shortly after renamed Hartley Bay by British surveyors (Campbell, 1984; Gitga'at, 2004). Although the Gitga'at had left Duncan's congregation, they continued to follow Christianity and built a church in their new village.

During the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a sawmill, post office and day school were also built in Hartley Bay (Campbell, 1984, 2005). Many community members become active in the waged labour economy, either in forestry, commercial fishing or as seasonal labourers at one of the canneries being built along the coast (Lutz 2008). These activities were undertaken as an extension of the Gitga'at seasonal rounds, and the Gitga'at continued to move from the winter village to the seaweed and halibut camp at Kiel in May, travelling to the canneries or commercial fishing in the summer, and moving to the fall salmon camp at Old Town, before returning to Hartley Bay to stay over the winter

months (Campbell, 1984). These activities, particularly commercial fishing, remained the primary economic base of the community until recent decades (Campbell, 1984; Lutz 2008).

The establishment and imposition of the Canadian State has worked to curtail and subvert the sovereignty of the clans and the ability of the Gitga'at First Nation as a whole to govern activities in their traditional territory. Campbell (1984: 22) explains that at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, "Leaders of the village were becoming concerned about the title to their ancestral lands, which were being jeopardized by mining and timber claims". In spite of their protests and concerns, the Gitga'at were assigned reserve lands between 1913 and 1916, following the McKenna McBride Commission (Campbell, 1984). The Department of Indian Affairs, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans and other government agencies have claimed jurisdiction over the natural resources within the Gitga'at traditional territory. Often the resource development promoted and enabled by Provincial and Federal agencies has taken place without consultation or informed consent of the Gitga'at. As a result, commercial resources use and economic development that has taken place in the Gitga'at territory over the last century has often been at odds with the teachings that govern the Gitga'at traditional economy and have involved resource depletion and misuse, including overfishing [e.g. the over-harvesting and drastic depletion of the rich northern abalone (*Haliotis kamtschatkana*) beds] and clear-cut logging (particularly in the 1970-1980s).

#### **4.3.1. The Contemporary Gitga'at Economy**

In order to address the history of resource appropriation and mismanagement within their territory and build a future for the Gitga'at that reflects their needs, desires and aspirations, the Band has been actively working to rebuild Gitga'at self determination and increase the opportunities available to community members. The major sectors of employment for people living in Hartley Bay are: the band office, fishing, tourism, and construction, as well as education, aquaculture, health services, salmon enhancement, etc. There is mixture of full-time, part-time and seasonal employment. Some members of the community are also unemployed and seeking work opportunities. There are also a few independent small businesses in Hartley Bay. Some of these operating during my

research period include: Gitga'at Spirit Tours (which may in the future run spirit bear viewing tours in addition to those available through the Stewardship Society); the Squirrel's Den Inn; Wanda's B&B (recently established); a pizza and small dry goods store (closed in summer 2009); three additional small-scale food vendors; and one silver jewellery carver.

Although some people in the community still participate in the commercial fishery as an important component of their livelihood, the downturn in commercial fishing in the region in the 1990s-2000s, along with other factors, has compelled many Gitga'at to move away from Hartley Bay in order to seek better employment opportunities in urban centres. The outmigration trend is a notable factor prompting Hartley Bay Gitga'at to take steps to diversify their economy and rebuild their economic base within their traditional territory.

The Gitga'at have undertaken and are continuing to pursue a number of projects and programs to support their local development objectives. Some of these include: establishment of the Gitga'at Hatchery in 1980; founding of the Gitga'at Development Corporation in 2002, which was replaced in 2009 by the Gitga'at Lands and Resources Stewardship Society; undertaking a marine use planning process, supported through the Coastal First Nations Turning Point Initiative and North Coast-Skeena River First Nations Stewardship Society (2006-2010), with a shellfish aquaculture pilot project initiated in 2005; construction of a small, community hydroelectric project and associated initiatives (currently underway); and exploration of trade in Carbon Credits as part of resource use agreements with the Province of B.C.

Some of these projects have been developed in cooperation with other Coastal First Nations through the Gitga'at's membership in a coalition of coastal B.C. First Nations called the Coastal First Nations Turning Point Initiative ([www.coastalfirstnations.ca](http://www.coastalfirstnations.ca)). This group, begun in 2000, has also helped the Gitga'at and other member First Nations to negotiate a series of government-to-government agreements with the Province of B.C. These agreements will help support the territorial, economic and social rights of the Gitga'at (see [www.gitgaat.net/land/landuse.html](http://www.gitgaat.net/land/landuse.html)). The Gitga'at are also members of the Coastal Guardian/Watchmen Network ([www.coastalguardianwatchmen.ca](http://www.coastalguardianwatchmen.ca)), which is currently providing training and capacity building to begin First Nations' monitoring and

protection of cultural and natural resources (based on the model of the Haida Gwaii Watchmen Program: see <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/edu.aspx>).

In addition to the initiatives outlined above, the Gitga'at have also built extensive experience with partnerships through the establishment of protocols with non-Gitga'at businesses, including tourism operators, active in their territory. The Gitga'at Nation (2004) website explains, "These protocols outline principles of sustainable tourism development, guidelines for the use of Gitga'at marine and terrestrial resources, coordinated planning, monitoring and information sharing procedures, and employment and training commitments." From the perspective of the Gitga'at, the protocol agreements are a tool for shifting economic activities taking place in their territory, so they better support and complement Gitga'at development objectives and priorities. They also reflect an acknowledgement on the part of non-Gitga'at businesses of Gitga'at ownership and jurisdiction over their territory and its resources. Eagle Chief Ernest Hill, Jr. explained, "It is our territory. You come and see us first."

The first protocol was signed with King Pacific Lodge (KPL) in 1999 and was the first of its kind on the B.C. Coast (Uehara, Nov 2001). "The relationship between King Pacific Lodge and the Gitga'at people," Hereditary Chief Albert Clifton attested, "is much more than a partnership based on business and economics. It has been built on a foundation of friendship, respect and a conscious effort to understand and embrace the culture and values of the Gitga'at" (statement made December 9, 2009, as quoted by King Pacific Lodge, 2010). Subsequently, the Gitga'at have entered bilateral agreements modelled after the Gitga'at-KPL protocol with local other tourism operators including sports fishing lodges (including, West Coast Resorts, Big Time Fishing, St. John's Fishing Lodge), a number of sailing and small yacht charter companies (including, Ocean Adventures and four others), as well as other businesses and organizations (including Triumph Timber and Cetacea Lab, an independent whale research station established on Gil Island). Some of the components of the agreements include: a per-head fee paid to the Gitga'at for each guest tourism operators bring into the territory (RP01); Gitga'at employment provisions (RP01); and, information sharing, including catch numbers and whale sightings (JB).



Some of the partnerships are stronger than others and realize more benefits for the Gitga'at. Overall, the protocol agreements have brought many advantages.<sup>13</sup> However, they have not been an integrative solution for local Gitga'at development. One community member reflected, "We have got close enough relationships with some of the lodges that they should have taken somebody under their wing by now and said this person could be in training over the next couple of years to become a manager at this resort" (RP07).

#### **4.4. Gitga'at Tourism Initiatives to Date**

The Gitga'at First Nation has been involved in tourism for some time. Members of the community, including the Band Council, have been considering tourism development for over 30 years. One of the early proposals was to build a land-based fishing lodge close to Hartley Bay. This proposal has resurfaced a few times since it was first put forward and has been reiterated to include a stronger cultural, rather than recreational fishing, focus. For a number of political and other reasons, however, the proposal has never moved forward.

When the Gitga'at Development Corporation (GDC) was established in 2002 to "undertake and coordinate various community economic development initiatives" (Gitga'at, 2004), tourism development, particularly the fostering of eco-tourism, was central to its mandate. In addition to work on protocol agreements with tourism operators, activities of the GDC included the establishment of guided wildlife tours and the construction of a network of small cabins throughout the territory. The GDC also began marketing Gitga'at tourism (c.f. Gitga'at, 2004: <http://www.gitgaat.net/tourism.html>; RP01). Additionally, a Gitga'at Sustainable Tourism Strategy (Gitga'at, Feb 2002), a Gitga'at Tourism Business Plan (Gitga'at, April 2002), and other tourism planning materials were also developed at this time (Gitga'at, 2004). These documents include proposals for developing cultural and nature-based tourism activities.

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<sup>13</sup> KPL, for example, helped provide the funding to build the Waaps Wahmoodmx Gitga'at Cultural Centre and has annually employed upper year students from the Hartley Bay School as part of a work experience program.

In spite of these efforts, tourism development, since the establishment of the GDC, has been slower than community members and the band administration hoped and thought that it would be. The cabins, for example, were built with the intention of fostering local tourism entrepreneurship. Although this remains a possibility in the future, to date it has not transpired. One community member described the situation as follows:

...they had this project that built these cabins throughout the territory with the intention of getting community members to build their own businesses and there has only been one [an ecotourism guiding company, called Gitga'at Spirit Tours] so far, which is kind of sad. We were hoping, I think, that a bunch of people would get kayak tours or things like that going, but so far no one has taken the initiative to do it (RP07).

As the tourism strategy, business plan, and the GDC's activities demonstrate, many ideas for tourism development were generated during this period that, in the end, were not pursued for a variety of reasons, many of them connected with a shift in the political landscape that took place following a band council election in 2005. This was compounded by concerns over the structure of the GDC, which rendered it virtually inactive for several years. Finally in 2009, a process began to transfer the activities and responsibilities of the GDC to two new organizations: the Gitga'at Lands and Resources Stewardship Society (referred to as the Stewardship Society, created in 2009); and the proposed Gitga'at Enterprise Corporation (still in the consultation and establishment phase).

In spite of these setbacks, a notable success of the GDC's efforts in the tourism sector is the spirit bear<sup>14</sup> viewing tours (now run through the Stewardship Society) (Figure 3.2.; Figure 3.3.). Bear viewing began in 2004 and the tours, which run primarily from September and early October<sup>15</sup>, are regularly filled to capacity with little to no marketing. Although more advertising and tour expansion could be done, those involved have chosen not to in order to minimize the impacts of the tours on the spirit bears. Teresa Robinson, a member of the MUPC and Band Office employee, described the bear viewing tours to me:

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<sup>14</sup> The white Spirit, or Kermode, Bear (*Ursus americanus kermodei*) is a type of black bear that is sacred to the Gitga'at. This population has a recessive gene that is expressed in some individuals of the population as white fur. A mother Spirit Bear can produce white or black cubs (Canning & Canning, 2004).

<sup>15</sup> Guided tours are sometime offered by special arrangement during other times of the year to special groups, including visiting professionals, filmmakers, and researchers.

[The groups of visitors] have platforms they go to [with a Gitga'at guide] and they have restrictions on people just wandering around. You have to stay on the platform. You can't just go near the animal. You can't go in the river, and you can't leave any garbage there—any cigarettes butts or anything like that. There is no smoking allowed. So it's kind of nice. It seems quiet. It seems custom for the client. There is no overcrowding and stuff like that.

Visitors come from around the world to see the spirit bears as they come to salmon-bearing rivers and creeks to feast on the spawning fish. Guests on the tours can spend a half- or full day on the viewing platforms watching and photographing the bears as they travel up and down the river to fish and eat berries, crab apples and other food. The two platforms, located just out of sight of each other, have the capacity to hold approximately a dozen people each. On the boat rides to and from the platforms, clients also have the opportunity to see orca (*Orcinus orca*) and humpback (*Megaptera novaeangliae*) whales and other wildlife as well. While some groups of clients arrange tours directly with the Stewardship Society, other tours are arranged by King Pacific Lodge, Ocean Adventures, or other tourism operators on behalf of their guests (TR).



**Figure 4.3.** Spirit Bear seen from bear viewing platform (Photo K. Turner)



**Figure 4.4.** Group from KPL at bear viewing platform (Photo K. Turner)

Many community members are supportive of the tours because they are seen as low impact (RP01; RP07), provide employment, and encourage tourism within the territory (RP01). This in turn helps support, at least to some degree, the local entrepreneurship in Hartley Bay. In spite of these successes, one community member expressed, “[The enterprise] seems to be working well, particularly from the low impact stance, but I’m not sure at this point if it provides the right mix of economic benefit for the Gitga’at, either in terms of the revenue that is generated or the jobs that are generated for the people” (RP01). Although the business employed three people in 2009, it has faced challenges finding guides because of competition with the lodges offering a longer season (MR).

In addition to bear viewing, Hartley Bay Gitga’at community is also involved in tourism through their tourism sector partners and have extensive experience hosting visitors to their community. Organized tours in Hartley Bay began with a 110-passenger cruise ship, the *Yorktown Clipper*, which began stopping in Hartley Bay during the 1990s

on its way to and from Alaska at the beginning and end of the cruise season.<sup>16</sup> More recently, clients from King Pacific Lodge, Ocean Adventures, and other tour companies, as well as other groups visiting Hartley Bay from universities, conservation organizations, and media companies, such as National Geographic and Aboriginal Peoples Television Network, are sometimes invited to participate in feasts and other cultural activities. In some cases, these events are put on specifically for these visitors, often in exchange for donations to the school or other contributions to the Hartley Bay community. Feasts usually include traditional dance performances, often put on by the school's dance group.

King Pacific Lodge also runs cultural tours in Hartley Bay, Cornwall Inlet, and occasionally at Old Town, which are guided and interpreted by their Gitga'at employees (JB; DR). During the tours in Hartley Bay, small groups of approximately five or six people visit points of interest in the village, including the Cultural Centre, Memorial Centre, school, church and the hatchery (DR). Although there is little interaction with Hartley Bay residents, the guides – being from the community – are able to discuss local history and contemporary Gitga'at society. Gitga'at consent for the KPL cultural tours is part of the protocol agreement between the village and the lodge. Benefits to the community from the cultural tours come as part of the wider package of benefits entailed by the protocol agreement, rather than through a direct monetary compensation for the tours themselves. In addition, as several participants noted, there are visitors – be they friends, film crews, or researchers – visiting or staying at the seasonal harvest camps almost yearly.

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<sup>16</sup> The passengers would visit the community for the day and students from the school would take them in groups on a tour around the village and talk about the history of the area. The artists organized to sell their art, but no one bought anything because they were saving their money for Alaska (EH; LH). Originally the cruise ship company paid only \$200 to dock in Hartley Bay and the village would put on a dance performance, take them on tour, and feed them. “We quickly realized that wasn’t a good deal for us” (LH). Eventually, the charge was increased to \$1000, “but they were mad and we had to fight” Lynne Hill recalls. Shortly after this, regulations changed and the cruise ship no longer needed to dock in Canadian waters anymore and the vessel stopped coming to Hartley Bay.

## 4.5. Contemporary Challenges

The Gitga'at are pursuing development initiatives, including eco-cultural tourism, to further their vision for the future of their community. There are, however, a number of challenges that are of serious concern to many community members. Maintaining the vitality and viability of cultural important activities, such as the harvest and processing of wild foods is one such concern. Although the Gitga'at do not practice their traditional seasonal rounds as extensively as they did in the past, many continue to travel to their customary seaweed and halibut camp at Kiel in late spring and to their salmon harvest site up Douglas Channel at "Old Town" in the early fall (Turner & Clifton, 2006).

Through the harvesting and processing of nutritionally rich and culturally meaningful foods, the camps provide important learning opportunities and help maintain the intergenerational continuity of knowledge and connection with local resources and environment. The importance of these camps and the desire to see them continue is recognized across the community. However, as a result of changing lifestyles and rising costs some community members believe the continuation of the camps is threatened in the long-term.

Addressing the downturn in the local economy, and the impacts thereof, including food harvest accessibility, is one of the challenges facing the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community. However, other issues compound it as well. The sinking of the B.C. Ferries vessel, *Queen of the North*, off Gil Island just outside Hartley Bay in March 2006 brought Hartley Bay into the national and international spotlight. The ecological legacy of this event continues, as the *Queen of the North* continues to leak oil and other contaminants into the oceans of Gitga'at Territory (Hartley Bay Band Council, Mar 26, 2009). Many in the community, however, now see this *Queen of the North* sinking as a terrible foreshadowing of events to come.

The international corporation, Enbridge, is investing in a massive lobby to see a super tanker<sup>17</sup> shipping lane built directly through the Gitga'at territory (Figure 1.1.). This project would link Enbridge's proposed Northern Gateway pipeline project, bringing oil from the Alberta tar sands to the port at Kitimat at the head of Douglas Channel, to lucrative markets in Asia and around the world (Levy, Oct 2009). From Kitimat, the

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<sup>17</sup> The size of the super tankers that would travel this route are 350m by 65m.

tankers would travel out along the narrow and turning Douglas Channel, passing directly by Hartley Bay and through the islands of Gitga'at territory, before entering the Pacific (Hartley Bay Band Council, Sept 30, 2009). The tankers would ship condensate on the return journey. In spite of potential employment and other benefit offers, the Gitga'at are steadfastly fighting this proposal (Hartley Bay Band Council, Sept 18, 2009; APTN 2010). In addition to the possibility of catastrophic oil spills, such as happened in the *Exxon Valdes* oil spill, Helen Clifton explained some of the community's concerns:

...if you have got [fishing] gear out, those tankers are going to plough right through them. So how many people are going to be able to have seine nets, or gill nets, or halibut gear, prawn traps, crab traps? And for us that gather the seaweed, you don't know what is on the hull of that boat, so it is going to wash up on the shore. It is not only us; it is also the animals that are feeding. It's the total effect, the ecological effect; of these tankers moving through... the backwash would practically strip those rocks of the seaweed we gather... You have got these freighters that are going up to Kitimat and God knows what country they are coming from. So of course they are going to bring some new bug into the Pacific and into the coastal waters... (HC1)

Tourism development, coupled with social entrepreneurship, is an area of local economic development that the community is looking to in order to help support their objectives, including sustaining the social, cultural and environmental integrity of their territory.





## **Chapter 5: “We have a thing of beauty here”<sup>18</sup>**

### **Negotiation and Adaptation of the Gitga’at Seasonal Harvest Camps**

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*I am hoping that it will continue and that there will still be seaweed to harvest and halibut to catch. As stewards of the land, we should make sure that it does continue. I would like to see [my grandson] Max’s grandkids do the same thing.*

Eagle Chief Ernie Hill, Jr., June 16, 2009

#### **5.1. Introduction**

There is a persistent tension in the discourse surrounding the development of Indigenous peoples, including First Nations. From the colonial and modernist development tradition, non-Western culture is seen as an impediment to achieving (narrowly defined) “progress” and therefore must be overcome in the name of development (Black, 1994). By contrast, within the post-development perspective, ideas of “progress” and “development” must be rejected in the name of preserving cultural diversity and integrity (c.f. Marglin, 1990). By ignoring the agency of local communities and First Nations societies in determining their own future, as well as the fundamental precept that culture is an adaptive set of norms and institutions, neither of these perspectives does justice to the changing social-ecological contexts of First Peoples (c.f. Anderson & Bone, 1995; Anderson et al., 2005; Black, 1994; Robson et al., 2009; Wuttunee, 2004). A more complex understanding is needed of how First Nations communities view the interfaces between their heritage, the broader social context in which they are embedded, and their aspirations and objectives for the future.

This chapter describes Hartley Bay Gitga’at experiences and perspectives on social-ecological change within their society and community. The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize the factors shaping Hartley Bay Gitga’at perspectives on eco-cultural tourism development using the concrete example of the Gitga’at harvest camps (Objective 1). Following an overview of the internally derived proposition to link tourism

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<sup>18</sup> Cam Hill, June 14, 2009

with the Gitga'at harvest camps, I provide background on the history and use of the camps at Kiel and Old Town. From there, some of the social, economic, and technological changes that have affected the camps in recent decades will be explored. While some of these changes are perceived as positive, others are not, and they challenge community members' aspirations for the future of their society. The community's efforts to mitigate and address these challenges will be discussed, paying particular attention to local motivation for addressing these challenges.

The problématique to explore in the remainder of the chapter is whether or not linking a tourism enterprise with the harvest camps will help support and strengthen the camps or whether it will place further stress upon them. I conclude that maintaining the camps is a goal held in common by research participants. The month-long camps provide a link to the past, facilitate prolonged cross-generational interactions, and enhance community member relationships with the Gitga'at cultural landscape in ways unique to these particular opportunities. The camps are a part of community life that the Gitga'at would like to carry into the future. In order to do this, they are considering adapting their camp activities to include an economic component that some research participants believe will help support the continuation of seasonal harvesting at Kiel and Old Town.

## **5.2. Linking Traditional Practices with the Tourism Sector**

The future of the harvest camps is of serious concern to many Hartley Bay Gitga'at. As one community member (RP07) told me:

There has to be a way of ensuring the survival of these harvest camps, because there are so many people that want to go and others who can't for whatever reason. We have to find a way to make sure that everybody at least has the opportunity to continue to go to the camps—have a chance... We've got to figure a way to keep people going... We have to figure out a way of ensuring the survival of the camp life and I think that an opportunity [to include tourism] like this is something that would go a long ways in helping to provide for people to go.

The idea of linking the Gitga'at harvest camps with a tourism enterprise as a way to help support the food harvesting activities of local community members has been in circulation in Hartley Bay for some time.

The initial concept was to build tenting platforms at Old Town for tourists to use during the late summer, when Gitga'at community members are at Old Town for the fall

harvest camp. Several of the elders who passed away in recent years, including Hereditary Chief Johnny Clifton, were the original thinkers behind this idea. As Helen Clifton (HC1), Johnny Clifton's widow, explained:

Archie [Dundas], Jimmy [Robinson] and my husband, they talked about Old Town. They really wanted to build up Old Town, to be sort of like the kayaking experience—that would be the river. And we have lots of young people who can kayak. We had an old logging road up at Old Town, which used to be fairly clear and now it is becoming overgrown, and I wanted some kind of labour force to come up there to keep that road clear so that we could get down to the petroglyphs...instead of having to wait for the tide... So they thought of putting platforms along that road so that people could have their tents, because then it takes that kind of onus off of us to provide the bed and stuff. That would be sort of a tenting experience because that would happen in late August/early September.

Another similar idea was also considered several years ago. The idea was to set up a family in a cabin on one of the Coho-bearing salmon streams to live and work during the fall. Marven Robinson described this idea as follows:

We weren't [planning on] doing any over night stuff at that time. But what we figured was that if this small family could have been there to get the camp going, did their smoking, sort of under the agreement that you might have visitors and for every visitor we will charge this much to help pay for the gas, your travel getting there, that kind of thing. And if there is money left over then it is an employment opportunity for that person. I think that all of these small sail boat, charter company operators in the territory would have taken a day to do that too. And I think that it is still an opportunity because we do have protocol agreements with these guys right now.

The vision for tourism at the harvest camps proposed by the Marine Use Planning Committee seems to build on and combine these two propositions.

### **5.2.1. The Marine Use Planning Committee's Vision for Tourism Development**

The Marine Use Planning Committee put forward the idea of creating a community-owned tourism enterprise that would focus on building an ecologically supported cultural tourism experience around the Gitga'at harvest camps. The desire to focus on linking tourism with the camps is also prompted by the belief that this type of enterprise could, in addition to providing economic opportunities, directly support the continuation of the camps by helping to ensure that they remain compelling, accessible and affordable parts of the Gitga'at way of life. As one community member (RP07) explained: "We just want

to work towards ensuring that we can still go to our camps and retaining some more value [from the tourism sector] for our community.” RP07 continued to describe the Marine Use Planning Committee’s vision for the enterprise as follows:

The way we looked at it is that we are running out of elders who go to the harvest camps and we want to find a way to make sure that these camps continue. The one way that we thought that might be good was to set up some kind of tourism operation where we’d have tourists come for just one or two weeks, which would make us a few thousand dollars, which would offset the costs for the elders to stay there for another three or four weeks after (RP07)

This summary reflects one vision for this enterprise; other Hartley Bay Gitga’at hold different perspectives on the issue and weigh the pros and cons differently. This kind of tourism, research participants have observed, has the potential to do both great good and great harm. In order to ensure that should this type of enterprise moves forward and that it provides the optimal package benefits and services to the community, it is necessary to explore the perspectives of different members of the Hartley Bay community and to compare how their ideas complement, complicate and conflict with the vision described above. As will be described in Chapter 6, Section 4.1, there is a diversity of local eco-cultural tourism possibilities that research participants identify viable options for local tourism development. First, however, a more nuanced overview of the context in which the MUPC’s proposition emerged must be presented. The concrete example of linking tourism with the harvest camps, as proposed by the MUPC, proved to be a very useful inductive example to generate discussion and illicit participant responses, first to the specific proposition and then to the opportunities and concerns surrounding eco-cultural tourism more generally.

### **5.3. Gitga’at Harvests**

For countless generations, the Gitga’at have undertaken seasonal rounds throughout their territory to harvest and trade the diversity of resources as they become available in different locations over the course of the year. The timing, location and purpose of these rounds have changed in response to shifting opportunities and conditions (Lutz, 2008). Harvesting would happen wherever Gitga’at people were. The winter was usually a time for trapping, shellfish harvesting and feasting. Family groups would move back to the

Winter Village (historically at Old Town, and now at Hartley Bay following the Gitga'at's return to their territory in 1880s) for the season. In the spring families would move out to Princess Royal Island and the campsite at Kiel to harvest the seaweed and halibut the Gitga'at are famous for (Figure 5.1.). They also harvest spring salmon and crabs, chitons and other marine resources at Kiel. From the 1920s, many families would spend the summer working at one of the coastal canneries or on fishing boats until the fall (Lutz, 2008). When the later salmon runs (mainly chum and coho) began, families would move to the fall camp, which is now at Old Town, to harvest and process the fish and berries and hunt deer, ducks, geese, other small game and most recently moose.

With the many social and economic changes that have taken place over recent decades (Lutz, 2008; Campbell, 2005), the seasonal rounds are not as extensive as they once were. Many of these resources, however, are still harvested today and the Gitga'at continue to retain an active connection with their territorial lands and waters. Modern technologies have made transportation more efficient so the time required to move throughout the territory has lessened (although fuel is expensive), making harvesting day trips from Hartley Bay more feasible. Hartley Bay is a year-round village and fewer people are spending the weeks or months away from the main village to harvest their food and other resources.



**Figure 5.1.** Spring harvest camp at Kiel (Photo K. Turner)

The camps at Kiel and Old Town remain very important parts of many community members' seasonal activities. As several research participants explained, these camps, along with other harvesting activities through the territory, mark the passing of the year. Eagle Chief Ernie Hill, Jr. testified to this when I asked what he valued about the harvest camps, saying, "Just being there, being part of it... The year is incomplete until I have done all of these seasonal things..." However, the camps have changed over recent decades. Some of these changes community members identify as positive, while others cause concern and represent contemporary challenges to the continuation and persistence of the harvest camps.

### **5.3.1. Kiel: The Place for Seaweed and Halibut**

The camp at Kiel generally runs from the beginning to the end of May, depending on the weather and the seaweed growth conditions. The camp is located on Princess Royal

Island, about 1 hour and 30 minutes by fast boat from Hartley Bay (longer for the slower vessels). There are eight or nine small, permanent cabins at the camp, owned by different families. At Kiel, halibut and seaweed harvest are the main focus of activities.

