ILLUMINATING COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE AND PERCEPTION OF MODERN TREATY IMPLEMENTATION THROUGH PHOTOVOICE: PHOTOGRAPHY AND STORIES FROM HUU-AY-AHT FIRST NATIONS

by

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Abstract

Canada is currently operationalizing reconciliation efforts that stress the establishment of respectful and just relationships between Indigenous peoples and provincial and federal governments. British Columbia (BC) is unique among Canadian provinces and territories, given its lack of historical treaty agreements with Canadian governments. In April 2011, Huu-ay-aht First Nations joined four other Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations to begin implementation of the Maa-nulth Final Agreement (also known as the Maa-nulth Treaty) with BC and Canada, one of only three modern treaties that had been negotiated in the province at that time. Through narrative analysis of a case study using photovoice and participant observation involving 33 participants, I explore the experiences and perceptions of Huu-ay-aht citizens regarding the early years of treaty implementation. Modern treaties are often theoretically criticized for being extensions of assimilative and colonial processes. However, empirical findings from this community-engaged study exemplify positive change, or the potential for change, and enhanced community autonomy, as seen and experienced through increases in control over Treaty Lands. Participants' data show that this control is effectively counteracting some of the impacts of dependency and suffering created by decades of destructive and racist Canadian federal and provincial government policies, structures, and services. Structural, environmental and health concerns that remain as treaty implementation continues are also discussed. This case study contributes to a better understanding of the experiences and perceptions of Indigenous peoples implicated in modern treaty relationships, experiences and perceptions that (as yet) are not adequately represented in the literature.

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Table of Contents

Abstract ii
Acknowledgements iii
List of Figures vii
List of Photographs viii
Chapter 1 Introduction 1
1.1 Indigenous Settler Relations in Canada: A Brief Big Picture 5
1.2 Research Goals and Objectives 6
1.3 Positionality: Settler Responsibility 7
1.4 Organization of Thesis Chapters 11
1.5 References 12
Chapter 2 Treaties of Canada and British Columbia: An Overview 15
2.1 Not So Terra Nullius: Making Treaties in Canada 15
2.2 Historical Geographies of Treaty-Making in Canada 16
2.3 Historical Geographies of Treaty-making (and the lack thereof) in British Columbia 19
2.4 Modern Treaties in British Columbia 23
2.5 The Maa-nulth Treaty 25
2.6 Geographic and Other Contributions to Understanding of Treaty-making in Canada 28
2.7 References 35
Chapter 3 Research Design 43
3.1 Introduction 43
3.2 Methodology: CBPR 43
3.3 Photovoice 45
3.4 Project Timeline 46
3.5 Participant Recruitment 47
3.6 Data Collection 49
3.6.1 Project Steps: What was Supposed to Happen 50
3.6.2 Project Steps: What Actually Happened 51
3.6.2.1 Data Collection 51
3.6.2.2 Analysis 53
3.7 Procedural, Situational and Relational Ethics in ‘the Field’ 55
3.8 Limitations 62
3.9 References 64

Chapter 4 Findings 67
4.1 The Maa-nulth Treaty: The Good, The Bad, and The Hope 68
4.2 Forestry: A Troubled Past, a Perplexing Present, and an Optimistic Future 73
4.3 Fisheries and Ecosystem Management: Healing the Land 78
4.4 Coming Home: uuʔałuk, Taking Care of Future Generations 85
4.4.1 Employment and Economy 85
4.4.2 Education 88
4.4.3 Housing 90
4.4.4 Child Welfare 93
4.5 References 97
Chapter 5 Conclusions 98
5.1 Introduction 98
5.2 Contributions 99
5.3 Study Limitations 103
5.4 Future Directions 105
5.5 Concluding Comments 106
5.6 References 109
Appendix A Info Letter 110
Appendix B Consent Form 115
Appendix C Training Instruction Sheet 118
Appendix D Training Session Script 121
Appendix E Interview Guide 127
Appendix F Recruitment Poster 129

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: The ḥahuułi of Huu-ay-aht First Nations……..1
Figure 1.2: Maa-nulth Treaty Final Agreement Lands (Ka:'yu:'k't'h/Che:k'tles7et'h' land, located in Kyuquot Sound, not shown). …….……..…….3
Figure 3.1: Project Timeline……..46
Figure 4.1: Cut Blocks surrounding Sugsaw Creek..……..……...72

List of Photographs

Photo 1: Clear-cut Timber and Slash Piles on Treaty Land. By Jon Aarssen……73

Photo 2: Logging near Serita Bay, done by Huu-ay-aht, showing debris, but also regrowth from reforestation efforts. By Robert Dennis …….73

Photo 3: Former riverbed (unknown location) on Huu-ay-aht Treat Settlement Land, showing buildup of gravel and rock due to clearcutting practices. By Rick Nookemus. ……74

Photo 4: Sarita Riverbed. By Stella Peters …...……..…74

Photo 5: Black bear climbing over Sugsaw creek. By Stephen Smith ……..….76

Photo 6: Tree growing out of old tree stump, in the Cowichan Valley. By Crystal Clappis……..77

Photo 7: Logging debris near Sugsaw Lake, Treaty Lands. By Barry Halvorson …….77

Photo 8: Barry crab fishing on his boat in Sarita Bay. By Jon Aarssen ……79

Photo 9: Rick taking part in work to rehabilitate rivers within Treaty Land. Courtesy of Rick Nookemus.…….79

Photo 10: Huu-ay-aht boat gathering kʷaqmis (Herring Eggs). By Robert Dennis ……..80

Photo 11: Potential salmon bearing river within Huu-ay-aht Treaty Lands. By Rick Nookemus..81

Photo 12: Salmon at Sugsaw fish hatchery, 2016. By Stephen Smith. ……..81

Photo 13: Salmon smoking in the traditional Huu-ay-aht style on Pachena Beach. By Stella Peters……..82

Photo 14: Logging debris in Pachena River, Huu-ay-aht Treaty Lands. By Rick Nookemus…….82

Photo 15: Bamfield harbour from fishing boat. By Hinatinyis.…..…….83

Photo 16: Daniel at Vetter Falls, Nass Valley, Northern BC. By Daniel Cook.……..…84

Photo 17: Qawii (Salmon Berries) gathered on Huu-ay-aht Treaty Lands. By Stella Peters ……..84

Photo 18: Drum made by Edward inside LNG building in Vancouver. By Edward R. Johnson …86

Photo 19: Charlie Clappis removing ‘for sale’ sign on recently purchased property near Bamfield. By Charlie Clappis …….87

Photo 20: Advertisement for “the Pub”, restaurant in Bamfield acquired by Huu-ay-aht since treaty. By Stella Peters ……..88

Photo 21: Multifaceted business in Bamfield that features a café. By Rick Nookemus…….88

Photo 22: Harry’s children at Pachena Beach. By Harry Brossault…….91

Photo 23: Theresa Peter’s bathroom, Anacla. By Theresa Peters …….....92

Photo 24: Charlie helping to construct a new playground in Anacla. By Charlie Clappis …….93

Photo 25: Stella Peters at Kixx?in village site. By Jon Aarssen …….94

Photo 26: Drum made for a child in care. By Edward R. Johnson …….95

Photo 27: Fraser Regional Aboriginal Friendship Centre in Vancouver. By Simon Dennis……..96

Chapter 1

Introduction

In 2011, the Maa-nulth Treaty went into effect, an agreement between settler governments and five Nuu-chah-nulth Nations on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Maa-nulth, which means "villages along the coast" in the Nuu-chah-nulth language, was the third modern-day treaty to be successfully negotiated on Vancouver Island and the first treaty with multiple-nation signatories (Maa-nulth First Nations 2009). One of the Indigenous signatories was Huu-ay-aht First Nations (HFN), whose vast ḥahuułi ("traditional territories") adjoin the Barkley Sound region on the west coast of Vancouver Island, at the entrance to Alberni Inlet **(**see Figure 1.1**).**

Figure 1.1 The ḥahuułi of Huu-ay-aht First Nations. west coast of BC, showing the ḥahuułi of Huu-ay-aht First Nations highlighted in green. Also shown are two of 13 reserve lands established by the Government of Canada in 1882. "Numukamis 1" refers to the Serita Bay area, while "Anacla 12" refers to the location of the majority of Huu-ay-aht citizens living on Treaty Lands (See figure 1.2 for treaty lands). The four primary sites of data collection are also shown: Anacla, Port Alberni, Nanaimo, and Vancouver. **Source:** public domain, retrieved from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Huu-ay-aht.png

Indigenous Nations in British Columbia (BC) are in a unique position among other provinces and territories of Canada because of the legality of Indigenous dispossession: few historical treaties were ever signed. The modern treaty process, which is still being worked through by many First Nations in BC, purports to redefine the relationship among provincial, federal, and Indigenous governments (British Columbia Treaty Commission, 2020). Modern treaties are often criticized (see Chapter 2.6) for being extensions of colonialism that continue to transform and destroy traditional Indigenous territories under settler colonial property structures and management practices. However, some First Nations accept these agreements as their chosen path for the settlement of land title disputes in Canada; this research focusses on one of those cases.

Huu-ay-aht citizens number close to 850 in total, and approximately 100 live within their ḥahuuƚi, primarily in the Nation's main community of Anacla, close to the village of Bamfield, BC (HFN 2018; Laskaris 2019). Most of the remaining 750 Huu-ay-aht citizens reside in the nearest population center of Port Alberni, while others are located across Vancouver Island, in the greater Vancouver area, and beyond (Laskaris 2019) (see Figure 1.1). As a result of the Maa-nulth Treaty, Huu-ay-aht First Nations now has recovered jurisdiction over more than 8,200 hectares of land within their ḥahuuƚi, compared to 1,077 hectares of reserve land that was "set aside for the tribe" under the Indian Act (HFN 2013). Once it was ratified by all parties in 2011, the Maa-nulth Treaty became a constitutionally protected legal agreement, which creates mutually binding obligations and commitments for both Maa-nulth First Nations and settler governments (See Figure 1.2).

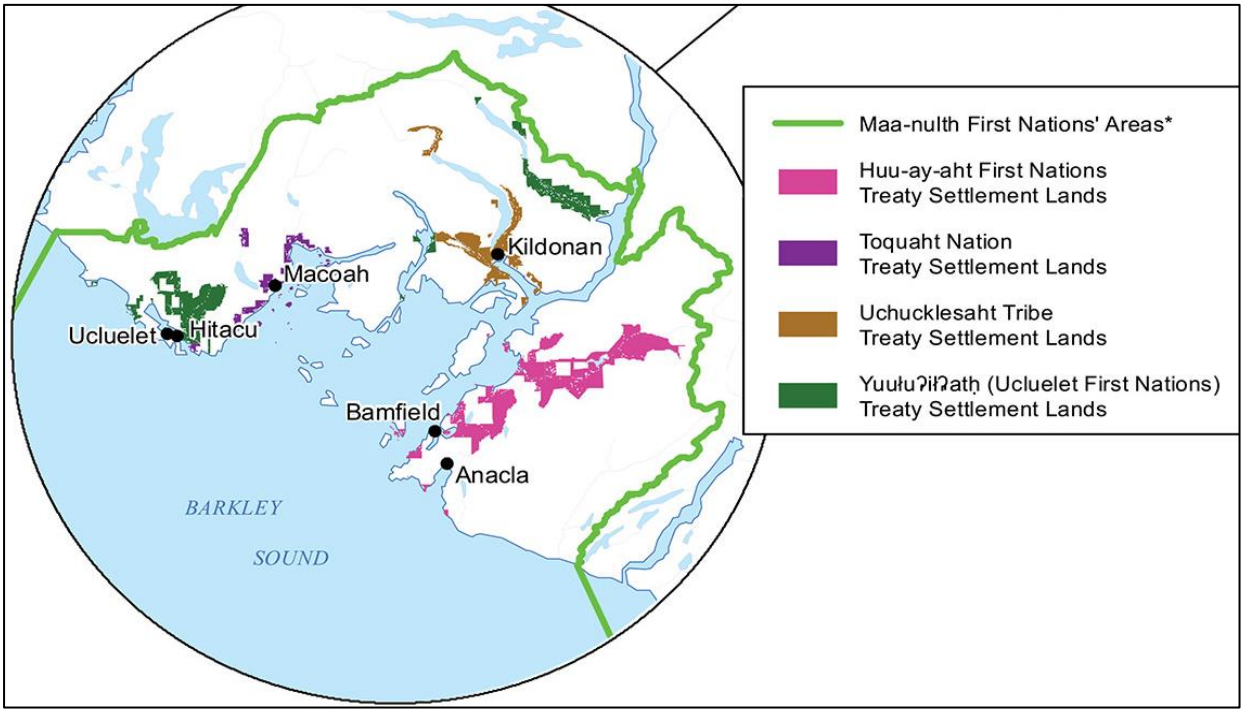

Figure 1.2 Four of five Maa-nulth Treaty final agreement lands (Ka:'yu:'k't'h/Che:k'tles7et'h' land, located in Kyuquot Sound, not shown). Huu-ay-aht treaty lands are highlighted in pink. **Source:** Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, retrieved from: https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1546539718081/

Fast forward to the spring of 2017: I was struggling to sort out my plans for undertaking a research project for my Master of Arts degree in Geography at Queen's University. Though short on details, I only knew that I wanted to do a study that would contribute to geographical research and that considered the legacy of colonialism in Canada in a way that involved, engaged, and directly benefitted people. I was familiar with the work of Dr. Heather Castleden involving Indigenous communities, and knew she had a reputation for being committed to developing mutually beneficial research programs with them, as well as recognizing their contributions, advancing qualitative community-based participatory techniques, and utilizing different modes of communication. Upon hearing that Dr. Castleden was to offer a qualitative methods course during the second term of my graduate program, I knew I had to be in that class. I also quickly learned that the research priorities of her lab, the Health Environment and Communities Research

Laboratory (the HEC Lab), aligned with and reflected my own concerns as a geographer and researcher: issues of social justice and equity pertaining to Indigenous communities throughout the history of colonialism in Canada. What began during an introductory sharing circle at the outset of the course evolved into an incredible, albeit challenging, research experience.

This Master's research project came into being as a direct result of a research relationship between Dr. Castleden and Huu-ay-aht First Nations that began almost 15 years ago. Since 2005, she has worked closely with Huu-ay-aht government to undertake a community-driven research program focused on the experiences of Huu-ay-aht citizens and leaders throughout their journey to becoming a modern treaty nation. During her own doctoral studies, Dr. Castleden had already been studying the lead-up to treaty implementation by using a research method called "photovoice," a process that involves giving people cameras to go out and take pictures of aspects of their daily life and then share their stories about those photos (Castleden et al. 2008). This original photovoice study, based in Anacla, offered not only valuable information on pre-treaty conceptualizations of Huu-ay-aht citizenship and community for comparative analysis, but also a unique opportunity for this study's participant recruitment and the continued growth of existing community research relationships, described herein. My participation in Dr. Castleden's graduate course would eventually lead to my joining the HEC lab, and the honor and privilege of developing my own research relationship with Huu-ay-aht First Nations under her guidance. My project, as a part of their larger research program, involved identifying, documenting, and critically understanding how Huu-ay-aht citizens have experienced treaty implementation through a "reboot" of her original photovoice project. Before expanding on my research goals, objectives, and my positionality as a settler researcher, I now provide a brief overview of Indigenous Settler relations in Canada.

1.1 Indigenous Settler Relations in Canada: A Brief Big Picture

In Canada, and on a global scale, Indigenous peoples have been subjected to oppressive colonial policies and practices for generations (Alfred & Corntassel 2009; Cardinal 2011, Castellano & Archibald 2007; Kovach 2013, 2015; Thomas & Green 2007; Smith 2007). These policies, first put in place by foreign imperial governments, were designed to silence Indigenous voices, control Indigenous bodies, and undermine their cultural and governance structures. Settler governments sought to eliminate the ability of Indigenous communities, families, and individuals to survive and thrive, all in an overall attempt to gain control of "valuable" land and resources (Louis, 2007).

Although parallels exist in other provinces and territories, the outcomes of Indigenous-settler relations in the province of BC are distinct**,** primarily because Indigenous peoples were dispossessed of unceded land despite the requirement of treaty, in some form or another, that had justified settler habitation throughout the rest of the country (Roth 2002; Foster 2009). Settler presence on Vancouver Island increased exponentially with the Douglas Purchase Treaties, signed by a representative of the British Crown and 14 Coast Salish First Nations located in the southern portion of Vancouver Island between 1850 and 1854. Though the Douglas Purchase did not apply to the majority of First Nations on the island and treaties only accounted for a small portion of BC, the dispossession of Indigenous communities across the province began soon after (Sloan Morgan & Castleden 2014). The forceful imposition of a reserve system and ways of life that mirrored European society, as well as the establishment of colonial systems and structures followed, as was the case throughout the rest of the country (Harris 2011; Sloan Morgan & Castleden 2014). To validate this dispossession, the land was categorized under British common law as *terra nullius*, or empty land. Such categorization de-humanized the legitimate Indigenous inhabitants and was used as the colonizer's justification for the dispossession of traditional Indigenous territories

without any legal compensation (Cavanagh 2014; Egan & Place 2013; Harris 2011; Sloan Morgan & Castleden 2014). By 2011, the ḥahuuƚi of Huu-ay-aht First Nations had already experienced essentially illegal government policies of dispossession and oppression for over 160 years, so the move to self-government through treaty represented a potentially life-changing development for the land and its citizens. Integrating input provided by Huu-ay-aht leadership and the project advisory committee, a set of goals and objectives for the project was identified, elaborated on below. The advisory committee, comprised of Huu-ay-aht citizens and including the Tayii Ḥa'wiih (head hereditary chief) ƛiišin (Derek Peters), has been guiding all stages of the larger research program in which this project is embedded (See Appendix A: Information Letter for full list of advisory committee members).

1.2 Research Goals and Objectives

At the direction of Huu-ay-aht First Nation, the overall focus of my research project centred on two questions:

1. How do Huu-ay-aht citizens perceive the benefits and drawbacks of the Maa-nulth Treaty?
2. How have they experienced and witnessed the impacts of the treaty process over the last 10 years?

From these questions, three objectives arose:

1. To identify, document, and understand Huu-ay-aht citizen perspectives of treaty implementation;
2. To compare Huu-ay-aht citizen perspectives of treaty implementation across four geographic locations: Huu-ay-aht Treaty Lands, Port Alberni, Nanaimo, and the Lower Mainland; and
3. To interpret the implications of these perspectives, informed by Nuu-chah-nulth epistemology, to assist in continued treaty implementation.

To ensure I met these objectives, I used the photovoice method as well as participant observation described in Chapter 3 (Research Design). Before elaborating on research design, I share how I

have come to think about my role in the research process, including my identity as a settler Canadian.

1.3 Positionality: Settler Responsibility

I am a white settler born and raised on the traditional territory of the Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee people, near Kingston, Ontario, Canada. The history of this land as I have come to understand it is one filled with violence, deception, and racism toward the Indigenous peoples who called it home long before any European explorers, traders, missionaries, and soldiers appeared. When settlers did arrive, my ancestors – perhaps yours too – orchestrated an assault on Indigenous lands and cultures. I want to acknowledge the racism and violence embedded in what our settler ancestors did and believed, and I realize I must do what I can to reduce/eliminate, continued complicity with these actions and beliefs.

On my mother's side, for example, my family settled in the Creston Valley in BC in the early 1930s, and the farm there remains one of my favourite places. Almost every entry in my elementary school journal mentions my affection for what is still a magical place to me. As an adult, however, it is thought provoking and heart wrenching to consider that the presence of my ancestors on that farm and the life they built there directly depended on the dispossession of the Lower Kootenay Band of the Ktunaxa Nation, known as Yaqan Nukiy – people who had lived in the valley for centuries. My relatives' presence on that land is a result of the violent imposition of colonial forestry, mining, and farming industries in the valley, which happened despite, and at times with the purpose of, irreparably affecting the lives and livelihood of Yaqan Nukiy families as well as surrounding ecosystems (Yaqan Nukiy 2017; Welwood 2003). Understanding the naturalization of colonial mindsets that has occurred through the historic and continual mismanagement of resources has driven my interests throughout my academic and personal life

and has particular relevance here. For most of my life, however, I confess that I was unaware of the many ways I am implicated in colonization, and (as Metis scholar Zoe Todd (2016) asserts) the many ways it actively attempts to erase some of the most important responsibilities we have as living beings, across species, across boundaries, and through space.

Although there are clear historical connections between my family's privilege and settler colonialism, campaigns of destruction in more recent history have become less overt in their racist violence. Nevertheless, they continue to result in irreparable transformations of the land and Indigenous ways of life. Lowman and Barker (2015) argue, as do other researchers, that forces of colonial deceit have woven their way into influencing a misguided "settler common sense," wherein ideals of settler domination permeate almost every aspect of modern settler society. Settler actions over time have often rendered the land unrecognizable to those whose lives, spirituality, and identity had depended on it for generations (Harris 2002; Woolford 2009). Continuing to develop an understanding of my identity as a settler has meant realizing the responsibility I have to this history, the people, the land, and other histories like it all over the country. I hold responsibility as a settler living off the spoils of racism and destruction, and I am privileged as a result of colonial violence. I have benefitted from the outright theft of land, displacement of people, and deceptive politics. I am present here in the wake of the destruction of livelihoods and ecosystems necessary for survival, and the systematic attempts at erasure of histories, cultures, and languages that made it possible for me to be and remain here.

I want the present and future to be different, and my role in this research is intended to contribute to this change. But I am aware of the time that true change may take, and the processes of colonization that continue to attack the viability of Indigenous communities, as well as their longstanding social, economic, political, cultural, educational, and heath institutions. In the past

and present, research relationships with Indigenous communities have often been compromised by imbalances of power, institutionalized racism, mistrust, and lack of Indigenous control (CIHR & SSHRC 2014; NSERC 1998; Schnarch 2004). There is continued need within academic institutions for the identification and utilization of research tools that are both effective and culturally relevant (Castleden et al. 2008; De Leeuw & Hawkins 2017; Smith 2013; Tuck, Yang & Smith 2018). Within the discipline of geography this need has taken multiple forms, from writing about decolonizing geography and creation of space to feature and celebrate Indigenous voices, to working with new research methods and participation in activism (De Leeuw 2017). However, authors like Tuck and Yang (2012) argue that we must realize the limitations of elements of research that are increasingly referred to as "decolonizing." Furthermore, research that attempts to be decolonizing or anti-colonial often falls short despite its good intentions, and is unable to, or refuses to, comprehend fully the improbability of truly decolonizing research or the academy, or any other primarily settler structure (Tuck & Yang 2012). Decolonization is improbable, or perhaps even impossible, because colonial history includes the theft of land and resources and the destruction of communities, languages, cultures, and ecosystems that cannot, or will not, ever be restored to Indigenous peoples (Tuck and Yang 2012). In Canada, we live, work in, and provide financial and political support to geographies that are grounded in, and perpetuate, colonial violence. As settlers, this reality will inevitably continue to inhibit our ability to understand and unsettle colonial power.

If we do not understand our historical positionality as a settler society, the answers we offer ourselves and others can be surprising, and destructive. Case in point: when I began this project by boarding a flight to Vancouver Island for a summer of fieldwork, I felt as if I were finally doing the work I was meant to do, and I was full of a sense of hope and purpose. After I boarded, however,

I got to chatting about my research project with a flight attendant who made it clear she was a settler. After I quickly explained the project as best I could, the attendant spoke up, much to my surprise, and in a disappointed and disapproving way said, "that's good, but no one cares about that". Now…I should have told her how the legal basis for the very existence of the Canadian state depends on treaty, how we are all treaty people, how we all hold the responsibility for the establishment and continued expansion of an economy and state, the origin of which is tied to attempted destruction of Indigenous cultures and unrelenting exploitation of their traditional territories. I should have told her she did *not* speak for me, that I cared, I should have told her many things, but I did not; I was shocked. I could not believe the arrogance of this person, and how entrenched she was in her world view, in her settler complacency. Perhaps I lacked the requisite words to state my position; perhaps I was just being "Canadian polite" and maintaining some sort of peace. Perhaps I carry some of that complacency, despite my best efforts. The truth is I should not have been shocked by the comment, because that kind of ignorance surrounds us and relentlessly infects settler ways of seeing and being in the world. The roots of colonialism – its attitudes, its racism, and its inherent need for domination and control – run deep in settler political, economic, and social structure. Being someone who was raised within, and yet was largely oblivious of, this abiding reality, I want to acknowledge how vigilant I have had to be, and anyone else who is non-Indigenous and working in solidarity must be, about these challenges, and about the inherent biases we carry. I am still optimistic, however, that reaching towards decolonization, conciliation, or anti-colonialism often results in movements that, though incremental, move in the right direction. Bearing in mind my white male settler privilege, I claim only to have done my best to listen to Huu-ay-aht citizens, and through this thesis, to share their stories in a respectful way with their free, prior, and informed consent.

1.4 Organization of Thesis Chapters

This thesis is organized into five chapters. In Chapter 2, I present a review of literature relevant to this study. I focus primarily on academic work regarding treaties signed in Canada, including treaties prior to colonial confederation, early colonial treaties, and the impact of (and evolution of) the modern treaty/land claims process in BC and Canada while outlining what we already know about the Maa-nulth Treaty and Huu-ay-aht experiences of living with a treaty. The final section of Chapter 2 includes academic work that has informed my geographic understanding of treaties as well as what is currently absent from the literature and how my research is intended to contribute to the existing gap(s). Chapter 3 discusses the study design in detail, including the methodology of Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR). The chapter then offers a discussion of the primary method I used: photovoice, wherein I provide details on participant recruitment and a discussion of what was supposed to happen during data collection, followed by what actually happened. Ethical considerations are then identified followed by a description of the narrative approach to analysis that I used, before concluding the chapter with a discussion of the limitations of the research design. The key findings of the project, complete with participant photos and quotes as well as my own photos, observations, and interpretations, are presented in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, I relate research findings to the gaps in the literature mentioned above and offer my conclusions as they relate to the research questions and objectives. In this final chapter, I end with a discussion of what I see as the main contributions of my research along with, study limitations, suggestions for future research, and concluding comments.

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Chapter 2

Treaties of Canada and British Columbia: An Overview

2.1 Not So Terra Nullius: Making Treaties in Canada

In July 1534, Jacques Cartier and his crew, after spending a week trading and exploring, erected a nine-metre high cross adjacent to a Mi'kmaw village site at present-day Pointe de Penouille, the entrance to what would become the harbour of Gaspé, Quebec (Cahill & Ouellet 2015). Although this was not the first time Indigenous peoples in North America had encountered outsiders, the incident does exemplify many important elements of early contact. The time that Cartier and his men spent in Mi'kmaw territory may have been the first contact that the Mi'kmaq, commonly referred to by Cartier as "wild" or "savage," had with Europeans. On one hand, Cartier's not-so-subtle act of aggression was one easily contested by the local people. On the other hand, the French considered the religious marker an important act of territoriality, made on behalf of King Francis I, an act that set the stage for some of the first treaties in Canadian history (Miller 2017). The writings of Cartier suggest that while the Mi'kmaq traded with the French and helped them take shelter in the bay, they also made it clear that they rejected any French claim to the area (Miller 2017). Around the world, Indigenous peoples like the Mi'kmaq have long contested the idea that the land they had occupied for millennia was ever *terra nullius* ("empty land" belonging to no-one) as asserted by European explorers, settlers, and Crowns (Borrows 2015). Although it would be more than 200 years until colonial common law began to confiscate Indigenous lands and destabilize control over what would become Canada, in European consciousness the space was occupied by inherently inferior peoples and thus was open to exploration and exploitation (Borrows 2015).

What follows is a brief synopsis of treaty making in Canada. I begin by charting a historical geography of early treaties in Canada (2.2) and then in British Columbia (BC) (2.3). I follow this synopsis with a discussion of literature pertaining to modern treaties in BC (2.4), including the Maa-nulth Treaty (2.5) and finally geographic and other contributions to my understanding of treaty-making in Canada (2.5).

2.2 Historical Geographies of Treaty-Making in Canada

The earliest treaties predate the establishment of Canada as a country and were often designed to establish peaceful relations between Indigenous nations and European newcomers who represented competing claims to North America (Egan 2012; Fenge & Aldridge 2015; Miller 2009). Many of these initial alliances that were formed between the French and Indigenous Nations in the late 16th and early 17th centuries focused on the fur trade, and involved arrangements that facilitated the collection and export of furs to European markets (Innis & Ray 1999; Miller 2009). During the early 17th century, the purpose of these alliances began to shift and instead represented political alliances of diplomatic association, focusing on preparations for war to be waged between rival European powers who sought to lay claim to the area (Egan 2012; Fenge & Aldridge 2015; Miller 2009). In the area that would eventually include the provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick, as well as Quebec's Gaspé region, Indigenous Nations including the Mi'kmaq formed what would eventually be known as the Wabanaki alliance, and sided politically with France to protect Mi'kma'ki (Mi'kmaw traditional territories) from British expansion (Patterson 1993, 2009; Plank 2001). Scott (2016) and others have resisted historical narratives of Indigenous Nations as "pawns" in European conquest during this time, and instead attest that the Mi'kmaq formed fierce and successful armed resistance to British encroachment for more than 40 years.

The Mi'kmaq fought alongside the French in three wars, the First Abenaki War (1675–77), King William's War (1688–97), and Queen Anne's War (1701–13) (Patterson 1993; Plank 2001; Reid 2013). The French eventually surrendered to the British in the early 18th century, but poorly defined borders led to further violence and conflict leading up to the first of the "friendship treaties" in 1726 (Scott 2016). The treaty of 1726 was the first treaty of peace the Mi'kmaq signed with the British crown, and only lasted until 1744, when the Mi'kmaq again took up arms alongside the French throughout King George's War (1744-48) (Scott 2016). As King George's War came to an end, increasing British military presence and settlement in the region were seen as a great threat to the Mi'kmaq and their traditional fishing and hunting grounds, and most of the Mi'kmaq refused to engage in peace talks (Reid 2013). In 1749, Governor Edward Cornwallis responded to Mi'kmaq refusal by staging a violent campaign that offered ten guineas (one guinea was approximately 1/4 ounce of gold) for any Mi'kmaq captured or killed in the region; the price increased to 50 guineas in 1750 (Reid 2013). Mi'kmaq then formed their own armed resistance alongside settler militia loyal to France, which eventually led to their siding again with the French during the Seven Years' War, a worldwide conflict between European powers that began in 1756 and lasted until 1763 (Scott 2016). By the end of the Seven Years' War, a Royal Proclamation was declared (Borrows & Coyle 2017; Miller 2009). The Royal Proclamation, struck by Britain's King George III in 1763, was designed to form a structure of territorial governance pertaining to lands acquired by the British during hostilities in North America (Fenge & Aldridge 2015). The Proclamation acknowledged existing Indian title to land and laid out basic procedures through which European settlers would negotiate the consent of the Indians to "purchase" those lands (Miller 2009):

> "…And We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories not included within the Limits of Our said Three new Governments" (King George III 1763, p 4).

Although this underlying acknowledgment of legal title was and still is crucial for treaty negotiation, for settlers who wrote and acted on the Proclamation, its primary purpose was facilitating access to Indigenous lands in a way that could not easily be disputed, rather than protecting Indigenous claims to territory (Miller 2009). Nonetheless, treaties in the tradition of the Royal Proclamation dominated the relations of Indigenous peoples and European settlers, first in the east before Confederation, then in the central region in the 1870s, and finally in northern regions after 1899 (Asch 2014; Miller 2009).

In 1764, Indigenous people representing 22 First Nations assembled at Fort Niagara, near Youngstown, New York, and guided by the Proclamation, entered into an agreement of respect, peace, and friendship that resulted in a modest transfer of land to the British Crown (Coyle et al. 2017). The treaty of Fort Niagara became the template for treaties negotiated throughout what would become Canada up until Confederation in 1867 (Fenge & Aldridge 2015; Miller 2009). The numbered treaties that followed Confederation, negotiated between 1871 and 1921, have for generations been a part of a settler-controlled narrative that suggested a "non-violent story of consensual settlement," and have symbolized the disintegration of Indigenous claims to their traditional territories (Starblanket 2019). However, the history of treaty-making, as shared through Indigenous oral traditions, is often decidedly at odds with versions of history recorded by British representatives, which raises questions about the legitimacy of those agreements and the appropriation of Indigenous territory in the first place (Fenge & Aldridge 2015).

Serious misunderstanding of what these treaties actually meant can largely be attributed to significant cultural differences and language barriers between colonial and Indigenous negotiators, alongside a transactional colonial interpretation of the agreements, which together ultimately undermined any potential for the peaceful coexistence of settlers and Indigenous peoples (Egan 2012; Starblanket 2019). Transactional interpretations of treaties as merely the purchase of land neglects the spirit and intent of treaty relationships described by treaty Elders (Cardinal and Hildebrandt 2000) and documented by Indigenous and settler scholars (Asch 2014; Borrows 2002; Cardinal 1969; Craft 2013; Miller 2009; Stark 2016; Venne 2007). As far as much of the early European settler population was concerned, Indigenous peoples only impeded developmental progress and so needed to be removed from the land altogether, much like the pine forests that were cleared in Eastern Canada to facilitate farming, profit making, and export (Miller 2017). The numbered treaties were meant to represent the co-existence of multiple living beings in a space that was to be shared equitably, but it soon became clear to Indigenous Nations that co-existence was not a priority for settler governments. Cree scholar Gina Starblanket (2019, 447), who grew up in Treaty 4 territory, attests that "Canada's archive of historical narratives, social and cultural assumptions, and judicial and political decisions has sustained a set of unifying mythologies about the transactional nature of treaties over time." Canadian governments continue to use these treaty mythologies to legitimate settler presence on, destruction of, and claim to much of Canada (Starblanket 2019).

2.3 Historical Geographies of Treaty-making (and the lack thereof) in British Columbia

First European contact with Indigenous communities on the west coast of what is now BC did not happen until 240 years after Cartier and his men erected a cross at the mouth of the Gaspe (Tennant 1990). It was not until 1774, after the Seven Years' War, the Royal Proclamation of 1763, and the

Treaty of Niagara, that Spanish explorer Juan José Pérez Hernández sailed into Nootka Sound to trade with Mowachaht/Muchalaht peoples, a Nuu-cha-nulth nation (Marshall 1993; Tennant 1990). Four years later, in 1778, British Naval Captain James Cook also sailed into Nootka Sound and used local timber to repair his ship, which let the world know of the great timber resources that Vancouver Island possessed (Rossiter 2007). Although the island increasingly became a colonial space, little happened between 1774 and 1849 that affected Aboriginal title or control (Clayton 1999; Tennant 1990; Rossiter 2007). Over time a fur trade developed, fortified posts were established, and the area integrated into a global capitalist system. Europeans, however, were still vastly outnumbered, despite the ravages of introduced disease against which Indigenous peoples were immunologically defenseless and because of which their communities were reduced significantly in size (Harris 1997).

For the most part, early European presence did not intrude and impose itself on Indigenous society and space. This changed dramatically with the arrival of Sir James Douglas and the establishment of the Colony of Vancouver Island in 1849, which entrusted colonial settling to the Hudson's Bay Company (Tennant 1990). Between 1850 and 1854, Douglas negotiated fourteen "purchase agreements" on Vancouver Island that collectively accounted for about three percent of its total land mass (McKee 2009). Even though the word "treaty" is not invoked in the documents produced by Douglas and his dealings, Canadian courts eventually ruled that they would remain as valid agreements (Tennant 1990). This is especially noteworthy given that the documents in question were essentially copies of those deployed for land cession in New Zealand. The documents were sent to Douglas from London and adapted to suit the purchases made on Vancouver Island; in some instances, Indigenous representatives even signed a blank sheet of paper, which was filled in later (Miller 2009; Tennant 1990). The Royal Proclamation had little

actual influence on early colonial settlement in BC, which was not included as part of the British colony when the proclamation was written, and/or because settlement in the area was greatly expedited in light of the northern expansion of the United States (Miller 2009).

The early efforts of Douglas to acquire land were all but halted after 1854 by disputes over who was to pay for the process (Miller 2009). Local settlers thought the treaties were an imperial responsibility to be borne by Great Britain; yet this was not the case, so treaty efforts on the island ground to a halt (Miller 2009). Due in part to this stalemate, other Nations of Vancouver Island (i.e., Nuu-chah-nulth, Kwakwaka'wakw) never signed any treaties, and Aboriginal title to the land remained intact across most of the island. This situation did not mean, however, that these Nations did not experience a surge of colonial activity. Rossiter (2007) explains that, in 1859, as the Colonial Office was assuming control of Vancouver Island from the Hudson's Bay Company, a man named William Banfield was appointed government agent in the area of Barclay Sound and the Alberni Inlet. Banfield settled on land he purchased from Huu-ay-aht, and the town of Bamfield was established. Banfield viewed the west coast of Vancouver Island as a bountiful land, rich in resources, and underutilized by its "savage" inhabitants (Banfield 1861 as cited in Rossiter 2007, p. 780). Two years after Banfield's appointment, he facilitated the installation of a pulp and paper mill near present-day Port Alberni and colonial saws began to cut as much as 14,000 feet of timber per day, most of it exported to England and Australia (Rossiter 2007).