The seaweed, harvested during day trips along the rocky coastline of Princess Royal and Campania islands, is dried on the rocks (Figure 3.1.) or cedar boards and then packed for moving back to Hartley Bay, where it is pressed, chopped, and re-dried during the early summer months (Turner and Clifton 2006). Because of time constraints, some people make day trips from Hartley Bay to gather the seaweed, and bring it back to Hartley Bay for drying and processing. Some will also freeze it, waiting for a weather forecast of predicting several sunny days for outdoor drying. The halibut is cut into very thin fillets, which are then hung to dry outside in the sun or, if it is rainy, indoors on scaffolds above the stove (Figure 5.2.; Figure 5.3.). (Halibut skins and backbones are usually smoke-dried in the smokehouse.) The dried fillets are called *wooks* and they are pounded with yew wood mallets before they are ready to be eaten or stored (Figure 5.4.). Spring salmon is also cut and prepared as *wooks*. The *wooks* and seaweed were very important trading items for the Gitga'at, particularly with their trading partners at Kitimat, who would offer oolichan grease in exchange. Other intertidal creatures, such as chitons and Chinese slippers, and sometimes seals, are also harvested at Kiel.



**Figure 5.2.** Belle Eaton cutting halibut wooks outside her cabin at Kiel (Photo K. Turner)

### **5.3.2. Old Town: The Place for Salmon**

Old Town is located on the Quall River up the Douglas Channel towards Kitimat. Helen Clifton (HC1) describes the experiences of life at Old Town:

...up at the fall camp, it is a completely different camp. A different way of living. You see a river, a salmon river, and the salmon, the birds, and all the animals after the same food that you are as a human being, so you have got the eagles, and the bears, and the geese, and the wolves. And you watch this life of a river... I didn't know the river of decaying salmon. The river has a different smell and it's something to watch the salmon as they're mating and as they are going to go and lay their eggs. It's completely different. It's sort of like a spiritual experience I guess, to watch everything in motion.

At Old Town, salmon are fished from the river and smoked or filleted and hung to dry. Berries (blueberries, highbush cranberries and others) and crabapples are also



harvested around Old Town. Digging for cockles also starts in the month of September. The village site at Old Town is smaller than Kiel, with only three small cabins and one larger cabin on the site at present. While Kiel has been in use almost every year, for a variety of reasons it has been several years since Gitga'at people have moved up to Old Town to camp for the month of September. As a result of its greater proximity to Hartley Bay, hunters from the community often take day or weekend trips to Old Town rather than staying at the camp.



**Figure 5.3.** Annetta Robinson hanging wooks on split cedar poles (Photo K. Turner)

### 5.3.3. Value of the Camps

Many Hartley Bay Gitga'at echoed RP07, who explained, "Even though it costs a lot more I would rather eat dried halibut, halibut, and seaweed than go to the stores. I think a lot of people in the community, especially the elders, are like that." It is not only community members who personally go to the camps who benefit from the food harvesting that takes place there. "If I gathered only for my own personal use," Helen Clifton (HC1) explained, "I wouldn't be gathering so much. But it is for our families, our extended families, who possibly don't live with us anymore." The conditions at Kiel are ideal for food. The airflow in the houses allows the fish to dry properly, while there are fewer flies and no crows around Kiel the way there are at Hartley Bay. Although food harvesting was the first and primary reason Hartley Bay Gitga'at identified as their motivation to go to camp, there are many other features of these experiences that are deeply appreciated.

Major benefits of the camps, extending well beyond the immediate accessing of food resources, include the chance to reconnect with memories and traditions, to spend time with family and friends, and to enjoy the beauty and wonder of the Gitga'at territory, to "go inside the wilderness," as RP04 reflected. "It is actually amazing," Helen Clifton observed, "to see how everything, how nature, works together with the animals, and the fish, and the trees. When the bears take the fish up into the woods and they're eating and they are leaving it and it becomes food for the plants." For many, the peace and quiet, fresh air, and sense of freedom are powerful draws for going to camp. "It is a whole different world," Darryl Robinson explained, "Even though they've got the TV and the radio down there, you're so isolated. When the power shuts off at night, the only sound you hear is the waves when they hit the shoreline." Community members Darryl Robinson and RP05 both discussed the change they see in the elders at camp. "You see their faces," RP05 said, "and they carry their pain and their stress... and then to see them with their faces just so relaxed and happy and laughing—just so happy with each other and none of this fighting and bickering..." Many people, including community elders, said that being at camp brings feelings of well-being and rejuvenation. "People seem different," Stanley Robinson said, "after fresh air. Seem healthier. Seem closer, sometimes."



**Figure 5.4.** Helen Clifton and Goolie Reece processing dried halibut.

Being at the camps also brings back powerful memories and feelings of connection with the past. Lynne Hill recalled her first visit to Kiel, when she watched the elders walk directly from the boats up towards the houses and the forest. They were sobbing—overwhelmed with tears. She explained:

Their families were gone. They were old. They were back there. I didn't understand. I didn't get it, but I sort of understand now. It was a chance to relive their childhood and their past—things that were valuable to them. And to be closer to people that had gone.

Many memories connected with the camps are happy ones as well. Many of the research participants remembered how much they loved visiting the camps as children and the time that they spent with their family. “Those were some of our best times,” one community member testified. Shelly Danes remembers, “Just everyone getting along.

Laughing. The laughter is what I remember clearly. Going next door to have a cup of coffee and a piece of bread and just reminisce.”

The chance to face challenges together, work together and have the chance to sit, talk and listen to stories are benefits associated with the harvest camps that many research participants emphasized. Particularly, several people, including RP07 and Marven Robinson, explained that the camps provide a special venue for younger people to interact with elders, who are often more isolated in their homes while in Hartley Bay. The sense of community, continuity and tradition were identified by most research participants as one of the most important forces supporting the desire to keep the camps going into the future. “Another big thing for me is the togetherness,” Cam Hill explained. “It is the people... making the move together, relying on one another, making it happen, sharing what you are harvesting, working together... Seaweed and halibut are important and that is where they have always gone. And I think it is just a wonderful experience. I think it is tradition. And I think that is what keeps it going.”

#### **5.3.4. Changes Over Time**

These descriptions of camp life hint at some of the changes surrounding the harvest camps that have taken place in recent history. Some research participants (e.g. RP06; SD; CH) believe the camps have not changed substantively, and that the changes that have occurred reflect only superficial modifications, such as housing. As one community member laughingly explained, “Those places have not really changed. It was the people that changed. It’s more metro” (SD). Another confirmed, “They haven’t changed for me. I go back there, I still get the same feeling” (CH). However, to many other research participants, a depopulating trend and other changes (Table 5.1) are closely associated with long-term stresses and contemporary challenges to participation, which some believe are posing a threat to the continuation of the camps, along with the way of life and learning opportunities that they facilitate.

The changes and challenges (Table 5.2) noted by Hartley Bay Gitga’at were not identical for both camps. More examples and discussion tended to focus on Kiel. This may reflect simply the proximity of the main data collection period (May and June 2009) to the May spring camp. However, it may also be an indication of the greater affinity that

many, especially younger people, seem to have for Kiel. Pearl Clifton, for example, suggested that the camp at Old Town maybe in more danger of being lost than the camp at Kiel. This analysis seems to be supported by the camp participation trends<sup>19</sup> and the deeper connections many seem to have to have with Kiel.

**Table 5.1.** Examples of observed changes surrounding the Gitga'at harvest camps

Type of change	Example	Then	Now
Physical Changes	Adoption of modern technologies	Canoes, with sails and later small gas outboards	Motor boats
		Gas lights	Gas-powered electric generators <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Electric fridges and freezers</li><li>▪ Radio and television</li><li>▪ Electric lights</li></ul>
	Infrastructure	Pull halibut gear by hand (SR)	Modern fishing equipment: electric winches; diesel boats
Social Change	Depopulation	Cedar plank houses, with seashell floors	Larger, sawmill lumber houses (only two cedar plank houses are left)
		Bucket or tide-flush outhouse	Flush toilet
		All the houses used to be full	Four families present at Kiel in 2009
	Food related activities at camp	Whole families (grandparents, parents and children) moved to camp together	Mostly elders at camp and a few middle-aged ‘helpers’ who stay at camp, with children and working people coming on weekends
		More food processing, even chopping seaweed, used to happen at Kiel	More food processing taking place in Hartley Bay
Climate Change	Changing seasonal weather patterns	More halibut and seaweed used to be harvested	Less food harvested over all
		Three or more fishing boats and pooling the catch	Only one boat fishing for the camp
		Predictable sun in May, which provided the needed conditions for picking and drying seaweed and drying halibut	Less predictable and desirable weather, characterized by more rain and cloud during the month of May

Many research participants noted the increasing modernization of the camps (e.g. RP08). Darryl Robinson explained, "What you see here in Hartley Bay, is what you're starting to see in Kiel." Lynne Hill discussed the challenge of finding a balance between practical adaption and fundamental transformation. She explained, "There is nothing wrong with seeing the change in technology as long as you don't change the basic

<sup>19</sup> The camp at Old Town has not been used as consistently as the camp at Kiel. The fall camp, for example, did not take place in 2009 and had not for several years previously.

thinking of what you are doing...I don't know. I struggle with this a lot." Generators at camp, for example, have allowed for the adoption of freezers, which have facilitated an alteration to the seaweed processing process. Limited harvesting opportunities and changing weather patterns, which bring more rain in May, prompted someone to try freezing fresh seaweed to dry at a later time. Although the colour of the seaweed changed, the flavour (at least to some) remained the same and freezing seaweed to be worked on later is now a widely adopted technique in the community (Turner and Clifton 2009). Helen Clifton discussed this process:

To get it [the seaweed]—to experiment—to put it in the freezers, and then get it up here to our freezers, and then wait. Sometimes we are waiting until July. I am going to wait until July, possibly, to finish seaweed that is usually finished in May and early June, because we used to have all that sun. And we are drying more halibut in the houses. Not getting as much sun dried. So we are using a lot of wood, which now is costly (HC1).

Lynne and Ernie Hill also talked about these adaptations.

With changing technologies, however, the knowledge and skill set necessary to engage in harvesting practice changes and the balance is not always clear. One elder explained in reference to some of these technological shifts, "We are losing lots of techniques that used to be there, but modernizing and the speedboats made it easier" (RP04). Often the impacts of change are directly linked with the driver of that change. Where changes—such as the adoption of new technologies, including freezers or motorboats, or modification of practices, such as seaweed processing—have come about through internal mechanisms of experimentation and prudent evaluation, the results have generally been positive and have helped the Gitga'at adapt their way of life to meet the challenges of a changing world. Such changes are practical adaptations that take advantage of changing technologies. Other changes, however, particularly those of a social nature, hint at significant threats to the continuation of the camps.

Many of the social changes discussed above are linked with systemic changes to Gitga'at society and way of life linked with the colonial imposition of western social, cultural, political and economic structures. The convergence of many such forces has put, undeniably, long-term stress on Gitga'at society. Some of the stresses have manifested in contemporary challenges that Hartley Bay Gitga'at identified in participating in the harvest camps at Kiel and Old Town. Teri Robinson provided an example of declining

participation at the camps, “So there used to be about three boats fishing for the people. They would bring in, and they would share. Like I think one time they must’ve had like 30 [per day] fish and they would split it amongst everyone. You are cutting fish for days and there are fish hanging everywhere. Now there’s only one boat fishing for the whole village.”

I asked the research participants if they believe fewer people go to camp now than 10, 15 or 25 years ago. Overwhelming the response was that fewer people go to camp now than did in the past and that the time spent living at the camps has decreased. At Kiel, several people said that they could remember when the camp, which now only takes place in May, would start in April and stretch into June. Similarly, the move to Old Town, which now happens in September, used to begin in the middle of August.

One middle-aged person reasoned that only about a quarter of the people go now as compared with when she was a child. Many others, including RP08 and TR, echoed Danny Danes, who explained, “Years ago it was almost the whole village. It was loaded with people down there”. The reasons identified for this shift are multifold. Many of the challenges are connected with the changing economy and livelihood opportunities in Hartley Bay. One community member (RP04) explained:

It [going to the camps] is declining. It has declined quite a bit—one of the things that you have to admit with the high cost of living. People can’t afford—or won’t take the time because they can’t afford [it]—to go there. When I was a young person living here—when everybody was doing it—we made enough money, and every family had an outboard, so they were able to go.

RP05 supplemented this analysis by saying, “It is just so expensive now for any of our boats to move anywhere.”

Hartley Bay Gitga’at are concerned about the impact of declining participation at the camps. In an immediate sense, community members cannot access the foods and other benefits of being at camp. A more chronic, and perhaps more distressing impact, is the disconnection from the land and cultural activities, such as food harvest and associated values, which youth are experiencing. Hartley Bay elder, Goolie (Margaret) Reece, reflected, “It’s fading now. None of the children know what to do with the fish.” RP07 explained:

We want to get the kids interested in that again because a lot of them aren't eating our traditional foods anymore. And that's probably because they aren't able to go to places like this anymore, because they're in school...

Although need for students to attend school is certainly a factor, it is the confluence of many social and economic challenges (Table 5.2) that are driving this trend.

### 5.3.5. Contemporary Challenges

The changes discussed above are a reflection of the contemporary challenges many people face in going to camp. As RP08 explained, “The thing I’ve noticed about the past however many years—from the time you’re thinking about—it’s harder now.” This was a view shared by many. Table 5.2. provides examples of the social, economic and institutional changes that are impacting participation at the harvest camps.

**Table 5.2.** Contemporary challenges to participation in the harvest camps

Type of Change	Example	Impacts and associated challenges
Social Change	Passing of this generation of elders	Elders proved important organization, guidance, mentorship and motivation for the move to camp and undertaking camp activities.
	Generational continuity of skills and interest	The present generation of elders does not spend as much time at camp as some of the middle-aged people do. There are not many skilled, able-bodied people at camp to help the elders who do stay there. Young people are not building houses at camp. Many people no longer have the skills to harvest and process Gitga’at foods. “...young people have really grown away from helping their parents with the fish, we are losing our people who would be the producers of the same product” (RP04). Parents do not spend as much time with their children on the land and water.
	Dietary transition	People are eating fewer wild foods and some dietary preferences are shifting as a result. Some foods are no longer widely eaten because the knowledge to prepare them has been lost. “They can catch it, but they can’t prepare it. They have got to learn! Or they will starve. They will have nothing” (PC)
	Western school system	It is difficult for children to spend large amounts of time away from school. <sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> This impact of the school system has changed over time. When Goolie Reece (age 90) was a child it was easy to take time away from school to spend time making seasonal rounds in the territory. By contrast, when another research participant (RP07) who is now middle aged was in school the system was very strict and they were not able to take time away. As a result, he did not go to the harvest camps until he was an adult. Now, children at the Hartley Bay School are allowed to take a cultural week at Kiel each year,



Economic change	Demographic shift	Hard for whole families to move to camp. The majority of Gitga'at now live off-reserve, which means increased physical and social barriers to accessing the camps. Hartley Bay Gitga'at often harvest for family and friends living off-reserve, increasing the labour, time and recourses required.
	Communal norms and values	"Ten families used to go to Old Town and when they came home they shared it. Every household in this community ends up with a product of so many smoked Old Town cohos. It wasn't just yours. It's different now. These guys are getting greedy and they'll sell it in Rupert. But the deep freeze spoiled us from sharing with other people—our own people" (RP04). This is because the food can be kept longer (RP04) and it can be worked on more slowly.
	Western-style work-week	Difficult to take time off during the week or for an extended stay at camp. Opportunity cost of taking time off to go to camp.
	Down turn in the local fishing economy	Most families used to be supported through commercial fishing in the summer months. Downturn in the fishing industry and a lack of alternative employment have left many people without the economic resources they had a decade ago.
	Decline in community fleet	Boats facilitate travel in the territory, and thereby, connections with the lands and waters, and associated activities and resource uses. "If you don't have a boat, you are stuck. That is the key to Kiel. If you don't have a boat, you are stuck. You won't be able to do anything" (DR). Only one boat food fishing for the community during the 2009 spring camp. "I remember when you would see seven or eight boats down there instead of one" (JB). Now only the working people have a boat (RP04). Limits freedom of movement and access to the campsites. Limited seats and transportation capacity to bring people and supplies to camp. Hard to transport the materials needed to repair existing houses and build new ones.
	Increased cost of going to camp	High cost of fuel needed for: transportation and generators (particularly to power freezers and fridges). Paying upfront for one month's worth of food.

This illustrates the ongoing stress the camps have been under. As a consequence, some people fear that they are vulnerable to future shocks and additional stress. Research participants identified a number of possible sources for such a shock.

Primary among these is the loss of the elders, who one participant referred to as the 'Keepers of Kiel'. Another community member described the role the 'Keepers' play:

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although other practical concerns, such as housing and supervision, making this unfeasible for many students.

“It’s them that would say it is time to go. Who says we need to do what we need to do. And they would take the adults with them and the adults would bring the children” (RP01). Several of the community’s elders, including late Hereditary Chief Johnny Clifton, have passed away in recent years. Research participants worry that the camps may be lost with the passing of this generation of elders, particularly since the younger generations are not building the same connections with the camps life as in the past.

Changing demands of school and work, changing tastes and preferences for food and leisure time, rising relative costs, and lack of housing and transportation are all contributing to less time spent at camp, by fewer people. Without spending time at the camp, young people are not building relationships with the place and the activities that will support the continuation of the camps in the future. In addition, they do not have the opportunity to learn the necessary skills, or become proficient at them. Some Hartley Bay Gitga’at question whether the younger generations have the skills and expertise in food harvesting and processing to be able to sustain themselves with any significant amount of traditional food. One elder, Pearl Clifton, explained sadly that, although young people can fish and hunt, they do not necessarily have the skills to process the foods. She emphasized, “They have got to learn! Or they will starve. They will have nothing.” Furthermore, without able-bodied young people at camp, the elders do not always have the support that they need for physical work of camp life, including chopping wood, running the boats and getting water.

Many people in the community have not had the opportunities to build the connections with the land and waters needed to generate sufficient interest in the harvesting camps to build new cabins or become proficient at the skills needed to carry on these activities in the future. The culmination of these factors is such that even though some in the community are supporting the camps and the school is providing opportunities for students to go, the cumulative impact of these challenges is such that as one community member (RP07) explained:

They have more opportunities to go now, but then less opportunities because not everyone has a boat and not every family has a place to stay down there. There are a bunch of the kids that could go because they have families there, but the other half of the village doesn’t have a place to stay.

The loss of more of the community's aging fleet of boats, dating from the time of the booming commercial fishing industry (1950-1980s), is also a serious concern. There is only one large boat, the *Pacific Pearl*, left in the community with the capacity to move the people and supplies associated with a move to Kiel or Old Town. Jessel Bolton described the community's predicament as follows:

With all of our boats disappearing, it is going to get harder and harder to get down there...In maybe ten/fifteen years, maybe a couple of these boats down there won't be afloat anymore. In the past four years, we have lost three boats because of aging. Currently, the costs of fuel and other expenses associated with transportation, fishing and living at camp are primarily borne by a few families and individuals, although the food and other benefits of going to camp are shared by more people. Should any of the individuals currently providing financial support for the camps decide they can no longer afford to (as some suggested would soon be the case), this may be another source of stress or shock.

There is also deep dread about encroaching development, particularly the establishment of a supertanker shipping lane that would pass directly through the Gitga'at territory and would carry Alberta tar sands crude oil and natural gas from Kitimat—the terminal proposed for the Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipeline project—to Asia. The proposed tanker lane would pass directly through Gitga'at seaweed harvesting areas, as well as both food and commercial fishing grounds. "...The backwash," RP07 explained, "would practically strip those rocks of the seaweed we gather." The possibility of a spill would be catastrophic. Danny Danes summarized,

This ocean out here is our fridge, the way I look at it. When that ferry [the *Queen of the North*] went down I thought: Oh my God, what is going happen for shellfish now? I thought we were going to lose it. Can you imagine if one of those tankers came in? If one of them ever busted up anywhere on the coast they would ruin the whole coast of British Columbia. Not just here, the whole coast. They would wipe out all our food.

### **5.3.6. Coping with Contemporary Challenges**

The challenges noted above have not gone unnoticed in the community, and many community members have worked to develop formal and informal coping strategies, to help mitigate and address these systemic challenges to the continuity of the Gitga'at way of life in which the harvest camps play a significant role.

RP04 explained, “In order to recreate what was there before, they have to do it through the school system.” As a result, the Hartley Bay School has become an active center for Gitga’at cultural teaching and culturally relevant skill development. In the classroom students receive Sm’algyax language lessons, as well as basket weaving, dancing, First Nations art, and food harvesting and processing opportunities. The students have the opportunity to go clam and cockle digging, to cut halibut and learn other related skills throughout the year. Lynne Hill, a teacher and the vice-Principal of the Hartley Bay School, explained the importance of incorporating these activities in the school curriculum, because, “Some of the kids had never gone or done any of this until we took them.” In addition, as part of the community’s education agreement, School District 52 now allows Hartley Bay students to take a Kiel Cultural Week in order to spend time at camp. In the future, the school hopes to build a bunkhouse at the camp in order to afford all students the opportunity to spend time at Kiel, not just those whose families have housing there. The elders who go to Kiel expressed hope in this idea and confidence that they could teach the young people if they were given the opportunity. In addition, as noted in Chapter 5, the students also perform dances and songs at feasts and other gatherings, including cultural presentations for visitors to the community. These opportunities help augment those that children historically had access to as part of their family’s seasonal activities.

Some families are also making a special effort to provide opportunities for their children, as well as other young people in the community, to participate in food harvesting and processing. Eva-Ann Hill explained, “I am making sure that our children are part of the food gathering process and part of the preserving process as well, even though sometimes they don’t like it or agree with it... They will appreciate it later... The more kids get interested now about our land, the better off we are going to be.”

The way harvesting and food processing take place in the community is also changing in response to the changing socio-economic context. Since many people are unable to move to the camps for extended periods of time, many have begun making day or weekend trips to gather seasonal foods and other resources. Darryl Robinson explained, “We have to support our family, so we have to work... But every chance we get to take time off work, we go down to help the family [at camp].” Others testified to

this, saying, for example, “We make it quick now. We are modernized. We just go up there [to Old Town], get the fish and bring it back home” (RP04). Modern technologies, such as freezers, have helped make it possible for families with boat access to take advantage of a weekend or day off during harvest time to collect foods to be worked on at a later opportunity. These quick trips, however, are often constrained by bad weather or timing of the tides.

In addition to getting the youth to participate more at the camps and in harvesting generally, a few middle-age ‘helpers’ are also taking on active and critical roles at the camps. Marven Robinson, who is only able to bring his family to Kiel to help his parents on the weekends, expressed his gratitude to the helpers who stayed at camp. He explained, “Otherwise I don’t know if people would have gone if we didn’t have those little bit younger people [to help cut the fish, chop the firewood and do the physically demanding work].” Some middle-aged community members also expressed their desire to build their own houses at Kiel, to enable them to take their families to stay.

These desires, in part, reflect a readiness on the part of some to take on new social roles within the community. RP05 echoed the fear expressed by many about the future of the camps and cultural leadership when the current generation of elders pass on, but explained,

...but then there are some of us who are becoming elders and we’ll be the elders, so we have to keep it going. We have to keep the traditions going... We need to get the kids’ interest up because the kids nowadays have gone away from all of this. Even eating foods. You see them—living here where we should be eating all our own traditional foods—they are sticking their noses up at it. We need to teach them the importance of learning all these skills. Just the older people are doing it now.

Many research participants recognize that the time they have to learn and hone the skills they would like to possess is finite because of the knowledge gap that exists between generations. This recognition is providing an impetus to address these concerns now, rather than at an indeterminate time in the future. The current generation of elders are also committed to their community and will keep teaching and working as long as they are able.

In order to address the economic challenges faced in going to camp, Hartley Bay Gitga’at have adopted a variety of coping strategies. Some community members, for example, have begun selling the foods produced at camp to Gitga’at and other First

Nations people living in Prince Rupert and other communities. There is a high demand for these foods, because so many people are no longer able to access these products themselves. RP07 questioned this practice, however, explaining,

You would need to sell a bag of halibut for like 400 bucks to recover expenses. Just [to] pay a wage for workers and fuel expenses for the boat, catching fish... I imagine it's more now. Fuel and food are both more expensive. We just did it in our heads... I imagine if you actually did it and included everything, got someone who would think of everything, it would be probably even more than that.

The retail market price for a bag of *wooks*, however, is closer \$50-\$100, although sometimes *wooks* are sold for considerably less. Some members of the community also disagree with this practice on cultural grounds, explaining that Gitga'at never sold, but always traded their food. Others see this as an evolution from a non-monetary to monetary system. "I'll sell it," one community member explained, "because they want to give me money, because they have nothing to trade with." This community member sells the foods knowing the price is less than they are worth because of feeling sorry for people who cannot otherwise get the food they love.

In order to reduce food costs, many people at camp make an effort to eat off the land while they are there and bring only staple food items with them. The community also uses some of its halibut quota to help subsidize the food fishery. Some community members who go to camp make financial contributions to those supplying boats and other resources in order to help share costs. Others make payments in kind, by offering labour or exchange of goods. One community member (RP04) explained that this idea is based on the institution of '*hal-le-alk*'. "When you go with somebody," he explained, "you are lucky—you get the product that you're hoping for" and you give something in exchange. Although, this system is not as active as in the past, it is still used to support the activities of the harvest camps.

Many families are also making internal arrangements to access traditional foods. One household might go to camp and harvest for the extended family group, many of whom might be living off-reserve. Although this places added stress on the families who do go to the camps, it does provide food to a broader proportion of the Gitga'at population than are able to directly harvest traditional foods. Although the recipient family might contribute to the expenses of the harvester, some research participants suggested that this was not a common practice.

The desire to revitalize the harvest camps is also connected with a wider agenda—that of fighting the proposed supertanker shipping lane connected with the oil pipeline initiative. Helen Clifton explains:

It is just to me, to rebuild the camps and it has to be done soon. And for me, if we rebuilt the camp and people like Enbridge see that we are occupying a living camp. And their tanker affects on our life, not only on our food source, but also the commercial fishery. So I just worry about that happening. And it is going to happen faster than we think (HC1).

In spite of the strategies currently being employed to help support the continuation of the camps, however, many fear that these efforts are not enough.

## **5.4. Tourism: A Strategy for the Future?**

Many Hartley Bay Gitga'at fear for the future of the harvest camps. "I think that if we don't do something soon to get young people involved," Marven Robinson emphasized, "it could almost be wiped out... That is why we are sort of pushing. I really want these tours to go through, because it is expensive to be there. I don't know how much longer we can keep going with the cost of everything going up." The question at hand is: Could tourism connected with the harvest camps provide the camps with more resilience and stability in the face of contemporary challenges? Or would tourism add to the stress the camps are already experiencing?

### **5.4.1. Community Member Responses**

There was a diversity of responses from research participants about the proposal for eco-cultural tourism development in connection with the Gitga'at harvest camps. As explored in detail in subsequent chapters, particularly Chapter 6, many research participants are optimistic about the benefits of such tourism programs. Yet, although some research participants believe that the opportunities presented by eco-cultural tourism will help their community achieve their goals for the future, most of those interviewed in this study advocated caution and expressed concern. The following table presents a compilation of these concerns. Most are related to issues of community integrity, cultural integrity and environmental integrity, for as one community member (RP05) expressed, "People are very protective of this place—of Kiel."