After BC entered Canadian Confederation in 1871, the Federal government assumed legislative control over Indigenous people and lands under the authority of the Constitution Act of 1867 (McKee 2009). Provincial authorities assumed control over certain aspects of Indigenous peoples' lives and used that control to prohibit their involvement in provincial elections and to leverage existing provincial title to land (McKee 2009). As a province, BC essentially refused to

sign treaties and actively prevented Indigenous resistance to colonial encroachment. Powerful colonial interests in the province denied First Nations of BC the promises of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and continued to acquire lands and resources illegally (Borrows & Coyle 2017).

In 1876, the Indian Act was introduced to consolidate existing legislation affecting First Nations. It became a mechanism to prevent the increasing resistance from Indigenous peoples and their political organizing, and to enforce claims of colonial land title all over the country. An amendment to the Indian Act in 1884, for example, outlawed the potlatch, one of the most important political, economic, and cultural institutions of the First Nations of coastal BC (McKee 2009). In the late 19th century, dissatisfaction among Indigenous peoples in BC was reaching a boiling point (Egan 2012; McKee 2009). Representatives of Coast Salish and Nisga'a tribes even travelled from northwestern BC to Victoria to protest territorial changes; Tsimshian tribes, who are also from northwestern BC, travelled all the way to Ottawa to demand additional reserve land from Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. Macdonald promised to correct the problem, but never did (McKee 2009). When it was completed in the early twentieth century, the reserve system in the province set aside less than half of one percent of BC's land base for Indigenous peoples (Egan 2012). Barely twenty percent of the rest, however, was included in treaties of any kind, which means that there were (and are still) significant ongoing conflicts regarding land title of much of the province (Egan 2012).

In 1927, another amendment to the Indian Act prohibited any group of Indigenous peoples from raising funds that would support land-claim related activities, a policy that would last until 1951 (McKee 2009). Despite efforts to silence Indigenous voices and suppress legal and political activities, groups of Indigenous people committed to having their rights respected, continued—

sometimes underground, and sometimes in plain sight. These groups included, for example, the Allied Tribes of British Columbia (ATBC), established in 1916, followed by the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia (NBBC) in 1931, and the Nisga'a Tribal Council in 1955 (McKee 2009). In 1958, what is now known as the Nuu-cha-nulth Tribal Council (NTC) was formed to increase the political influence of fourteen coastal Nuu-cha-nulth First Nations, including Huu-ay-aht First Nations (NTC, 2019).

2.4 Modern Treaties in British Columbia

The determination of Indigenous political organizations like the NTC proved instrumental in setting the stage for several court decisions, beginning with the Berger Inquiry in the 1970s, that would change both federal and provincial policies concerning Aboriginal title (McKee 2009). Additionally, the withdrawal of the 1969 White Paper (the proposed dismantling of the Indian Act) in 1971, and the establishment of federal funding programs to support Indigenous communities, were followed closely by an important 1973 Supreme Court of Canada ruling in a case brought by Nisga'a hereditary chief Frank Calder, and the Nisga'a Tribal Council (Foster, Raven & Webber 2011; Godlewska & Webber 2007; McKee 2009). The most important part of the ruling was the declaration that Aboriginal title remained in effect in BC.

In 1982, the rights of Indigenous peoples and their title to land was again affirmed in section 35 of the Canadian Constitution. Although section 35 offered the opportunity for some significant policy change in Canada, it was also criticized for being broad and vague when it came to Aboriginal title to land where no prior treaty exists (Coyle et al. 2017; Sloan Morgan & Castleden 2014). In 1984, the Musqueam First Nation brought a case to the Supreme Court of Canada that extended the Nisga'a decision to describe Aboriginal title to land as a pre-existing legal right that was not created by the Royal Proclamation of 1763, but rather representative of the

historic occupation and possession by Indigenous peoples of their traditional territories (McKee 2009; Egan 2012). The Supreme Court agreed that the government had breached its fiduciary duty to Indigenous peoples and awarded Musqueam 10 million dollars. Within weeks of the ruling, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, a Nuu-cha-nulth Nation, blocked logging company MacMillan Bloedel's access to timber on Meares Island to assert that the permits that BC was issuing for logging were beyond their power to issue on land that had existing Aboriginal title (McKee 2009). It did not take long for BC to recognize that the outright rejection of Indigenous title to land was no longer acceptable as a provincial strategy. In 1990, the province joined Canada and First Nations to create the British Columbia Claims Task Force, a legislative body charged with finding a way to resolve the land question (Egan 2012; McKee 2009; Venne 2007). In the interest of streamlining and standardizing future negotiations, a six-stage process was established in 1992, and the British Columbia Treaty Commission (BCTC), an organization independent from First Nations, federal, and provincial governments, was appointed in 1993.

The Supreme Court of Canada made yet another important decision in 1997, one that signaled new laws and adaptations to legal concepts despite its failure to fundamentally question underlying Crown title (Borrows 1999; Roth 2002). The decision, known as Delgamuukw v. BC, was in response to the jurisdictional claim of Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples to 58,000 square kilometers in northwestern BC (Roth 2002). Although the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en are still awaiting the settlement of their claim, the court did make legal headway through a concise definition of the protection given to Aboriginal title under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, and by establishing precedent for the use of oral testimony as evidence of historic occupation while clarifying how Indigenous Nations can prove title to land (Borrows 1999). In 1998, Tsilhqot'in First Nation, whose traditional territory is in central BC, began the legal fight for court recognized

title to their land (Borrows 2015). Although the province appealed the original Supreme Court of BC ruling that found in favour of Tsilhqot'in, the Supreme Court of Canada in 2014 ultimately upheld Tsilhqot'in First Nations title and claim to 1,750 square kilometers of territory they historically occupied (Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia 2014). The decision set a new precedent regarding Indigenous title to land, and granted Tsilhqot'in "the right to decide how the land will be used; the right of enjoyment and occupancy of the land; the right to possess the land; the right to the economic benefits of the land; and the right to pro-actively use and manage the land" (Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia 2014, par. 73). However, it is worth noting that this was achieved while still upholding the overbearing sovereignty of the province (Borrows 2015).

2.5 The Maa-nulth Treaty

In 2003, after some ten years of negotiations amongst the fourteen-member nations of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council, only five nations decided to continue, and the remainder decided to abandon treaty negotiations with the province and the federal government. The group of five Nuu-cha-nulth First Nations, including Huu-ay-aht First Nations, submitted a new Statement of Intent (Stage one of the six stage process) and continued treaty negotiations separate from the NTC (Maa-nulth 2003, 2011; Sloan Morgan & Castleden 2014). As these negotiations unfolded in 2005, my supervisor, Dr Heather Castleden, began developing a research relationship with Huu-ay-aht concerning their interests in two keystone species in their traditional territories—cedar and salmon—the purpose of which was to contribute to their Treaty negotiations.

In 2007, further research included a collaborative study that used an emerging method of data collection called "photovoice" (participant-employed photography and focus group-style storytelling and decision-making) (Wang & Burris, 1997). Dr. Castleden explored meanings of "natural" resources from Huu-ay-aht perspectives, concluding that more effort should be devoted

to critiquing geographical discourse that focuses on society and resources, which is often situated firmly within the confines of settler colonial knowledge production (Castleden 2007). In light of the new relationship that Huu-ay-aht were forming with the provincial government at the time, Castleden (2007) identified multiple meanings that Huu-ay-aht associate with forestry and fisheries, and demonstrated how those meanings were going to be important in ensuring that lands and resources are managed and developed in accordance with the First Nations' laws, knowledge, and values. Castleden's (2007) dissertation contained three articles, two of which were later published separately. The first, in 2008, documented how the community modified the photovoice method to its particular context in a community-driven approach that respected their autonomy and culture (Castleden, Garvin, & Huu-ay-aht First Nation, 2008). This work provided a model for the adaptation of photovoice with other Indigenous communities and validated its ability to respond to cultural preferences while building trust and a sense of ownership within Indigenous communities (Castleden et al. 2008). A second paper was published in 2009; in it, Castleden and colleagues introduced the Huu-ay-aht worldview, and guiding sacred principle of *Hišuk ma c̓awak,* which speaks to the interconnectedness of all things as an explanation of the relationship between humans and ecosystems. Castleden, Garvin, and Huu-ay-aht First Nations (2009) explained that this worldview is incorporated into the lives of Huu-ay-aht in practical and spiritual ways, and through treaty may have the potential to influence resource management and theory.

In addition to *Hišuk ma c̓awak* (everything is one, everything is connected), Huu-ay-aht sacred principles of *ʔiisaak* (respect with caring), and *ʔuuʔałuk* (caring for present and future generations) together form the Nuu-cha-nulth worldview that has been guiding interactions within and outside of Huu-ay-aht First Nations for generations. Throughout this thesis I refer to both "worldview" and "sacred principles," which I have decided to use instead of terms like

epistemology or ontology for two reasons. First, alongside Castlden (2009) and Calabretta (2017), I have chosen to align this work with the work of Nuu-cha-nulth scholar Richard Atleo (2004), who attests that "worldview" more accurately reflects the lived experiences of Huu-ay-aht citizens and Nuu-cha-nulth ways of seeing and knowing the world. Second, the use of "sacred principles" to describe the guiding principles of this worldview aligns with descriptions provided by Huu-ay-aht themselves, both in person and on their website (HFN 2019).

Castleden's research was taken up by the First Nation to aid in their Treaty negotiations, legal challenges around forestry and fisheries, as well as for community priority-setting. In 2009, she was asked to do additional research with the Nation's youth concerning their visions for life after the Indian Act. The Indian Act would no longer control Huu-ay-aht citizens after they reached Stage 6 of the BCTC negotiation process. This research, which involved Huu-ay-aht youth making digital stories about their visions for the future, concluded on April 1, 2011, when the Maa-nulth Final Agreement (or Treaty) went into effect and the youths' digital stories were screened at the Treaty celebrations.

At the end of over eighteen years of Treaty negotiations, the Maa-nulth Final Agreement accounted for the transfer of approximately 24,550 hectares of treaty land to Huu-ay-aht First Nations (Maa-nulth 2003, 2011), as well as transfers to the other four signatory First Nations. In addition to legislative powers regarding lands, Huu-ay-aht gained control over resources and other areas of self-governance including authority over the delivery of health services, adoption, education of children from kindergarten to grade 12, and public works (Maa-nulth 2011). Hours after a symbolic burning of the Indian Act, which took place early on 1 April 2011, Huu-ay-aht established their own laws under their own constitution (Sloan Morgan, Castleden & Huu-ay-aht First Nations 2019**)**. Huu-ay-aht worldview is now guiding the move to self-government (Sloan

Morgan et al. 2019). Article 1.5(c) of the Huu-ay-aht constitution (2007), for example, which must be upheld by all citizens, includes accepting responsibility to adhere to the teachings of *ʔiisaak* (Sloan Morgan et al. 2019). Settler ignorance, however, was still a defining characteristic of Indigenous–settler relations in the area. Almost half of the local residents who were surveyed in Port Alberni during the week of treaty implementation were completely unaware of its existence, and settler perspectives remained largely focussed through the lenses of ill-informed, socio-political and economic stereotypes (Sloan Morgan & Castleden 2014).

Although there has been a positive association found between wages and income amongst First Nations post-treaty (Aragón 2015), critics are quick to dismiss the significance of those gains in the face of existing federal interests that undermine the socio-economic development of Indigenous communities (Tait & Ladner 2018). Overall, the amount of scholarship, both geographical and otherwise, that critically engages the treaty process in BC, and throughout Canada, has been growing steadily since the late 90s (Blackburn 2005; Curry, Donker & Krehbiel 2014; McKee 2009; Morse 2004; Rosenberg & Dickson 2016; Rotz 2017; Saku & Bone 2000; Turner & Fondahl 2015). Seen as an important step for Indigenous-settler relations, scholarship is key to engaging with settler Canadians and Indigenous peoples alike in treaty awareness and education (Couros et al. 2013; Tupper 2012).

2.6 Geographic and Other Contributions to Understanding of Treaty-making in Canada

Geography translates in Greek as "Earth writing," and has deep etymological roots in the physical, spatial world; these roots, as de Leeuw (2018) explains, can be complementary to a sense of "rootedness in Earth and place" observed and experienced in Indigenous communities all over the world. In addition to community-based participatory research (see Chapter 3), the theoretical orientation of this project was, at the foundational level, guided by geography as the study of

humans within and across spaces, and how we interact, organize and identify ourselves across/within the places we create (de Leeuw 2018; Mayhew 2009; Henderson 2009). Geographers seek to understand space and place as both active forces of change in human society that impact how we organize and structure ourselves and our systems of being on Earth, and as entities that are subject to constant transformation by humans (de Leeuw 2018). *Where* we are and *how* we exist in space and place matters to geographers. No space or place is a static or neutral area on or in which we exist, nor is it entirely socially constructed. The primary focus of this project was to discover new information about how Huu-ay-aht citizens have experienced and perceived the Maa-nulth Treaty process, across time and within space and place.

The disruption of Indigenous connections to the land and colonial rejection of claims to Indigenous space and place represent significant aspects of colonial mentality in Canada. Geographical practices have always been an integral part of operationalizing this colonial mentality through the practice of colonial dispossession and its justification (Castleden et al. 2013; Godlewska & Smith 1994; Painter & Jeffrey 2009; Powell 2008). Much traditional Indigenous territory in Canada has been inscribed and demarcated with European-defined political borders, and many Indigenous peoples have been removed from their traditional territories through European land-use laws and physical dispossession that set the stage for the reserve system (Alfred 2005; Bracken 1997; Harris 2011; Simpson 2008).

With further regard to colonial mentality, the BC treaty process is centrally concerned with land, or property, and was created with the intention of resolving longstanding land-title disputes between the Crown and Indigenous peoples (Blomley 2014, 2015; Egan 2012, 2013; Rossiter & Wood 2005, 2017; Wood & Rossiter 2011). From the Government of Canada's perspective, then, the purpose of the treaty process is to transform Aboriginal title into a more certain and spatially

limited set of property rights. The organization of property in treaty making involves a reworking of BC's geography that establishes the line between Indigenous and settler space. Although such reworking means the return of some of their traditional territories, more control over their own lives, and more economic development opportunity, it also requires that First Nations give up rights to lands and resources not agreed to in the final treaty agreement. The result is the reproduction of the kind of colonial geography and systematic allocation of land that Indigenous peoples have been trying to resist since European contact (Egan 2013). Treaties legally transform Aboriginal title into a classification of property that meshes more seamlessly with the Canadian legal system, but it also works to protect some forms of property from the negotiation process altogether (Schmidt 2018). As testament to the continued existence of structures of colonial dispossession, Canada and BC have both asserted that they will not expropriate private property in order to settle treaties; BC has committed itself to ensuring that private interests in Crown lands, such as commercial tenures to extract natural resources (e.g. timber, water, minerals), will not be negatively affected by treaties (Blomley 2003; Borrows 1997; Harris 2002; Coulthard 2014; Egan 2013; Schmidt 2018). Indeed, it seems colonial powers still only acknowledge Indigenous rights when "this recognition does not throw into question the background legal, political and economic framework of the colonial relationship itself" (Coulthard 2007, p 6). This realization resonates with what Woolford (2004; 2010) calls "affirmative repair," meaning treaty settlement decisions do not significantly alter patterns of economic production or cultural valuation in Canadian society.

Several other academic works have informed my geographic understanding of the impacts of colonial capitalist economies on Indigenous space and places in Canada. Harold Innis's seminal work (1956) on "staples theory" is one such contribution, providing a jumping-off point for my own personal interests in economic vulnerability among communities dependent on a single

resource. It also endures as an insightful analysis of the boom-bust nature of capitalist resource development (Barnes 2005; Keeling & Sandlos 2015, 2016; Randall & Ironside 1996; Watkins 2007). Though it is not a new theoretical perspective, Innis's theory has influenced a new generation of critical scholars who continue to analyze the cyclical nature of resource development. Among them figure Barnes, Hayter and Hay (2001) who use Port Alberni as a case study of cyclical patterns of forestry accumulation and consequent economic decline and personal hardship in the area. They do not, however, consider environmental issues or the experiences of Nuu-cha-nulth peoples in their analysis of the topic.

The critiques of capitalism offered by geographer David Harvey, notably his concept of "accumulation by dispossession," have also been useful frameworks for understanding the legacy of Canadian extractive interests at home and abroad (Harvey 2003, 2010; Gordon & Webber 2008). As Harvey (2003, 2010) sees it, the creation of spaces of accumulation within a capitalist system involves the forceful reorganization of human lives and destruction of space. This destruction, which is spatially uneven, creates what some have called "sacrifice zones" or areas destroyed for quarterly profit (Harvey 2003, 2010; Le Lefebvre 1991). Indigenous communities are often located in or close to sacrifice zones and are often disproportionately affected by related environmental destruction (Willow 2016). Historical political ecology, a field that focuses on the unequal distribution of the environmental harms and benefits of colonial environmental management and production, has also been useful in considering these dynamics (Peet, Robbins & Watts 2010; Perreault, Bridge & McCarthy 2015; Robbins 2002). Willow (2016), among others, approaches contemporary extractive industries as a destructive extension of a long enduring colonial social structure.

Considering the ongoing legacy of extractive industries, in 1997 Huu-ay-aht were involved in the production of "Heart of the People", a Gemini-nominated documentary film that was followed by a sequel "Return of the River" in 2002. Both films focus on efforts to bring back the Sarita River, which is known to Huu-ay-aht throughout history as the “heart of the people,” and was home to celebrated runs of salmon, in the tens of thousands. Not only was the river an important source of food, but it also allowed Huu-ay-aht to travel from the ocean to upland areas to reach other sources of food, lakes, camps, and sacred locations. For thousands of years, the Sarita River was the location of a number of villages and served as the home base of Huu-ay-aht, but in the 1950s and 60s the watershed was all but destroyed by clear-cut logging and over-fishing (HFN 2020). The impact of non-Indigenous mismanagement of resources on Huu-ay-aht watersheds and territory as a whole is overwhelming. After the abundance of tree stumps of every size and shape, one of the most obvious signs is erosion along riverbanks which has led to extreme sediment build up within the rivers and streams themselves. Tree roots provide natural stability for soil, and in many ways hold the contents of a forest together. If thousands of trees are taken from a forest, such as in the case of clear-cut logging, the sediment loses stability near the surface (Chatwin & Smith 1992; Jakob 2000). If this stability is lost within close proximity to water bodies, that sediment will end up in the water over time. As this rogue sediment builds up in certain places, it changes the characteristics of the river. If it continues to build up, it can actually send the water underground and dry up the river for most of the year, making important biological processes, like the spawning of salmon, almost impossible (Rajala 2012). In fact, close to five hundred streams and lakes across BC have seen a substantial decline in biodiversity as a direct result of industrial forestry, and at least 140 salmon spawning habitats have faced extinction since 1900 (Rajala 2012). In 1997, the Sierra Legal Defense Fund (SLDF) argued that the health of forest ecosystems is

directly dependent on protecting rivers and streams from erosion, accumulation of sediment, higher water temperatures, and debris. By 1997, 62 per cent of the Sarita watershed had been logged and the river had expanded to approximately twice as wide as it once was (HFN 2018). Five years later, the Raincoast Conservation Society (RCS) released an analysis of BC coastal wild salmon runs that found up to 74 percent were facing substantive decline (Harvey, MacDuffee, & RCS 2002).

Within the disciplines of geography, developmental psychology, and ecology, the concept of "resilience" articulates the ability of individuals, communities and ecosystems to adapt despite structural or systemic adversity and stress (Adger 2000; Bowles & Gintis 2002; Kirmayer, Sehdev & Isaac 2009; Kirmayer et al. 2011; Ledogar and Fleming 2008; Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls 199; Scott 2013). Capitalist extractive industry has caused adversity and stress in local ecosystems across the country, while colonial history and policy has caused immeasurable adversity and stress for Indigenous communities. The study of resilience in human communities aims to examine the ability to overcome hardship at the scale of the family and social system. The work of Kirmayer and colleagues (2009) has been influential in a reworking of the concept that attempts to account for the unique cultural, geographic and social circumstances and histories of adversity in Indigenous communities.

In Canada in particular, the resilience of Indigenous peoples has shown to be impacted by connection to specific places and spaces (traditional territories, communities, environments) and histories of displacement and loss of autonomy that have severed those connections. Structural violence and various levels of inequality, alongside campaigns of assimilation and cultural oppression that have plagued Indigenous communities must be considered when examining the resilience of such communities (Kirmayer et al. 2009). Examples of community characteristics

that promote resilience can be found throughout the work of Chandler and Lalonde (1998; 2008), who argue that 'cultural continuity'—which they describe using markers of attempted 'cultural rehabilitation' including the securing of Indigenous title, self-government, community control, and the establishment of cultural facilities—is directly related to low or non-existent levels of suicide in Indigenous communities throughout B.C (Chandler & Lalonde 2008). Regarding the resilience of Indigenous communities, it is also important to note the work of Ledogar and Fleming (2008), who claim that 'collective efficacy', which is described as the extent to which community members feel they can rely on the community to act in interest of their well-being, and to move towards collective, not imposed, goals, is crucial in considering resilience in Indigenous contexts. Much of the early study of resilience focused on the individual, however, Indigenous perspectives require consideration of 'coexistence', wherein notions of personhood are usually culturally informed, and linked to the resiliency of the community as well as the land and ecosystems (Kirmayer et al. 2011).

2.7 Chapter Summary

Here I have outlined the historical geography of treaty making in B.C. and throughout Canada in addition to discussing scholarship that has informed my own understanding of the modern treaty process in Canada as a human geographer. Gaps in the literature exist; scholarship needs to explore further the meaning and motivation behind decision-making throughout the treaty process, as well as how the impacts of treaty are experienced in both Indigenous and settler communities in BC and across Canada. After all, *we are all treaty people.*

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Chapter 3

Research Design

3.1 Introduction

Tenets of community-based participatory research (CBPR) informed the overall methodology for this qualitative case study, wherein I used a modified version of photovoice (participant-employed photography and group storytelling) as a method of data collection (see Castleden, Garvin & Huu-ay-aht First Nation 2008). In March 2016, Dr. Castleden confirmed Huu-ay-aht First Nations' approval of the proposed photovoice project after a meeting with the advisory committee. Following a presentation of the larger program at the Annual Peoples' Assembly in early 2015, members of the Huu-ay-aht leadership (hereditary and elected) publicly indicated that they would be in favor of seeing photovoice done again, 10 years after the first use of photovoice in the community (see Castleden et al., 2008). After that meeting, Dr. Castleden went on to explore this idea one-on-one (verbally) with the leadership to confirm that they would like a photovoice project to move forward. Once there was verbal confirmation from the hereditary Chief and the elected Chief Councilor, as well as the elected Council, the project was approved to move ahead. This kind of dialogue and Indigenous control over the research is key to maintaining an ongoing research relationship that has goals of influencing real change, on the ground, in communities (LaVeaux & Christopher 2009; Castleden, Mulrennan, & Godlewska 2012). CBPR articulates this relational methodology and has provided the guiding principles for my research project. These principles reflect the larger research program and they are described below.

3.2 Methodology: CBPR

CBPR is as much a philosophy as it is a research methodology, and it has been widely used both to address and depart from the shortcomings and ethical concerns of traditional academic research

through the inclusion of research participants as co-researchers (de Leeuw, Cameron & Greenwood 2012; Castleden et al. 2008). Throughout the history of traditional academic research *on* Indigenous people, countless (mainly non-Indigenous) researchers have entered Indigenous communities and collected data, with or without consent, and often without returning the outcomes of research to communities (Castellano 2004; Castleden et al. 2008). Within many Indigenous communities, this approach has manifested skepticism of researchers and their intentions, and reveals the inability of research to produce results that are relevant to community members on the ground and as part of their everyday lived experiences (Smith, 2013; Tuck & Yang 2014). This skepticism can manifest as resistance to research, and for good reason (Tuck & Yang 2014). As Smith (2013, p. 2) argues, it is "difficult to discuss research methodology and Indigenous peoples together in the same breath…without understanding the complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices."

CBPR works towards long-term commitments with Indigenous communities to engage those who are often "subjects" of research in a process that is more socially accountable and reflective of the realities of community life (Leeuw et al. 2012). The objectives of a traditional academic research process have often been to focus only on relationships between and/or differences in phenomena, or social structures and/or individual experiences (Wallerstein 1999). Alternatively, a CBPR project operates with an additional set of overarching goals, including the equalization of power differences, the building of trust, and the creation of a sense of ownership within the overall goal of bringing about real social justice and change (Reason & Bradbury, 2001 as cited in Castleden et al. 2008). Philosophically speaking, CBPR engages with issues of social and/or environmental justice and/or other inequities in ways that promote and support positive change in communities; in short, communities define what is "successful," an outcome that may

differ from the typical academic or external metrics of success (Castleden et al. 2012). The goals of CBPR are to involve community partners equally in the process of research, including decision-making responsibilities, by drawing on a variety of knowledges and experiences and "build[ing] bidirectional capacity through an iterative process of dialogue, action, and reflection" (Castleden et al. 2012, p. 156).

3.3 Photovoice

Photovoice has become a popular qualitative data collection tool and strong methodological match with CBPR, largely because it allows participants to guide the research process (Castleden et al. 2008) by creating space for participants to decide the content of pictures as well as what stories are told about those pictures. The aim is that these decisions offset the imbalances of power that are often evident between researcher and participant (Castleden et al. 2008; Strack, Magill & McDonagh 2004; Wang & Burris 1997). According to Wang and Burris (1997, p. 370), photovoice is a means by which "people can identify, represent, and enhance their community." Photovoice has been used in a variety of qualitative research to empower marginalized members of society, and previous research suggests photovoice is an effective way of communicating with people in positions of power (Carlson, Engebretson, & Chamberlain 2006; Castleden et al. 2008; Jennings & Lowe 2013; Strack, at al. 2004; Tremblay, Baydala, Littlechild, Chiu & Janzen 2018; Wang & Redwood-Jones 2001).

With photovoice, a researcher provides participants (or co-researchers, better put) with a camera to enable them to act as recorders, as well as potential instigators, of change in their communities through photography (Wang et al. 1997). Through the photovoice technique, the researcher uses the photographs that participants take as a catalyst for dialogue between those who typically exercise minimal political power and policymakers, or those typically holding political

power, in the interest of social change (Castleden et al. 2008). Aligning with the goals of CBPR, photovoice specifies three overall goals: (1) to aid individuals in recording and reflecting on specific community issues; (2) to encourage community wide conversation about these issues; and (3) to influence policy-makers or people in positions of power (Wang & Burris 1997).

Three significant theoretical anchors for the use of Photovoice are noted in the literature. The first, *documentary photography*, suggests that providing a camera to people and challenging them to see their world through that frame, can empower them to record and instigate social or environmental change in their communities (Rose 1997, as cited in Castleden 2008). Secondly, photovoice considers Paulo Freire's (1970) "theory of *critical consciousness*, which seeks to engage individuals in the questioning of their historical-social situation" (Castleden et al 2008, p. 1396). The third influence comes from *feminist theory*, which is meant to help empower vulnerable populations by valuing knowledge grounded in experience and local expertise while also providing consideration for dynamics of masculine power and representation (Castleden et al. 2008).

3.4 Project Timeline

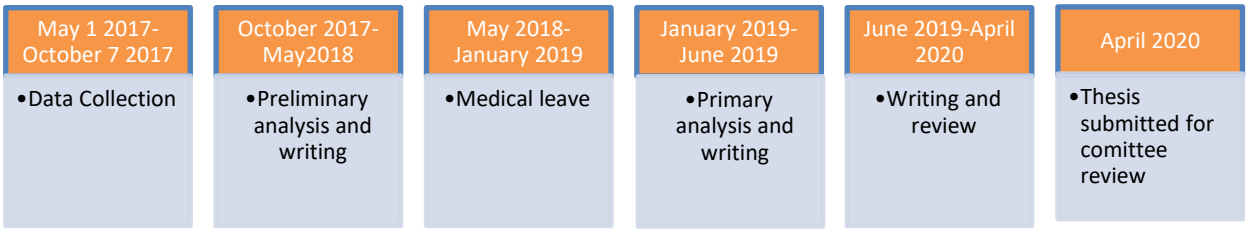

Figure 3.1 Graphic representing important dates to note throughout the completion of this project.

Data collection officially began on May 1st, 2017 and lasted until early October of that year. The research teams' initial preliminary analysis included careful reading of transcripts and listening to interviews to select a photo and quote, cleared with participants, that would be displayed at the Huu-ay-aht Peoples Assembly in October 2017. Subsequent analysis and writing were my primary

focus between October and January 2017 and continued as I fulfilled teaching assistant responsibilities between January and May of 2018. Trends found in the initial analysis were shared with the advisory committee in March of 2018. Unfortunate traumatic personal circumstances led to me being on medical leave during the summer and fall semesters of 2018. Analysis and writing continued between January and June of 2019, and from June till the end of December was subject to review by Dr. Castleden, Dr. George Lovell, and Dr. Vanessa Sloan Morgan. Initially I attempted to finish writing before the end of December 2019, but instead continued rounds of review and revision up until the final revision in April of 2020. Selected quotes and the context in which they appear were shared with participants to enhance the credibility of the findings (Tracy 2010) before a defense date was set. Only two participant requested slight revision to their quotation for the purpose of clarity.

3.5 Participant Recruitment

I first set foot on Huu-ay-aht territory in March 2017, as I accompanied other members of the research team to Vancouver Island to visit with Huu-ay-aht citizens and meet prospective research assistants who were being considered for the project. Upon returning to Ontario, I made plans to begin the project in April, plans which included arranging accommodation, securing transportation, and training of research assistants. Four research assistants were responsible for recruitment and data collection, with Dr. Castleden providing guidance from Ontario for most of the process. Another member of the HEC Lab, Vanessa Sloan Morgan (a PhD student at the time) and I, along with 2 Huu-ay-aht undergraduate university students from the University of Victoria and Vancouver Island University respectively, Ayanna Clappis and Becki Nookemis, were hired as research assistants in the spring of 2017. Ayanna and I were responsible for the Treaty Lands and Port Alberni areas, while Vanessa and Becki facilitated recruitment and data collection in the

other two locations. Members of the Huu-ay-aht advisory committee also provided substantial assistance to researchers in the field by facilitating connections with potential participants and ensuring the successful application of sampling techniques within a cultural context.

Four community engagement sessions scheduled in April 2017 to "launch" the photovoice project were cancelled, however, due to death in the community; cancelling events and closing offices is an important cultural protocol for Huu-ay-aht First Nations. The community engagement sessions were meant to introduce the photovoice project to Huu-ay-aht citizens who might be interested in participating in the research. It was also an opportunity to introduce the research team. While I had had some interaction with many of Dr. Castleden's key contacts, the cancellation of these meetings in Anacla, Port Alberni, Nanaimo, and the Lower Mainland meant that the purpose of my presence as a student researcher amongst Huu-ay-aht citizens, at least at first, was unknown to many potential participants. After the meetings were cancelled, Dr. Castleden, who had been accompanying the research team, returned to Ontario and a "soft launch" began on May 1, 2017.

We employed purposive recruiting, that is, we approached participants from the photovoice project undertaken previously. Interested participants from this previous study were recruited by email, phone, or in-person (n=8) using the advisory committee's recollections of Dr. Castleden's former participants. Snowball and opportunistic recruitment strategies were employed within the various communities, including social media, particularly Facebook, a main hub of communication within the larger Huu-ay-aht citizenry, was also used for recruitment. We distributed recruitment posters in Huu-ay-aht territory, government offices, and throughout the surrounding community, as well as on the Huu-ay-aht First Nation Facebook page (See Appendix F: Recruitment Poster). Participants were recruited from four geographic areas known to have a high concentration of Huu-

ay-aht citizens; these areas included the Lower Mainland, and three locations on Vancouver Island-- Port Alberni, Nanaimo, and Huu-ay-aht's Treaty Lands.

Recruitment continued at the rescheduled July community engagement sessions, where the majority of Huu-ay-aht living outside of Treaty Land were recruited. Participants who completed the study were primarily recruited in-person where consent also took place (n=22), with the rest having been initially contacted via phone (n=7) and email (n=4). A total of 46 Huu-ay-aht citizens expressed interest or participated to some extent in the study. Thirty-three individuals, eighteen women and fifteen men, completed the entire process. Of the citizens who completed all steps of the research project, eleven were recruited from the Lower Mainland (n=9) and Nanaimo (n=2), and the remaining 22 recruited from Port Alberni (n=8) and Anacla (n=14). Despite an encouraging amount of participation from all locations, not all who initially expressed interest in participating completed all the steps. As noted above, there were thirteen individuals from all four locations - the Lower Mainland (n=6), Nanaimo (n=1), Port Alberni (n=4) and Anacla (n=2) - who initially expressed interest but did not complete the project. Of those thirteen, six consented to participating, but none of them completed the participant-employed photography or interview portions of the project. I speculate that a lack of sufficient time seemed to be a factor here, either within the daily lives of participants, or within the time limits of the project. However, in the majority of cases there was a lack of response to efforts made by the research team, for which an explanation was not offered.

3.6 Data Collection

Those who agreed to participate in the project were given a digital camera (Approx. value: $100) to take pictures. As recognition of their contribution, participants then had a choice of either keeping the camera as a gift or returning the camera in exchange for a $100 stipend. Alternatively, given the abundance of high-quality digital cameras built into smartphones, we told participants

that if they so desired, they could use their own phone to take photos and they would then also receive the $100 stipend.

3.6.1 Project Steps: What was Supposed to Happen

The modified version of photovoice developed for this project had four steps. Each of these steps are described below. As will become clear in the next subsection, Steps 2 and 3 were eventually modified in the field to accommodate participant inclusion.

(1) **Step 1: Getting Ready to Participate.** At the beginning of the project, members of the research team met with participants one-on-one (or two-on-one) to talk about the project and the technology that would be used, and to outline the details and goals of the project, its steps, risks and benefits, and ethical considerations. We asked all participants to consider the following research questions when taking pictures:

- What do you think are the key benefits of the Maa-nulth Treaty?
- What do you think are the key drawbacks of the Maa-nulth Treaty?
- How have you experienced/seen the impacts of the treaty process over the past 10 years?
- What were the key environmental and health concerns you had 10 years ago?
- What are the key environment and health concerns you have now?
- What are the things you are most proud of with respect to being a Huu-ay-aht citizen?

After going through the details of the project and giving each participant a chance to ask questions, we obtained consent via a signed consent form (see Appendix B: Consent Form). Digital cameras were provided to those who wished to use them, and an information letter (Appendix A: Information Letter) was provided to all participants which included contact information for the research team. Participants were then given a training session instruction sheet (see Appendix C: Training Handout) and a short training session by a member or members of the research team in photography basics, ethics, and safety, guided by a training script (see Appendix D: Training Script).

(2) **Step 2: Taking Pictures "Out There."** Following the training session, participants were asked to take approximately 10-20 photos to discuss during a semi-structured interview. Approximately one week after participants started taking pictures, a member of the research team checked in to see if they had finished, needed any help, or needed more time to complete the task. When participants were happy with their photos and ready to talk about the meaning behind them in relation to the research questions, they were invited to move on to Step 3.

(3) **Step 3: Sharing Stories about Treaty.** We invited each participant to engage in discussion about the pictures in an audio-recorded, semi-structured interview. The interview was guided loosely by a framework prepared by the research team and the advisory committee (See Appendix E: Interview Guide).

(4) **Step 4: Sharing What We Learned.** Recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim and the analysis and final report were completed in collaboration with the research team, Dr. Castleden and the advisory committee and were shared at community engagement sessions and advisory committee meetings as well as with the Huu-ay-aht Executive Council.

3.6.2 Project Steps: What Actually Happened

In accordance with the tenets of CBPR, the research team had to be flexible regarding the particulars of the use of photovoice. Life is inherently unpredictable and conducting research that requires this level of commitment demands flexibility. There were many instances when the planned parameters of data collection were adapted to encourage participants so that they were included in Step 4. Had the parameters for the consideration of data been rigid, it is likely that we would have seen fewer Huu-ay-aht citizens completing the research project.

3.6.2.1 Data Collection

Some of these adaptations to the original steps included changes to the way the interviews were conducted. For example, one (or more) of the research assistants would go along with the participant while they were taking pictures instead of waiting until all the photos were taken. In one instance, the interview was completed as pictures were being taken. Interviews were not always one-on-one, as some were done with family members present. Some interviews were interrupted and then undertaken in multiple parts. All of the interviews were done at a time and in a location that the participant was comfortable with. For example, we talked to people in their garages, kitchens, living rooms, and at their workplace, in addition to more public locations like Huu-ay-aht government facilities, coffee shops, and parks. With regard to photography, participants engaged with the medium in different ways, and the importance they put on visual expression varied substantially. For example, some participants had many more than 10-20 photos selected in time to complete an interview, and some enthusiastically took up our offers to help get to a location to take photos for the project. Others, however, did not have a single photo to talk about – yet they were still eager to participate in the study to share their thoughts on the topic. We decided that the photos were props (see Castleden, Sloan Morgan, and Franks, 2016) and not essential to the purpose of the study. The kinds of photos selected for the interview discussion also varied substantially among those who produced photos; for example, some participants wanted to talk about photography or imagery that was not of their own creation, or that belonged to a personal collection from long ago, or dealt with subject matter that seemed - to me - to stray quite significantly from the overall goals of the project. However, as I noted previously, there are limits to my settler understanding, and there is a chance that my interpretation of these exchanges was inherently biased.