**Table 5.3. Concerns About Tourism at the Gitga’at Camps**

Area of Concern	Example	Illustration
Cultural Integrity	Guest attitudes and behaviours	Lack of respect for Gitga’at people and way of life reflected in guest attitudes and behaviours Visitors will feel they have the license to judge or interfere Misuse of information that is shared
	Philosophical concerns	Introducing a monetary component will have harmful impacts on Gitga’at values and social cohesion
	Privacy and respect	Maintaining privacy surrounding particular knowledge areas (e.g. certain stories, medicines, etc.) Maintaining respect and privacy of ancestors (e.g. gravesites and sacred areas)
Community Integrity	Resource and knowledge appropriation	Guests will return and steal Gitga’at food resources Guests will use Gitga’at knowledge and resources for personal material gain (e.g. commercial products, publications, teaching material, etc.)
	Guest behaviour	Wanting to drink or take drugs, which might encourage community members to violate the dry community agreement Lack of understanding from visitors about the restrictions imposed by weather
	Source of conflict	Disagreement over benefit distribution scheme Bitterness of individual community members may give the community a bad reputation with their visitors Conflict over who can speak for the community Disagreement over what information can be shared with visitors
	Personal safety	Being watched might make fish carvers (e.g. those who cut the halibut) nervous and more prone to injury Guests in an unfamiliar environment may be prone to injury
	Interruption of work time	Limited time to harvest and process foods Gitga’at would be at camp to work, while guests would be there to play
	Personal comfort	Undue pressure on elders Community members feeling uncomfortable with being watched and having strangers around Change the dynamics of family time and time younger Gitga’at spend with elders Embarrassment at community member habits and behaviours (e.g. the disposal of garbage at camp, inappropriate language, sharing about local politics, etc.)
Environmental Integrity	Control and monitoring of activity in the territory	Encourage more people to visit the territory, some of whom may have independent means of transportation and knowledge of resources and harvest sites
	Wildlife	Make wildlife populations, like the spirit bear, more vulnerable to poaching Increased human activity will negatively affect and disturb wildlife
	Resource exploitation	Create an industry that will overuse and deplete local resources (e.g. fish) Unauthorized guests returning to steal Gitga’at resources
	Pollution and ecological footprint	Generate waste without the capacity to manage waste in ecologically sound ways (e.g. sewage and solid wastes) Needed infrastructure could damage the environmental integrity of the territory



As can be seen from this table, there are many concerns surrounding the introduction of tourism to the Gitga'at harvest camps. Many of these apprehensions relate not only to linking tourism with the harvest camps, but also to the possibilities of eco-cultural tourism more generally. In addition to the areas of concern captured in the table above, research participants also recognized a number of logistical and regulatory concerns that will need to be addressed. These include regulations pertaining to food and boating safety, and commercial boat use restrictions (RP07; MR). One community member (RP07) commented:

I'm sure some government organization is going to get mad because our smoke houses and stuff aren't what they would call food safe, even though these kinds of practices have fed us for I don't know how many thousands of years.

Although acquiring the necessary certifications and permits might be possible over time, the costs of upgrades, new equipment as well as the incumbent restrictions might be prohibitive. Other community members also raised concerns over infrastructure. Adequate access to water was another serious logistical concern some community members raised (e.g. RP05; HC1), as are issues of solid waste disposal.

Water at the camps is not in boundless supply. Although there is water that can be taken from nearby creeks, research participants worry that the colour of the water and its natural source might make it unappealing to visitors. At Kiel, water from the creek is not used extensively. While I was there in 2009, most of the water was either rainwater or from one of the nearby lodges. Currently, garbage is burned on site and human waste is washed into the ocean. Many research participants explained that while they do not find these practices ideal and might not be comfortable with visitors, particularly environmentally conscious visitors, witnessing them, their concerns around these practices would be amplified with larger numbers of people. New strategies would have to be developed, such as composting toilets. However, such infrastructure can be costly.

New housing is also a necessity that many pointed to if overnight guests were the objective. Helen Clifton explained, "You have seen the conditions of the camp. Right now, I don't see an overnighter. I see a visiting of the camp." It should also be noted that some people felt more comfortable with the idea of overnight guests than visitors coming for shorter periods (Chapter 7, Section 2). The cost of building guest-appropriate housing is also a consideration. Currently the houses at Kiel and Old Town are largely built from

salvaged materials (including cupboards, wiring, windows, doors, and wood) from building projects and houses being taken down in Hartley Bay, and Helen Clifton and others suggested that these recovery and salvage techniques could also be used for guest housing, which would reduce infrastructure costs.

Building a tourism experience that would also meet guest preferences and expectations was also a topic of concern. For example, Cam Hill reflected, “...tide waits for no one. What if you come on a really bad tide? People don’t understand that.” Weather could similarly be problematic, particularly with the increased seasonal variability discussed above. Guests visiting the camps might come with the expectation of picking seaweed and find that as a result of rain they are unable to do so. Another community member commented, “...if they are going to eat with us, they eat what we eat. And you have to think, how many people want to eat that way?” These issues point to the challenges of creating a tourism experience within the bounds of existing norms and limited resources. Many potential clients may be seeking just the type of experience that the Gitga’at are considering (also see Chapter 7, Section 2); however, such guests may not be the high-end clients that the Gitga’at would like to target (Chapter 6, Section 5). Shelly Danes also commented:

Tourists are obviously rich. They are paying for this to happen, but they also have to have an appreciation, because if they go to Kiel for a week, there is not going to be that much privacy. There is not going to be a housekeeper to make their bed every day and scrub out the toilets and all that. They would have to know before going in that this is what you should expect. And if you expect different then you are not going to enjoy it.

Being clear up front about what time at the camps would entail, may indeed be the most effective tool in ensuring respect and enjoyment. Also linking the experience at the camps with other activities during quieter times at camp could help create an experience that guests would find rewarding. Some research participants also suggested providing guests with small duties at camp could help them feel more comfortable and like active participants in the experience. Marven Robinson explained:

Tourists really like to see a plan written before they get to a place. Even before they decide to come, you could say: These are the requirements. You could say: Okay, if you are going to go there, you’re going to have to help in some way...But they don’t like...going to ask every time: You need a hand? Or, do you want me to do this? If they have it written, it doesn’t seem like they are imposing on people.

More discussion around guest orientation and supervision will also be presented in Chapter 6, Section 6.2.

In response the concerns surrounding community, social and environmental integrity, community members proposed an extensive list of counterpoints and suggested ways of ordering the proposed enterprise, such as Marven's idea above, so as to support, rather than inhibit, local objectives in these areas.

## **5.5. Discussion and Conclusions**

The objective of this chapter has been to explore the context informing Hartley Bay Gitga'at perspectives on eco-cultural tourism, using the concrete example of the Gitga'at seasonal harvest camps. This exploration is important in order to better understand the circumstances and motivations leading the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community to consider incorporating tourism with their seasonal harvest camps, as well as research participant responses to this proposal.

When I asked Ernie Hill about the future of the camps, he expressed a vision that was widely shared:

I am hoping that it will continue and that there will still be seaweed to harvest and halibut to catch. As stewards of the land, we should make sure that it does continue. I would like to see [my grandson] Max's grandkids do the same thing.

The Hartley Bay Gitga'at commitment to the harvest camps is a reflection of the important opportunities that camp life provides to harvest and process valued, meaningful, and nutritious foods, to share these skills between generations, to bind and spent time together as family and friends, and to access sites with powerful connections to the past. The camps are far more than physical spaces, rather as Brighenti (2010) argues, in this case "territory is better conceived as an act or practice rather than an object or physical space" (p. 53). As a result of the wide range of values that community members ascribe to spending time at the harvest camps, these sites can be understood as, what Wilson (2003) terms, therapeutic landscapes, which "...demonstrate the importance of place for maintaining physical, emotional, mental and spiritual health" (p. 83). As therapeutic landscapes, the camps at Kiel and Old Town enhance the health of Hartley Bay Gitga'at individuals and the community as a whole.

As a result of the importance of these landscapes to the Gitga'at, the goal of maintaining the camps is widely shared. As of yet, however, there is no consensus about the best approach to achieve this end. There are parallels between challenges facing the Gitga'at in developing strategies to maintain the vitality and viability of the Gitga'at seasonal harvest camps and other practices central to the Gitga'at way of life and the challenges being faced in other First Nations and aboriginal communities (Richmond et al., 2005; Helin, 2006). The outmigration trend from the Gitga'at territory to urban centers, for example, is consistent with demographic shifts taking place in many other rural communities (Helin, 2006). Over half of the total Ts'msyen population live in urban centers (First Nations Education Service, 1997). As well, the impact of changing local economic conditions, particularly the downturn in fishing, is also affecting other communities, such as the 'Namgis First Nation, and their ability to access natural resources, including wild foods (Richmond et al., 2005). Richmond et al. note these changes have also brought about competition for scarce resources. For the 'Namgis First Nation, this has meant reduced cooperation in harvesting as well as increased political conflict within the community (Richmond et al., 2005). These changes are similar to those noted by some Hartley Bay Gitga'at (Table 4.2). "As participation in the environmental resources-based economy has dissipated," Richmond et al. continued, "the ['Namgis] community has become less self-sufficient, with increasingly apathetic attitudes that have resulted in a systemic dependency on government support" (p. 358). By contrast, the Gitga'at have actively sought to avoid this scenario and continue to seek new ways to address the challenges facing their community, including the possibility of tourism development.

Berkes and Davidson-Hunt (2007) suggest that social enterprises, such as the eco-cultural tourism enterprise the Hartley Bay Gitga'at are considering, may be vehicles for building adaptive capacity. "Many kinds of social enterprises," Berkes and Davidson-Hunt suggest, "provide evidence of adaptive responses being developed by communities" (Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2007, p. 218). Engaging in business is one avenue that some communities are pursuing in order to build a future for their communities that reflects the goals of their society in a modern context.

The Gitga'at experiences with past adaptation and change at the harvest camps support what Sen (2004) and others (c.f. Arce & Long, 2000; Marglin, 1990; Turner et al., 2008) have suggested concerning the importance of drivers of change in shaping the outcomes of such processes. The internally supported adoption of new technologies, such as motorboats and freezers, for example, have helped the Gitga'at maintain the harvest camps, while externally driven social and economic changes resulting from the imposition of the Canadian state into Gitga'at society have intersected in ways that put pressure on the harvest practices and other opportunities that the harvest camps facilitate. The internally derived nature of the eco-cultural tourism development proposal suggests that if the community decides to build an enterprise that links tourism with the harvest camps, it will be far more likely to have positive results than if its origins were external, or it was imposed from the outside.

An increasing number of other communities have chosen to pursue tourism development in various forms and for numerous reasons. Often, in the case of First Nations tourism development, the motivations are more complex than simple economic opportunity. Some of these endeavors have sought to bridge cultural revival efforts<sup>21</sup>, which seek new and creative ways to (re)connect First Nations youth and other community members with their cultural heritage and culturally based practices, with tourism activities.

The literature concerning cultural tourism development suggests that there is reason for concern in entering this sector, particularly in terms of retaining local control, but also in negotiating power dynamics within the community. Others also point to philosophical concerns connected with the incorporation of exogenous components. Harkin (2003), for example, argues:

Since the object of the tourist's quest is in fact the lifeway itself, with nothing left out, it is imperative that tourist encounters be stated. Otherwise, tribal people run

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<sup>21</sup> The Rediscovery Program, founded on Haida Gwaii in 1978, is a now classic example of this type of activity (Henley 1996). "Rediscovery's goals," the founder Thom Henley (1996) explained, "were as simple as they were all encompassing: to discover the world within oneself, the cultural worlds between people, and the wonders of the natural world around us" (p.18). Since the Rediscovery International Foundation was established in 1985, independent, community-based programs for First Nations and non-First Nations youth from all walks of life based on the Rediscovery framework have been established across Canada, the US and elsewhere (Henley 1996). The Rediscovery programs have also prompted other similar projects and programs in many communities.

the risk of entirely losing their privacy and, ultimately their lifeways themselves (p. 578).

The concerns that Harkin raises over privacy are serious and are reflected in Hartley Bay Gitga'at concerns over tourism development (Table 5.3). Harkin's implication of an inevitable loss of way of life stands in sharp contrast, however, to the opportunities that some Hartley Bay Gitga'at see in tourism development – as helping to maintain cultural activities that are of value to them.

Weaver (2009) also adds an interesting dimension to questions of 'lifeway' and the corrosive nature of tourism development. By contrast to Harkin, Weaver suggests that there is, in fact, a long tradition of indigenous tourism, which has gone unrecognized within Western academia. In his 2009 article, he proposes six stages of indigenous tourism development, the first of which pre-dates colonization in North America. He suggests, for example, that on the Pacific Northwest Coast of North America, potlatch ceremonies in which "Guests from non-local venues were often invited" (p. 4) often had "tourism-like dynamics" (p. 4) as a result of the interplay between guests and the host communities.<sup>22</sup> This analysis sheds a new light on the exogenous nature of tourism and its compatibility with Northwest Coast First Nations society. Community members also commented on how important hosting and feasting are to the Gitga'at way of life (CH; etc.).

This suggests that, under the right conditions, visitors may be welcomed, and indeed, small numbers of visitors to the Gitga'at harvest camps are already a regular occurrence. Whether this is a trend that Hartley Bay Gitga'at would like to see continue at Kiel and Old Town is a question that can only be decided through internal deliberation processes. Community members recognize that Kiel and Old Town are not the only options for tourism development (Chapter 6, Section 4.1; Appendix C). Other options include allowing visits to the camps only as one component of a larger package option. As one community member (RP05) explained:

When I go on a tour of the place, I don't expect to stay there all day. I go, I look, I hear, I take a couple pictures, and I'm off. Sure they're going to learn about our culture, but they don't have to learn it all there. There is this village; they could take them on a tour to all the different places.

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<sup>22</sup> Weaver (2009) also cites the Maori *kaha* events and North American *powwows* as other examples of types of indigenous tourism.

Ecotourism components, such as wildlife viewing or kayaking could also play important parts in building a successful tourism package (MR). Several research participants brought up focusing on direct solutions, such as new housing and supplying transportation. However, where funding would come from was not as straightforward. Some suggested directing money from other economic activities, such as selling hydroelectric power (CH), profits from tourism activities taking place elsewhere in the territory (DD), or selling cedar to other First Nations for cultural purposes (SR), to supporting cultural activities. However, SR, for example, explained that although he recognized these other options he did not agree with them. SD suggested that there must be “somewhere where you can get funding for tourism and to preserve our culture.” Kiel is part of reserve land, as a result Indian and Northern Affairs Canada maybe a source for funding for new housing, which might help relieve one of the direct factors limiting participation (MR). In the long term, structural factors such as employment schedules need to be addressed (RP01; MR). This would include developing job opportunities that allow community members to make a good living by working during certain times of the year, while also having the time and energy to engage in cultural practices such as the harvest camps. The seasonality and direct connection with cultural activities is one of the advantages some research participants see in the developing the tourism sector (Chapter 7).

It is unlikely that complete consensus within the Hartley Bay Gitga’at community on how to achieve the goal of sustaining the harvest camps, and whether or not eco-cultural tourism should play a part, can be reached. Many in the community might echo Danny Danes who asked, “Why should we have a business that would ruin our resources? ... If you want to preserve Kiel,” he continued, “leave it the way it is.” However, community members evaluate the potential risks and benefits differently. They argue, as discussed above, that unless something dramatic is done to actively subsidize, support and generate renewed motivation for participation, the camp maybe in danger, along with the important opportunities they facilitate for learning and maintaining the intergenerational continuity of knowledge and connection with local resources and environment that are an integral part of Gitga’at cultural and way of life. These oppositional of views, however, are starker than how the majority of Hartley Bay Gitga’at

assess the situation. For most, the issues are complex and, consequently, the opportunities surrounding tourism are interesting and frightening at the same time (FG3; FG4; FG5).

The more explicit and deliberate the trade-offs and decisions surrounding the “if and how” to move forward with tourism development are, the more positive the outcomes will be and, should the Gitga’at proceed with the proposed community-owned enterprise, the more likely it will be to meet community needs. The following chapters will build on the findings and discussion presented here, to provide a more complex picture of the type of tourism the Gitga’at are considering and conditions under which Hartley Bay Gitga’at identify eco-cultural tourism could help them achieve their goals and objectives for their community. “Life,” Cavalcanti (2002) reflects, “continuously involves choices that represent the balancing of different valuations... If one end is preferred, this involves the sacrifice of others” (p. 41). This is an apt summation of the deliberation process the Hartley Bay Gitga’at community is undertaking.



## Chapter 6: Using, Applying and Sharing “Things that are Gitga’at”<sup>23</sup>

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*There are a number of things that are Gitga’at—that are precious to the Gitga’at—and none of them can be compromised.*

Hartley Bay Gitga’at Community Member, June 2009

### 6.1. Introduction

The United Nations’ State of the World Indigenous Peoples 2009 report identifies the underlying driver behind policy and resource use decision-making practices that have disproportionately harmful impacts on Indigenous Peoples around the world: “...a belief that the market should be the organizing principle for social, political and economic decisions” (p. 16). The prevalent unidimensional, money-centered approach to economic decision-making is increasingly seen as inadequate and deleterious in many situations. Consequently, alternative economic development decision-making paradigms based on a more holistic set of measures for value and success are being articulated by communities and societies around the world (Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2007; Cavalcanti, 2002; Wuttunee, 2004). While environmental limits to profit seeking are increasingly recognized (Wuttunee, 2004), human limits must also be acknowledged, particularly with respect to tourism development (Robinson, 1999). By acknowledging the interconnectivity and importance of social and ecological systems in local decision-making and developing parameters around the use of local resources and the appropriate application of local and elders’ knowledge for tourism development, Gitga’at approaches to local development have a great deal to offer broader thinking in these areas.

In this chapter, I consider my findings related to Objective 2, which focuses on building a synthesis of how Hartley Bay Gitga’at evaluate appropriate uses of natural resources within their territory and the application and sharing of local and elders’ knowledge for commercial purposes are shaping local approaches to eco-cultural tourism development. An aspect of this includes exploring the manner and level of commercialization of knowledge and resources that Hartley Bay Gitga’at feel is

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<sup>23</sup> Community Member RP01, June 13, 2009

acceptable and desirable should they decide to pursue cultural tourism development. I begin by exploring the factors research participants identify as important in their local development decision-making. I characterize these dimensions as a relational package of Gitga'at development priorities. Next, I ground these priorities in a framework of tourism development principles. This first section provides the context for the latter part of the chapter, which shifts to a focused exploration of community perspectives on tourism development and the use of local resources for this purpose. This includes broadening the scenario for eco-cultural tourism development in Chapter 5 to include an expanded range of options that were proposed by research participants. Lastly, my findings related to the application and sharing of local and elders' knowledge for commercial purposes are presented and discussed.

## **6.2. “Things that are Gitga'at”<sup>24</sup>: Resource Use and Priorities for Local Development**

“So much of our communities,” Lynne Hill explained, “have changed because of the imposition of a non-First Nations way of life.” As discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, over the centuries since contact with Europeans Gitga'at society has become embedded in a new field of relations that connects it with both Gitga'at institutions and values as well as those from a non-Gitga'at tradition that govern broader Canadian society (Campbell, 2005). Although the Gitga'at have been active in the market economy for a long time, they are seeking new ways of opting-in that will more effectively advance and sustain their vision of their community, culture and territory into the future.

“The future,” one community member (RP01) explained, “is dependant on our ability to support those activities which are cultural, within the non-Gitga'at way of doing things.” In order to achieve the necessary balance and to address their concerns within the contemporary resource use regime active in their territory, the community has been developing a uniquely Gitga'at approach to local development that draws on their values, heritage and experiences.

Figure 6.1 represents a relational package of mutually dependant, non-interchangeable, and essential considerations guiding Gitga'at approaches to community

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<sup>24</sup> RP01, June 13, 2009

development. In turn, these tenants inform Hartley Bay Gitga’at perspectives on the appropriate uses of local biological resources and the application and sharing of local knowledge for commercial purposes, including those related to tourism.



**Figure 6.1.** Relational package of Gitga’at development priorities

### **6.2.1. Environmental Integrity**

Maintaining *Environmental Integrity* was cited by many research participants as the most important consideration for local development decision-making. “We need to have a strong voice,” Cam Hill argued. “The bottom line being that, if we are taking more than the land and the sea is able to offer us, there is no ifs, ands, or buts. It stops. When our numbers go down, it stops.” The Gitga’at are stewards of their territory and have a duty, as Eagle Chief Ernie Hill, Jr. attested, to protect their lands, waters and the other beings they share the territory with. If this is done, then the Gitga’at will have the resources they require to sustain themselves in perpetuity. Ernie Hill explained, “We are one part of nature and we have to protect the environment and as long as we do that it is going to last forever.”

Through overfishing, clearcut logging, and other externally driven and imposed activities in their territory the Gitga'at are keenly aware of the ecological impacts of these type of 'development' and the resulting social and cultural implications. When asked what needs to be considered in local economic development planning, Marvin Robinson emphasized:

We do have things that have to be kept in mind. I think the biggest one is still being able to thrive on the land, so we don't want to take [just] anything. We don't want to push things with tourism. But at the end of the day, I think that we still have to keep in mind that we want to live here. We have got to eat. Most of the stuff that we get around here is the stuff we eat. I think that that is the most important thing at the end of the day for the community. When we talk about economic development, the environment comes first.

### **6.2.2. Community Integrity**

The concept of *Community Integrity* refers to maintaining the viability and vitality of the Village of Hartley Bay and the social cohesion of Gitga'at (Hartley Bay) society. As the downturn in the commercial fishery has demonstrated, without jobs, many Gitga'at have relocated to urban centers where there are more employment opportunities. Although the majority of Gitga'at now live away from the territory, "they remember where they are from," elder Violet (Tina) Robinson assured. This depopulating trend, however, has also fragmented families, clans and the Gitga'at community as a whole. Recent political conflicts between Gitga'at living in Hartley Bay and those living away from the territory, including litigations and court cases, are a testament to the destabilizing affect this type of fragmentation has had. A priority for local development therefore, is building the economic opportunities necessary for Gitga'at to provide for themselves and their families. Supporting community integrity also necessitates engaging in development opportunities that are acceptable to the majority of (Hartley Bay) Gitga'at and doing so through processes that support informed consent and allow for input and consultation. The need to support community integrity is also linked to maintaining environmental integrity. One community member (RP01) explained part of this interdependency:

In order for the Gitga'at to sustain the territory they need employment opportunities. They need to be able to sustain themselves and their families economically. So while we consider how we can develop businesses *in* the territory to support the business *of* the territory, we also need to look at how we can provide

*good* jobs for the Gitga’at so that they can sustain their families... so that they can stay in the territory and actually do that eco-based management.

In this way, community integrity and the vitality of the Hartley Bay are linked with both the environmental integrity and overall well-being of the territory, as well as the opportunities that Gitga’at members have to engage in cultural practices, such as food harvesting, which create the relationships and interactions with the environment and constituents of the environment that also motivate and facilitate resource management and stewardship.

### **6.2.3. Cultural Integrity**

Maintaining, supporting and enhancing Gitga’at *Cultural Integrity* encompasses supporting Gitga’at values, activities, and practices, as well as recognizing and utilizing traditional leadership and clan-based decision-making systems. As discussed in Chapter 1, Gitga’at lands and resources are held by the clans. In spite of the imposition of the reserve and band-elect system, many community members confirmed the view held by Cam Hill, who explained, “I am a firm believer that our hereditary system is the title holders of our lands and resources around us.” Helen Clifton also attested to the central role of the clans and traditional leadership, the clan chiefs and the elders, in contemporary economic development decision-making. She explained that anyone spearheading an initiative must follow proper protocol: “So this person, like I say, has to know that any development in the territory needs the approval of the chiefs or the clans. Once you have that and you keep discussing with them the plan, so then I think that you are set to go” (HC1). As well, the autonomy of the clans must be respected. “There is no way,” Cam Hill stressed, “that the Killer Whales should be making a decision about what is happening on the Ravens’ parcel of land. There is no way that the Eagles should be making a decision about what is happening on Gisbutwata, or Killer Whale, land.” First, clans must come to internal consensus surrounding resource use decisions, and then a similar deliberation process should take place between the clans. When discussing the necessary protocol around a hypothetical Gitga’at interpretive center, Cam Hill explained that the contents must be:

...something that the Eagles, the Killer Whales, the Ravens, and somewhat the Wolves, will be able to agree on. Yes, we come to a consensus and this is

something that we can all share. And if that happens, when that happens, everybody will be on a level playing field. To even go through a process like this the clans would have to play such a huge part.

In addition to the appreciating role of the clans and the authority of the chiefs and elders, another component of cultural integrity includes supporting activities, such as food harvesting, that facilitate connections between the Gitga'at and their environment and are thus an important part of their cultural identity and educational goals. These relationships are explored in more detail in the discussion relating to the use of resources within the traditional economy outlined in Chapter 1 and in the exploration of the Gitga'at harvest camps presented in Chapter 5.

#### **6.2.4. “We want to live here”<sup>25</sup>: Essential, Mutually-dependant and Non-Interchangeable**

These concepts are bounded within the fundamental principles that the Gitga'at territory is *home*. It is the place Gitga'at have lived for countless generations. Ernie Hill explained, “[For] our people, like many, many First Nations people, the place you are brought up is your home. You don’t really want to leave it.” The relationships between community integrity, cultural integrity and environmental integrity are tightly woven. Each is essential to the well-being of the Gitga'at and, consequently, they are non-interchangeable and also mutually dependent. This suggests the fine balance that must be found in order to support each priority without over-compromising the others in either the short or long term. The clan system with its shared authority helps maintain this balance, as does the diversification of resource use and the overall intergenerational responsibilities that are part of the Gitga'at belief system.

As quoted above, Marven Robinson stated: “We want to live here.” Another community member explained:

There are a number of things that are Gitga'at—that are precious to the Gitga'at—and none of them can be compromised. We know for example, that abalone was overfished, or overharvested, and that their stocks are depleted. We cannot have that happen in the future...

To ensure this, the balance between use and exploitation in the contemporary context must be carefully navigated. Cam Hill cautioned:

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<sup>25</sup> Marven Robinson, November 26, 2009

I think that if we keep that mentality, that mindset, of never taking more than you need. Never being too greedy. Never pushing the envelope all the time. Just because money is talking and you want to make more and more. Once that happens, you are not paying attention to the environment. You are paying attention to money... But what is the cost? The cost is our land. The cost is our seas. Our forest.

This quote attests to the immutability and complete interdependence of these three priorities. Economic growth, which might support community integrity, would not compensate for the loss of another vital food species, such as abalone, or other detrimental impacts. Without ensuring the sustainability of resources, the precondition for maintaining the integrity of the community—as well as the Gitga’at culture and way of life—would not be in place. Yet, without a viable community providing locally-based employment opportunities, and the way of life and worldview associated with Gitga’at culture, the Gitga’at would not be able to maintain and protect their territory. As a result, all three constituents are also mutually dependant.

From these guiding priorities, some general resource use principles with relevance to the Gitga’at decision-making process surrounding eco-cultural tourism development can be distilled. These are summarized in Table 6.1.

**Table 6.1.** Summary of general resource use principles

Guiding Priority	Resources Use Principles	Representative Quotes
Environmental Integrity and responsibility to the environment	Minimize collateral impacts	“The bottom line being that, if we are taking more than the land and the sea is able to offer us, there is no ifs, ands, or buts. It stops.”
	Other species are respected	“Humans aren’t any more important than the tree, than the bush, than the fish. They are charged with looking after it, but they are seen as an equal part.”
Community Integrity	Economic opportunities should be pursued	“I want to see jobs made for the people here. Something to give them pride. There are too many poor people.”
	Equitable distribution of benefits within the community	“The best idea that I have is that whatever is gathered [earned] is shared amongst everybody.”
	Maximum benefit from development activities should be for the community	“We don’t want to be typical Canadians and send away raw products. We want to gain the entire economic value of the product for our community, rather than just sell a raw product for 10% of what is actually worth.”
Cultural Integrity	Traditional leadership and the clans must be involved	“...any development in the territory needs the approval of the chiefs or the clans.” (HC1)
	Optimal for commercial uses of resources to be linked with traditional practices and principles	“Anything to do with traditional culture, it would be so much better” (DR).

### 6.3. Principles in Practice

The ideas underlying these principles and overarching themes, drawn here from my interviews and discussions, have developed over time and as an iterative process reflecting Gitga'at history and experiences. They are reflected, for example, in the incorporation of Gitga'at traditional leadership (the Clan chiefs) as the directors of the Gitga'at Development Corporation, and later in the Gitga'at Lands and Resources Stewardship Society. The Marine Use Planning Committee, in its structure, activities and protocols, has also been working to apply these ideas. The committee, for example, is comprised of representatives from each clan. Furthermore, when the community was exploring whether to engage in their shellfish aquaculture pilot project, their decision-making process reflecting an attempt to balance these priorities (Box 5.1.).

#### **Box 6.1: Shellfish Aquaculture Pilot Project Decision-Making Process**

The Gitga'at shellfish aquaculture pilot project began in 2005/2006 as part of a co-operative economic development initiative with other Coastal First Nations, being coordinated through the Coast First Nations Turning Point Initiative and the North Coast-Skeena First Nations Stewardship Society. By working with other communities, the nine First Nations involved are able to optimize their marketing power and other resources. The Gitga'at decided to participate in this initiative because it was compatible with their local development objectives. During a focus group with the MUPC (FG3) the decision-making process surrounding this project was explored. The factors informing their decision can be grouped around the development principles outline above. With respect to community integrity, the shellfish project will provide two or more full-time jobs for community members. Furthermore, these would be good jobs, involving a certified training program. From a cultural integrity perspective, one of the questions that was asked was whether or not the community would be giving up one of their special places in order to provide a site for the shellfish platforms. There were two promising locations. One, however, was close to a clam beach and so the other location was selected to minimize the cultural impacts. Environmental integrity considerations were also at the forefront of the decision-making process. The first criterion was selecting species that would not have an adverse affect on the local ecosystem. The oysters and scallops that were selected are a non-native species. However, they are not able to reproduce because of the cold water temperatures. A further bonus of these species is that they are able to feed themselves on naturally occurring organisms in the water that filters through the shellfish frames. This reduces the economic inputs necessary for the operation.

In the future, focus group members explained, they would be more comfortable if they were growing and marketing locally used species, such as clams and cockles. Currently, the infrastructure and resources are simply not available. MUPC members agreed that shellfish aquaculture, as they have undertaken it, is a good economic development option for their community and will likely continue to benefit them when they move from the pilot to commercial operation phases of the initiative.



A salient lesson that can be distilled from these and similar experiences is the need to engage the community fully in resource use decision-making and ensure there is a reliable and widely accepted process for consultation and communication. The MUPC committee, for example, has worked hard to ensure the community is engaged in multiple spheres. MUPC member, Cam Hill, explained:

The beauty of the Marine Use Planning Committee is that it is always revamping itself. It is a continuous circle. We as a committee will put forward an idea and it will go to our hereditary system, it will go to our band elect system. It will be presented to both of them. Whatever they like, whatever they don't like, will come back to the committee. We'll fine-tune it. We'll talk about it. If they are sort of on side with what we are saying, then we will proceed to ...bring it to the public and say: This is what we are thinking about. It has been talked about in a band elect duly convened meeting. It has been talked about at a hereditary system feast or *tilget*, or whatever you want to call it. The clan knows about it. And even from there, again it comes back and revamps and goes in a circle until we've got something that everybody semi-agrees on. And then we can start to move forward with that.

This means that any decision that comes out of this process is understood by everybody and will likely be accepted. RP07 explained, "It's important to have the community involved all the way along in the process, so that you ensure the success of your plan in the end." It was proposed at an elders' meeting (FG5) that a similar committee be established with a specific mandate to explore the tourism development possibilities that the community is considering.

Many research participants see tourism as a practical and desirable option for local development that, if configured prudently and deliberately to reflect the vision captured in the principles and ideas above, could help balance the community's desire to support environmental, cultural and community cohesion.

#### **6.4. Hartley Bay Gitga'at Perspectives on Tourism Development**

Research participant perspectives on future tourism development in their village and in their territory are informed by their personal histories, priorities and values, as well as their individual and collective experiences with the tourism industry. The following section will explore the type of tourism the Gitga'at are interested in pursuing, and then proceed to explain my findings in more detail with respect to the research concerns captured in Objective 2. Objective 2 centers on Hartley Bay Gitga'at perspectives on

appropriate uses of natural resources within their territory and the application and sharing of local and elders' knowledge for commercial purposes, specifically eco-cultural tourism.

#### **6.4.1. Unpacking Infinite Possibilities**

When I asked research participants what they thought of the tourism currently happening in the territory, their responses varied. However, the majority of responses ranged from passive [ex: "Okay" (JB); "Seems all right..." (MGR); "It would be alright, if people remembered the culture to be able to share it" (PC)] to positive and encouraging ["I think that it is absolutely the right way to go" (RP01); "It's a good idea" (RP05); "I like it, you know, as long as they respect us too" (RP08); "I love the idea" (DR); "It is not enough" (MR); "I think it's a cool idea. I think we could benefit off of that big time" (SR)]. One community member (RP07) elaborated:

I think that it is good because it is not consuming our resources. It's just people going out and walking. As long as they are not doing damage to the territory then it is a good thing. It has kept a lot of people working and got one of our community members to develop his own business.

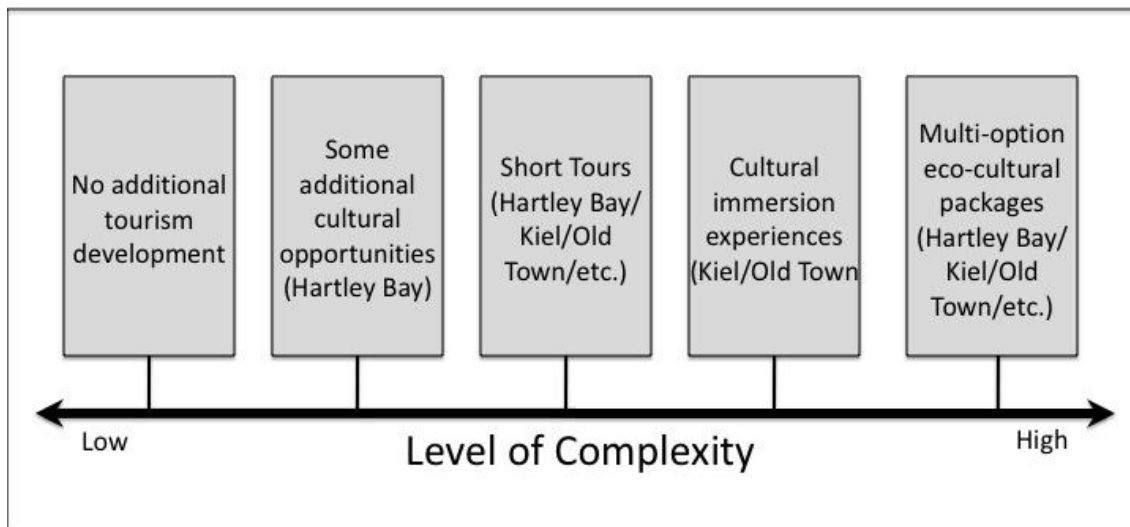
Only one community member interviewed did not want to see more tourism development of any kind and explained, "I haven't seen any positivist in it for the community... I think we have too much tourism... I am kind of against tourism, because it is a form of pollution as far as I am concerned" (DD). Compared to the alternatives, however, for the majority of the Hartley Bay Gitga'at involved in this research, tourism was identified as a desirable direction for local economic development.

Research participants identified a range of different tourism experiences that could be offered in their territory, in addition to the proposal put forward by the MUPC. As one community member (RP01) explained: "It is really quite infinite in terms of what could be exploited in that triple-bottom line<sup>26</sup> kind of way." The detailed list of possible activities generated from participant responses is outlined in Appendix C. Although a wide diversity of ideas was put forward, there are some common characteristics that can be identified across them. For example, the ideas are largely centered on Gitga'at cultural

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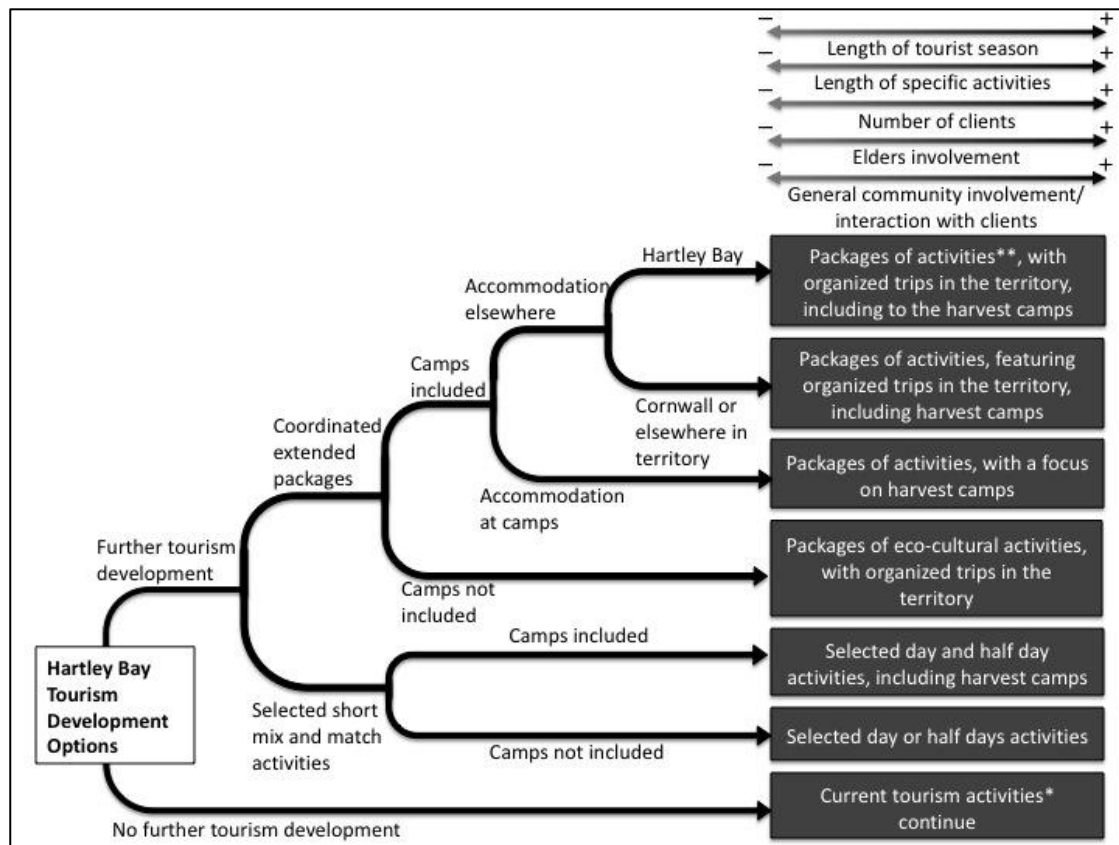
<sup>26</sup> Triple-bottom line is an accounting term that recognizes the need to base economic decisions on social and environmental, as well as financial, grounds (Elkington, 1997).

heritage and related activities, as well as outdoor or wildlife-based opportunities (i.e. eco-cultural tourism). There was a diversity of opinions, however, about the best form for tourism to take and the most desirable activities for the community to offer. Propositions ranged from the one participant who stressed that no further tourism development should take place, to examples of complex packages of cultural and ecologically based activities that could occupy visitors to the territory for several days to a week. The range in desired complexity and location for eco-cultural tourism activities suggested by individual Hartley Bay Gitga'at is expressed below in Figure 6.2.



**Figure 6.2.** Spectrum of Gitga'at tourism development options based on community members' visions

These options reflect individual research participants' attitudes, perspectives and priorities. Figure 6.3. presents a more nuanced picture of the options for eco-cultural tourism development discussed by research participants. This figure cannot capture all possible variations between and within the different scenarios suggested in the boxes on the left hand side. Rather, the purpose is to provide some examples of tourism development options that could result from the choices outlined in the decision tree.



**Figure 6.3.** Sample decision tree of the major tourism development options emerging from this research.

\* Gitga'at spirit bear and wildlife viewing and support for tourism partners through invitations to some cultural events, such as feasts, and KPL cultural tours.

\*\* Some examples of activities referred to in this figure are presented in Appendix B.

Some comments from research participants help paint a picture of what some of these options might look like in practice. For example, RP01 describes what a short visit to the harvest camps could look like:

I think that there is an opportunity to have people experience some aspects of Kiel and some aspects of Old Town, and rather than for example saying a tourist, a tourism group, might have a week in those places, they might actually say that they have a day in those places to be able to see how people interact, or maybe even have them do the activities that they are involved with [e.g. drying seaweed and preparing wooks]. But it would sort of be in and out and allow the people to do the things that they are supposed to do.

Another example of a day tour comprised of different eco-cultural activities associated with Old Town was suggested by Marven Robinson:

Like Kitiata [Inlet, near Old Town], we could have a young person up there that could do a kayaking tour there. One to view the petroglyph site, and another even further. You can go up the river past the manmade island and stuff and come back. And the people could watch how the fish is prepared, how it is caught. A lot of people can't believe how we catch fish. And then they realize.

Another research participant, RP07, presented a different idea that would involved longer stays at the harvest camps:

...If you got to know the people for a few days and they got to see the whole process, then that's better than just coming in. [If they came for a day] Then they'd expect us to try and show the process in one day, which is not showing people what it takes to survive in our territory. You need to know that it takes days, and days, and days to do this food. It's not like going to the grocery store and cooking it up...It's important that people see the full process, because not everyone knows where their food comes from. What it takes to grow that food, to harvest and process that food.

When thinking about a longer stay at the camps, Marven Robinson reflected:

You don't want to just have people come and stay there and then just have them leave. It would be really good to have an itinerary made up where on these nights and these days we would require you to stay and help there. But I think having a goal for people to get out of it when they leave. There are a lot of things you want to be able to be involved in: packing the fish out of the boat, going out to...do the fishing, watching how they get the fish, and having somebody to tell them why we wait an extra night [to cut the halibut], why we wait an extra night, why we don't do it fresh and all that stuff.

It was also suggested by other research participants that guests should have separate housing from camp residents, rather than staying in community member's homes, and that they should be supported and overseen through their stay by a Gitga'at guide.

Chapter 7, Section 2.1.3. also expands on some of the activities potential clients might enjoy at the harvest camps and in the Gitga'at territory.

Clear lines between eco-cultural tourism development options did not consistently immerse during interviews. Often research participants would discuss more than one option favourably over the course of an interview, sometimes with contradicting statements. Consequently, a numerical tabulation of research participants' choices would not reflect the complexity of factors being considered by participants or the difficulty respondents had in articulating their 'optimal scenario'. This difficulty stems in part from the inherent ambiguity associated in discussing a hypothetical enterprise with lots of potential variability, rather than a concrete experience that might be easier to evaluate.

As Figure 6.3. suggests, there are also other variables that would have significant affects on the character and outcome of these different options. These variables include, the length of the tourist season, the length of individual activities or packages, the number of clients, the involvement of elders, and the involvement and/or interaction between clients and the Harley Bay Community. Some of these variables are addressed elsewhere (c.f. for involvement of elders, see Section 6.1.2 in this chapter; community involvement, see Chapter 7, Section 6.) and others including some further discussion surrounding the potential benefits and draw backs of different lengths for specific activities and different durations of the tourist season will be discussed in Chapter 8.

The number of potential clients is also discussed generally elsewhere. However, some more specific comments concerning the number of visitors can be made. Many research participants stated that the camps and their community should not be over run by hordes of tourists. Several also made specific suggestions in terms of what the threshold number of visitors to the camps might be. Approximately six guests was target suggested independently by different research participants (e.g. PC; MR; RP07; TR; SD). This number would vary depending on the number of guides with a group and the number of Gitga'at staying at the camps. RP07 elaborated:

If we have probably four or five day trips, and then maybe set out three or four different trips, with only half a dozen people each so that you are not over crowding the village. You don't want fifty people in the village and only a couple of elders and workers have to teach everybody how we do what we are doing... So I think when we start out we are going to have to start out with just two or three people and from there you can expend to where whoever is operating the business is comfortable with the numbers. I don't imagine it getting over probably six or eight people.

This section presents a picture of the range of eco-cultural tourism options are being considered by the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community and what some of these different options might look like. Why eco-cultural tourism is a focus, at least of discussion, for local economic development is discussed below and relates to how research participants evaluate and understand the appropriate use of local resources as well as the benefits tourism 'if done right' might being about.

## 6.5. Appropriate Use of Local Resources for Tourism Purposes

While Hartley Bay Gitga'at acknowledged that there are other economic development options that they could pursue in addition to those, such as shellfish aquaculture, that they are already undertaking, many of these alternatives did not sit well with those interviewed. Often this was as the result of a disconnection between the potential activity, or the impacts of that activity, and Hartley Bay community priorities for local development. Salmon farming, for example, which the neighbouring community of Klemtu has been engaged in since 1993, is not desirable because the environmental impacts and associated risks are considered too great (CH).<sup>27</sup> Compared to many other economic development options, tourism seems to hold greater potential to meet the Gitga'at's development priorities, which focus on supporting environmental, cultural and community integrity.

Within the spectrum of tourism, as well, there are many options, such as recreational fishing, that might be lucrative, but are not desirable or acceptable to some research participants. When tested against the principles (Table 6.1.), it is clear that catch-and-release fishing violated Gitga'at values on a number of grounds. One community member who worked for several lodges in the territory explained that, to him, catch-and-release policies were an aspect of his job that he was never comfortable with because fish should not be wasted, treated disrespectfully or used just for sport. Others (e.g. LH, EH, RP07) supported this assessment and expressed concern about the impacts of sports fishing on local fish stocks (RP07).

Bear hunting tours, run by a man from Terrace, are another activity that takes place in the territory. Several participants also brought up this example as a case of current resource use in the territory that Hartley Bay Gitga'at do not condone. Commercial bear hunting does not fit within Gitga'at beliefs concerning appropriate resource use and respect for other living beings (e.g. not wasting food). As RP08 affirmed: "You know, up in Quall, there are white people who come and shoot the bears. They only take the bladder. What a waste! I've got bear meat in my freezer."

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<sup>27</sup> There was an escape from the Klemtu salmon pens in 2008, which released over 30,000 Atlantic salmon into coastal waters, including the Gitga'at territory (CH).

In contrast to the examples above, many Hartley Bay Gitga'at feel eco-cultural tourism is a good fit for their community. There are a number of practical and strategic reasons for considering this direction as well. These include extensive personal and professional, collective and individual experiences with the industry. For example, through the tourism activities that are already taking place in their territory and the surrounding Northwest Coast area, Hartley Bay Gitga'at know that there is a large and lucrative tourism market. They also recognize that the Gitga'at First Nation is currently not receiving significant economic value from it. Instead, the majority of tourism revenue coming into the territory is captured by non-Gitga'at tourism operators and is taken out of the territory at the end of the season when their boats and floating lodges are moved back to Prince Rupert or Vancouver. "You take one lodge," a member of the MUPC explained, "and you figure out what they gross in a year and they have been here for, like, five years, so they are making millions on our territory when we could be doing it... everything else is going down—logging, fishing" (SR). Consequently, active Gitga'at participation in the tourism sector may provide needed employment opportunities to the community as well as a number of other potential benefits that research participants identified (Chapter 7). RP07 summarized, "...we want to find a way to retain more of the economic value of this industry."

After experiencing the volatility of raw resource industries, such as commercial fishing, the community sees tourism as a potentially more stable component of their economic base. Moreover, it is a component that many believe could be sustainable over time and fits within Gitga'at development principles. As Cam Hill explained:

If we as a people and our visitors treat the land and the sea the way that we do, then people can keep coming back and going through these eco-tours for a long time. We have got a thing of beauty here. I look around all summer long and you see the whales, you see the food that is being gathered, you see just how rich we are. If we can look after that, and if our partners who we trust can look after that, then we'll be able to do eco-tourism for a long time.

In addition, the Gitga'at First Nation's collective familiarity with the tourism sector has helped generate capabilities, knowledge and confidence that could support further tourism development. The lodges, for example, are now the largest summer employer for the community (RP07). As fishing guides, cultural guides, chefs, housekeepers and other service staff, many members of the Hartley Bay community, including four people



interviewed for this research (JB; RP06; SD; DR), work or have worked for one or more of the lodges. These experiences, in addition to Gitga'at tourism activities, have helped build a pool of trained, experienced community members with the human capital needed for successful tourism service provision.

Tourism also has the advantage of being, as one community member (RP01) termed it, a 'numbers game'. With good marketing, their business would only need to convince a small number of high value clients that the Gitga'at can offer an experience they would be likely to pay well for in order for the business to be successful (RP01). The majority of research participants identified a low-volume, high-value strategy as the most desirable approach, because the ecological impact of tourism development could be minimized at the same time as community and cultural integrity would be supported through the services a community-owned tourism operation could provide. As some cautioned, however, the success of this or any tourism initiative is contingent on the Gitga'at themselves being in control of their tourism development, and making informed decisions about the type of tourism they are interested in pursuing and how to configure their tourism activities to best meet the needs and aspirations of their community.

Hartley Bay Gitga'at also recognize, through their experiences and interactions with visitors to their territory, that there is a niche within the existing tourist market that the Gitga'at are well situated to fill. Although existing tourism operators provide sports fishing, wildlife viewing and other outdoor activities, the Gitga'at are in a unique position to develop tourism activities that combine ecological and cultural experiences. One community member (RP01) explained this potential in the following terms:

When I think about it, I think what can Gitga'at do that no one in the world can do? The only thing I can think of is be Gitga'at... You can go whale watching in many places throughout the world. You can go bear viewing in many places throughout the world. But to have the combination of the ecological experience... with a cultural experience is completely unique. That is the only thing, in my opinion, the Gitga'at can do that nobody else in the world can do.

The Hartley Bay Gitga'at community's personal and professional, collective and individual experiences with the tourism industry have helped them logistically to understand what guests visiting their territory need and want and reciprocally, for the community to reflect on what types of guests and tourism experience they are interested in offering, as well as those which they are not. Their partnerships with tourism operators

like King Pacific Lodge have been particularly helpful in these regards, since their protocol agreements have ensured local employment at the lodges as well as facilitated cultural tours offered by the lodge in Hartley Bay. One community member commented, for example, that, “Hartley Bay could learn a lot from what we are doing at the lodge” (DR), particularly in terms of what types of activities and services to offer as well as the type of niche within the tourism market the Hartley Bay Gitga’at could fill.

Personal experiences as tourists as well as observations of tourism operations both close to home and far afield, including the Polynesian Cultural centre in Hawaii (CH; EAH; EH; LH), the Kwagiulth Museum at Cape Mudge (RP04) and the growing cruise ship industry (RP01) on the North Pacific Coast, have also helped inform Gitga’at community perspectives on the character and scale of tourism in their territory and in their community. Visiting the Polynesian Cultural Centre, for example, one community member recalled, sparked debate within their family about whether this type of center is adequate for teaching and learning about a culture, peoples and ways of life. Conversely, several research participants referenced tourism development in Ketchikan, Alaska—a small community that has become a major cruise ship destination—as an example the kind of tourism they do *not* want to see in Hartley Bay or the Gitga’at Territory. As the Ketchikan cruise ship industry grew, power and control over tourism development, as well as related assets and infrastructure, shifted away from local residents and into the hands of the large cruise ship companies. The majority of the retailers and attractions in Ketchikan are no longer owned by local people and, although the residents suffer the impacts of cruise ship industry, including enduring the hoards of visitors that descend on community when a ship pulls in, they receive few of the benefits and have little influence over the industry that has so dramatically changed their community (LH; RP01). The small Kwagiulth Museum at Cape Mudge, however, was given as an example of the potential of tourism to help connect young people with their culture, by employing them as guides and interpreters, and creating cultural exchange forums for local people and visitors (RP04). Some participants drew on tourism activities happening even further afield, including at Mt. Everest, to illustrate the kind of mass scale, environmentally destructive tourism that the Hartley Bay Gitga’at do not want to see happen in their territory.

Through the Gitga'at's past experiences with the tourism sector, they are well aware that there is a great deal of interest from visitors in their territory, and a real desire to learn more about Gitga'at practices and ways of life. Linking Gitga'at practices with the tourism sector through cultural tourism, many see as a logical direction for Gitga'at tourism development to take as it could provide a unique and lucrative niche for them in the regional tourism market, as well as supporting local needs and objectives.

## **6.6. Application and Sharing of Local and Elders' Knowledge for Tourism Purposes**

### **6.6.1. "For All Gitga'at"<sup>28</sup>: Benefits, Consent and Voice**

When thinking about the application and sharing of local and elders' knowledge for tourism purposes, there were a number of common areas that research participants addressed. Central considerations included: distribution of benefits, processes for ensuring necessary consent, and ensuring local voice and appropriate representation of Gitga'at knowledge, culture and society.

#### **6.6.1.1. Benefits**

Some research participants referenced the unique nature of cultural resources, discussed here with respect to local and elders' knowledge. The intimate, direct association between community members and their knowledge and skills surrounding cultural practices, necessitates that the application and sharing of these cultural elements for economic purposes be treated differently from other physical and environmental resources the community is using for economic purposes. As one community member (RP07) explained:

If it's whale watching, and bear guiding, and fishing and stuff, it isn't that big of a deal for us because those are all things that aren't part of our culture... Whatever value comes out of an enterprise like this has to be almost 100% for our community, because we are already selling our resources in these other industries and we don't want to be selling our culture too. If we are making money off of our culture, it should come all to us.

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<sup>28</sup> RP01, June 13, 2009

This provision—to channel the benefits of this proposed enterprise as directly as possible to the community—was echoed by many other research participants.

“Personally,” another member of the community (RP01) stated, “I would rather see that if there is to be commercialization of resources that it starts, first of all, with the overarching principles that it needs to benefit all Gitga’at.” Another echoed, “The best idea that I have is that whatever is gathered is shared amongst everybody” (JB). RP08 also supported this saying, “That’s the way it’s supposed work. Everybody should get a share of the money not just the one or two people... They should be fair to everybody.”

Many of the community members I spoke with, particularly those who were involved in conceptualizing the proposed cultural tourism business, did not envision it as an exponential-profit oriented enterprise, but rather one that could provide a suite of services and benefits to the community. “To me,” Marvin Robinson explained, “it won’t be a big moneymaker. At the end of the day, you’re probably going to have one, or two, or three people employed.” Many research participants endorsed this idea of a small-scale business. Another community member (RP05), when asked about the best approach for the proposed business to take, explained:

With all this talk about tourism, just making sure that we are holding on to our own culture and traditions and not getting too much into the business part of it. Having it all run by our own band, our own people.

There were also questions about the best way to ensure that financial and other benefits were spread fairly across the community. These themes will be explored in more detail in Chapter 7.

#### **6.6.1.2. Consent and the Roles of Elders and Knowledge Holders**

In addition to ensuring that the benefits from cultural tourism are retained within the community, many research participants were specific about the process that such an enterprise should go through to get approval and buy-in from the community. For many, it is essential that everyone in the community be made aware that this type of enterprise is being considered and that wide community approval is sought and received before it is undertaken. Shelly Danes commented on this, saying, “I think too that if anything like this was going to happen, everyone would have to be okay with it.” Her position was

echoed by many, including Marven Robinson: “I think that if we are going to be running these tours, everybody in the community has to be aware of it.”