It became increasingly clear throughout data collection that a storytelling approach would be an appropriate way to consider the goals and mechanics of the project. Storytelling is a form of narrative inquiry that explores and values the subjective, socially constructed, individual nature of reality and assumes that people make sense of their experiences through the construction and sharing of stories that represent them (Webster & Mertova 2007 ; Wright et al. 2016). Moreover, the philosophical foundations of storytelling are well matched with research taking place within Indigenous communities, as storytelling is often a more relatable and respectful way to share knowledge (Kovach 2010; The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015; Wright et al. 2016). Unstructured interview techniques were used by the research team to allow the participants to share their perspectives and stories about what was important to them (Wright et al. 2016). At times, interviews took hours or involved impassioned tirades, and at other times, interaction with participants was quite short.

Wherever possible, we took direction from participants to ensure that they were able to accurately identify, in their own time and as they saw fit, the imagery or words that best represented their views and experiences. In the end, despite this flexibility, some participants did not complete the process. The data collection was originally scheduled to wrap up at the end of August, but to engage with as many participants as possible, we extended this period until the first week of October 2017, by which time, our financial resources were exhausted. In total, active data collection in situ lasted about 24 weeks, or 170 days.

3.6.2.2 Analysis

Following the CBPR methodology and the photovoice method, data analysis and interpretation were to be shared, inclusive endeavours between myself, participants, the research team and the advisory committee to develop research findings that benefit the community (Castleden et al. 2012;

Wang & Burris 1997). The purpose of the Huu-ay-aht advisory committee was not only to facilitate participant recruitment and guide the research process, but also to support and confirm the credibility and resonance of my analysis. Initial rounds of analysis that took place both independently and in collaboration with Dr. Castleden between January and May of 2018 identified themes of interest by reading interview transcripts and searching for common words and phrases within the data. The broader analysis was disaggregated by variables such as physical location, whether participants took part in the 2005 photovoice project, their role in the community (e.g., a hereditary chief or a family's "house," employed by the nation or not), and so on, to explore nuanced differences in their experiences with the Maa-nulth Treaty. Trends found in the initial analysis were shared with the advisory committee in March of 2018, where there was general support and enthusiasm for the initial analysis and findings. Due to unfortunate personal circumstances, I then ended up on medical leave from June 2018 to January 2019, during which time the analysis was put on hold.

When I returned to the research in January of 2019, my supervisor and I thought that a useful way to engage with the data and share the findings would be to make a medium-length documentary-style film as I am an experienced filmmaker. In the end, the quality and quantity of photos, video and recorded audio material were insufficient to produce a film; however, I still continued with a narrative approach to analysis for a couple of reasons. First, I am familiar with narrative approaches through my own interest and experience in telling stories through art and film. Second, as explained by Smith (2016, p. 206) "narrative is a practical medium and the primary medium for action." In other words, by re-creating a narrative weaving of the stories I heard, I want to try to inspire, persuade, and connect with people in the ways that Huu-ay-aht

citizens connected with me. My passion for telling stories, combined with the appropriateness of pairing an action-based medium with CBPR, has inspired my use of this approach.

I initiated a thematic and structural narrative analysis, which allowed me to focus on what arose from the data topically (thematic), along with what was said by whom and for what purpose (structural), to show how participants' stories fit together (Riessman 2008; Smith 2016). I read interview transcripts while listening to the audio recordings and looking at participant pictures. I then wrote down initial impressions and noted what I identified as interesting narratives or moments. Through this practice, I identified narrative themes within the individual participant interview transcripts and was able to then delineate common themes among participants. Rather than representing line by line coding, these themes surfaced organically through stories. This approach also seemed to match the way participants used photography, as the majority of participants talked at length about just a small number of pictures. That is, rather than being the springboard from which conversation happened, the pictures were usually accessories to the telling, and related to a much more intricate story or idea than the picture alone could represent.

Next I will briefly discuss procedural and relational ethics and the limitations of the project.

3.7 Procedural, Situational and Relational Ethics in 'the Field'

Gueillemin and Gillam (2004) specify two dimensions to consider when ethical accountability is important in research: procedural ethics and "ethics in practice." Ethical accountability is paramount to CBPR (Castleden et al. 2008) and applies in this research context. This accountability includes elements that were formally outlined in the project's application to the General Research Ethics Board at Queen's University. Included in these applications are requirements for outlining and discussing risks and benefits to participating, as well as clarifying confidentiality issues with participants to ensure that photographs are taken consensually and do

not put participants at risk, as discussed in Step 1 (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011; Guest, Namey & Mitchell 2013; Castleden et al. 2008). Ethical accountability also includes making it clear that Huu-ay-aht First Nations will have ownership, control, and possession of the data. Although certain aspects of the project's ethical approach were documented and prepared for, ethical dilemmas arose in the field beyond what we predicted. 'Ethically important moments', as described in Gueillemin and Gillam (2004), did occur; these can be described as the micro ethical concerns of everyday research practices. Fieldwork, like the kind that occurred here, becomes "a dialogical process which is structured by the researcher and the participants" (England 1994, p. 80).

Throughout the following section, I share ethically important moments for transparency and for the benefit of other researchers who are learning "to do" from stories of others doing research. I was fortunate to have had a supervisor who was highly experienced both in the field and within the particular community that I spent most of my time, and who was available any time that I needed to check in about an issue or situation. I have fond memories of long talks in front of the Bamfield Fire Station where the cell phone reception was the clearest. I also checked in with her weekly via email updates and kept a field journal that helped me to organize issues so I could pose them to her or the team at large. The topics of many of these conversations were logistical, or focused on what had happened that week, but other conversations allowed me to talk through more complicated issues. For example, when a member of the research team felt uncomfortable associating with a member of the community, and I didn't know what to do, Dr. Castleden assured me that we were handling it properly by eliminating the potential for contact, while taking steps to remain respectful. In other cases, when I had questions about encouraging participants who seemed reluctant, for example, or I was unsure about when I should be giving rides, where I should be

staying, or associating with non-Indigenous members of the Bamfield community, Dr. Castleden and the rest of the research team were there to help.

One day as I was on a particularly dry and dusty drive on the logging road leading to Anacla, an owl dropped in front of my truck on the road. I stopped abruptly and watched as it shook itself free of the cloak of dust that had no doubt weighed it down and/or blinded it temporarily. It looked at me briefly, and then flew away with haste. I was later told by people in Anacla that owls carry a lot of traditional symbolism and can even be seen as harbingers of death. Although I was unsure how to regard this potential omen, the research project did encounter many dilemmas related to death. On numerous occasions during this project, important meetings with the advisory committee or engagement sessions had to be cancelled or check-ins with participants postponed. I was also profoundly affected by the death of the partner of an advisory committee member who passed away suddenly in the community. I had taken the last picture of the two of them together on Pachena Beach, and I had recently and regularly interacted with him in the community. The aftermath of that tragedy carried with it a multitude of moral dilemmas, the details of which I will not share out of respect to those involved.

Though death is an inescapable part of life, it affects us all differently; there is no way to accelerate the time it takes for people to grieve a loss, and no way to predict the impact death can have on a community, and by association, a research project. The death of a participant of this project in a tragic car accident days before I was to leave for a long awaited trip back to Huu-ay-aht territory to engage participants in a film-based version of this thesis, for instance, had a significant impact on my project. A large portion of my accountability is related to my interaction with Huu-ay-aht; I had reached out to many of these individuals in the weeks leading up to my departure, but to allow the community to grieve that accidental death I decided the most respectful

thing to do was to cancel my return trip. I did not know, however, how participants would react to the last-minute change in plans. I actually still do not know how they reacted; many of the emails I sent out explaining the cancellation of meetings went unanswered.

Another ethical dilemma that I encountered regularly relates to the work of Tuck and Yang (2014) on refusing research. I often found it frustrating that potential participants who expressed interest in the study ended up "refusing" research by not completing the data collection exercise. When I consider the frequency of my efforts to encourage participants to finish the process, I realize that I often had my own interests in mind. For this research project, refusal definitely played a role in determining the data that was gathered and the story that is now being told. Upon critical reflection after the data collection period, I realized that there were any number of potential reasons Huu-ay-aht citizens might have 'refused research', but the one foremost in my mind was that I am a "white guy" and a university-based researcher to boot. Refusal must be situated within colonial structures and representations; refusal is not *just* a no. Eventually, I relaxed my personal frustration over not being able to encourage participants to finish the process and learned to accept and respect their decision to refuse.

Billo and Hiemstra (2012) suggest that the ability to be flexible in research largely depends on having a support network that can help a researcher make decisions about what is appropriate in each situation. Members of the advisory committee living in Anacla during my stay helped immensely with both the larger ethical challenges and the smaller, everyday considerations. One member of the advisory committee, Jane Peters, often helped me recruit participants, and was there with me one of the first times I walked around the neighborhood in Anacla with the specific intent of recruiting. We had a good time walking around, but terrible luck getting people interested and eventually abandoned that as a recruitment practice. It wasn't until one of the final engagement

sessions in Anacla at the end of my time in the field that I realized the impact of the image I was apparently projecting to some members of the community, even with Jane by my side. One Huu-ay-aht citizen whom we had approached that day told me that she enjoyed the presentation I gave and would have liked to participate had she really understood what I was about. I didn't get many details about what specifically she came to understand during my presentation, but I did get the distinct impression that during our first meeting I was not perceived as trustworthy, and my presentation had partly changed her mind. Although she trusted Jane, and was happy to talk with us that day, she did not trust me, and declined to participate. I remember explaining to her at the meeting that she could still participate, but she declined just the same. So even with the help of a support network, including my new local friend Jane, and what I thought was a respectful approach, some people just didn't want to work with me.

The village of Anacla is a remote rural location, with 88 kilometers of poorly maintained private logging road between it and the closest urban center of Port Alberni. With the financial backing of Dr. Castleden's research grant, I was able to rent a truck to make travelling the road and surrounding area possible. The brand new $90,000 white truck I was able to rent had a similar look to the white trucks that employees of Huu-ay-aht First Nations drove, as well as those driven by employees of local logging companies. It is not unreasonable to assume that some citizens may have misinterpreted my purpose or may even have been immediately turned-off participating in the project the second they saw a white guy getting out of a brand-new white rental. I tried to remedy this situation by waving to everyone I saw and by striking up a conversation with all who would make a little time in their day. This gesture, however, may have also worked against me: who has not encountered an overeager white guy selling something you do not need?

More than 40 years ago, feminist author and poet Robin Morgan (1970) contemplated the role of white heterosexual men in societal movements toward equality, stating that she did not have "the faintest notion what possible revolutionary role white heterosexual men could fulfil, since they are the embodiment of reactionary-vested-interest-power" (as cited in Third 2014, p. 120). As a white male, I feel the weight of this legacy of power and ignorance, and at times I have doubted my own influence and ability to rise above this legacy and do good work in solidarity. But I will not accept that as a white man I can only be part of the problem, nor do I accept that whiteness and maleness are viable excuses for ignorance. Though I cannot control how my whiteness and maleness will be perceived, I can try to listen and learn from others while critically examining my privilege (Davy 1997).

I also became friendly with some of the local, predominantly white, population in Bamfield, including some fisherman working for Huu-ay-aht. Part of what facilitated this connection was the location of my accommodation. I had assumed that I would live in the village of Anacla itself before I left for BC, however, no room and board was available and I would need to stay in Bamfield at the motel owned by Huu-ay-aht. When I arrived at the motel, there was no record of my kitchenette reservation and the only room available was immediately adjacent (all of about 10 feet) to the only pub in town. Although I am not a heavy drinker, I did spend a lot of time in the pub eating, or outside near the pub—time that may have had a bearing on how some people perceived me. In general, my presence as a white, heterosexual, able-bodied male settler from a middle-class family created what may have been perceived as an irreconcilable difference between myself and some Huu-ay-aht citizens. Socializing with other white settlers probably exacerbated these differences. Dr. Castleden's experience in 2005-2006 was much different; she lived at the Bamfield Marine Station for the first month before moving into a Huu-ay-aht couple's home in

Anacla, paying room and board. The Nation did not own the motel yet, and the couple she lived with happened to be an elected Councillor and the next-in-line Tayii Ha'wiih (head hereditary chief).

A growing body of literature exploring the complexity of fieldwork in human geography challenges the masculinist view of the field researcher as a lone, white male, rummaging about "objectively" recording and revealing truth (DeLyser & Starrs 2001; Sundberg 2003). Research is a personal and political process, complete with many different power relationships and much potential for advocacy and meaningful, localized change (Kobayashi 2001; Moss 2002; Skelton 2001; Stevens 2001). Data collection, analysis, and the results of research are embedded in and impacted by these politics, and whom we interact or associate with as researchers has the potential to open some doors and close others. The opening and closing of these doors is often described as 'gatekeeping;' the people and institutions that researchers align themselves with are 'gatekeepers' and the researchers themselves are "key masters" (Campbell, Gray, Meletis, Abbott & Silver 2006). The access that researchers have within in a community is dependent on both gatekeepers who grant the access and researcher key masters who then use that access for the production of knowledge. For example, the fact that I chose to spend time in, and near the pub could have impacted the access I was granted or denied. Although I did not hear of any criticism in this regard, there is most definitely potential for misunderstanding. Doors may have also been closed because of personal views I had and developed over time in the community. I am a person who is concerned with capitalist resource extraction and the health of ecosystems. Although I did not know anything about the concerns that some Huu-ay-aht had that related to my own when I first went into the field, some of the relationships I developed featured those common values. Issues of environmental management and health were divisive issues among Huu-ay-aht, however, and it is possible that

my associating with some members of the community discouraged others from getting to know me or getting involved in the research. Members of the advisory committee and other members of the research team were helpful in navigating some of these issues, but more subtle aspects were completely outside of our awareness and/or out of our control.

Anderson (1993) proposes that the potential for unintentional racism is heightened when there is significant 'social distance' between white male interviewers and those being interviewed. The research team attempted to avoid the potential impact of social distance by making it clear that participants could choose to interact with whomever they felt most comfortable. Three out of four research assistants identified as female, and two of them were Huu-ay-aht citizens. Regardless of this approach though, it is reasonable to assume that some citizens may have refused to participate simply because I was involved and/or it was a project involving university researchers. In short, there are numerous reasons for why people agree or decline to participate in research. I will never know for certain what all of those reasons were, or which ones apply in this case. My purpose in this section has been to articulate some of my critical reflections about ethical issues and how my whiteness and maleness may have influenced others, particularly in the context of settler colonialism, research, and the writings of key Indigenous scholars in this area (e.g., Smith 2013; Tuck & Yang 2014). In the next section, I turn to the limitations of the project.

3.8 Limitations

According to Castleden, Garvin, and Huu-ay-aht First Nation (2008), the use of photography as a technique in research presents unique problems given that there are limits to what can be 'captured' and 'viewed'. For example, important aspects of community life not photographed or to which access for photography could not be granted may not be discussed in the subsequent interview. However, what did not appear in the photographs should be considered equally as important as what was photographed and represented (Said 1978, as cited in Castleden et al. 2008). To address

this problem, we took a similar approach to that taken in the previous study by Dr. Castleden and Huu-ay-aht First Nations and approached interviews in an open way to allow for exploration of participants' perspectives beyond what was photographed. We encouraged participants to talk about issues that may have not come up in the initial general line of questioning. At times, this flexibility expanded the conversation into interesting, ostensibly tangential areas; at other times, this flexibility seemed to discourage participants who were looking for a more exhaustive and clearer line of questioning.

Castleden and colleagues (2008) also mention that participants who use photography to express themselves may struggle to photograph non-tangible items or issues. For some participants, photography was a difficult medium to use to express their experiences of treaty. Many participants delayed the interview and hence the completion of the project because pictures had not been taken yet. Regardless, there are limits to the use and efficacy of images.

It is also important to consider my positionality as a relatively novice settler researcher (see Section 1.3), and the ethical dilemmas that were encountered in the field (see Section 3.7), as important limitations to the data that was gathered by myself, and the research team. In the next chapter I provide my interpretation of the data gathered during this case study by utilizing participant quotes and images taken by both participants, and myself.

3.9 References

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Chapter 4

Findings

The modern treaty process continues to evolve, and Indigenous scholars and allied researchers have identified a need to improve the process of treaty negotiation and implementation (see Chapter 2). In this chapter I focus on my interpretation of the data, which suggests the Maa-nulth Treaty should be viewed as a mechanism to advancing Huu-ay-aht interests and goals. Nuu-cha-nulth worldview, specifically guiding principles of Hišuk ma c̓awak, ʔiisaak and ʔuuʔałuk that have guided Nuu-chah-nulth for generations**,** are now preserved within the Huu-ay-aht constitution, and thus continue to guide modern Huu-ay-aht governance. This worldview has also informed the entire treaty negotiation and early implementation process, and now directs efforts to achieve goals of improving the health of Treaty Land, which represents a portion of their original ḥahuułi, as well as supporting the wellbeing of Huu-ay-aht citizens both within and outside of Treaty Lands (HFN 2016, 2018, 2019). These goals, as expressed through participants' views and experiences of treaty implementation, were identified in the data collected, and are represented here within four general themes: The Maa-nulth Treaty: The Good, the Bad, and the Hope (4.1); Forestry: A Troubled Past, a Perplexing Present, and an Optimistic Future (4.2); Fisheries and Ecosystem Management: Healing Our Relations (4.3); and Coming Home: ʔuuʔałuk, Taking Care of Future Generations (4.4) . Each of these themes are explored below and are organized to support the narrative flow of participants' stories and images to the best of my ability. **S**ection (4.1) includes general comments on the treaty experience, made by participants but not in reference to specific photos, while sections 4.2-4.4 include images when and if applicable images were provided. My interpretation of the data is ultimately impacted by my positionality; in recognition of that I have included some of my own pictures, which are intended to reflect the mutually

constituted reality of the interpretations presented here. Participants gave their consent to be identified by name, were given an opportunity to review their quotes in context, and all changes that were requested have been made. Participants' roles and responsibilities are reported as accurate for the data collection period (May – October 2017).

4.1 The Maa-nulth Treaty: The Good, The Bad, and The Hope

Although there was a diversity of opinion and experience amongst Huu-ay-aht citizens who participated in this project, it became clear that the Maa-nulth Treaty symbolized a way of taking back control over their lives now and in the future, and it represented opportunities to integrate Huu-ay-aht voices and worldview into policies and community development that affect citizens. Robert Dennis, the Chief Councillor for Huu-ay-aht First Nations, a former senior Treaty negotiator, and a long-time resident of Anacla, spoke of this assertion of control:

> *"…for me when I look at this overall approach, you know, 'what do you think are the benefits of the Maa-nulth Treaty?' Well, our ability to do what we want to do, that's the whole…what I call self-governing is priceless, you decide your own fate, whether it's good or bad, you're deciding. The other way, the bad way, it's somebody else deciding it."*

Sarah Johnson, a Huu-ay-aht citizen, mother of three, and manager of multiple businesses in Anacla, including the Pachena Bay Campground, also mentioned control:

> *"Just having control…being able to have what works for us, versus, you know just making do. You know, with just, either policies, or rules, or whatever it may be, that governed us before…But in the case of where we are at now, it allows us to be able to work on those, and change them, change it for the betterment of us… us as Huu-ay-aht."*

Barry Halvorson, a non-Indigenous Huu-ay-aht citizen (through his spouse, Darlene Nookemus, a Ha'wiih) and fisher who lives off-grid on Treaty Land, spoke of change that comes as a result of increased control over decision making:

> *"Treaty settlement means that we have a voice, we finally have a voice in government where we can decide change, whether it's for the better or whether it's*

for the worse, we still have a voice, we still get to decide. So that's what the power of that Treaty means to me."

Port Alberni resident Hinatinyis (Brittany Coté), a Huu-ay-aht citizen who works as the Language and History Coordinator for Huu-ay-aht First Nation, articulated the importance of taking the time needed for change, while also stressing the importance of the control Huu-ay-aht have regained over the future of the Nation. She had this to say:

"It just takes so long…a lot of people I think we're looking for something that moved quickly, oh we are self-governing now so we can do whatever we want, right, and it just didn't work. That's not the way that we had planned to do things…so you know, we are modeling a lot on how other governments work…but, we're not limited by other governments, we have that opportunity to change things."

Charlie Clappis, an elected Huu-ay-aht Councilor, general contractor, and current resident of Anacla, spoke about how decision-making power, or control, has opened doors for citizens who want to take on various amounts of responsibility, and be in positions of influence in the community, opportunities that were not available in the past. He observed:

"Since treaty has been through, what I do…I feel really lucky, I've been a lucky one, I've taken risks and applied for positions and been in key positions where I am proud of what I have been able to accomplish."

Life before and after treaty has been drastically different for the few who have been able to return to (or move to) Treaty Lands and reconnect with Huu-ay-aht culture. Harry Brossault, a Huu-ay-aht single father, is one of those people. He celebrated with these words:

"The best decision of my life was moving home, and if it wasn't for that treaty, it wouldn't have happened."

A focus for many Huu-ay-aht citizens living on Treaty Land when discussing life before and after treaty were economic opportunities that were not available to the Nation before, including the purchase and re-purposing of property. Edward R. Johnson, a Huu-ay-aht artist, traditional-knowledge keeper, Cultural Coordinator, and resident of Nanaimo, states:

"Being under the Indian Act, there was a lot of things that we couldn't do, a lot of things where we couldn't access money. There [were] economic development opportunities where we weren't really approachable just because we were under the Indian Act, and we didn't really own any land."

Traditional-knowledge keeper and lifetime resident of Anacla, Stella Peters, identified further integration into the Bamfield community as a goal that has been advocated for by Huu-ay-aht hereditary leadership in the past:

"…The properties Huu-ay-aht was able to purchase after treaty, which I think is a good thing, it's a good economic opportunity for our nation, and it also establishes a presence for us in the Bamfield community. My late uncle Spencer (Tayii Ha'wiih Tliishin) always used to say, we are not separated from Bamfield we are one community…"

Sarah Johnson also recognized the importance of asserting Huu-ay-aht entrepreneurialship in Bamfield, the major business area for the region.

"I am proud of all of our steps, in business, for the most part… and especially being able to have some of that control of Bamfield that we never had before, you know I know many people have talked about it before that many of our past leaders had always wanted to get a foot back into Bamfield and I think that, you know, for me is one of the bigger successes."

Managing enhanced responsibility and control has also brought a period of adjustment, where citizens realize their ability to have more say in their own future. Conflicting perspectives within the Nation's citizenry can, at times, create stress, tension and division. Charlie Clappis has witnessed this firsthand:

"So, a drawback to treaty, I'd mention like just the workload, and the amount of responsibility that we have, is immense. But just the decision making and the, you know, internal conflicts from anything, are so much greater now than they were before. There is just so much passion and so much on the line."

For some, when considering life after treaty, it was hard to ignore what is perceived as a need for greater support for community members having trouble transitioning to life after generations of Canadian government dependency. Rick Nookemus, a long-time Anacla resident,

fisher, and environmental advocate, was critical of changes since treaty, yet, hopeful that things could be fixed:

> *"Treaty means to me, it's like we moved off reserve and went and lived in a city. That's what it means to me, it's not a reserve no more, it's like we just packed all our stuff up and moved out. Because…we lost all our help that we needed, and our government now doesn't help us no more…Somehow, I hope that they can fix that in a way where everybody will be happy."*

Stella Peters reinforced this sentiment:

> *"There are good things in treaty, but it just seems like the day to day things, the important things that really affect our people, aren't really happening, the way they should."*

To others, like Crystal Clappis, a Huu-ay-aht citizen and former Treaty Lands resident, the hope that things would return to Huu-ay-aht values and customs had not yet materialized. Rather, there was concern about an over-emphasis on western capitalism in terms of economically motivated administrative decision-making:

> *"It feels like our Nation is heading… It's more into the corporate world, more… To me, it's moving away from our land and our people and our values and our culture."*

Huu-ay-aht living outside of the Treaty Land, and beyond the Port Alberni District expressed some disconnect from the Nation post-treaty, and a need for more support and cultural engagement. However, for Huu-ay-aht citizens who were living in the lower mainland for example, like Daniel Cook, a lack of connection to the Maa-nulth Treaty did not mean a lack of hope for what the treaty 'could' mean for all Huu-ay-aht. Daniel elaborated:

> *"What I see, and I could be wrong, is that whatever, whoever lives on reserve gets the benefits of the government and treaty. Maybe I do feel a little bit of a disconnect here in Vancouver. I was walking around Vancouver and wondering how does treaty affect me here? For a couple weeks, nothing was coming up. I started thinking maybe I could take photos of what I hope our treaty is doing."*

Simon Dennis, a Huu-ay-aht Elder who lives in Vancouver and serves as a member of the advisory committee for this project, was born in 1946 at the Huu-ay-aht summer village of Chap-is (Dodger's Cove). He was taken at the age of five to the Alberni Indian Residential School, where he spent most of his childhood. Simon expressed a desire to help Huu-ay-aht caught in unhealthy lifestyles in urban areas like Vancouver and hoped that the treaty would inspire and enable Huu-ay-aht to expand services for those who live outside Treaty Lands, and away from government services in Port Alberni. Simon reflected:

> ***"****I always say, I'll never be the solution, all I want to do is be part of the solution. To bringing our people back to where they desire to be. Sober, working people, with a future ahead of them and I believe that's what our Treaty is, what it's going to be all about."*

In short, hope was a key message expressed by all of the participants about the future of Huu-ay-aht as a Nation with a modern treaty, and that decisions they can actively be a part of will have an impact on their lives. Huu-ay-aht had hope of re-building their Nation in a way that works best for Huu-ay-aht.

According to Huu-ay-aht worldview the land and the sea are one, forever interconnected and mutually dependent. As such, it was often difficult to separate concerns for one from the other. Stella Peters spoke about the interconnectedness of all things, and her lived experience of the Huu-ay-aht sacred principle of "Hišuk ma c̓awak". For her, living with this principle inspires awareness of, and resistance to, continued exploitive resource extraction practices:

> *"I always say what's in the Ocean feeds the river, what's in the river feeds the forest, without the salmon in the river, it's going to have an effect on the whole reforestation, you know."*

In the interest of organization and readability, the next two sections are a collection of findings that relate first to forestry, and then to fisheries, but both sections should be understood as practically inseparable given the Huu-ay-aht worldview.

4.2 Forestry: A Troubled Past, a Perplexing Present, and an Optimistic Future

The long-term environmental, social, and financial costs of stripping ecosystems of all that can be sold are often not properly accounted for, or neglected altogether, by those who collect the profits. Although I was aware of these issues before heading to do research with Huu-ay-aht, I could not have prepared myself fully for my visceral reaction to the visibility and scale of clear-cut forestry and the impacts it has had on Huu-ay-aht ways of life and ecosystems within their traditional territory.

[PHOTO 1: Cut block showing recent clear-cut and slash piles on Treaty Lands. By Jon Aarssen.]

Robert Dennis has been guiding the Nation through treaty negotiation and implementation for over 25 years. He spoke at length about the amount of destruction the Huu-ay-aht territory has endured under the direction of settler governments and industry:

"In Huu-ay-aht territory we have been able to identify where there was 35 streams or rivers that were salmon producing streams, and we are now only left with seven. So that is the size of devastation in Huu-ay-aht territory…our provincial and federal jurisdictions have…I would say failed miserably. They, when I say 'they' it was a management regime or jurisdiction that allowed the overharvesting of timber, [and] the overfishing of our fishery resource…"

[PHOTO 2: Logging near Serita Bay, done by Huu-ay-aht, showing debris, but also regrowth from reforestation efforts. By Robert Dennis.]

Rick Nookemis, who has been working on river rehabilitation within the Treaty Lands, wondered whether post treaty Huu-ay-aht management of resources were very different from the ways that mamaałni, or non-Indigenous settlers, have exploited natural resources in the past:

"…I have been up and down all these rivers and creeks and streams in our territory, all our rivers are, I would say anywhere from six to ten meters high with gravel and rock and boulders and everything like that, and the water just runs underneath all that stuff."

[PHOTO 3: Former riverbed (unknown location) on Huu-ay-aht Treat Settlement Land, showing build up of gravel and rock due to clearcutting practices. By Rick Nookemus.]

In 1997, Huu-ay-aht were involved in the production of "Heart of the People," a Gemini-nominated documentary film that was followed by a sequel "Return of the River" in 2002. The films focus on efforts to rehabilitate the Sarita river, which is arguably the most important of the 35 rivers and creeks in Huu-ay-aht territory. Although they recognized that post-treaty harvesting was providing much needed revenue for the nation, Stella, Rick, and Robert expressed their concerns:

"…you know it's funny that we do Heart of the People because we were concerned about the logging that went on in Sarita Valley and yet we turn around and do logging in Sarita Valley."-Stella Peters.

[PHOTO 4: Sarita Riverbed. By Stella Peters.]

> *"…ever since we got into treaty here now, our logging outfits that we have here now… they are raping and pillaging like the mamaałni (non-Indigenous settlers) used to…"* -Rick Nookemus.

> *"One of my biggest concerns is, we may literally do what governments and industry have done to our rivers and streams. We must manage our forestry resources by the core principles of the hereditary chiefs of Huu-ay-aht First Nations to avoid the mismanagement of the past."* -Robert Dennis.

To Robert, the key to making sure mismanagement of the past is not repeated is to manage resources (land, water) according to Huu-ay-aht worldview; where taking care of the land (ʔuuʔałuk) means the management of resources as one, interconnected system (Hišuk ma c̓awak), that requires great respect (ʔiisaak) (Robert Dennis, email conversation 2020).

When speaking about the importance of sharing stories as a part of projects like this, Charlie Clappis mentioned his own grandmother, and her part in "Heart of the People" that had an important impact on his understanding of Huu-ay-aht history. He reflected on this experience:

> *"…its uncomfortable doing these things, you know there is always worry…worry of people's opinions, but watching our old videos, there is one of my Nanny in one of them, talking about Sarita…Basically the logging company needed them to move so they could build an access road and do the logging in the Sarita Bay area. So, I remember the impact of just watching her in that 10-minute interview she will impact me and our people for generations…in 30 years, my grandkids could be listening."*

The move to self-government for Huu-ay-aht meant the need for serious consideration of economic development activities that would, in turn, support further community development. To many, the most viable option continued to be resource extraction. To some, concern for the environment had been centred more on the practical impacts of resource extraction practices themselves, and not necessarily the idea of continuing to sell resources in bulk for profit. For example, buffer zones dictate how close clear-cut logging can come to lakes, rivers, and other parts of the landscape in order to protect against erosion and other forms of ecosystem degradation (Reid

& Hilton 1998). As part of his job as HFN Wildlife and Non-timber Forest Products Coordinator, Stephen Smith worked on rehabilitating the rivers as well as bolstering and re-introducing salmon populations to the ecosystem. But he had concerns about the effectiveness of those projects when logging continues all around the watershed, including in Sugsaw Creek, which flows from Sugsaw Lake into Grappler Inlet, near Bamfield (see Figure 4.1):

"Now that they have cut blocks right beside the creek it's like maybe a 20-meter buffer zone…like it's going to ruin Sugsaw Creek within say, the next 10 years I'll say."

[PHOTO 5: Black bear climbing over Sugsaw creek. By Stephen Smith.]

Figure 4.1 Cut blocks surrounding Sugsaw creek. Sugsaw creek (centre), between Sugsaw Lake (top right, east) and Grappler Inlet (bottom left, west). **Source:** CNES/Airbus, IMTCAN , retrieved from: https://www.google.com/maps/place/Grappler+Inlet/@48.8398047,-125.1141988,3731m/data

Crystal Clappis also expressed concern that if Huu-ay-aht did not pay attention to what happened in history, there was a risk that some of those destructive corporate industries would continue to exploit the land:

"Now we have corporate industry coming in and feeding off the fact… or were drawn to our nation because we are [a modern treaty nation] because it's known that we have free reign on our land, because it is known that they do not have all the loopholes that they do elsewhere on non-treaty land or reserve land, and for some reason, they're not equating it to what the logging industry did to our people and the effects that happened then."

[PHOTO 6: Tree growing out of old growth tree stump, in the Cowichan Valley. By Crystal Clappis.]

Although sparsely populated by humans, the Sarita Bay area is rich in terrestrial flora and fauna, as well as sea life, still regularly hosting young families of orcas, despite being surrounded by vast tracts of clear-cut forests. Darlene Nookemus, Huu-ay-aht Ha'wiih, and her spouse, Barry, are the only Huu-ay-aht citizens living in the area and maintain an intimate connection to the land. Barry had worked in the forestry industry throughout the area, both as a harvester and a tree planter, and agreed with Stephen. He had concerns over the forestry industry's tendency to employ practices that resulted in ecological destruction:

"I'm concerned about the watershed, in our territory, along the creeks and the lakes, and I just think that we need to have a stronger buffer along our creeks and streams, to protect our fry in the river…I have seen the devastation that the logging has done to a lot of areas…"

[PHOTO 7: Logging debris near Sugsaw Lake, Treaty Lands. By Barry Halvorson.]

Although participants' criticisms of current practices did often present, many of these were made with hope that opportunities through the treaty would allow for changes in resource management that would demand processes become more culturally appropriate and respectful of the land. Robert Dennis put it succinctly thus:

> *"If I was to be able to have a painting that I could do for 50 years, I would see something happening different…and you would start to see the territory start to get green again because we are doing less forestry activity, that's what I visualize"-*

For Huu-ay-aht living on Treaty Lands especially, the connection between forestry practices and decline of wildlife presented as a pressing concern. Having control over both the allocation of funds for management and rehabilitation, and the ultimate source of that funding, means that Huu-ay-aht can have a level of control over the watershed that has not been experienced since before colonial occupation.

4.3 Fisheries and Ecosystem Management: Healing the Land

Opportunities for greater control over fisheries management that came with their treaty also came with opportunities for correcting governmental and industry failures of the past. Despite increased control, however, ineffective working relationships between existing Canadian government structures like the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans and Huu-ay-aht as a Nation, have at times hindered the ability of citizens to feed themselves and provide for their families, as well as engage in cultural practices (Sloan Morgan et al. 2018). For example, despite provisions within treaty, the amount of sockeye salmon that Huu-ay-aht are permitted to catch has been restricted by the Canadian government because of instances of low yield within Treaty Lands (Sloan Morgan et al. 2018). Quotas and permits are one thing, but for some this has meant not being able to engage

in their livelihood, their relationships, and their Huu-ay-aht identity (Castleden 2007). For example, Barry and Rick, both fishers, expressed such sentiments:

"…what makes me proud, being a Huu-ay-aht citizen…I'm proud when I can fish, catch fish for my wife, that's what makes me feel good, makes her feel good, those are things that make me feel proud."-Barry Halvorson.

[PHOTO 8: Barry crab fishing on his boat in Sarita Bay. By Jon Aarssen.]

"Yah, I am proud to be here…I have lived down here all my life, 55 years, and I'm proud of it, I like it. I like the atmosphere, I like the clean air. I like being a commercial fisherman all my life, I like going out and catching fish."-Rick Nookemus.

[PHOTO 9: Rick taking part in work to rehabilitate rivers within Treaty Land. -Courtesy of Rick Nookemus.]

Delayed government approval for the harvesting of fish elsewhere to meet Huu-ay-aht need – a solution to the problem that was negotiated for within treaty – has meant that the lives and diets of Huu-ay-aht citizens are affected (Sloan Morgan et al. 2018). So, having a modern treaty does not always translate to having total autonomy or self-determination, as in this case, overall control remains with the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans. To Robert Dennis, however, greater control to any degree over fishing rights through a treaty has meant being able to ensure the security of traditions and healing of ecosystems that have been bringing families together for

generations, and have often been disrespected and misused by non-Indigenous management regimes:

"This is the community, they are doing something for the people and I tell you when these guys deliver it , this is the happiest community around, like you brought them something that is just, so important."

[PHOTO 10: Huu-ay-aht boat gathering kʷaqmis (Herring Eggs). By Robert Dennis.]

Having increased control also allowed for reflection on the legacy of settler governments not only in mismanaging resources throughout history but also their failure in rehabilitating and healing ecosystems, especially rivers and streams. Robert Dennis states:

> *"I'm saying in a treaty world, you guys had your time to do things to restore it, and we have the report card now, you guys have done a terrible job you are an utter failure at fixing our rivers, so we are going to do it ourselves…we want to take advantage of that part of the treaty, and let's restore our rivers."*

Throughout 2017, 11 Huu-ay-aht citizens were employed by LGL and Meridian Forest Services Ltd to work with the aptly named ʔuuʔałuk Watershed Renewal Technical Working Group, on watershed renewal projects (HFN 2018). During the data collection phase of this project, work was already taking place and some Huu-ay-aht participants, like Rick Nookemus, were involved in the beginnings of efforts to repair inland rivers that were traditionally salmon producing. Rick was hopeful:

"We are going to start putting some man-made router logs, and pieces of log where when the water runs it will make pools and everything for them, so they can get the gravel to show up again so they can spawn in it, because there is barely any gravel now for the salmon to spawn in, and there's just a little bit here and a little bit there."

[PHOTO 11: Potential salmon bearing river within Huu-ay-aht Treaty Lands. By Rick Nookemus.]

Still, the scale of the current rehabilitation projects seemed to limit the difference Huu-ay-aht can make. The current rehabilitation project began in May 2017, and with the help of the private sector, Maa-nulth First Nations, Provincial and Federal governments, set aside $500,000 annually for rehabilitation of the 35 formerly salmon bearing streams in Huu-ay-aht territory over three to five years (HFN 2018). However, the actual cost of rehabilitating the watershed is estimated to be approximately 150 million dollars, and take up to 25 years (Wilson 2018). Some participants expressed questions about the priorities behind development and investment decisions, and ongoing management practices. Stephen, Stella, and Rick agreed:

"…keep improving the river systems, the fish. Yup, helping out the river. It doesn't help that Huu-ay-aht is logging right next to the rivers."-Stephen Smith.