Although, there was wide agreement that community awareness and consent was essential, many community members deferred their ultimate opinion concerning the eco-cultural tourism development proposal to the elders, particularly the elders who spend time at the harvest camp and would be most affected by the proposed enterprise. For example, when I asked what RP11 thought of the eco-cultural tourism proposal, her response was, “What do the elders say? ... I think to have people go down there would be up to the people who are there.” Similarly, RP06 explained that although he sees potential in cultural tourism to benefit the community, his support would be contingent on that of his grandmother. Many others, including elders who do not spend time at the camps anymore, or who live away from Hartley Bay much of the year (e.g. PC; JB), also deferred their consent to the smaller group of elders who would be directly impacted and/or involved.

Research participants wanted elders to be active in guiding tourism development, particularly with respect to cultural tourism opportunities. As one participant (RP07) explained when describing his vision for the establishment of a community-owned tourism business:

[The elders] will definitely guide anything that happens there and tell us what can and cannot be done. And what cannot be shown, because I am sure that there are parts of our culture that they don't want anyone to see, but us and our younger people. We definitely have to work very closely with the elders at the start, to ensure that we are doing things right by them, because we don't want to set up this business and then get in trouble because we are showing things that we shouldn't. They'll be there to guide us in the beginning and then they'll be the main ones who will get the benefits in the end.

This perspective was echoed by many who also believed that the elders should have a significant role to play in guiding tourism development. “I myself think that the elderly,” Stanley Robinson, a member of the MUPC emphasized, “should have a lot to say in this thing. They could tell us what we could show them and we couldn't show them.” Community members also recognized that the knowledge held by elders would be an asset in building a cultural experience for their potential clients. “I think that it has to start with the elders,” Shelly Danes explained, “They have so much knowledge. We would have to either use them—have them taking to the tourists—or we can learn from

them and then take what we know to use in the business.” RP04 and others also addressed their desire for the elders in the community who know the stories of their people to share them with younger community members. This idea will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

#### **6.6.1.3. Intention, Voice and Representation**

The misuse and appropriation of local knowledge for a variety of purposes was also of concern to some research participants. The potential exploitation of resources and/or traditional knowledge for commercial purposes is an example. One community member said, although he personally was not overly concerned, he recognized that community elders likely would be. He spoke specifically in regards to medicines when he said, “If it is a cure for something, some people just see dollar signs... I would show them how to harvest it, but I know some elderly people won’t because right away they think dollar signs too: They’ll come and clean us out” (SR). “You show people where we get our food,” another community member (DD) warned, “and it’s gone. Like we did with our abalone.” Some community members echoed these concerns, both in relation to medicines, as well as foods and other community-held knowledge. Others in the community, however, were skeptical about the ability of non-Gitga’at to appropriate food resources and Gitga’at food technology. Teresa Robinson, for example, when asked if she had concerns about sharing knowledge connected with the harvesting and processing of food explained:

No, because we would still be able to do it. I mean, sure they are learning part of our tradition, but it’s a hands-on [experience] in that if they think they could take it away from here, they would have no Kiel of their own. They would have no halibut, they would not have the fishermen. They would have no way of doing it the way we do.

For others, concern centered more on issues of intellectual property. When asked about his concerns related to sharing knowledge connected with food harvesting and processing, for example, another community member (RP01) explained:

More—believe it or not—on a scientific basis than I do on a cultural basis. I think people will take away the cultural aspects: Oh, I saw them pick seaweed... I don’t have a concern about that. But I do have a concern when scientists or researchers come in and then publish papers that may in fact have unique cultural, aboriginal traditional knowledge that could somehow be used by others or somehow taken advantage of.

The theme of misuse and appropriation was also pick up by Darryl Robinson, who answer the same question saying:

The only thing that worries me is how they get people who are professors that are teaching First Nations Studies. That's what I'm really worried about... I don't mind passing on knowledge to people who come to the [King Pacific] lodge and are actually using it for personal purposes, not for education.

His response directly highlights issues of voice and representation.

Who has the right to speak for the Gitga'at? In cultural tourism this issue has particular relevance because of the intentional teaching and sharing involved. "I think," Shelly Danes explained, "if it was to happen here we would need the community members to be the guides." Cam Hill raised similar concerns:

[With] Culturally based tourism, there has been so much money, prestige—I don't know quite know the word for it—for things that have been taken from us and used for other people's benefit, who think that they know what Gitga'at people are about.

A physical example of this type Gitga'at cultural appropriation is the theft of petroglyphs from the Old Town (Textbox 6.2.). The over-exploitation of abalone within the Gitga'at territory allowed by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, who allocated licenses to non-Gitga'at based on Gitga'at knowledge of local abalone populations, also continues to be deeply felt by the Gitga'at. The establishment of the Great Bear Rainforest National Park and the rapid and widespread commercialization of the Spirit Bear is another examples of the appropriation and misuse of 'things that are Gitga'at' research participants (HC1; LH) discussed. As a result of these experiences, research participants are anxious to prevent such scenarios being repeated in the future.

**Box 6.2: The Story of the Petroglyphs at Old Town**

The story of the petroglyphs at Old Town was a recurring narrative during many of the interviews undertaken during this project. The petroglyph site at Old Town is one of the largest in North America, with over 270 carved rocks of different sizes remaining (LH). Over the last century many of the petroglyphs have been stolen, particularly with the establishment of the Kitimat Township and then logging that took place at Old Town during the 1970s and 1980s. The loss of the stolen petroglyphs and violation the thefts entail is still deeply felt. The following example excerpts provide insight into the significance of the petroglyphs to the Gitga'at and the concerns surrounding their safety in the future.

*[The petroglyphs] sort of have a spiritual significance. You just go there and you just wonder: What are they trying to tell us? What were they trying to say? Because it is lost*

*over time. Because, of course, people couldn't read and write. I have heard people come up there and say on a clean moonlit night it is sort of like those rocks sort of come to life. The eyes in the carvings just sort of stand right out.*

*- Helen Clifton, June 23, 2009)*

*We have the largest petroglyphs site in North America and people took advantage of that and we, as a trusting people, just never thought that anybody would steal those from us. We had so many of them just walk away from our land and we fought to get four of them back. They are in our Cultural Center's museum right now, still in boxes, because it is a really hard thing. It is almost like bringing a dead spirit home, because they were removed from us. How are we going to [approach dealing with them]? You can't really celebrate that they are back, because they never should have been taken in the first place. But at the same time you can celebrate that you have gotten them back. But they are not in their rightful place. They are sitting in our cultural center, where we as a people can keep an eye on them and make sure that they are looked after, rather than being where they originally came from up in Old Hartley Bay, in Old Town. We still have a lot of petroglyphs up there, but some of the best ones have been taken. Have been put in hotels in Europe and all over the world. The ones that we got back, two of them were from a hotel in Victoria... [Petroglyphs have been taken by individuals] going through our territory and just taking them. Not knowing the cultural significance that they had. And yet, this sounds really stupid, knowing exactly the cultural significance that they had. They were special enough to take. We must have literally lost 100s. That is what I don't want to see with whatever endeavor we take on.*

*- Cameron Hill, June 14, 2009*

*I had a logger yell at me one time: 'If you think those rocks are so God damn valuable, why don't you move them down to your village and look after them?' Now they are in our old village site. He didn't get it, because the rocks are in a sacred place where they live, where they were born, and where they will die. And to move them would be sacrilegious, because that is where they are. That is where their spirits are. But he didn't get that. How do you teach someone that? We regularly had people go there and take up whatever one they could lift and take it away, not understanding that it belongs there. The only way that we are going to preserve this way [of life] is possibly through having other people understand this way of thinking. Enbridge has got to understand that. People who travel through the area have got to understand that, or soon it will be gone.*

*- Lynne Hill, June 16, 2009*

## **6.6.2. Addressing Areas of Concern: Protocols, Monitoring, and Off-limits Areas**

### **6.6.2.1. Protocols**

In order to address these concerns there were a number of procedures and institutions surrounding the use and sharing of local resources and traditional knowledge that research participants suggested. For example, to address concerns over the appropriation of local and elders' knowledge by scientists and researchers, as happened in the



community's history with commercialization of abalone by the DFO (Text Box 2.1.), clear research protocols must be in place. One community member emphasized that a goal for the future should be to develop a Hartley Bay research committee that would be responsible for reviewing research proposals, creating protocol agreements and acting as the liaison body with researchers to ensure that the interests of the Gitga'at are supported.

As one community member (RP01) explained:

If you structure a research project appropriately at the beginning, you shouldn't have something come out at the end that is inappropriate. But there are those kinds of concerns, and having the Gitga'at manage those concerns—that aboriginal traditional knowledge is not shared in a way that could be potentially harmful.

Research agreements are important because some research and collaboration with institutions and research facilities can help support Hartley Bay Gitga'at development priorities. For example, as Cam Hill discussed, there can be times when scientific knowledge, which may not be available within the Gitga'at community, needs to be used alongside local and traditional knowledge in order to help the Gitga'at make informed decisions about the use of resources within their territory. Cam Hill elaborated on this with reference to possible bioeconomic development activities, such as shellfish aquaculture:

To know the organisms that we are talking about: what makes them thrive, signs to look out for, good things, bad things. We need to have that expertise in our backyard along with our traditional knowledge to be able to make a good educated, informed decision about whether or not we can commercialize something and not have it affect how we feed our families.

#### **6.6.2.2. Monitoring and Evaluation**

Creating research protocols is one step towards building comprehensive monitoring and evaluation capacity for this proposed eco-cultural tourism enterprise. Many research participants emphasized that this type of development would need regular evaluation to ensure that it is in line with community objectives and priorities and does not negatively impact cultural, community or environmental integrity beyond the limits deemed acceptable by those involved. There are also plans in place to extend the monitoring capacity of the Gitga'at over resource use and activities within their traditional territory.

A watchmen program is in the early stages of implementation and community members are receiving training to perform the duties associated with this monitoring

strategy (Chapter 4, Section 3). When this program becomes active it will increase the presence of the Gitga'at on their territory, and although they will not have the authority to enforce fisheries or other regulations, their presence will help ensure the Gitga'at are aware of what is happening in their territory and help reduce opportunities for illegal activity, such as bear and abalone poaching or the unauthorized use of Gitga'at food harvest sites by non-Gitga'at. Protocol agreements with the sports fishing lodges also help the Gitga'at monitor catch levels in their territory and so make informed resource use decisions.

Direct monitoring of guests and guest activities would also be facilitated by the use of Gitga'at guides and cultural interpreters, both for activities happening in Hartley Bay as well as any activity occurring elsewhere in the territory.

#### **6.6.2.3. Off-Limit Locations and Knowledge Domains**

As suggested in the discussion of community consent and the role of elders, there are some physical locations and knowledge domains that will likely be deemed 'off-limit' to non-Gitga'at visitors. For, as Cam Hill explained:

...how much can a people give without giving too much? There will be times when some of the things that we are going to share cannot be shared. Some of the things that are so sacred and trusted within our own people to be passed down from generation to generation. That is what makes us who we are. If everyone was to take part in that, where would that leave us? I guess the word would be interference... It is a really fine line, a really fine line.

In order to ensure that cultural integrity and social integrity, as well as the environmental integrity of the Gitga'at Territory are supported rather than undermined, identifying these boundaries will be a critical precursor to cultural tourism development. Marven Robinson explained, "I think we need to sit down and figure out what they could do and what they can't." Reaching a consensus on these boundaries may be difficult, because of differing individual perspectives and levels of comfort in sharing knowledge specific to Gitga'at society. Some in the community who have been involved in tourism, may have a higher level of comfort with sharing information with visitors than others. For example, Jessel Bolton told me:

I know that I wouldn't mind them learning everything but I bet there are elders who have things that they wouldn't want to show. That would be the point of having

tourism. They want to learn what is going on and how we do things, so why hold back any information?

As the discussions above illustrate, however, not everyone in the community holds this view and many have concerns.

Through my interviews with Hartley Bay Gitga'at, a number of physical locations as well as areas of knowledge that were of concern were identified. Knowledge related to the use of medicines, as discussed above, is one such area. There are also stories held by individuals or belonging to specific clans that could not be shared with visitors without express consent by the owners, or keepers, of those stories.

In addition to these knowledge areas, one community member (RP07) explained his concerns surrounding fishing sites:

...it would be risky showing people our fishing spots. It's scary showing people where we catch fish and stuff, because that's happened before with this recreational fishing industry. They hired people from the village to show them where to fish and then the next year they don't hire them back but they go to fish the same place. So we would have to restrict people to specific areas. We'd only show them one area, or something like that. We'd have to restrict where to go, because we don't want to show them all of our places and have them come back the next year with a group—of them on their own boat with a group of people—and saying “this is how people live.”

Restricting visitors, as he suggests, to one or two designated areas maybe an effective way to strike a balance between sharing and ensuring the security of Gitga'at food resources. One community member (RP04) also suggested specific physical locations, particularly related to medicine, that should remain off-limits:

When it comes to berry picking and harvesting our medicine and different things like that, you don't want people to see it, what it is all about. People might think they can get rich fast... [T]here is no way that these guys would be able to see where you go get the yew woods as medicine. There's just certain places where it grows. And you got the devil's club knowledge. There are certain stories about how you get the best medicine for devil's club. So it's really important that is out of the question for them.

Shelly Danes also expressed her concern with the cultural tours that are taking place now through King Pacific Lodge at Cornwall Inlet. Her discomfort is connected with the burial sites that are in that area and the burial boxes that are shown to visitors. Insuring privacy and respect for ancestors was also raised by RP11 and RP10, both of whom said they would like the graveyard near Hartley Bay to be off-limits for visitors.

In addition to these places, for some in the community the harvest camps, particularly Kiel, were identified as areas too private and too important for tourists to visit. When asked about Gitga'at cultural tourism development, for example, RP05 said:

It's a good idea. Especially as long as the camps, Kiel and Old Town, are not used as camps for tourism. Because I think we need to guard our traditions. Share our traditions, but not allow anything to be commercialized.

Others felt similarly (e.g. RP05, DD, SD, BC).

The protocol agreements with KPL and other tourism operators in the territory currently include this provision. Boats from KPL, for example, are allowed to pass by Kiel and can stop and explain to their clients what is happening at the camp. Jessel Bolton, who worked for KPL for a number of years, attested, "...I pretty much shared everything [about what was happening at the camp] when I was guiding. Explained how things were done... and how they were doing it." Although some community members were very nervous about the possibility of tourists going to Kiel, their worries were usually linked with variables, such as number visitors as well as the length and timing of their stay, which could be controlled by the Hartley Bay community.

## **6.7. Discussion and Conclusions**

"Governments of all countries and the majority of businesses throughout the world," Wuttunee (2004) observes, "support the rationale for constant growth in consumption and the economy" (p. 6). Canada is no exception; however, there are high costs to Canada's dominant development paradigm, and many of these costs have been disproportionately borne by Canada's First Peoples. As the Coast First Nations Turning Point Initiative explains:

Coastal First Nations have watched as natural resources within our Traditional Territories have been exploited for maximum profit over the last 100 years... This has caused enormous economic, social and cultural damage to our communities. For those of us who live in coastal communities the cost of industrial exploitation has been enormous (<http://www.coastalfirstnations.ca/>).

The unadulterated pursuit of maximum profit is enabled by an economic system that conceptualizes nature and natural resources as phenomena isolated from society and culture.

The Gitga'at priorities for local development challenge this paradigm. Among other principles, for example, the Gitga'at's approach explicitly recognizes limits to economic growth. "The bottom line being," Cam Hill affirms, "that if we are taking more than the land and the sea is able to offer us, there is no ifs, ands, or buts. It stops." This principle supports Wuttunee's (2004) discussion surrounding the need for a change in widely accepted conceptions of profit. Rather than seek profit maximization, the goal, Wuttunee argues, must be *reasonable profit*: "profit that honours the limits of the planet's resources" (p. 7). Understanding the interconnected, interdependent relationships Hartley Bay Gitga'at recognize between environmental integrity, cultural integrity and community integrity, however, suggests that environmental limits are not the only limits that must be considered.

The concept of *reasonable profit* (e.g. framed by the limits of the planet) must be broadened to include respect for human limits as well, in terms of both culture integrity and community integrity. When considering eco-cultural tourism development, for example, Cam Hill, as quoted above, asks, "[H]ow much can a people give without giving too much?" Recognizing human limits may be of particular importance when considering an economic development option, such as tourism development.

Robinson (1999) suggests that even "...sustainable tourism has tended to overlook important, but sometimes opaque, cultural issues such as identity, belonging, spiritual meaning, and moral and legal rights" (p. 380). In the Gitga'at's deliberations concerning eco-cultural tourism, many of these concerns are being placed at the forefront. The physical, cultural and knowledge related off-limits areas discussed above with respect to Hartley Bay Gitga'at perspectives on the sharing and use of local and elders' knowledge are examples of the human limits that shape the resources than can be used to achieve reasonable profit from the perspectives of Hartley Bay Gitga'at. Recognizing natural and human limits is an essential prerequisite for balancing the environmental, community and cultural integrity concerns that are reflected in the principles for tourism development identified by Hartley Bay Gitga'at.

The Gitga'at are not alone in identifying interconnectivity, mutual dependency, and essentiality of environment, society and culture as the underlying structures supporting healthy communities (Brown & Brown, 2009; Cavalcanti, 2002; Richmond et al., 2005;

Turning Point Initiative, 2009b). The interdependency and connectivity between these elements further suggests that conventional measures of economic success are too limited to capture the true costs and benefits of economic activity. “Changing the way success is determined,” Wuttunee (2004) confirms, “when considering the aspirations of sustainable development leads to respect for limits of our physical world and to a healthier way of doing business” (p. 9). There are fledgling efforts in the domains of environmental accounting, social cost/benefit analysis, and other such tools to attempt to take a broader set of non-monetary considerations into account. However, “Another strategy,” Berkes and Davidson-Hunt (2007) identify, “that has been garnering attention from scholars is enterprising engagement – the use of business enterprises as a vehicle for development, control of local resources and self-determination” (p. 210). Structuring an enterprise to provide socio-cultural services, in addition to economic ones, suggests a qualitative approach for considering an expanding understanding of ‘profit’ and ‘success’.

Such businesses are termed social enterprises (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006). Berkes and Davidson-Hunt (2007) identify several common features between these types of business, including: the use of non-utilitarian-economic models; collective ownership; operation within broader market settings; reliance on partnerships or networks; and, reliance on land and resource bases, which are often commonly owned. The relationship between social enterprises and common-pool resources is of particular interest in exploring the research concerns captured in Objective 2. Because the Gitga’at are exploring cultural tourism development, many of the resources that they may use for the purposes of this enterprise are not physical resources, but rather knowledge resources concerning both physical and socio-cultural domains. In many respects, the concerns some research participants expressed over sharing local and elders’ knowledge are analogous to concerns over creating an open access, ‘tragedy of the commons’ scenario, in which proprietary knowledge of resources and cultural knowledge will be shifted from the community sphere to the wider public domain beyond the control of the Gitga’at. The example of the loss of abalone in part because of the sharing of cultural knowledge is a concrete, historical example of this process (Text Box 2.1) that the Gitga’at are determined to avoid repeating in the future.

Commons theory, however, suggests that a loss of control is not inevitable. Rather than a ‘tragedy of the commons’ scenario, in which self-maximizing individualistic users will inevitably degrade the resource base, “resource users are capable of self-organization and self-regulation” (Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2007, p. 212). The result of these processes of self-organization and self-regulation are the creation of institutions to manage the access and use of resources. Johnson (2001) argues that common-pool resources are susceptible to a ‘tragedy of the commons’ when development, particularly modernization, initiatives have ignored or undermined local resource management institutions, thereby creating an open access problem.

From this perspective, research participants’ commitment to cultural integrity, particularly supporting local institutions, reinforces Gitga’at capacity to successfully implement the strategies discussed above to troubleshoot and/or help mitigate community member concerns related to tragedy of the commons. The clans, clan chiefs and the elders’ group are examples of existing, strong locally based institutions vested with authority over intellectual and cultural resources. Many people interviewed during this research emphasized that these institutions must guide the use of resources and the application and sharing of traditional knowledge for commercial purposes, including possible eco-cultural tourism development. These institutions have moral authority over the resource use actions of individuals as well as the collective community.

The Marine Use Planning Community is another example of a resource management institution, one that was initiated to bridge the split authority within the community between the traditional and elected leadership. The creation of a similarly structured committee specifically to explore and make recommendations concerning tourism development, as suggested by the Elders’ Group (FG5), may be an important step in establishing a community (i.e. resource owner/user) consensus for rules and protocols to guide the application and sharing of local knowledge for tourism. These rules may include explicit decisions regarding areas of common-property, including local and elders’ knowledge, that can and cannot be shared with visitors. In this way, systems to limit visitor access to Gitga’at common-pool resources can be established.

Although establishing these types of rules may be effective at the local level and with certain types of information—particularly that with a uniquely Gitga’at and local

character such as the location of certain resources, sacred sites, and particular stories—there are other areas of knowledge, such as that held in common with other First Nations, that may be beyond the Gitga’at community’s ability to control. Shelly Danes explained this dilemma with respect to sharing local knowledge with visitors at KPL:

The medicines. That is where I am not sure if I can share that part. But at the same time, I see all these books being passed around with it being written right there.

Similarly, Jessel Bolton also commented, “There are other bands in B.C. who have shared things that people here would consider off-limits, like medicinal use and things.” Devil’s club knowledge is a specific example. Once this type of information has entered the public domain it cannot be re-embedded within an exclusively local knowledge context. As in the case of Devil’s club, once it has been identified as a valuable resource, the Gitga’at may experience additional pressure to share their knowledge pertaining to it. Another community member (RP04), as quote above, described this situation, “And you have got the Devil’s club knowledge...I see Turning Point is trying to get into that... They wanted to talk to me about the different areas where you can harvest these plants.”

While the general knowledge related to the medicinal use of Devil’s club and other resources may be widely known outside of the Gitga’at community, the Gitga’at can still control access to knowledge at the local level by deciding not to share harvest sites or information beyond that which is widely known. The lack of a cohesive legal framework to protect the Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Posey & Dutfield, 1996; Shiva, 2000; UN, 2009) suggests that the Gitga’at are wise to be cautious sharing information that could be used by others, particularly for commercial purposes.

In conclusion, the Gitga’at are developing a unique approach to local economic development that seeks to apply and strengthen ‘things that are Gitga’at’. These include developing approaches to balance community, cultural and environmental integrity by exploring eco-cultural tourism development within a framework of principles reflecting these intertwined concerns. Establishing boundaries around the use of local resources and the application and sharing of local and elders’ knowledge is a central component to local decision-making. If the community decides to move forward with tourism development then explicitly recognizing the human as well as environmental limits to economic activity, including establishing boundaries around the application and sharing of local and



elder's knowledge, will be a central dimension of creating an enterprise that supports the community's goals and aspirations for the future.



## Chapter 7: “Doing it the way we do”<sup>29</sup>

### Identifying Potential Benefits and Exploring Linkages

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*You need somebody to be able to tell the story about our people...  
And that is the same thing – that expertise that could be  
developed – could be used here when we have tourists come.*

Community Member RP04, June 18, 2009

*...because we are already selling our resources in these other  
industries and we don't want to be selling our culture too.*

Community Member RP07, June 11, 2009

## 7.1 Introduction

Social entrepreneurship is becoming a central feature in some local economic development initiatives, including among First Nations communities (Anderson, Dana & Dana, 2006; Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2007). Social entrepreneurship in this context can be seen as a convergence of what Cavalcanti (2002) calls ethnoeconomics and First Nations political objectives for self-determination (Anderson & Bone, 1995; Anderson & Giberson, 2004; Anderson et al., 2005). Although First Nations social entrepreneurship can take many forms, some First Nations, including the Gitga'at, see compatibility between the objectives motivating social entrepreneurship and the opportunities offered in the bioeconomy (Anderson, 2007; Turner & Cocksedge, 2001). For some First Nations, in order to successfully enter the bioeconomy, partnerships with non-First Nations businesses are necessary because of insufficient financial or human capital at the local level (Anderson, 2007). However, frequently these partnerships are characterized by limited roles for First Nations, either as suppliers of raw resources or as suppliers of traditional ecological knowledge to facilitate the exploitation of local resources (Kuanpoth, 2005). How do the Gitga'at, a First Nation choosing to enter the bioeconomy, envision their role? And what are the advantages and disadvantages community members identify in forming different types of linkages between their proposed social enterprise and other parties? This chapter will provide particular insight into Objective 3 of this

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<sup>29</sup> Teresa Robinson, June 12, 2009

research, which focuses on the relationship between locally desired benefits from eco-cultural tourism and the role linkages and partnerships with other institutions might play in the proposed enterprise.

I will begin by exploring the services that Hartley Bay Gitga’at believe successful eco-cultural tourism could provide. These services are linked to a range of community, cultural and environmental benefits for the Hartley Bay Gitga’at community, in addition to services for visitors. The focus of this chapter then shifts to discussing the role connections between the proposed enterprise and other parties might play in realizing these benefits. It will be concluded that building close relationships and linkages between the proposed enterprise, Hartley Bay residents and Gitga’at institutions is essential for generating the suite of benefits research participants would like to see. The beneficial relationships that the Gitga’at have built with some non-Gitga’at tourism operators in the past have helped build local capacity to pursue independent entrepreneurship in the bioeconomy in the future. In part as a result of enhanced local capacity that these relationships have provided, some research participants suggest that an independent, Gitga’at eco-cultural tourism enterprise is both a feasible and optimal model for this type of local development, as it would help ensure Gitga’at benefit and control over eco-cultural tourism activities.

## **7.2 Exploring Benefit and Service Possibilities**

Eco-cultural tourism was widely identified by research participants as a desirable focus for local development efforts and expanded sector of the local economy. As laid out in Chapter 5, however, there were a number of stipulations for community support of Gitga’at activity in this sector. Many of these are captured in the tourism development priorities and principles presented in Chapter 6. For example, “It has to be organized,” Helen Clifton emphasized. “There has to be a facilitator. Somebody that understands the role of the chiefs within the territories, the seasonal rounds at the camps, and our relationships with the lodges.” Helen Clifton’s comments reflect the complexity of issues that must be considered in order to move forward with tourism development. Community consent – particularly from those community members who would be most impacted – and low-environmental impact (RP01; RP06; and others), as discussed in Chapter 6, were

also frequent caveats to Hartley Bay Gitga’at support for potential eco-cultural tourism development. Research participants raised these stipulations in order to avoid possible negative outcomes from tourism development. Community-wide consent, for example, is essential in order to avoid hard feelings, contestation and conflict within the community.

By contrast to these mechanisms to prevent negative outcomes from tourism development, research participants also identified a broad variety of desirable outcomes that eco-cultural tourism development in their territory should seek to foster. These desired outcomes are benefits, in the form of services that the community believes eco-cultural tourism could generate.

### 7.2.1. Services Tourism Should Provide

Participants identified an extensive list of the beneficial services a community-owned tourism enterprise could ideally provide for the Hartley Bay community as well as their potential clients. A salient and crosscutting theme in the ideal service features research participants identified was for the proposed enterprise, and eco-cultural tourism more generally, to create new motivations and opportunities for Gitga’at individuals and the community as a whole to sustain and enhance their relations with each other, their history, their cultural skills and practices, as well as the natural environment of their territory. Changing lifestyles are apparent between generations in Hartley Bay and many adults in the community worry that the values and knowledge held by the community’s youth are shifting away from the beliefs, associations and connections that link individuals with their Gitga’at heritage. In addition to this crosscutting thread, there are six general domains within which the desired services discussed by research participants fall, as presented in Table 7.1 below.