[PHOTO 12: Salmon at Sugsaw fish hatchery, 2016. By Stephen Smith.]

"…But if they are going to keep on logging and everything like this, what's the use making a hatchery, when they are going to have no place to spawn?"-Rick Nookemus.

"…You know it's not something that just our people, Huu-ay-aht people have to think about because of the salmon that go up Sarita River. You know people from Uchucklesaht their fish swim Trevor channel to get up Henderson Lake. People in Port Alberni from Tseshaht and Hupacasath their fish come through Trevor Channel up the canal to the Somass River."-Stella Peters.

[PHOTO 13: Salmon smoking in the traditional Huu-ay-aht style on Pachena Beach. By Stella Peters.]

"…I don't understand how they can say how important it is, we need to do this, we need to look at the watersheds of rivers, our fish bearing streams, the ocean and all of that, and then later on nothing goes on there, it almost seems like it just slipped off the chart, you know what I mean?"-Stella Peters.

"Yah, it's all man-made screw ups that didn't benefit the salmon at all, they totally discarded, well I guess they didn't really think about fish at all. All they thought about was money, like my grandfather used to say, 'money is root of all evil', you know?"-Rick Nookemus.

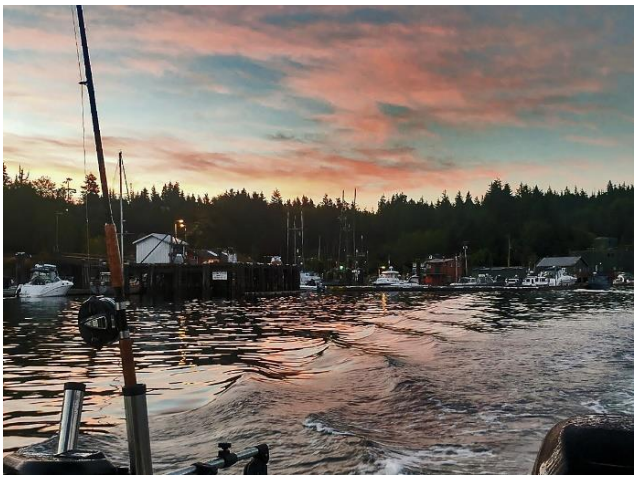
[PHOTO 14: Logging debris in Pachena River, Huu-ay-aht Treaty Lands. By Rick Nookemus.]

Stella Peters suggested that Huu-ay-aht need to look again at their film, "Heart of the People", and consider its message:

"Our nation needs to look back at Heart of the People and Return of the River, and think about the things they had said back then, you know, they were crying for help they were crying for awareness of how important the estuary and everything around it was."

Meaningful connections to and interactions with the land were expressed by all Huu-ay-aht participants living on Treaty Land; interestingly, many Huu-ay-aht living away from their homelands also viewed interactions with the land, water, and fish as being important aspects of the their personal health and wellbeing. Hinatinyis lives in Port Alberni, but goes "home" to Treaty Land regularly and has experienced being out on the land with her family throughout her lifetime. She divulges:

"I get to go fishing every year with my dad…and I just feel so grateful to have the opportunity just to see it, because I can't think of how many urban Huu-ay-aht's have never seen this, or all those children that are away from home, you know, that don't get a chance to experience it, the smell of the fog, you know what I mean?"



[PHOTO 15: Bamfield harbour from fishing boat. By Hinatinyis]

For some of those living outside of Treaty Land, and away from the degraded state of local ecosystems, concern about the environment was combined with a certain amount of trust that issues not well understood are being handled in a way that is best for Huu-ay-aht. Hinatinyis explains:

> *"[I'm] definitely alarmed at how much we're logging, but I don't know enough about it to be alarmed…Yes I can see that they logged along the road, and yes I can see that they logged in an area that my family used to live in, and those make me uncomfortable…Like, am I afraid for no reason, just because it is unknown to me? Or am I afraid because this doesn't look good, and it probably isn't good?"*

While Hinatinyis is able to go home on a regular basis, not all are so lucky. Daniel Cook elaborates:

"This photo was taken for this project because one of the questions that stood out for me…was…how treaty should focus and I felt that treaty should focus on the environment and our lands and protecting how sacred it can be. This is where I'll probably admit that I don't know too much about where our Nation is going towards with treaty and our lands…I hope that the nation will continue to protect our lands for future generations, so they can access it the way it is now."

[PHOTO 16: Daniel at Vetter Falls, Nass Valley, Northern BC By Daniel Cook.]

Stella Peters had observed an important difference between Huu-ay-aht who live within Treaty Lands and get to touch, taste, and experience the land regularly, and those who do not. She argues:

"I think the ones at home feel a lot stronger than the ones away from home. The ones, you know people off reserve the problem is that they have never gone out and dug clams at Sarita, they've never caught fish in Sarita river, they have never gone fishing, never caught Halibut, they've never gone picking basket grass or stripping cedar bark or gathering berries or any type of roots or anything like that they used to."

[PHOTO 17: Qawii (Salmon Berries) gathered on Huu-ay-aht Treaty Lands. By Stella Peters]

To many Huu-ay-aht citizens who participated in this study, there was no substitute for being on the land. While all participants agreed that bringing more people home, either temporarily or permanently was important, it was also complicated, and would take time (e.g., community planning for housing, employment, education, and other infrastructure services). Despite the time that changes of any kind may take though, it was clear that Hu-ay-aht overall expected changes that do come will be rooted in culture, compassion, respect for the land, and will have the foresight

to anticipate and prepare for what present and future generations may be faced with, regardless of where they live. Many participants stressed the importance of balancing a need for economic development with the need to uphold their sacred principles and promote the health of the land, while acknowledging space for creativity and diversion from unbridled resource extraction.

4.4 Coming Home: uuʔałuk, Taking Care of Future Generations

The Huu-ay-aht worldview includes the sacred principle of ʔuuʔałuk, described as the act of "taking care", not only of present and future generations of Huu-ay-aht, but all living things, and the land itself. This sacred relationship holds particular importance when considering the desire among Huu-ay-aht to create the conditions that allow or encourage citizens to move home to Treaty Land, a main priority outlined by Huu-ay-aht throughout the treaty negotiation process. Participants identified several interrelated issues that have important implications when considering support for future generations and increased permanent populations on Treaty Land. These issues are presented in four sections: Employment and Economy (4.4.1); Education (4.4.2); Housing (4.4.3); and Child Welfare (4.4.4).

4.4.1 Employment and Economy

Given that Huu-ay-aht are surrounded by and participating in the western capitalist economy, being able to take care of the land and future generations the way Huu-ay-aht want is a complicated matter. The Huu-ay-aht vision is for a self-reliance and sustainable Nation that includes not just flourishing economically, but also culturally and spiritually (HFN 2020). Robert Dennis articulates the challenge:

> *"…salmon enhancement, forestry enhancement, bringing our people home: all those are going to cost money that we don't have. So, we have to look at, you know, where can we get the money…"*

This need to fund important projects has meant considering a full range of economic enterprises in hopes of generating reliable revenue for the nation. After the treaty went into effect, the first major project proponent to approach Huu-ay-aht First Nations was Steelhead LNG, who proposed the construction of an international deep seaport in Sarita Bay for the storage and transportation of liquid natural gas from northern British Columbia (BC) and Alberta to Asian markets. In March 2017, 70% of Huu-ay-aht citizens who voted in a referendum, did so in favour of allowing the construction of the facility (Thomson 2017). The project proponents promoted it as a 'zero harm' option that would inject revenue, employment, and other spin-off benefits into the community. Regardless, during my time in the community this had created serious tension between Huu-ay-aht who saw it as an alternative to destructive enterprises of the past, and those Huu-ay-aht who saw it as another form of capitalist exploitation that would do serious environmental harm to Huu-ay-aht lands and waters.[1]

"I guess it's maybe like a ripple, a ripple effect, we're being put on the map, you know not just at home, but expanding, I like it because it can create opportunities that are not necessarily on our homeland where some of our citizens can work…because there's like close to 80 percent of our people live away from home and in 2033, we're expected our population to be doubled, so what are the chances of us getting over half of our people to move home by then? So, then that's like, if we're going to make that happen, then we need to get started now."-Edward R. Johnson.

[PHOTO 18: Drum made by Edward inside LNG building in Vancouver. By Edward R. Johnson.]

[1] In 2019, the proponents unexpectedly put a halt to the project, although no definitive reason for the decision was provided, it was likely due to the economic uncertainty of the oil and gas industry (see also, Quinn 2019).

However, an over-reliance on western approaches and disconnection from the land through exploitive industry was perceived as a risk by some participants. Crystal (Clappis) noted that not only was this likely a continuation of historically destructive practices but a potential limitation of creative, alternative economic opportunities for Huu-ay-aht to pursue in the future:

> *"We pay lots of money for consultants and specialists, and, but when it comes down to it, we're doing the exact things that are against our traditions and who we are as a people. All for money. This is the reality of self-government; it becomes a money game instead of serving the people. Now we need to make our own money to support ourselves, and that is not something we were prepared for during the whole treaty process, is how?"*

Huu-ay-aht have been purchasing and re-purposing property within the Treaty Lands alongside greater integration of Huu-ay-aht citizens into the local fishing and forestry industries as ways to expand economic development options, create jobs, and earn revenue. The purchase of businesses and property in Bamfield were suggested as major opportunities for development and employment that could help those who wanted to, move home in the future. According to Charlie Clappis:

"That purchase is a prime example of the positive effects of treaty…being able to buy that. Before treaty there would be no way we could ever think about buying that many properties in Bamfield. So that's…that there is a key in developing and bringing people home."

[PHOTO 19: Charlie Clappis removing 'for sale' sign on recently purchased property near Bamfield. By Charlie Clappis]

Despite its relatively remote location, the Huu-ay-aht owned campground in Anacla and the local town of Bamfield host tourists in substantial numbers throughout the warmer months. Participants proposed processing and selling everything from seafood to seaweed-based soil as

potentially valuable ways to reduce clear-cut forest harvesting as well as provide much needed income for those living on Treaty Lands and revenue for the nation as a whole. Stella and Rick both spoke to these ideas:

"One thing I would like to see in Bamfield now since treaty is that we would have the opportunity to have a place where they could actually sell like fresh seafood…I mean, and you know it would be a good place for our young guys that are crab fisherman or whatever, for them to get into business properly." -Stella Peters.

[PHOTO 20: Advertisement for "the Pub", restaurant in Bamfield acquired by Huu-ay-aht since treaty. By Stella Peters.]

"Oh yeah, that's why they come here, they figure they are going to get [fish]. You know, they don't want to come down here and have a hamburger." -Rick Nookemus.

[PHOTO 21: "The Market", a multifaceted business in Bamfield that features a café. By Rick Nookemus.]

With the emphasis Huu-ay-aht are putting on sustainability, economic development and the restoration of forests and fisheries, there is a need to diversify further in order to grow economically and provide the appropriate conditions for Huu-ay-aht to consider moving home. Increased opportunities for employment within Treaty Land that have come with the purchase of property, businesses and other developments, have meant a small number of Huu-ay-aht have been able to move home.

4.4.2 Education

Huu-ay-aht citizens living both within and outside Treaty Land who participated in this research agreed that the treaty was, is, or could be a way to take back control in ways that promote cultural

continuity and a future where they and their children could benefit from a renewed, dynamic commitment to important cultural principles, and perhaps consider moving home. However, they also recognized the substantial change that was needed as well as the time needed for such change to create a permanent viable homeland for present and future generations of Huu-ay-aht. For Edward R. Johnson, the Maa-nulth Treaty offered the opportunity to develop answers to some very important, yet complicated, questions. He pondered:

> *"How are we going to be a Nation that's going to be able to provide a healthy living space for our people where they can grow up knowing our culture, or how can we deliver our culture to our people? How are we going to become a healthier Nation, where our children won't feel the effects from colonialism?"*

Many participants spoke about the reestablishment of control they felt when dismantling colonial structures of power, and of the sense of ownership that all Huu-ay-aht citizens have over the process and their imaginable future:

> *"Treaty means to me… I guess for the most part, one, there's no Indian Act, and two, you know…that we have control on how, how our life and how our people, or our government, are going to be running."*-Sarah Johnson.

Becki Nookemis, a Huu-ay-aht citizen and senior undergraduate student at Vancouver Island University, worked as a member of the research team. She lives in Nanaimo, but she grew up in Anacla until she was 13, when she had to leave the community then as there was no local high school. Though residential schools are no longer relocating children in the name of "education," parents are still being forced to either relocate to educate themselves and/or their high school age children or send them away in order to pursue an education. Becki talked about her experience:

> *"I went to Bamfield school until grade seven, and I moved for grade eight, and so one of the things with people who choose to live in Anacla is like, you can live there until like you are 13, and then if you want to go to school you have to move to Port Alberni, which is…so they have a really hard time…"*

As Becki explained, the sheer scale of the healing and growth that needs to be considered is almost overwhelming:

> *"…moving half of your population home, I mean its like a great dream but…being free from like, the negative effects of colonialism it's like, there's so much… work to do, you know what I mean?"*-Becki Nookemis.

Considering the physical distance of some participants from Treaty Land, all participants who commented on the topic of 'home' still thought of the Treaty Lands - and Anacla more specifically - as home for Huu-ay-aht in a cultural, spiritual, and symbolic sense.

Some, like Harry Brossault, talked about how changes that came with treaty meant real opportunities to move home and make meaningful cultural connections that he could pass on to his children:

"You know, if I don't know it, then I can't teach my kids it, right, and that was the main reason for me coming home, it was time for me to learn, to teach my children, so they are not like me being 36 years old 37 years old learning who their people are for the first time."

[PHOTO 22: Harry's children at Pachena Beach. By Harry Brossault.]

Many, however, would not even seriously consider moving home without more employment opportunities, as well as significant improvements to housing, childcare, infrastructure and other services.

4.4.3 Housing

Barry Halvorson and Becki Nookemis both spoke to a lack of sufficient housing, infrastructure and services on Treaty Land to support a growing population:

> *"I think one of the biggest problems that we are facing right now is housing down here and once we get our housing under control and get our people moving back I think we will see bigger changes."*-Barry Halvorson.

> *"A house, a job, it would actually take so much more than that though because those are just like basic things, but it's like, if you are moving to a place like you want to be super connected to people and like…so I get this education and then...am I going to go home and have a job…? You know what I mean? Like there needs to be something there for me to like, even consider it."*
> -Becki Nookemis.

Government-funded housing built on most reserves in Canada has often not been made to last, which makes residences difficult to maintain. In fact, most reserves in Canada are in a state of tremendous inadequacy considering the quality of both housing and related infrastructure (Durbin 2009; Patrick 2014). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that some homes in Huu-ay-aht territory are in need of serious repair, and some are actually now well beyond repair. When the treaty was signed, part of the agreement was that residents would be offered an opportunity to purchase their homes for a very low cost. Although this offered individual ownership and control over the state of their home going forward, some were not prepared or capable of investing money into improvements that were drastically needed. For some this has meant living in potentially unhealthy conditions for years.

For long-time resident of Anacla Theresa Peters, this has meant the deterioration of her home over time. She has had to live for some time now, since before treaty, alongside things like mould, which has well-known negative health affects (Koskinen, Husman, Meklin & Nevalainen 1999; Bonnefoy 2007; Antova et al. 2008). According to Theresa, she either had to live with the issues, or find another place to live, something she was not willing or able to do:

"Yah, yup, this is getting worse and worse eh, and this is from the leaking roof…and in 2011 when we got to treaty they decided they're not going to do anything about the houses, and that they wanted a dollar for…a house, we had to buy it, buy the house, and when I said no I want my house fixed first, and then they said if I am not going to pay the dollar I have to leave the house."

[PHOTO 23: Theresa Peter's bathroom, Anacla. By Theresa Peters.]

Theresa is not alone, but as Hinatinyis and Sarah explain it, transitioning away from the colonization process that resulted in dependency on Canadian government services and polices comes with many growing pains that are difficult to navigate:

> *"I live in Port Alberni, if my roof had a leak, I wouldn't go to City Hall and say 'you need to fix my roof, but we have instances of that within the community…but a lot of people aren't in a place where they can do…major repairs like that…so treaty it has been good for people who are involved but for those who aren't up to date with what's going on its still…it's a struggle."*- Hinatinyis.

> ***"****Now, you know with housing and stuff like that, you know the houses are the peoples now, and it's up to the people to have that kind of accountability and stuff like that. But with that being said, there is still some downfall, where some people aren't ready for that."*-Sarah Johnson.

As hard as it has been for some like Theresa, Sarah believes there is help on the way:

> *"…We have slowly started to move on into different little things and creating areas of funding and opportunities to help people out. We are just slowly getting people to realize it's not just so cut and dry, you know like, you know there's a lot more into it, right? And you start realizing how much dependency you had on funding, or, you know, the government, or the band office back then, you know, taking care of everything."*-Sarah Johnson.

Despite these challenges that some are facing on Treaty Land (and beyond), the Maa-nulth Treaty has created unique opportunities for Huu-ay-aht to assume responsibility and make decisions that are best for Hu-ay-aht on the ground.

4.4.4 Child Welfare

Regarding future generations specifically, the post-treaty Huu-ay-aht government structure has allowed for opportunities to involve young people in the decision-making process itself. This, according to Sarah Johnson, has the potential to create a new 'normal' for future generations, where they are empowered as part of their community and actively involved in the decision-making process:

> ***"****Yes, oh for sure, and you know, I know right now Felicia is starting to do this youth council. Yah I think it's the best thing, for our children to know, or have an option, or chance to be able to see what our government structure is and…what it means. By all means it could have some kids that might be curious and say 'hey, I want to be that when I grow up'."*

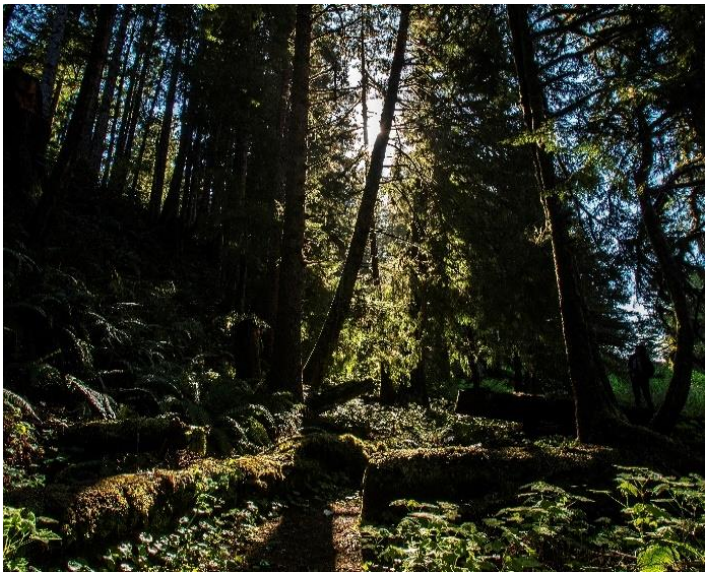
Charlie Clappis further illustrated:

"…I actually went on Google Earth and put a pin where all the kids are, and at the time there was like 10 kids that live around the field…and like all these kids are the youngest around the field and they have nothing to do. So I wrote up this report and got invited to the council meeting, and by the biggest fluke in the world the school was on a field trip to the government office to learn about treaty and learn about governance…so we all went in and the Chief is like, 'okay, Charlie is going to present this playground, kids are here we are going to let the kids give their recommendation from the presentation'…and its just like, on the ground, a prime example of what we are able to do, and the power we do have in treaty."