**Table 7.1.** Summary of tourism services

Type of Service	Example	Details
Local employment and economic benefits	Direct employment	Create culturally relevant and satisfying jobs (e.g. as guides, interpreters, etc.) Subsidize and/or employ assistants for the elders at the harvest camps Gitga’at community members in management positions
	Local spin-off opportunities	Small business and local entrepreneurship, including service sector, retail opportunities and other tourism activities
	Other economic benefits	Help to financially support elders’ cost of living and elders’ activities

Material benefits	Local infrastructure	<p>Subsidize cost of living at camps</p> <p>Infrastructure needed for tourism, such as boats, accommodation, local retail and consumer services, could also be used by community members and their families</p> <p>Revenue could be used to build and improve local infrastructure</p>
Guest Experiences	<p>Spiritual and therapeutic benefits</p> <p>Cultural experience and learning opportunities</p>	<p>Therapeutic value of being out in the fresh air</p> <p>Recharge spirituality by seeing how the Gitga'at live</p> <p>Talking with elders and other community members</p> <p>Seeing and participating in cultural activities, including at the harvest camps, during feasts, etc.</p> <p>Experience of helping with food harvest and processing</p> <p>The beauty of the Gitga'at territory and the village of Hartley Bay</p> <p>Wildlife and scenery</p>
Two-way learning with the outside society	<p>Ecological and wilderness experiences</p> <p>Environmental awareness</p>	<p>For guests, to see the relationships that the Gitga'at have with their territory and the resources within it</p> <p>For Gitga'at, to see environmentally friendly behaviour of guests</p>
Learning, skill building and way of life	<p>Intercultural awareness</p> <p>Cultural learning and practice ground</p>	<p>Challenge preconceptions and prejudices held by some non-indigenous peoples about First Nations</p> <p>Exchange of life experiences, culture, and world view</p> <p>Complement between building Gitga'at cultural literacy and teaching/interpreting for visitors</p> <p>Provide opportunities for Gitga'at to habituate and build expertise in culturally specific knowledge/skills learned at school and through training courses</p> <p>Create opportunities for Gitga'at, Ts'msyen, and other First Nations individuals to rebuild knowledge and skills through participation in cultural activities, such as the harvest camps</p>
Autonomy, self-determination and identity	<p>Human capital development</p> <p>Financial independence</p>	<p>Encourage community members to pursue higher education</p> <p>Improve interpersonal skills, communication skills, etc.</p> <p>Help reduce dependency on outside sources of revenue (e.g. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada)</p> <p>Source of flexible financial capital that can be invested where the community deems appropriate:</p> <p>Stipends/subsidies for elders, including support for assistants</p> <p>Local employment creation</p> <p>Subsidies (fuel, food, housing) for harvest camps and other community-based cultural activities (e.g. button blanket program, etc.)</p>
	Pride, community and identity	<p>Local infrastructure, including boats and housing</p> <p>New local development projects and programs</p> <p>Build individual and community pride through teaching and sharing about Gitga'at culture and society</p> <p>Reduce conflict within the Hartley Bay and Gitga'at community in general by encouraging cooperation</p> <p>Create social networks that could help the community in the future</p>
	Territorial claim and resource control	<p>Capture more of the revenue from economic activities, particularly tourism taking place in the territory</p> <p>Help demonstrate and assert Gitga'at use and occupation of their territory</p>

The list of services identified by research participants is extensive, interconnected and multifold. As presented in Table 7.1, they can be grouped into six broad categories: local employment and economic opportunities; material benefits; guest services; two-way learning with outside society; learning, skill building and way of life; and, autonomy, self-determination and identity. If realized, the benefits of these services would help support the needs and aspirations of the Hartley Bay and wider Gitga’at community by providing not only economic opportunities, but social, cultural, and environmental stewardship advantages as well.

#### **7.2.1.1. Local Employment and Economic Opportunities**

There are a number of direct and indirect economic benefits that research participants believe the proposed eco-cultural tourism enterprise could generate, which in turn would help support the integrity and well-being of the Hartley Bay and Gitga’at community. One community member (RP05) said, for example, that she would support further eco-cultural tourism development “...if it is going to make money for our community. Make jobs, because people are just crying for jobs.” By creating more employment opportunities, research participants hope that more families and young people will decide to stay in Hartley Bay, rather than seek employment elsewhere. Some even suggested that if it were successful enough, a more vibrant local economy might even encourage and allow those who have moved away from Hartley Bay to return to the community. Retaining a substantial Gitga’at population in the territory, as discussed in Chapter 6, is also essential for sustaining the territory, because it enables the Gitga’at to have a greater presence on their lands and waters and for community members to build and sustain the relationships established with specific areas and resources needed to manage them successfully.

Research participants recognized that there are a wide variety of retail and service jobs that could be created in addition to those directly linked with the proposed enterprise (Appendix D). Many of these opportunities could rely directly on culturally relevant knowledge and skills, including carving and basket weaving. Many research participants made comments similar to those of Darryl Robinson, who explained when discussing local retail opportunities, “Anything to do with traditional culture, it would be so much better.” There are many skilled and talented artists and artisans within the Gitga’at

community and many research participants commented on the satisfaction and joy it would bring for the community to have these individuals able to make a living utilizing their skills and gifts. This potential will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter.

#### **7.2.1.2. Material Benefits**

The investment in infrastructure, including transportation and accommodation, needed to serve potential clients could also benefit the community at large. Additionally, the construction of local service facilities for visitors would also be an asset for the community. Tina Robinson, Pearl Clifton and others commented on this possible complement. Currently, there are very few services available in Hartley Bay and there were a number of facilities, such as a café, laundromat and accommodation facilities, that would benefit local people as well as visitors. In addition, the revenue from tourism could be invested in community infrastructure projects, both in Hartley Bay and at the harvest camps. The purchase of a better community generator for Kiel is an example of the type of infrastructure that could be beneficial for the community.

#### **7.2.1.3. Guest Services**

“There are a lot of people out there,” Jessel Bolton explained, “who are interested in how things work here. We are so isolated. How do we survive out here? They wonder all that.” Many in the community are aware that some non-Gitga’at people are very curious about the Gitga’at way of life and worldview. Consequently, many research participants expressed a desire to provide a unique and powerful experience for their potential clients. When discussing the possibility of guests visiting Kiel, Shelly Danes reflect, “If we had tourists going there to experience that, I would like them to come away feeling like their life has changed from that. Getting the full experience of having to harvest your own food and being proud of that.” Another community member (RP07) also echoed her feelings and explained that the Gitga’at could offer an experience far beyond what he called the ‘Disney Land view’ that tourists often experience when visiting other communities and societies. By being able to connect with community members, perhaps even learn some hands-on food harvesting and processing skills, the guests could come away feeling that they had participated in an experience with depth and meaning and that they had gained some genuine insight into Gitga’at society and way of life.



Many research participants recognize that visitors place an immense value on seeing how people can live off the land and on participating in those activities. Marven Robinson explained, “Some people use that as therapy, you know, coming to a place like this.” Guests gain an appreciation for where their food comes from and also a sense of satisfaction in participating in these activities. “Not having someone pour the water for them,” Shelly Danes reflected, “but going to go get the water. Spread the seaweed...” When I asked RP08 what she thought visitors might enjoy most about visiting the harvest camps she said, “They would go to bed and listen to the rain when it drops on top of the house. They would love it here, I think, if they camped here.” By watching and interacting with past visitors to their village and territory, some research participants know how much these opportunities can mean to individuals. Cam Hill explained that there is a culture of welcoming visitors within the Gitga’at tradition. “Our feasting is our way of life,” Cam explained, “and we are able to share that with people who mean something to us or come to our community and become a part of our community [and experience] that transfer and sharing of culture and knowledge... The people that I have seen come out of a feast, or play a part of that, I can just tell that they come out richer.” Many research participants expressed a sense of pride and satisfaction at being able to offer these experiences to visitors.

#### **7.2.1.4. Two-way Learning with Outside Society**

The opportunities for edification, however, were not seen to be limited to the experiences of guests, but rather was seen a dialectic result of the potential interactions that could be fostered between community members and guests. The learning and exchange, some believed, could be reciprocal and of two-way benefit. For Ernie Hill, Jr. an underlying motivation to support tourism is resulting in opportunities for interaction between community members and people from outside Hartley Bay. “...we want to learn about them,” Ernie explained, “We want to teach them, not through us, but through the kids.” For the young people in the community, these interactions are an opportunity to build confidence and interpersonal skills and also to learn about other peoples and ways of life. These opportunities, therefore, are important learning experiences that can help prepare Gitga’at children and youth for later life. At the same time, visitors receive the benefits of learning about Gitga’at society. By having visitors interacting with community members

and seeing how Gitga'at people live, some of the Gitga'at participants in this study hoped to challenge the prejudices and preconceptions about First Nations that are sometimes held by members of non-First Nations society. Through this venue, Marven Robinson suggested, old wounds might begin to heal. He explained that in coming to the territory and visiting Hartley Bay some of his clients begin to reflect on the pre-contact world. "I think," he explained, "that a lot of people still hurt." General opportunities to exchange information, experiences and perspectives were seen as beneficial; however, there were some specific areas of two-way learning that were also identified.

Environmental awareness was highlighted as an issue where both Gitga'at community members and visitors might have something to share and to learn. "A lot of the time the people coming in," Marven Robinson commented, "are more eco-friendly than we are... They [Gitga'at residents] are going to see non-First Nations people doing something different than somebody else. And that always turns around, because people say, 'Oh geez, I just threw something in the ocean and those people are putting stuff in their pocket.'" Consequently, Hartley Bay Gitga'at community members may be prompted to engage in a process of self-reflection concerning consumer choices, consumption, and the disposal of waste materials and other contaminants in their village and territory.<sup>30</sup> For guests, the benefits would come from seeing the close relationships and intimate knowledge Hartley Bay Gitga'at have with their lands, waters and resources within their territory. For example, being part of harvesting and processing food is an experience that might be new to the majority of the Gitga'at's clients. This may prompt visitors to reflect on the de-coupling of the relationships between the natural environment and human beings that increasingly characterize much of Western society.

#### **7.2.1.5. Learning, Skill Building and Way of Life**

A potential benefit of eco-cultural tourism that many research participants suggested would be the creation of a designated forum for cultural activities and skill-building within the community that this type of enterprise would necessitate. There is a synergy, some suggested, between teaching visitors, educating Gitga'at youth and ensuring the

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<sup>30</sup> A solid waste cold storage facility will be built in Hartley Bay following the construction of a micro-hydro dam, which is in the late planning stage. This facility will allow the community to shift away from solid waste burning and incineration. The disposal of waste discussed here, therefore, is of more relevance at the individual and household level and at the camps.

relevance and dynamism of culturally important skills and activities. “You need somebody,” a community member (RP04) maintained, “to be able to tell the story about our people... And that is the same thing – that expertise that could be developed – could be used here when we have tourists come.” “It would be a nice way to teach others, while also teaching ourselves,” Barbara Clifton also reflected. Similarly, Tina Robinson commented that tourism would be all right if Gitga’at remembered their culture, including stories and language, enough to be able to share it with others. Many people interviewed also commented on the parallel between what young Gitga’at should learn and what tourists would be interested in learning and experiencing (HC1; EH; LH; JB, etc). Some research participants are concerned that the rich and nuanced knowledge of the Gitga’at history, society and culture is being lost because of a lack of interest by youth and the passing of the current generation of elders. By providing youth with jobs in eco-cultural tourism, they would be encouraged to learn from the elders and cultivate a deeper interest in their own language, culture and heritage (e.g. MR; RP08).

Over the years, there have been many workshops, training classes and events to teach local youth and other community member skills, such as basket weaving and Gitga’at regalia design. Many research participants, however, expressed frustration at the low retention rate and subsequent disuse of those skills. “Everybody is sort of gung-ho,” Helen Clifton observed, “and then they just leave it. And how do you get them to keep doing it?” Children might make a basket or cut a fish through their school program, but these opportunities, while important, are not enough to build expertise or competence in these areas. Helen Clifton continued, “It’s all right to teach up at the school. But you are making a basket; can you make ten for sales? And we want good ones.” Some hope that potential marketability of these types of goods will provide new motivation for learning, perfecting, and habituating the techniques, processes, and practices involved.

Local opportunities in the tourism sector may also encourage more community members to seek formal training and higher education in related fields, including management, services and guiding.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Upper year students at the Hartley Bay School have been involved in kayak training for the last two years partly in recognition of the future employment opportunities available in this and related areas.

#### **7.2.1.6. Autonomy, Self-determination and Identity**

Additional Gitga'at-owned tourism development could help reposition control and benefit from the economic activity that takes place in the territory towards the Gitga'at community. This would help create an environment in which visitors would be "...not just coming to look at our animals and then not spending any money in the community and leaving." RP07 explained, "This is a way to try to retain some of the economic value of the tourism that happens in our territory." Although, most people interviewed did not wish to pursue tourism on a mass-scale, any revenue would be a flexible income source for the community that could be invested in areas that reflect community needs and priorities. In so doing, tourism development could help, as some suggested, reduce the community's dependency on outside sources of revenue, such as the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Economic activity, some explained, is also a useful way to help demonstrate Gitga'at use and occupancy of their territory, particularly in the face of in-coming development proposals, such as the shipping tanker lane being pushed by Enbridge (See Chapter 4, Section 5.)

In addition, some research participants reflected on the personal, community and cultural pride that this type of enterprise could help foster. There is a special sense of self-worth that comes, one community member (RP06) explained, in sharing with others who value what you have to offer. When you do this, you begin to appreciate the knowledge, skill and experiences you hold in new ways. Cam Hill also commented on this saying, "They just want to touch it. Just want to feel it. Just want to see it. Here I am living it. We don't know how lucky we are." Increased economic opportunity and the stability and self-sufficiency that come with it are also sources of pride, as another community member (RP05) expressed. "I want to see jobs made for the people here," she explained, "Something to give them pride. There are too many poor people." In turn, she continued, eco-cultural tourism development may help rebuild unity within the community for, "Maybe it is all to do with people being poor now, people can't afford anything, so they bicker." Bringing community members together to work towards a common goal may be an important contribution to the community from the proposed enterprise.

In the past, the relationships and friendships that Gitga'at community members have established with visitors, including those at KPL such as the Kennedy Foundation

and Chapters bookstore, have proved helpful to the community.<sup>32</sup> Some research participants identified these networks as another possible benefit of tourism that could help the community in the future (SD; CH; etc).

In order for the business enterprise to be successful and to achieve the desired outcomes, including providing some, if not all, of the services presented above, the proposed development cannot exist in isolation, either from the community or from the local business environment. The question of who should be involved, however, is complicated, and informed by different individual perspectives and assessments. The following section will explore the issue of partnerships and linkages in order to better understand Hartley Bay Gitga'at perspectives on the best approach to achieve the services outlined above.

### **7.3. “We Need to Have a Strong Voice”<sup>33</sup>: Relationships, Linkages and Partnerships**

While it would be unrealistic to assume all of the services identified above could be provided simultaneously by one enterprise, collectively they suggest objectives and targets for those involved in the proposed enterprise to work towards. Of particular concern to this research project, are the relationships between these desired outcomes and the role possible linkage and partnership affiliations with the proposed enterprise might play. The following section will focus on research participant perspectives on this issue.

#### **7.3.1. Building Community, Mutual Benefit and a Steppingstones Approach to Tourism Development**

As per Objective 3, an area of inquiry in this research project is understanding the potential and desirable relationships that Hartley Bay Gitga'at identify between the proposed enterprise and third parties. What types of relationships are desirable, and for

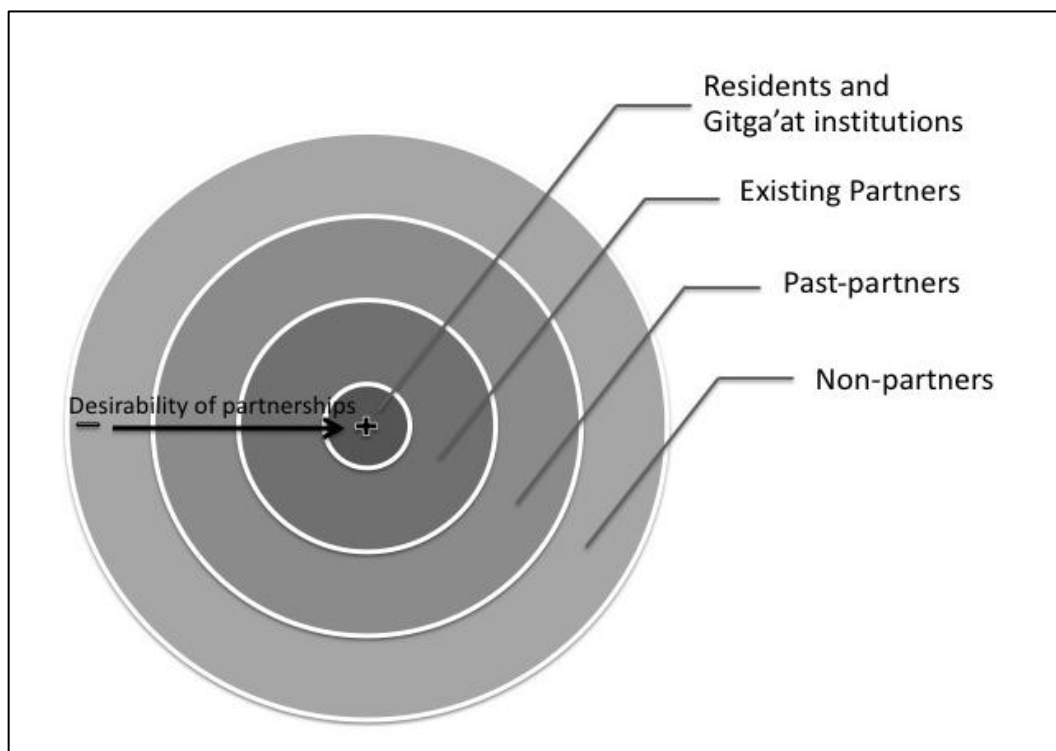
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<sup>32</sup> Cam Hill told the story about the Hartley Bay School's contact with the Kennedy Foundation. During a feast in which guests from KPL were invited to attend, representatives from the Kennedy Foundation who attended took an interest in supporting the activities of the school. “[T]he biggest thing,” he explained, “was that the Kennedy Foundation commissioned us—and this is what I mean by the partnerships growing—to make something of cultural significance that we made (not like an artifact or something). We made for them a button blanket and they auctioned it off and the proceeds came back to the school.” The blanket was auctioned for approximately \$50,000 and was sold to Robert Kennedy himself, because he liked it so much.

<sup>33</sup> Cam Hill, June 14, 2009

what reasons? Possible relationships are understood broadly to include local small businesses and community groups, as well as third parties outside the Hartley Bay and broader Gitga'at community, such as local tourism operators. It is the intentionality of these relationships at the institutional/governance level of the proposed enterprise that is of interest, rather than any possible guest initiated crossover. I found that the degree of desirability of these relationships was informed by the proximity of the party in question to the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community. Trust and a desire for the Gitga'at to retain as much value as possible from their entrepreneurial activities, particularly those connected with cultural practices, appeared to be the most important factors informing research participants evaluation of the possibilities. One community member (RP07) explained the rationale behind a largely autonomous, community-centered approach:

You see it in people who sell artwork. They'll put hours and hours into creating something and then they go and sell it to a store and they will probably get just 30% or 40% of the entire profit of the artwork. There is no way that I want to see that with this kind of business... I want to ensure that we make all the money on this because why put our elders through that kind of stuff for just a few dollars?



**Figure 7.1.** Relationship proximity and partnership desirability

#### **7.3.1.1. Seeking New Partnerships? Perspectives on Opportunities with Non-partners**

When I asked about the possibility of forming partnerships to support the Gitga'at tourism industry, none of the Hartley Bay Gitga'at involved in this research suggested establishing new business partnerships to help facilitate the establishment, management and logistics of the proposed enterprise. When I probed on this issue, most research participants seemed to think that such engagements would not be necessary for their business to be successful and that an independent, Gitga'at-operated business was both viable and more desirable. Some outside expertise, some explained, may need to be brought in to help support marketing or other areas, but this could be done through contracts or hiring rather than partnership with non-Gitga'at business.

#### **7.3.1.2. Reforming Associations? Perspectives on Past Partners**

There is a grey area between the band's current and past partners. Technically no protocol agreements between the Gitga'at and other businesses – which were set up to be re-signed on an annual basis – have been reaffirmed in the last few years (RP12). During a period of political contestation within the Gitga'at community, partners were encouraged by some factions to discontinue their relationships with the band, and consequently some partners felt there was no longer a need to uphold their agreements with the band. Other businesses, however, have continued to adhere to the terms of their protocol arrangements. These businesses I refer to as “current partners,” while those who have chosen to no longer adhere to the terms of past agreements are denoted as “past partners”.

Many individuals in the community, unless directly involved in governance or band administration, may not be aware of the changes surrounding the Gitga'at's partnerships and protocols that have taken place in recent years. The businesses that I classify as past partners, however, were not frequently mentioned during interviews or focus groups. Although the possibility of working with one of the past-partner lodges was suggested by some research participants, this particular lodge is closer to the category of current partners as many community members have been employed by it and there are examples of continued cooperation between the lodge and the Gitga'at. The majority of the time, however, when a past partner was referenced it was often by way of contrast to the better relationships the Gitga'at have with their current partners, who are widely recognized by

research participants as parties with closer, more trusting relationships with the Hartley Bay community. Consequently, there seems to be little interest in entering into business arrangements with past partners for the purposes of creating the proposed cultural tourism enterprise.

#### **7.3.1.3. New Opportunities: Perspectives Current Partners**

The possibility of partnering with non-Gitga'at business, including current partners, for the purposes of the proposed eco-cultural tourism enterprise was an area of differing opinion amongst the research participants. Some saw advantages in cooperation with other tourism operators, while others felt that the business could be run autonomously and be sustained by independently recruited clientele.

Some research participants did see advantages in working with non-Gitga'at business, particularly current partners, such as KPL and Ocean Adventures. As RP07 explained:

We don't want to put in all the investment and the work and then make only half of what we should be. That's where our relationship with a lodge like King Pacific would be good. Because we have a good relationship with them already I'm sure that they would help us out with something like this. But I don't want to see other people making huge profits off our efforts.

As a result of the trusting relationships built between the Gitga'at and some of their partners, the research participants were much more interested in continuing to cultivate those relationships in the future. King Pacific Lodge, Ocean Adventures and Cetacea Lab were examples of desirable partners discussed most frequently. These are all organizations that have built meaningful, mutually-beneficial relationships with members of the community over time.

The community's relationship with Cetacea Lab, Helen Clifton (HC2) explained, is a good example of this type of relationship.<sup>34</sup> Many people also discussed the relationship with KPL and the many benefits that this relationship has generated for the community. A

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<sup>34</sup> When Cetacea Lab was established, the researchers, Hermann Meuter and Janie Wray, followed the proper procedure by first speaking with and getting permission from the Hereditary Chief at that time, Johnny Clifton, who advised them where in Killer Whale territory they could build the research station. Cetacea Lab was allowed to be established because it was recognized as an exchange of benefit, where by the Gitga'at could learn more about the whales in their territory through the work of the whale researchers. In return for being on Gitga'at land, Hermann and Janie also help the community by keeping an eye on Kiel and other parts of the Gitga'at Territory that are near their research station.



student-training program, in which upper year students from the Hartley Bay School are employed at the lodge during the summer, was an example of this. Additionally, KPL was also instrumental in providing funds to build the Gitga'at Cultural centre in Hartley Bay. These are just a few illustrations of the benefits of this partnership that research participants reflected upon. Reciprocally, they also recognize that the lodge has benefited in turn from their partnership. Some of these benefits include gaining the moral authority to tell their clients and investors that they have a protocol agreement and working relationship with the Gitga'at, as well as being able to offer their clients cultural tours in Hartley Bay and Cornwall Inlet. Both of these translate into financial benefits for KPL as well.

There were several possible advantages of a cooperative approach to Gitga'at eco-cultural tourism that research participants identified. For example, if day tours were for clients from the lodges or other tourism operators under a similar arrangement to that of bear-viewing tours<sup>35</sup>, the community business would be able to capitalize on an existing market and pool of clients, and with that client base already in place, it would minimize need for the community business to invest heavily upfront in marketing. Instead they could piggyback on the marketing already being done by their potential partners. One community member (RP05) also pointed out that working with the lodges might bring more employment and also help the Gitga'at cater to the high-end clientele who many Hartley Bay Gitga'at think would be the best target group for their enterprise (Chapter 6). Particularly, as high-end clientele also have high-end demands in terms of quality of facilities and services that would be challenging to provide at the camps. As Darryl Robinson explained:

...we should take advantage of the lodge being there. If they [the clients] want to spend the whole day, they can spend the whole day, to get back to the lodge. And use the lodge for their sleeping quarters... With King Pacific we could jump onto their bandwagon—take advantage of it—use their hotel, and then just drive them wherever for whatever they want to do. This is where we are going to have to rearrange that protocol agreement that was signed before and add on to it.

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<sup>35</sup> Currently, many of the bear-viewing operation's clients are recruited through other tourism operators active in the Gitga'at territory, including KPL and Ocean Adventures.

These types of arrangements would help the Gitga'at avoid having to modernize the infrastructure and facilities at the camps in order to make them suitable for upscale tourists, like the KPL clientele.

In spite of the potential benefits of such cooperation, most often these types of arrangements were not proposed as an ultimate objective for the proposed enterprise, but rather as a steppingstone on the path to building a more autonomous and self-sufficient operation. As one research participant (RP01) explained:

...I think that the future model really needs to look at how these enterprises—this structure—really can be owned and controlled by the Gitga'at. So I don't actually see in the long-term why you would have to have other partners doing that [bringing in tours], if you structure the business appropriately for the Gitga'at. I think that it should be Gitga'at owned, and led, and managed.

In addition to wanting to retain the benefits of eco-cultural tourism, some research participants working in the tourism industry also believed that some of the clients who currently come to the territory for either business or pleasure would feel more comfortable working with the Gitga'at directly rather than having to access bear-viewing or other eco-cultural activities through the lodges (DR; MR). Clients have told them in the past that if facilities were available in Hartley Bay, they would like to spend more time in Hartley Bay and use it as their base rather than one of the lodges.

#### **7.3.1.4. Closer to Home: Gitga'at Residents and Institutions**

Working closely with Hartley Bay residents and community groups is a way to help ensure that benefits from tourism stay within the community and are distributed widely across the community. "I think [Gitga'at-owned tourism] would be beneficial for the village here," Darryl Robinson commented. Many research participants suggested fostering these types of linkages and identified desirable services, such as those associated with indirect employment and habituating cultural practices (Section 7.2.) that would necessitate them. The linkages proposed can be divided into direct and indirect categories reflecting the proximity of the potential involvement and role for the other party in relation to the proposed eco-cultural tourism enterprise. Indirect linkages tended to be more economic in nature, while the more direct linkages were more closely connected with socio-cultural benefits. These linkages will be discussed in turn.

### ***Indirect Relationships and Linkages***

Indirect employment opportunities from small and micro businesses benefiting from the tourism market are examples of indirect linkages with Hartley Bay residents that would potentially have wide-ranging benefits and were widely recognized as advantageous by research participants. Supporting existing small local businesses as well as helping establish new ones could help achieve the desired wide distribution and maximization of benefits from eco-cultural tourism.

Research participants had many ideas surrounding these types of local spin-off opportunities. Many Hartley Bay Gitga'at interviewed suggested that there are many retail opportunities to sell "cultural goods that are made by Gitga'at in the Gitga'at Territory" (RP01). One community member (RP05) proposed, "If we could really get together and work on our arts over the winter and stockpile it and try to have a lot of little things ready for tourists. We could have a real booming business here." Helen Clifton elaborated, "Not everybody wants to buy mugs and things like that. [Rather they would like] Handmade things, like from the cedar that we have. The carvings we have..." (HC1). Many others also recognized these opportunities and the retail value of these types of goods.<sup>36</sup> "Anything to do with traditional culture," Darryl Robinson attested, "it would be so much better." The local production of saleable goods (Appendix D) could be linked with school and community activities, particularly during the winter months. "Not just with arts and crafts," RP05 suggested, "go with our foods. I don't know about things like smoked fish and that, but our berry picking, jamming and all that. We could do that sort of sales too." There is local interest in this type of employment and many community members identified local artists and craftspeople who are either working in this area, have in the past and would like to return to it, or who would be interested in entering if financially viable opportunities were available.

"If they had an outlet to sell it, there be more people doing artwork," another research participant (RP07) explained, "but it's difficult trying to sell on your own." Currently, there is more that could be done to support these kinds local businesses and help make them profitable. For example, some have difficulty getting optimal retail

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<sup>36</sup> There is a strong existing market for these types of items. Simple, small cedarbark baskets are priced between \$30-\$40 at gift shops in Prince Rupert (HC1; Personal observation). Cedarbark hats from Haida Gwaii range from \$350-\$800, and spruceroor hats can be worth thousands of dollars (HC1).

values and many face cash-flow issues that make even acquiring raw materials challenging. The Band, some suggest, could take a more active role in helping with marketing, financing, and establishing business structures. Several research participants also suggested establishing, and even expressed interest in running, a cooperative store or little shop where locally produced items could be safely housed, displayed and sold (RP05; MR).<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, in addition to these retail opportunities, there were a number of other tourism related small businesses that research participants suggested (Appendix C).

### ***Direct Relationships and Linkages***

The examples above of indirect linkages suggest a mechanism for distributing the benefits from the proposed enterprise across the community. While these activities would be mutually supportive—the proposed enterprise drawing clients who would buy Gitga’at-made items and use local services, and the enterprise in turn being supported by the infrastructure and activities local community members might provide through small-businesses—there were also more direct relationships that many research participants suggested between the proposed eco-cultural tourism enterprise and local groups and institutions. These include: clan and school dance groups, the elders’ group, and the Hartley Bay School.

The advantages of these linkages relate directly to creating opportunities for the services discussed above (Section 7.2) to come to fruition. For example, many participants identified working closely with the Hartley Bay School as a highly desirable direct linkage to foster. This could include involving youth as guides and cultural interpreters. As one community member (RP04) acknowledged, “In order to recreate what was there before, they have to do it through the school system.” Currently the school does involve students in a number of cultural activities, including those related to food harvesting and processing. “They are all excited about going. They brag about how many buckets [of clams or cockles] they get... That’s good, you know,” RP04 continued, “you have to get them involved in all the different ways of harvesting our natural foods

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<sup>37</sup> The Cultural Centre may be a possible location for such a venue, as a gift shop, which has been unused for several years, is part of the facility. Furthermore, it would be a central location of interest to visitors (HC1).

that we enjoy.” Eco-cultural tourism may provide another medium for these types of learning opportunities.<sup>38</sup> Emphasizing culturally relevant teaching within the school, included being out on the land and water harvesting and processing foods, as well as skills like cedar bark basketry, drum making, and First Nations art.

In addition, involving the elders’ group in some capacity was identified by many as a necessity, because of the role that many believe the elders must play in guiding and informing eco-cultural tourism should the band choose to pursue it (Chapter 6). Helen Clifton summarized, “If you coordinate the school, the cultural centre, the lodges, the camps and work it all out, because it is not only visiting the camps [that needs to be considered].”

## 7.4. Discussion and Conclusions

The services and resultant benefits that research participants identify are consistent with those of a social enterprise and the definition for social entrepreneurship Anderson, Dana and Dana (2006) provide. The authors emphasizes that within social entrepreneurship the economic success of a business is important, “not as an end but as a means to an end” (p. 46). The services that research participants identified reflect multiple dimensions of well-being, which are similar to these expressed by the Coastal First Nations Turning Point Initiative, of which the Gitga’at First Nation is a member. In *Keeping the land and people: Ecosystem-based management and human well-being* (Turning Point Initiative Coastal First Nations, 2009b), well-being is defined as follows:

For us, human well-being encompasses many elements: our physical health and our economic prospects, our mental state and our spiritual connection. It also means the pride we have to express our culture, our traditions and our customs, and to develop our communities, raise our families, and prosper.

For research participants, economic ends are not the final measure by which to assess whether or not eco-cultural tourism is a desirable direction for their community to pursue. Opportunities to share aspects of the Gitga’at culture and the cultural-landscape of their territory with other Gitga’at and visitors and the benefits that come from building those

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<sup>38</sup> For example, at the time of this research (spring-fall 2009) the school was planning to put on a feast for the community and guests visiting Hartley Bay from KPL and Ocean Adventures. Currently, visiting groups make donations to the school or specific community programs as part of their participation in these events.

connections, were often cited as equally, if not more, important motivators for this type of local development.

Research participants see a great deal of potential in tourism sector development to build local opportunities that could supply a variety of benefits and services to their community. In order for these to be possible, however, the business must be modeled in a particular manner. Establishing the appropriate roles (or lack thereof) for third parties is an important dimension to consider. The decision to pursue tourism development (over other areas of the bioeconomy) was a conscious and strategic decision in support of local control. Highly capital- and technology-intensive sectors of the bioeconomy, such as nutraceutical and pharmaceutical development, often involve partnerships with large corporations, or at a minimum, research institutions. This is usually necessary for product development that would take place in laboratories or other geographic locations removed from the Gitga'at Territory. By contrast, eco-cultural tourism development would be locally-based, more transparent to the Gitga'at and hands-on.

Many research participants commented that community members have the skills to run the proposed enterprise and that it is possible to hire additional expertise as required. This strategy has been used successfully by the Gitga'at's neighbours living in Klemtu to support their eco-cultural tourism activities (RP12; see <http://www.spiritbear.com/>). Thus, rather than relying on a joint-venture approach that could result in decreased local control and place pressure on the community to compromise local needs and priorities, Gitga'at ownership and management would help ensure local control over eco-cultural tourism decision-making. Local control is necessary if Gitga'at development priorities (Chapter 6) are to be held paramount and decisions surrounding eco-cultural tourism development are to consider both ecological and cultural limits to growth, reflecting social, rather than capital growth-based, targets.

The capacity within the Hartley Bay community to undertake eco-cultural tourism development has been built in part through the support provided by local tourism operators as a component of their protocol agreements with the Gitga'at. This steppingstone approach for building capacity that the Gitga'at protocols with local tourism operators have facilitated. For the Gitga'at, protocol agreements with outside partners helped secure Gitga'at employment, mentorship opportunities and general

exposure to the tourism sector, and thereby built a the locally available pool of skills and expertise that will be invaluable should the community decide to pursue independent eco-cultural tourism development.

Existing partnerships, in this case, are acting as enablers for the Gitga'at to pursue their own economic development opportunities. Some of these, including their relationship with KPL and Ocean Adventures, which have involved mentorship, the establishment of resource use policies, incorporation of explicit two-way benefit and trust building can be interpreted as examples of 'communities of learning' discussed by Robson and colleagues (2009). Although Robson et al. (2009) focus on "new forms of interaction and cooperation" (p. 173) between indigenous groups, academics/researchers, and policy-makers/managers, the unique relationships the Gitga'at have established with their existing tourism partners seem to reflect many of these elements. These relationships, solidified over time, have helped inform resource management practices within the Gitga'at territory, and have helped the Gitga'at make informed decisions concerning their potential future engagement with the tourism sector. The confidence expressed by community members in expanding their involvement in the local tourism economy is, at least in part, a testament to the success of these communities of learning.

It is possible that in the future partnerships may also be helpful in responding to the changing needs of the proposed eco-cultural tourism enterprise. The discussions about partnerships gathered during this research often focused on the potential contribution of non-Gitga'at businesses—possibly as some form of joint-venture—to support the core operating aspects of the proposed enterprise, including marketing, infrastructure and financial capital. However, other forms of partnerships not involving joint-ventures, or some form of sharing of control and profit, are also possible. Working with other organizations such as Coastal First Nations Turing Point Initiative, Government Programs, and universities may support Gitga'at objectives and changing needs in the future without compromising local control. There is the possibility, for example, to work with the Faculty of Business at the University of Regina<sup>39</sup> to develop a business plan for the proposed enterprise, should the community decide to move forward.

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<sup>39</sup> The Faculty of Business at the University of Regina specializes in working with small businesses and First Nations. It is the lead institution in the Finding a Balance Project.

The organization, Coastal First Nations, is also interested in cultural tourism development as strategy for building sustainable rural economics (Turning Point Initiative Coastal First Nations, 2009c) and may prove a useful resource. Aboriginal Tourism Association of BC ([www.aboriginalbc.com](http://www.aboriginalbc.com)) may be another resource for marketing and other support. More than working with for-profit business, many social enterprises have found these types of partnerships helpful at different stages of their development (Berkes & Davidson-Hunt, 2007) and the same may be true for the Gitga'at.

Relationships of dependency and loss of control over the direction, management and content of cultural tourism activities are serious concerns informing research participant thinking on partnerships, and emphasize the importance of trust-building with parties who might be involved in such initiatives. The relationships of trust that the Gitga'at have developed in the past with tourism operators in their territory provided opportunities for Hartley Bay Gitga'at to explore and assess different areas within the tourism sector and choose a direction for local tourism development that could best support their priorities and objectives for local development. Partnerships have also helped reveal a niche within the existing market. The utilization of existing markets is another feature of many social enterprises that Berkes and Davidson-Hunt (2007) identify. "They do not create the markets for resources," the authors explain, "but find ways of identifying existing global markets and engaging them" (p. 212). The demand for eco-cultural tourism experiences, or what Kutzner et al. (2009) refer to as 'dual-track' (ecological and cultural) tourism, is growing. Robinson (1999) explains the appeal of this type of opportunity for visitors:

The loss of closeness to nature and natural forms, the division of rurality from the urban, and the psychic narratives which we have developed to explain the environment in our 'developed' world culture, travel with us. Indeed, it is the search for glimpses of 'closeness' between nature and culture which is at the root of the expansion of alternative, eco and ethnic tourism; what we no longer have, or think we don't have, we seek elsewhere (p. 381).

In conclusion, the types of benefits from eco-cultural tourism identified by Hartley Bay Gitga'at are consistent with a social enterprise model that focuses on supporting a wide variety of services connected with supporting the social, cultural and environmental integrity of the Gitga'at community and territory. The approach that the Gitga'at are taking towards partnerships focuses on building intra-community, rather than



extra-community, relationships. Creating tight linkages between Gitga'at institutions and Hartley Bay residents, research participants explain, is critical for insuring that the proposed business is capable of supplying the services that Hartley Bay Gitga'at desire. Extra-community partnerships for the purposes of this enterprise, however, were largely regarded either as potential steppingstones towards building an autonomous business or as unnecessary for achieving entrepreneurial success in eco-cultural tourism. The confidence of the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community members in their ability to successfully enter the local tourism market is in part related with their history of involvement in this sector, some of which has been facilitated through protocol agreements with tourism operators in the Gitga'at territory. The local capacity that these relationships have helped build suggests a new role for partnerships within the bioeconomy, one that is consistent with Gitga'at self determination and control of their own territories, resources and future directions.



## Chapter 8: Conclusions

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In this chapter, I present a summary of my findings and analysis related to the use of local resources for the purposes of ecologically supported cultural tourism development by the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community. Eco-cultural tourism is an area of local bioeconomic development that the community is considering and this research is designed to support their deliberations concerning development in this sector. I begin this chapter by presenting my main findings and discussion points related to each objective. I conclude with a discussion of some of the variables associated with eco-cultural tourism that will require particular consideration by the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community should they decide to pursue eco-cultural tourism development and present a tool that may help structure this deliberation process.

### 8.1. Context: Objective 1

The first objective of this research is to describe the local context as it is influencing Hartley Bay Gitga'at community perspectives on tourism development, using the concrete example of the Gitga'at seasonal harvest camps. Linking tourism with the harvest camps is a specific tourism development proposition that is under consideration. This inductive example is a means to explore the changes that have taken place in the community over recent decades, how those changes have affected customary natural resource use practices, and their relationship with the tourism development proposal. The harvest camps at Kiel and Old Town are recognized across the community as central features of Gitga'at identity and way of life.

As a result of many converging forces ranging from the downturn of the local fishing economy to difficulty taking time away from work and school, many research participants have observed declining participation in the harvest camps. Even those who no longer go to camp regularly retain a deep attachment to the camps and camp life. Although the primary draw of living at Kiel and Old Town is to harvest and process foods people value and enjoy, the importance of the camps is far more complex. The camps and the activities they facilitate enable a suite of interactions between community

members, their territory and the resources within it, as well as opportunities for learning, and time together with friends and families.

The camps are a part of the Gitga'at way of life that research participants would like to ensure continues into the future. There are ongoing efforts to address the challenges associated with participation at the camps, including building a bunkhouse to accommodate school children for an annual Kiel cultural week fieldtrip. In spite of these efforts, many research participants are still concerned and some see small-scale tourism development as a possible tool to support the camps. The question posed at the end of this chapter is whether or not tourism linked with the harvest camps would help support the continuity of the camps or whether it would place further pressure upon them. There cannot be a clear, straightforward answer. There are many advantages to this approach that research participants identify and these are discussed in relation to subsequent objectives. Most of the concerns specific to tourism at the harvest camps revolve around issues of cultural, community, and environmental integrity, as well as the recognition of potential logistical and regulatory complications.

The camps are places that enhance the well-being of the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community and this motivates the community to ensure their continuation. Tourism and the use of social enterprise are tools some other communities are also looking to in order to address economic, social and cultural concerns. The experiences of the Gitga'at support the conclusion that the impacts of change in customary practices are closely linked with the drivers of that change. The tourism development proposition is internally generated and would rely on the community to be the driving force behind it. Therefore, Hartley Bay Gitga'at are well positioned to shape any tourism development they undertake to best suit their needs and interests, including using it as a tool to support the harvest camps. There are other ways to address the concerns surrounding the continuity of the harvest camps as well. These include alternative eco-cultural tourism development opportunities not related to the camps, as many research participants are positive about tourism development generally, but may have significant concerns around bringing tour groups – even small ones – to the harvest camps. Research participants are also adamant about the importance of maintaining and supporting Gitga'at identity and way of life through natural resource practices, such as the harvest camps.

## **8.2. Appropriate Use of Resources and Knowledge: Objective 2**

The second objective of this thesis is to build a synthesis of how Hartley Bay Gitga'at evaluations of appropriate resource use within their traditional territory and of appropriate the application and sharing of elders' knowledge for commercial purposes are shaping local approaches to eco-cultural tourism development. The use of local resources is organized around a set of mutually dependent, essential and non-interchangeable priorities, which include furthering and sustaining cultural, community and environmental integrity. A fine balance must be sought between these priorities in order to maintain Gitga'at society in the short and long term. From these development priorities, some principles for tourism development can be distilled. These include:

- Minimizing negative environmental and resource related impacts;
- Pursuing economic opportunities that can have a wide distribution of benefit across the community; and,
- Respecting the role and authority of traditional leadership to make decisions concerning resource use in the territory.

These priorities are reflected in existing local institutions and in other recent economic development decisions. Although research participants do not view tourism as a panacea, to many tourism, if undertaken carefully, has the potential to align well with the community's development priorities.

Local and elders' knowledge would play an important role in eco-cultural tourism, since one of the draws of this type of experience for guests would be learning about the Gitga'at way of life, including natural resource use, and world view. Central considerations included:

- Distribution of benefits;
- Processes for ensuring necessary local consent; and,
- Ensuring local voice and appropriate representation of Gitga'at knowledge, culture and society.

The elders must play a guiding role in defining the uses and applications of local proprietary knowledge, including defining what information can and cannot be shared with visitors.

In order to ensure that Gitga'at knowledge is not misused or abused as a result of the tourism industry, research participants proposed several mechanisms to deal with these concerns. These include:

- Establishing research and other protocols when needed;
- Careful monitoring, interpretation and visitor support from Gitga'at guides; and,
- The designation of off-limit areas.

Off-limit areas include both specific knowledge domains, such as medicinal knowledge, as well as geographic areas, including gravesites and important harvesting areas.

In order to plan economic development initiatives that will support, rather than undermine, Gitga'at values and priorities, the interconnectivity of the community, cultural and environmental systems must explicitly be taken into account and measures of 'success' adjusted to consider a wide spectrum of domains. The Gitga'at approach to development and considerations of appropriate use and application of local knowledge and resources, point to the need to recognize not only environmental limits to profit generation, but human limits as well. Excess profit at the expense of cultural integrity—such as money made through the exploitation of an area of knowledge considered by the community to be off-limits—would not compensate for the adverse impacts. The off-limits areas identified by research participants point to some of the human limits that will shape the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community's pursuit of local economic development. These human limits are frequently overlooked in mainstream development planning, including eco and cultural tourism development, which are often touted as 'green', 'community-friendly' development options.

Many of the concerns research participants identified related to the use of knowledge are associated with the potential of proprietary knowledge (e.g. off-limits areas) to shift inadvertently from the community arena to the open-access, public sphere, beyond Gitga'at control. Common property theory suggests that local institutions can support the maintenance of control over common-pool resources, even within a new context such as tourism development. Within the Hartley Bay context, these local institutions include traditional leadership and the historic advisory role of community Elders with the high moral authority. Supporting these Gitga'at institutions is essential for the successful implementation and sustainability of eco-cultural tourism in line with local development priorities.

### **8.3. Benefits and Linkages: Objective 3**

The final objective of this research is to identify the services and linkages, and the relationships between them, considered important by Hartley Bay Gitga'at for an eco-cultural tourism business aligned with local development priorities. There are a wide variety of benefits that research participants believe eco-cultural tourism, if undertaken carefully, could provide. These include:

- Local employment and economic opportunities;
- Material benefits, such as improvements to local infrastructure;
- Guest services;
- Opportunities for two-way learning with outside society;
- Creating more spaces for culturally relevant learning, skill building and practicing the Gitga'at way of life; and,
- Opportunities to enhance local autonomy, self-determination and pride in Gitga'at heritage and identity.

Many of these benefits are associated with the enhancement of cultural, community and environmental dimensions of local development objectives.

Who might be involved in this eco-cultural tourism enterprise would have a significant impact on the services and benefits it would generate as well as who would have access to them. Although the Gitga'at have a history of cooperation and protocol agreements with non-Gitga'at tourism operators in their territory, even in the area of cultural tourism, the general view was that if cultural tourism is the focus of a local development initiative, it should be as much as possible an all-Gitga'at operation, at least in the long term. This objective is important in order to ensure that the benefits remain in the community and that the Gitga'at are not being exploited as a profit mechanism for others. When the benefits of partnerships with non-Gitga'at were identified, they were predominantly discussed as steppingstones that would be useful in the early stages of the operation and support the eventual emergence of an autonomous Gitga'at enterprise. Supporting the Gitga'at through access to a client base, enhanced opportunities for local skill development, and the supply of infrastructure were some of the benefits identified. Furthermore, a steppingstone partnership approach could also facilitate a trial period for the Gitga'at by allowing the community to explore different options for visitors without necessitating a large, upfront capital investment that might limit the future flexibility of a Gitga'at tourism enterprise.

In addition, research participants saw a great deal of potential to form strong linkages between cultural tourism activities and Gitga’at community members and community-based Gitga’at institutions, like the Hartley Bay School. These linkages would help realize the monetary and non-monetary benefits many believe carefully undertaken eco-cultural tourism could provide to the Hartley Bay Gitga’at community as well as help disperse those benefits across the community.

## 8.4. Evaluating the Options

Eco-cultural tourism may benefit Hartley Bay Gitga’at and support their objectives and vision for their community in the future. Most Hartley Bay Gitga’at involved in this research viewed cultural tourism development favourably, particularly given some of the stipulations discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. However, individual perspectives on the relative desirability of specific eco-cultural tourism activities, fair profit and benefit sharing mechanisms, and locations for tourism activities, including whether or not to link tourism with harvest camps and, if so, to what extent, differed.

Evaluating the numerous options (Chapter 6, Section 4.1.) and possible configurations for each option will not be an easy task. The perspectives of research participants gathered during this project, however, may provide a starting point for community dialogue and help inform that decision-making process. For example, in evaluating the relative benefits and drawbacks of day or half-day tours at the harvest camp compared to overnight and longer stays, some observations based on research participant responses and insights can be made (Table 8.1).

**Table 8.1.** Short verses longer stays at the harvest camps.

Option	Observation	Pros	Cons
Short day or half-day tours at offered at the harvest camps	Fewer amenities (toilets, sleeping facilities, etc.) and services (meals, etc.) required for guests on-site for a short time	Lower start up costs	Residents would not benefit from as much improved infrastructure
	Less interaction between guests and camp residents	Fewer demands on camp residents (cooking, etc.)	Fewer direct employment opportunities (construction, service provision at camp)
	Potentially more	More resident privacy	Fewer opportunities to get to know people
		Less contact with unpleasant guests	Less in-depth sharing and relationship building
		Easier to establish a	Less interesting to explain the



Overnight and longer stays offered at the harvest camps	rapacious program	routine Easier to monitor guest activities and control information that is shared	same things again and again
	More hands-on opportunities	Decreased concern about resource appropriation	More potential for camp residents to feel like they are 'on display'
	Possible for large groups of guests and more individual clients over all	Accommodate more flexibly in client groups  Potential for more ad hoc client recruitment (private sail boats, or other visitors to the territory who may not have heard of the opportunity previously)	May be more overwhelming for camp residents during tours Less opportunity to get to know guests individually
	More amenities (toilets, sleeping facilities, etc.) and services (meals, etc.) required for guests on-site for a short time	Camp residents would have access to these amenities, as well (ex sleeping facilities could be used as extra housing when not in use by clients) Most opportunities for direct employment (construction, meal preparation, etc.)	Higher start up and maintenance costs
	More interaction between guests and camp residents	Increased opportunities to two-way learning More possibility for forming friendships and respectful relationships	Less privacy for camps residents More exposure to unpleasant or demanding guests
	More hands-on opportunities	Guests better able to understand and appreciate the activities that take place at the camps	More associated in supporting the learning process (help can also be hindrance)
	Concentrate more tourism activities at the harvest camps	Would not need a package of other activities to justify the costs of travel for clients	Potentially fewer indirect economic benefits for Hartley Bay small/micro business
	Smaller groups of clients	Less disruptive to camp residents	Maybe more difficult to attract clients wishing to stay for several days and with the economic means to make the operation viable
	Requires more advanced planning	Better able to establish defined windows over the camp for tours	Potential difficulty finding clients

Table 8.1. is not a comprehensive list of all the possible pros and cons associated with these two examples. Rather it highlights some of the possible advantages and disadvantages brought up during interviews, focus groups and from my observations. These two variations on eco-cultural tourism scenarios that would include the camps

were ones commonly discussed by research participants and were often used as comparison tool to prompt discussion during interviews. Consequently, lots of data were collected pertaining to these particular scenarios and they help draw attention to and illustrate the numerous factors that research participants raised as points of consideration in eco-cultural tourism development decision-making. If the camps were included in Gitga'at eco-cultural tourism development, the relative pros and cons of how to include the camps would need to be weighed very carefully alongside other considerations. For example, the over all start up costs directly associated with shorter stays at the camps would likely be less then if guests were staying at the camps for a number of days. However, in order to make an experience that was marketable to guests and, from their perspective, worth the costs of travel and participation, short visits to the camps would likely need to be linked either with: a.) holiday packages being offered by other business, such as King Pacific Lodge or Ocean Adventures; or b.) with other tourism activities provided by the Gitga'at eco-cultural tourism enterprise or other Gitga'at enterprises.

Linking short tours with non-Gitga'at tourism providers maybe, as some research participants suggest, a good initial approach that would reduce the risks carried by the Gitga'at and allow their eco-cultural tourism enterprise to develop organically over time in response to opportunities and community member feedback. This is also the approach that is currently being used to recruit many of the Gitga'at's bear viewing clientele. However, such an approach would also increase Gitga'at dependency on non-Gitga'at business and potentially reduce the overall returns from the enterprise, both in terms of direct and indirect profit as well as the non-monetary services suggested by research participants. If instead shorter tours at the camps were offered as part of a package of eco-cultural activities being offered by the Gitga'at eco-cultural tourism enterprise more control would remain in the community and a larger eco-cultural operation would be built. This in turn would create more local employment opportunities, but would also require more coordination, management and infrastructure. In short, it would involve a higher gross investment.

In this scenario, guests might spend more time in Hartley Bay. This would have the potential to increase spin-off opportunities for local business. However, should any one private business, such as a service provider, be seen to garner too many benefits jealousy

and the potential for discord within the community would increase. Therefore, very careful and transparent decisions would need to be made if contracts for guest service, such as room and board, were to be awarded to individuals within the community. Offering a variety of activities to create a viable tourism package for guests, would also require more versatile guides with a boarder set of necessary knowledge, skills and certifications. Comparatively, packages centered on the harvest camps (apart from the needed infrastructure) may be simpler to coordinate on a client group-by-group basis, as the majority of activities would be happening in one location and might be more similar in nature.

Variability in terms of which type of visit to the camps guests may prefer should also be considered. As one research participant commented, “When I go on a tour of a place, I don’t expect to stay there all day. I go, I look, I hear, I take a couple of pictures, and I’m off” (RP05). Alternately, for guests with a deep interest in learning about the Gitga’at way of life and the camps, the opportunity to spend a few days immersed in the camp life might be an invaluable, once in a lifetime opportunity that a few hours at camps could not provide. Jessel Bolton reflected, “I think for them to catch on to everything that is going on, they would have to stay a couple of days just to see everything that is going on.”

There may also be marketing advantages and disadvantages associated with different lengths of stay offered at the camps. Not all clients would enjoy the same activities. Therefore, more individualized package may be possible if a short visit to the camps was one activity offered amongst many. Also, if packages were created that including a possible visit to the camps as well as other activities, it might be easier to market one package type with various activities that could be used to draw clients to the territory for a longer season. A longer season would also smooth employee and small business income and help make jobs with the eco-cultural tourism business more competitive with employment opportunities offered at the lodges. The opportunity to live at the camps, however, may be a more unique experience to offer, one attractive enough to bring clients willing to pay a premium for that chance. Other packages of activities excluding the camps could also be created to offer between the camp in May and

September in order to lengthen the tourism season and bridge local employment between the spring and fall camps.

Levels of comfort Gitga'at community members staying at the camps might feel about these different scenarios may also vary. One elder who was less comfortable with the idea of tourist visiting the camps said it would be more comfortable to have short visits rather than overnight guests. Therefore, an advantage of starting with shorter tours at the camps might be allowing community members the opportunity try out having tours without the pressure of worrying about sleeping arrangements and whether or not guests were fed, or feeling an obligation to continue receiving visitors because of a heavy investment in infrastructure and other costs incurred by the community that would be needed in order to receive overnight clients. It may, however, be less onerous to get to know just a few people who you spend time with over a number of days, then to be faced with meeting a group of new faces more often.

There are other factors to consider as well. For example, the relative interference with work time between long and short visits to the camps would dependant on other factors, including how many times a given tour was offered. One short tour lasting only a few hours might interfere less with work time than a group of guests staying for several days. However, if that short tour were repeated every few days with new clients, then the interruption might be more acute. Clients on a longer visit might be able to assist with camp activities in deferent ways over the course of their stay. Variable weather would also come into play in this equation. If a short tour came on a day when the weather was too poor to be working on seaweed or halibut, then the visitors would have more time to interact with camp residents, but would see less of the active camp life. If they arrived on a sunny day, there is a great deal of work for camp residents to do in a relatively short time, but they might feel pressure to stop or slow their work to be hospitable to the guests. With longer stays, there would be more opportunities for interaction during quite times, and less pressure to accommodate guests during heavy work periods.

The discussion above is to draw attention to some of the potential advantages and disadvantages associated with tourism development connected with the harvest camps and present an example of the types of considerations that may influence Hartley Bay Gitga'at decisions concerning eco-cultural tourism. The overriding sentiment from

research participants as to whether or not including the camps is desirable was to stress that it is the people who use the camps, many of whom participated in this project, and who would be most impacted, who must have the ultimate decision-making power concerning if and how the Gitga'at harvest camps might be linked with local tourism development.

## **8.5. Next Steps**

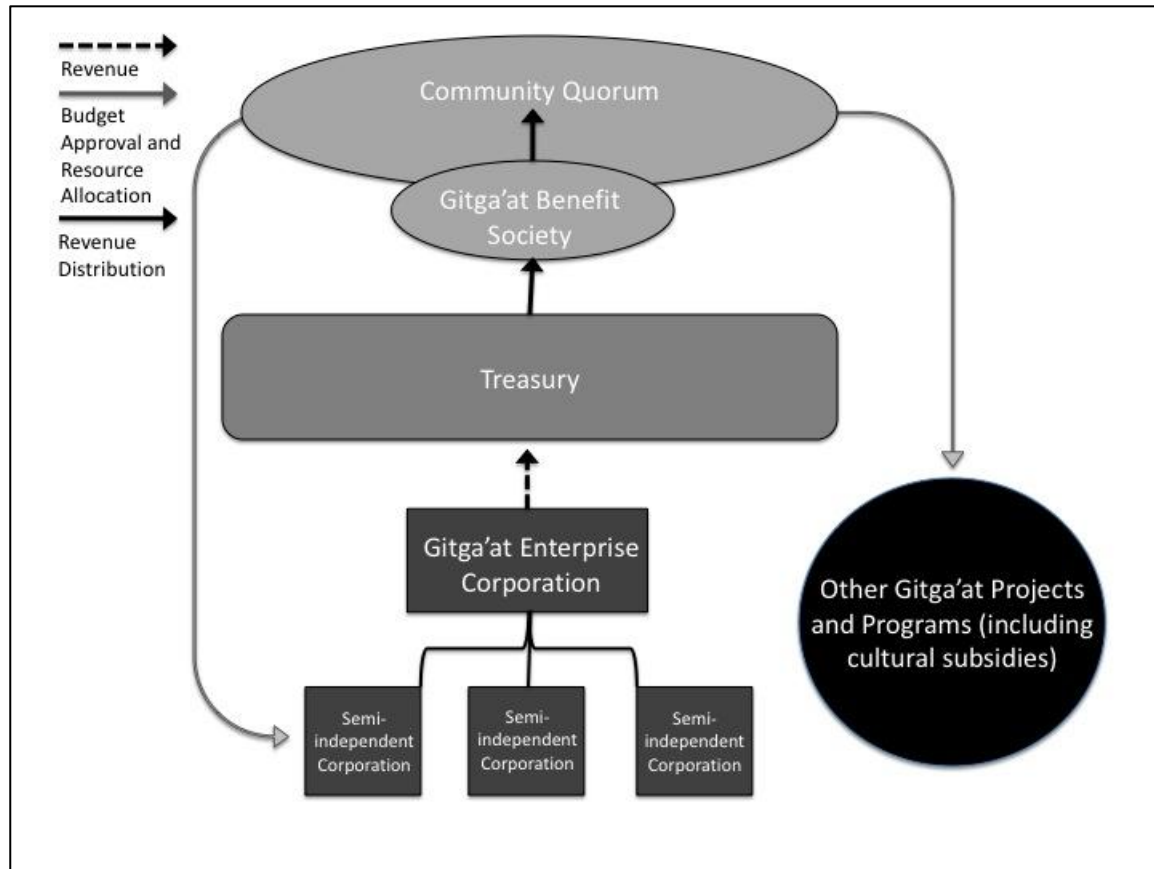
The discussion above suggests the complexity of the factors that must be weighed in deciding if and how to move forward with eco-cultural tourism development. There are a number of areas touched upon in this thesis that can be considered in more detail as the next steps in a decision-making process. Some of these factors are illustrated as decision tree in Figure 6.3. Concerns around benefit sharing, particularly of material benefits, resulting from any activities of the proposed enterprise must also be given some consideration. Figure 8.1. illustrates an idea put forward by a research participant for how revenue could be redistributed fairly and targeted towards agreed upon community priorities. Here any revenue would be channeled to a quorum representing the (Hartley Bay) Gitga'at community and this group would redistribute those funds, either through reinvestment back into the eco-cultural tourism enterprise or by directing funds to other Gitga'at projects and programs, including subsidies for cultural activities. These types of subsidies could include money for fuel to transport community members to the harvest camps, as well as food for camp participants, or honorariums for elders and elders' helpers. Exploring these types of benefit sharing mechanisms before profits are generated may help overt conflicts in the future and create an institutional environment that enhances the possibility of eco-cultural tourism to bring about positive outcomes for the community. There are other specific areas pointed to in this document requiring more discussion within the Hartley Bay Gitga'at and potentially wider Gitga'at community.

In addition to mechanisms for sharing profits and other benefits, these areas include: defining off-limit areas; determining an optimal length of the season tours are offered in the territory that would balance community member privacy with desirable, regular employment for community member and a feasible business. These and other considerations would be a good starting point for a local tourism committee, as was

proposed by the Elders' group (FG5), or others in the community undertaking tourism development work.

Economic dimensions, beyond the scope of this research, must also be carefully considered in order to create a viable business capable of generating the profits needed to support the non-monetary benefits desired by the community. A challenge will be balancing eco-cultural and social benefits, without compromising ecological integrity and cultural values. Considering the possible employment and revenue limitations imposed by a short season and limited numbers of guests, it is likely that this type of local development would be more about cultural sustainability than economic benefits. However, that is not to say that there would be no economic benefits. There seem to be untapped opportunities in the existing tourism market, particularly for a local cooperative to sell locally made items to visitors already coming to visit Hartley Bay. The added guests brought in by a new eco-cultural tourism project, even at a small-scale, might help support this type of venture, as well as jobs for organizers and guide-interpreters.

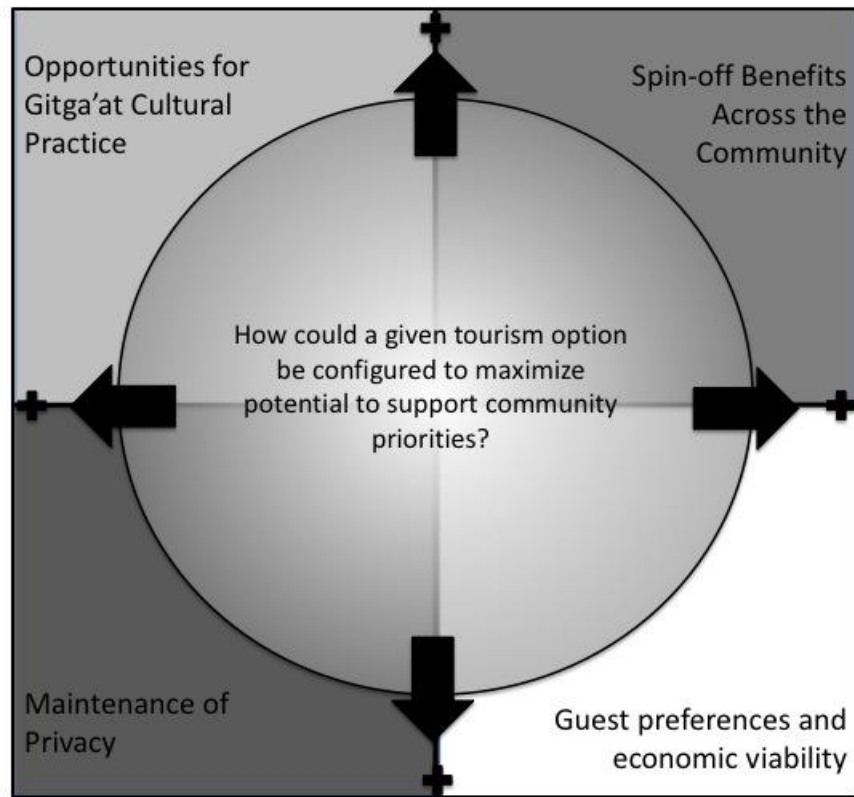
As some research participants have suggested, if the decision is made from the outset not to look at the proposed venture as a 'big money maker', then prioritizing non-monetary outcomes may become more straightforward. Such a move, however, may only be possible through the recognition that this enterprise is not the only economic initiative undertaken by the community. Shellfish aquaculture and small hydro development are examples of other new initiatives underway which will also contribute to the local economy.



**Figure 8.1.** Example revenue distribution system.

The development priorities and related tourism development principles (Chapter 6) capture values and perspectives that are widely shared across the community. These may prove to be a useful tool for a tourism committee or another group of Hartley Bay Gitga'at undertaking an assessment of the different eco-cultural tourism development options available to the community. Picking a few central features, such as enhanced opportunities for Gitga'at cultural practice, spin-off benefits across the community, concerns over privacy, and guest preferences, may provide a useful metric for weighing the options. There are two types of decision-making that need to be made surrounding the types of experiences that the Gitga'at might offer. One is a coarser choice between the numerous tourism experiences, or combinations thereof, that have been suggested (Chapter 6, Figure 6.2.; also see Appendix C). The other is a finer level of decision-making to define the optimal characteristics of each option. By asking what could be done to maximize the potential of each option to fulfill the community's priority set (Figure 8.2.: e.g. What can be done to enlarge the circle?), a picture of the most desirable

configuration for each possible tourism activity can be built and clarified. If this type of analysis is performed for each activity option, some options may emerge as more suitable than others for optimizing community priorities.



**Figure 8.2.** Accessing the potential of tourism development options to meet Hartley Bay Gitga'at objectives<sup>40</sup>

## 8.6. Conclusions

The Gitga'at have experienced many changes in their society and challenges to their autonomy and stewardship over their territory. The difficulty the Hartley Bay community is experiencing in trying to sustain the scale of community involvement, regularity of use and knowledge associated with traditional natural resources, including the harvesting and processing of wild foods, is one manifestation of these ongoing pressures. In response, the Hartley Bay Gitga'at community is actively seeking ways to enhance the environmental, cultural and community integrity of their society and traditional territory.

<sup>40</sup> This figure is adapted from a poster prepared for the Oceans Management Research Network 2009 conference, in Ottawa, ON, co-authored with Fikret Berkes and Kyle Clifton.



Social entrepreneurship through eco-cultural tourism may become a useful tool in this endeavor.

The discussion and deliberations concerning eco-cultural tourism development taking place at the local level are mirrored by ongoing debate at the regional and provincial level concerning the future of economic development on the West Coast. The Enbridge proposal to build a super tanker shipping lane through the heart of the Gitga'at territory threatens the ecological integrity of the coast, as *Exxon Valdez* and the 2010 disaster in the Gulf of Mexico are acute reminders. The mega-development lobby that would see the current tanker embargo on the B.C. coast lifted is based on a capitalist logic that sees massive profits for a rich corporation as a 'good' and the monumental ecological and social costs and risks that would be born by the Gitga'at, other communities and the marine environment as reasonable trade-offs. Should this proposal be allowed to proceed, the impacts for the Gitga'at – their community, way of life and local development initiatives – would be astronomical. The debate surrounding the Enbridge proposal makes the commitment of the Gitga'at community to building a sustainable future that reflects their values and aspirations a timely contribution to alternative approaches to development.

The Gitga'at are developing a unique approach to local bioeconomic development that is very much Gitga'at. By utilizing local resources, including local knowledge, in ways that will support their goals for their society, the Gitga'at experience and local development process provides valuable insights on how Pálsson's (2006) argument for a post-modern approach to resource management can be actualized. Pálsson suggests, "The earth is a place to live in, and to maintain its integrity and avoid ecological bankruptcy we have at the same time both to dwell and attempt to manage" (p. 76). This is exactly the balance that the Gitga'at are working to achieve through the proposed enterprise discussed in this thesis and through other initiatives. The Gitga'at's approach may also be useful for other communities and offers new ways to engage in development that helps expand notions of sustainability and the potential for building meaningful, adaptive futures for rural communities.



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## Appendix A: Letter of Informed Consent

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Research Project Title: **Establishing community-owned eco-cultural tourism: A case study of bioeconomic development in Hartley Bay, British Columbia**

Researcher: **Katherine Turner**

Sponsor: **Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC)**

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This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

-----  
**Project Summary:** This project one of three cases of First Nations economic development involving local biological resources being conducted across Canada as part of the multi-university, SSHRC funded project: “Finding the Balance in the Bioeconomy: New Partnerships between Indigenous Socioeconomic Enterprises, Research Institutes and Corporations” (Dr. Robert Anderson, PI). The objectives of this project are to explore how different communities across Canada are pursuing community development using their local biological resources.

The purpose of this case study is to explore Hartley Bay community members’ perspectives on the possible establishment of a community-owned and culturally-supported eco-tourism enterprise. This enterprise would center on bringing tourists to visit and experience the Gitga’at spring and fall harvest camps. The areas to be explored during this research include community member perspectives on the appropriate use of resources from the Gitga’at traditional territory, the application and sharing of local knowledge, the levels of commercialization suitable to this enterprise, as well as how this enterprise could support and be supported by local and other entrepreneurial activities.

**Research Timeline:** Data collection (interviews, focus groups and participant observation) will be carried out during the spring (May and June) and early fall (late August and September) of 2009.

As participant, you will be involved in individual semi-structured interviews and/or a focus group. Interviews are expected to take approximately one hour. Focus groups are expected to last between one and two hours.

Over the next several months (up to the spring of 2010), I may contact to you with follow-up questions, or to ask for clarification or confirmation of the information you have provided.

**Data Gathering and Storage:** Interviews and focus groups will be documented through note taking and the use of a digital recording device. All recordings, notes and transcripts will be stored in password protected computer files and any hard copies will be storied in a locked cabinet. No digital recording devises will be used or photographs taken during interviews or focus groups without written consent from all participants involved in the interview or focus group session.

**Risk and Benefits:** No information will be used in a way that could put at risk the integrity or safety of participants. This research will help the Gitga’at in their decision-making process surrounding eco-cultural tourism development.

**Expected Outcomes:** A Master's Thesis and other academic publications will result from this research. Neither your name, direct quotations, nor photograph will be used in any publication without written consent.

The information resulting from this interview/focus group will be kept confidential. If you wish to retain anonymity, a participant number, rather than your name, will be used to identify you on transcripts and any other reproductions of the information you provide. No one other than myself have access to the real names of interviewees who choose remained anonymous.

The findings from this research project will be made available to members of the Gitga'at Nation. A copy of the Master's thesis, a summary of findings, as well as any other publications resulting from this research will be shared with the Gitga'at Band Administration and the Marine Use Planning Committee, as well as any participant requesting these materials.

**Compensation:** No financial compensation will be provided either directly or indirectly to participants for their contributions to this research project.

Please indicate whether or not you agree to the following:

Yes / No	1. I agree that the researcher may use a digital recording device during this interview/focus group.
Yes / No	2. I agree that the researcher may take notes during this interview/focus group.
Yes / No	3. I agree that the researcher may cite my name and directly quote me in future publications. I understand that as a result it will be possible for others to recognize me. (Please, feel free to answer this item at the end of the interview)
Yes / No	4. I agree that the researcher may directly quote me using pseudonym rather than my real name (Please feel free to answer this item at the end of the interview)
Yes / No	5. I agree that photographs of myself may be taken and used in reports and publications connected to this research.
Yes / No	6. I wish to receive a summary of this interview/focus group.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Katherine Turner, Graduate Student Researcher  
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Fikret Berkes, Academic Advisor of Katherine Turner  
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**This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board of the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail [margaret\\_bowman@umanitoba.ca](mailto:margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca). A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.**

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Participant's Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

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Researcher's Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B: Sample Community Member Interview Schedule

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<b>Introduction – Project, Consent form, etc.</b>		
<b>Background</b>	Personal Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Name (how they would like to be known)</li> <li>Residency (Hartley Bay or other)</li> <li>Ask for brief description of job (ex members of the MUPC; band administration, etc.)</li> <li>Contact information</li> </ul>
<b>Objective 1</b> – Document Gitga’at community perspectives on the appropriate use of resources from their traditional territory, the use of local knowledge, the appropriate levels of commercialization of resources for this eco-cultural tourism enterprise.		
<b>General Resource Use</b>	Stewardship Sustainability Customary Uses Property Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Are there any Gitga’at words, concepts or stories that capture the way humans should live on the land?</li> <li>What ideas/principles/best practices do you think should guide planning and economic development in the Gitga’at Traditional Territory?</li> <li>Do you think that it is possible to have a commercial enterprise that is linked to traditional practices? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you have any concerns around this?</li> <li>Are there best practices that would help address these concerns?</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>General Ecotourism</b>	General Impressions Impacts (+/-)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What do you think about ecotourism (where tourist come for bear viewing, kayaking, hiking, etc.) within the Gitga’at territory?</li> <li>Do you think that the ecotourism that has taken place so far has been positive for the community? Why or why not?</li> <li>What about cultural tourism (tourist focused on learning about the Gitga’at culture and way of life)? Do you view it differently?</li> <li>Do you have any concerns specific to cultural tourism or ecotourism?</li> </ul>
<b>Food Harvest</b>	Value/meaning of harvest Change over time Barriers to participation Personal history/connections with harvest camp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you or your family go to spring or fall harvest camps? Or have you in the past? (If not recently, why not?) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How long do you spend at camp each year? How long would you stay there if you could?</li> </ul> </li> <li>Are there challenges associated with attending either camp? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What costs are associated in attending the harvest camps?</li> <li>How much do you think it costs for people to be at Kiel/Old Town?</li> </ul> </li> <li>Why do people go to camp at Kiel/Old Town? (Ex Why not just do day trips now that transport does</li> </ul>

		<p>not take so long)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do you value most about harvest camps?</li> <li>• How have the spring and fall harvest camps changed over time in your experience?</li> <li>• How many people go to Kiel now? How many people used to go to Kiel? 10 years ago, 20 years ago, 30 years ago? (Why the difference?) How about Old Town?</li> <li>• How do you picture the future of Kiel/Old Town? (Excluding this tourism idea) how do you see it in 10 years/15 years?</li> </ul>
<b>Community-owned culturally supported ecotourism</b>	<p>One of the ideas that the Marine Use Planning Committee has been thinking about is the establishment of a community, eco-cultural tourism enterprise based around spring and fall camp. The idea is that this enterprise would be to directly support community members being able to afford to harvest at camp. The goal of this opportunity would not be for large profit, but to teach others about Gitga'at culture and make camp affordable.</p> <p>If the idea is good and it is moved forward then work will be put into figuring out the details and ensuring that the interests of the Gitga'at are held above all others.</p>	
	<p>General impressions</p> <p>Concerns</p> <p>Pros/Cons</p> <p>Use of TK</p> <p>Privacy</p> <p>Alternatives</p> <p>Examples of pervious tourism</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have you heard of this idea before?</li> <li>• What do you think of this idea?</li> <li>• What do you think some of the benefits could be?</li> <li>• How would you feel about people coming to Kiel for a day? For a few days? For a week? For the whole time?</li> <li>• Do you have any concerns?</li> <li>• If it did go forward, how could it be done so that your concerns are addressed?</li> <li>• What do you think tourists would enjoy most about visiting camp?</li> <li>• Are there any aspects of what you do at the camps that you would not want tourists to observe or be part of?</li> <li>• How do you feel about the sharing traditional knowledge connected to harvesting and processing of traditional foods?</li> <li>• If this did go forward what do you think would be the ideal model? (i.e. How long would tourists stay? Is there a certain number of people that you think would be too disruptive?)</li> </ul>
<b>Objective 2</b> – To build a picture of what an appropriate economic development partnership model – one that captures the services and linkages necessary for an eco-tourism and cultural tourism enterprise – might look like.		
<b>Ownership</b>	Implications of private vs. public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The idea is to have a tourism business that is publicly owned. What do you think of this? Do you think that it is the best option? Why/Why not?</li> </ul>
<b>Partnerships</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you see opportunities to work with other businesses (ex the lodges) to make this business successful? What kinds of opportunities?</li> <li>• What principles/best practices do you think need to be followed when working with non-community owned businesses? (e.g. KLP, West</li> </ul>

		Coast, etc.)
<b>Benefits</b>	Distribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What about best practices that should be followed by the community-owned businesses? (e.g. the Gitga'at Development Corporation)</li> </ul>
<b>Spin-offs</b>	Micro business opportunities  Level of interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What do you think about the commercialization of some resources that has taken place either here or elsewhere? (Fish, trees, foods, medicines, cultures?)</li> <li>Discuss some of the cases of "tourism" that have taken place already, ex trade of salmon for labour/knowledge, guests picking seaweed, tourists visiting Old Town, etc. What do you think?</li> <li>I've heard that you can buy sandwich bags of wooks and bags of seaweed. Is this something that you or someone you know might be interested in doing? Why/why not? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What do you think about this kind of micro enterprise?</li> </ul> </li> <li>Are there other opportunities that you see for artists, crafts peoples, other retail, or other businesses that would be supported by increasing the number of tourists coming to Hartley Bay and the Gitga'at Territory?</li> </ul>
<b>Linkages</b>	Other tourism activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Are there other cultural tourism activities you think should be considered as well?</li> <li>What do you think about the possibility of hosting archeological tours?</li> <li>Are there areas (cultural or physical, ex places in the Territory) that you think should be left alone?</li> </ul>
<b>Conclusion -</b>		
<b>Wrap up</b>	Alternatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Are there other ways of achieving these goals (Kiel and Old Town continuing as accessible and feasible part of the Gitga'at way of life)? / Are there other ideas or suggestions you have for ways to make camp more affordable for Gitga'at people?</li> <li>How to do the answers you have given around Kiel compare to your feels/thoughts/etc about Old Town?</li> <li>Is there anything else that you would like to add?</li> </ul>

## Appendix C: Ideas for Local Tourism Activities Identified by Research Participants

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Research participants identified a wide variety of tourism experiences that they believe the Gitga'at could be offered within their territory. Some of these options, participants suggest, could stand-alone, while others could be brought together in package tour options ranging from several days to a week in length. The range of tourism activities proposed by Hartley Bay Gitga'at are presented in the table below.

<b>Cultural activities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visits/extended overnight stays in Kiel and Old Town to see the harvest camps</li> <li>• Visits to the long house at Cornwall Inlet.</li> <li>• Dancing (the school, the Ravens and the Black Fish dance groups) and performances at the cultural center (RP04; RP05)</li> <li>• Restore the red cedar houses at Kiel (DR)</li> <li>• Hiking/canoe trips along the old trading route grease trails (e.g. Ecstall-Quaal Trail between the Quaal River, where Old Town is located, and the Skeena River) (HC1)</li> <li>• Ethnobotany tours (MR)</li> <li>• Special events <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Aboriginal Day celebrations (HC1)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Eco-tourism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Boat tours around the territory to different places like Old Town or Clams town (LH; EH). → Using the boats that already in the community (DR).</li> <li>• Local hiking trails (ex around Hartley Bay to the lake and Mossy Bay (PC).</li> <li>• Wildlife viewing (RP01): bird watching (RP01); whale watching (LH; EH); up the estuaries to see Grizzly Bears (MR); Wolves, sea lions, deer, etc.</li> <li>• Hot springs at Bishop Bay (HC1a)</li> <li>• Botany tours (RP01)</li> <li>• Canoeing (RP01) → this could happen at the lake (SD)</li> <li>• Kayaking (RP01; SD; MR)</li> <li>• The Quaal River (HC1)</li> <li>• Students are getting trained as Kayaking guides (courses at the school) (HC1, 8; personal observation)</li> <li>• Boat rides (Old Town, Mossy Bay) (SD; MR)</li> <li>• Picnics (Mossy Bay) (SD)</li> <li>• Helicopter tours, including around the territory and Union Pass (SD; DR).</li> </ul>
<b>Archeological tours</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A human-made island in the Quaal River near Old Town (locally referred commonly as the Manmade Island) (RP07; HC1).</li> <li>• Petroglyphs at Old Town (RP07; MR; MGR)</li> <li>• Rock paintings, (and close to area used by rum runners (MR; LH; EH; MGR)</li> <li>• Middens and old village sites (RP01; RP07)</li> <li>• Visit other historical sites to build a picture of how people used to live in the area (RP01)</li> </ul>
<b>Cultural Center and interpretive activities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tours of the Cultural Center conducted by youth from the community (RP04; MR)</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Working carving shed or other demonstrations (like a smoke house) (RP05)</li> <li>• Interpretive videos and books (ex the Gitga’at Plants Book) to tell the stories of the place (DD; HC1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ There is old footage from Jimmy, of Johnny and others, that could be used (HC1)</li> <li>○ This would also help capture the skills and techniques (ex for halibut) for Gitga’at youth and others (HC1).</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Have a Gitga’at Guide on every boat traveling in the territory (DR)</li> </ul>
<b>Local infrastructure development to facilitate tourism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Get the cabin-to-cabin program going: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ This could be kayaking tours, etc. that could have eco-cultural components (MR).</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Build a hostel, or another B&amp;B <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ “It is so easy, because the people come to the lodge want to spend time in Hartley Bay so that they can get to know the people... They are always asking: Is there any place we could stay in Hartley Bay? We want to stay there. We want to work out of Hartley Bay. This is what I’ve heard from the guests, especially from returning guests that I have had. They want to come here and make it beneficial for the Village and myself rather than the lodge” (DR).</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Restaurant facilities (DR).</li> <li>• Build a land-based lodge near Hartley Bay.</li> <li>• Co-op or small store for souvenirs (DR)</li> <li>• Other facilities like a laundromat that sail boats (and community members) could make use of (JB)</li> <li>• Café (JB).</li> </ul>
<b>Sports fishing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fly-fishing (many wonderful spots in the territory) (DR).</li> </ul>
<b>Working holidays</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Berry picking (RP01)</li> <li>• Shellfish aquaculture farm (RP01)</li> <li>• Archeological digs</li> </ul>

## **Appendix D: Locally Produced Saleable Items**

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Many small business ideas were generated in relation to possible spin-offs from Gitga'at eco-cultural tourism development. A number of these involved the local production of souvenir and other items for visitors. Examples of products that were proposed by community members include:

- Wood carving (e.g. masks, plaques, paddles, small totem poles, etc.)
- Carved silver jewelry
- Gitga'at-style paintings
- Locally produced foods
  - Preserves (e.g. jams from local wild berries, pickles, etc.)
  - Fish (e.g. small, sample bags of halibut wooks, etc.)
- Salves, ointments and other medical/beauty products
- Cedar products (e.g. woven baskets)
- Photographic prints (e.g. local wildlife, cultural events, the village, etc.)
- Handmade drums
- Interpretive materials (e.g. locally produced videos and books)
- Button blankets
- Dolls dressed in handmade Gitga'at-style regalia
- Knit and crocheted items (e.g. blankets, clothing, etc.)