[PHOTO 24: Charlie helping to construct a new playground in Anacla. By Charlie Clappis.]

Generations of Huu-ay-aht, however, have not had the chance to live on Treaty Land, or rarely get to visit home. For those who have not spent much time on Treaty Land, there is also an identified need for increasing amounts of cultural education and outreach. The establishment of educational tours to the site of Kixx?in, an ancient Huu-ay-aht village and National Historic Site, that includes evidence of occupation dating to 1000 B.C.E. The tours were identified by Stella Peters as a positive experience for Huu-ay-aht children and youth living outside Treaty Lands:

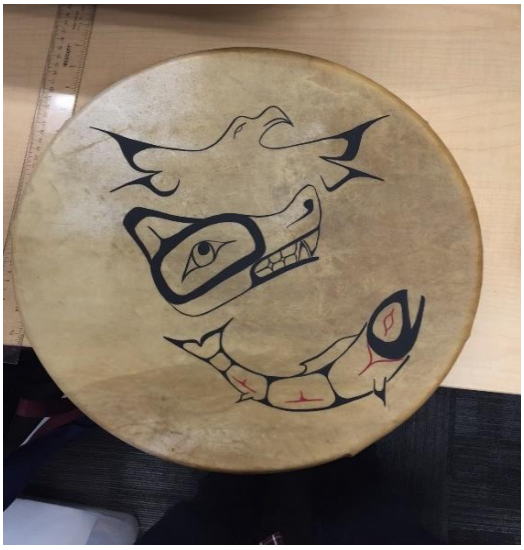
"There has been a couple, two, three times that I've done the Kixx?in tours and I've been able to bring out kids that were in foster care, that have never been home before, and to me I have always said it is important for people of any culture to know their background, know their family, to know their history, to know where they come from, to know they have a place to go that they can call home."



[Photo 25: Kixx?in village site, with Stella Peters (bottom right). By Jon Aarssen.]

Approximately 20% of Huu-ay-aht children have been removed from their homes, and over 75% of those children have been placed in non-Indigenous foster homes (Thomson 2018). In the province, Indigenous children represent over 62% of children in the care of BC Ministry of Children and Family Development, despite Indigenous people accounting for only 9% of the province's population (Rousseau 2018). This overrepresentation, and issues that arose as a result, motivated a Huu-ay-aht Social Services Panel Report, completed in 2017, that provided recommendations to reduce the number of Huu-ay-aht children in care to zero. Based on community engagement and with recognition of Huu-ay-aht sacred principles, the report included recommendations that in order to promote and facilitate a healthy nation and communities, Huu-

ay- aht children, youth, and families need to have an understanding of their connection to their community, territory, and each other.[2] An important part of establishing these connections is the advent of culturally engaging and informative support packages, delivered to children in care. Still, though, Edward R. Johnson is convinced that even more could, and should, be done to help all Huu-ay-aht citizens, he spoke of a drum he made:



"The drum is a drum for a child [who is] in care, and it's a package that goes out to our children in care. They get information on who we are, where we come from, some culture, some song recordings, and a drum, a cedar headband. They get some videos…so then [we are] able to do a lot more with our children that are in care now that we're a treaty nation…. we could take care of our people that live away from home, not just people that live on reserve."

[PHOTO 26: Drum made for a child in care. By Edward R. Johnson.]

Although many Huu-ay-aht, like Simon Dennis, do not get to spend as much time as they would like on Treaty Land, existing passion for the ways that culture and language promote personal growth and healing is unwavering. He believed Huu-ay-aht can and should be taking care of each other, wherever they are, and he noted that at times 'taking care' involves something as simple as listening to and sharing stories. Simon asserts:

[2] Worth noting (post-data collection), thanks in large part to the work of the University of Victoria's Indigenous Child Well-being Research Network, the act of developing and maintaining permanent connections with families, communities and culture is now included formally as an important aspect of concepts of 'permanence' utilized by the BC Ministry of Children and Family Development (Rousseau 2018). Moreover, In 2018, Huu-ay-aht declared a public health emergency over the high number of their children in provincial care that eventually pushed the federal government to provide funding (4.2 million over 5 years), to help the Nation in working towards the recommendations of the Social Services Panel Report (Plummer 2018; Thomson 2018).

"Outreach. Someone needs to get out there and outreach, do some outreach and say you know what, we're down here because we care for you. We're down here because we want to listen to you. We want to hear where you're coming from. We want to hear your story…So much in need, yet no action, but we're starting now."

[PHOTO 27: Sign at Fraser Regional Aboriginal Friendship Centre in Vancouver. SIGN READS: Culture Saves Lives. By Simon Dennis.]

While the existence of different perspectives or priorities amongst urban Huu-ay-aht residents and those living on Treaty Land was often suggested and implied by participants, opportunities for participation and access to the benefits of the Maa-nulth Treaty were expressed and experienced regardless of where they lived. In addition, and not surprisingly, a sense of unity was observed when it came to desire or expectation for decision making that prioritized the wellbeing of future generations. To many Huu-ay-aht interviewed, creating a healthy living situation anywhere involved the integration of more housing of better quality, infrastructure, and services that provide space and places for Huu-ay-aht children, youth, and families to connect with the land and each other, and develop healthy lifestyles.

In my concluding chapter, I discuss these findings in relation to the goals of the project, and I consolidate them into central findings and contributions. I also outline my study's limitations and offer suggestions for future study and concluding statements.

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Chapter 5

Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

This primary goal of this research project is to illuminate the perceptions and experiences of citizens of Huu-ay-aht First Nations in regard to the implementation of the Maa-nulth Treaty, an agreement between settler governments and five Nuu-chah-nulth Nations on the west coast of Vancouver Island. At the direction of Huu-ay-aht First Nations, the overall focus of this research project centred on two questions:

1. How do Huu-ay-aht citizens perceive the benefits and drawbacks of the Maa-nulth Treaty?
2. How have they experienced and witnessed the impacts of the treaty process over the last 10 years?

From these questions, three objectives arose:

1. To identify, document, and understand Huu-ay-aht citizen perspectives of Treaty implementation;
2. To compare Huu-ay-aht citizen perspectives of Treaty implementation across four geographic locations: Huu-ay-aht Treaty Lands, Port Alberni, Nanaimo, and the Lower Mainland; and
3. To interpret the implications of these perspectives, informed by Nuu-chah-nulth epistemology, to assist in continued Treaty implementation.

After a review of relevant literature (Chapter 2) and details about the methodology I used (Chapter 3), Chapter 4 featured participant voices and images in discussing the central findings of this project, which include positive change or potential for change as seen in increases in control over Treaty Lands, as well as structural, environmental and health concerns that remain as treaty implementation continues. Overall, a central theme of hope emerged as an important common sentiment that often featured in participant responses. In this concluding chapter, I offer a detailed list of the substantive contributions of this case study, followed by a summary of the limitations of

this case study, which were noted in Chapter 3. Finally, I briefly discuss suggestions for future research, and offer concluding comments.

5.2 Contributions

The findings of this case study are primarily for the use of Huu-ay-aht Executive Council and the Ha'wiih (hereditary chiefs), and will be shared in person, when possible; at present with COVID-19, non-essential travel is not possible. It is my hope that the analysis will be useful for informing their future decision-making reflective of participant views and suggestions. The data and new knowledge obtained through this research is also intended to further their own understanding of the successes and pitfalls of modern treaty negotiation, in addition to highlighting complexities and experiences of treaty implementation. Sharing the results of this study with others, beyond Huu-ay-aht First Nations, is intended to encourage more respectful, responsible, relevant, and functional processes in the negotiation and implementation of political, economic, and cultural self-determination in the face of historical colonialism. These research findings may contribute to other First Nations' decision-making processes, especially regarding whether a modern treaty is the right path for the future. This study will also afford unique insight into Huu-ay-aht experiences of treaty that are, yet, not well represented in the literature. Finally, I trust there is also an opportunity through this work to inform Canadians about the history and complexity of the ongoing treaty process in British Columbia (BC) and the rest of Canada through publication in the peer-reviewed literature.

Finding 1*: Experiences and perceptions of substantive and positive change, or the potential for positive change as a result of the Maa-nulth Treaty, exist as a result of increased control over civic life, and Treaty Lands.*

This finding suggests that a central perceived and experienced benefit of the Maa-nulth Treaty involves the taking back of control from the Governments of Canada and BC, over many aspects of everyday and civic life. Participants particularly valued steps taken since the treaty went into effect to preserve their culture and secure control of various aspects of their livelihood in the future, such as environmental management, economic development, and child welfare, and base them on the Huu-ay-aht worldview. Many participants who took part in this study viewed this increase in control as crucial to ensuring the well-being of individuals, families, and the Huu-ay-aht Nation as a whole. The preservation of the sacred Nuu-chah-nulth worldview within the Maa-nulth Treaty, and its prominence throughout its implementation, signifies links between the individual, community, and the land that continue to be strengthened despite the influence of economic markets and international enterprises. Many participants spoke of treaty as providing hope that Huu-ay-aht can continue to come together to make collective decisions that utilize this control in a way that benefits all Huu-ay-aht citizens, strengthens cultural connections, and protects and heals the land. This central finding aligns with the work of Chandler and Lalonde (1998; 2004), and others who suggest that such increases in control are in direct correlation to drastic improvements to the general well-being of individuals, in addition to the ability of community members to heal from historical trauma, promote community resilience, and imagine themselves collectively in the future (Kirmayer et al. 2011). In this way, the control that treaty offers over the future of the Nation is effectively counteracting some of the impacts of the proliferation of dependency and suffering created by generations of racist, destructive Canadian federal and provincial government policies, structures, and services. There is merit to the criticism of treaty as an extension of knowledge and process invented by "dominant" settler culture, the intent of which may be understood as the absorption of Indigenous rights and title into existing settler structures

(See Chapter 2). However, findings here show that treaty can also offer potential for positive change, to the benefit of signatory Nations, through control over decision making that is then tailored to community needs, representative of sacred cultural principles, and focused on longevity and the benefit of future generations.

Finding 2: *Huu-ay-aht citizens living both within, and outside of Treaty Lands, expect development decisions to be conscious of the impacts of destructive industries of the past in order to heal the land, and preserve both the ecology, and economic viability of Treaty Lands for future generations.*

The priorities of Huu-ay-aht First Nations, as outlined in Strategic Plans (HFN 2016, 2018, 2019), include sustainable, conservative economic growth provided by and through the land, water, and other natural resources of the territory. Considering these priorities, many participants living on Treaty Land expressed concern about the continuation of resource extraction practices that have damaged ecosystems. These practices, they noted, have impacted the ability of Huu-ay-aht to engage with important aspects of their cultural heritage that depend on the health of ecosystems that, for example, support salmon-producing rivers and streams. Interestingly, concern over the health and rehabilitation of Treaty Lands was also shared by participants who lived outside Treaty Lands and do not get to visit home often. This demonstrates a consolidated commitment to sacred principles of ʔiisaak, ʔuuʔałuk, and Hišuk ma c̓awak, all of which require consideration of the land, and the "natural world," regardless of geography. Participants expect that economic development will be explicitly aligned with their worldview and treat the land with a level of respect that has not often been accounted for under outside control. Careful consideration in this regard is especially important given the growing prominence of Huu-ay-aht in the forest industry throughout the Alberni Valley (HFN 2019). Participants also expressed a desire to witness and

participate in creative sustainable alternatives that take advantage of all of the natural resources available throughout Treaty Lands, and consider opportunities that have presented with the purchase of Bamfield properties and growth of Huu-ay-aht interest in the tourism industry.

Finding 3: *The Maa-nulth Treaty has supported the forging of important connections to culture and ḥahuuli, including conditions that have allowed many participants to obtain meaningful employment, and a small number of Huu-ay-aht to consider moving home to Treaty Lands. Moving citizens home, however, will take time, as well as substantial improvement to infrastructure, housing, and services that considers the legacy of settler government control and provides support to citizens transitioning from years of discrimination and dependency under the Indian Act.*

A final highlight of the findings of this research project is the facilitation of increased connections to culture and the land through increasing amounts of opportunity and employment, that have promoted positive changes for Huu-ay-aht as a Nation. Increased opportunity for meaningful employment that features interaction with culture and sacred principles has led to increasing confidence amongst participants in the collective efficacy of Huu-ay-aht community at home, and beyond. Some participants felt that the benefits of the treaty were unequally distributed, which seems to be, at least in part, a result of the time that is required to establish functioning infrastructure, administrative foundations, and determine the appropriateness and function of policy and services.

Poorly constructed pre-Treaty government housing, and a pre-existing lack of housing in general, featured prominently in participant concerns over the viability of increased habitation within Huu-ay-aht Treaty Lands, another central strategic priority for the nation (HFN 2016, 2018, 2019[1]). Since data collection for this research project was completed, Huu-ay-aht have commissioned an independent housing panel that released a report specifying recommendations in

2019 (HFN 2019[3]). The recommendations seem to align with the concerns of participants expressed in 2017 regarding improvements to the amount, and affordability of housing on Treaty Lands. The report also aligns with the findings of this study in stressing the importance of housing in counteracting legacies of colonization that continue to plague the lives and livelihood of Huu-ay-aht citizens. Participants in this study expressed concern that some aspects of everyday life, including the condition of infrastructure and housing, and maintenance of community systems were being overlooked. Community education about home maintenance, and access to funding is crucial in this regard, especially in supporting the health and wellbeing of elders and families who are unable to bear the financial burden of repairs and improvements to existing, often inadequate, government housing. One important recommendation from this research is to encourage other Indigenous Nations currently still in negotiation of treaty to ensure that the Federal Government provides the funding to replace or repair all government-built housing before implementation begins.

5.3 Study Limitations

In addition to the methodological limitations discussed in Chapter 3, the main limitation of this project is in relation to time. Photovoice projects, and CBPR projects alike, require a significant commitment of time and effort on the part of the academic researcher. It takes a significant amount of time to understand the nuances of the lives of participants, and the functioning of communities and governments. More time spent in community would further ensure rich rigour, and the relevancy of findings presented here (Tracy 2010). With further consideration for timing, it is also important to note that personal issues in my own life impacted the time that it took to complete my analysis and writing. The findings presented here are primarily representative of the experiences and perceptions of participants as expressed during the summer and fall of 2017. Although I made

an effort to consider advancements in Huu-ay-aht government policy and knowledge production since, the validity of claims made here should be known to be representative of the time period in which they were gathered. Changes and issues in my personal life also impacted my ability to maintain connections to community; ideally, more time would have been taken to confer closely, and regularly, with the advisory committee throughout the entire process. Nevertheless, Dr. Castleden has continued to discuss the progress of the project in person at advisory committee meetings on my behalf, and I have maintained contact with many participants despite physical distance, primarily through email, Instagram, and Facebook.

This type of project also requires a significant commitment of time from participants. We were careful to outline the time requirements of the project and explained to participants that their involvement would include an ethics and photography training exercise (approx. two hours), in addition to photographing and selecting 10-20 pictures for analysis (anywhere from approximately three hours in one day to spreading over weeks), and participating in a one-on-one, semi-structured interview about the pictures (approx. 1.5 hours). Understandably though, participant retention, recognized as a common issue in traditional qualitative studies that involve more than a one-off meeting (e.g., an interview, a focus group, a questionnaire), was an issue. Participants may have felt overwhelmed by the time required to contemplate and complete the photography exercise and interviews. Research studies that take time require focused and motivated participants who can commit themselves for the duration of a study, and it is known that participant or sample attrition can occur because participants can simply lose interest in a lengthy study (Aitken, Gallagher & Madronio 2003). Of course, participants may also refuse research for a number of reasons, and that refusal puts important limits on the production of settler colonial knowledge (Tuck & Wang 2014). Perhaps though, more consideration should be given for the time photographic storytelling

that reflects participant and community experience, can take, as dependent on ability and availability. I think in this case perhaps the scope of this project was somewhat ambitious for a Master's degree, but I also think that my view in that regard is representative of the academy's expectations for the completion of a degree program within a certain timeframe. My time in the field was essential to any understanding I have of the issues that face Huu-ay-aht, and more time would most definitely have enriched that understanding.

5.4 Future Directions

The modern treaty implementation process is constantly evolving: no fewer than 36 BC First Nations are currently negotiating their way through the six-stage BC Treaty Commission negotiation and implementation process. Eight are in the final stage and are, or will be, implementing Final Agreements (i.e., Treaties). Experiences and perceptions of the implementation of the Maa-nulth Treaty for Huu-ay-aht First Nations are also constantly changing to reflect accumulating knowledge of what is best for citizens on the ground, and the Nation as a whole. Given these two realities, there are two logical directions for future research.

First, perceptions and experiences of the citizens of modern treaty Indigenous Nations should be understood as important to the analysis of treaty relationships, and evidence of their ability to produce positive change in communities. An accurate portrayal of those experiences and perceptions as a whole requires further studies looking at how other First Nations of the Maa-nulth Treaty (i.e., Ka:'yu:'k't'h/Che:k'tles7et'h', Toquaht, Uchucklesaht, Ucluelet), and other modern treaties (i.e., Tla'amin, Tsawwassen) are currently being implemented in BC.

Second, given the constant evolution of treaty implementation for Huu-ay-aht First Nations, additional study is required to evaluate how further implementation is impacting the lives of Huu-ay-aht citizens. An ongoing research relationship between Huu-ay-aht First Nations and

Dr. Castleden and the Health Environment and Communities Research Lab has been funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for continued CBPR study (2019-2023) and will hopefully offer further insight in this regard. These kinds of longstanding research relationships are very helpful in enabling First Nations to evaluate treaty implementation as it progresses. Additionally, further research into how Nuu-chah-nulth worldviews provide clear directions and enable the overcoming of challenges throughout the implementation process would support other First Nations in establishing guidelines for their own culturally embedded implementation processes.

Additionally, we are all treaty signatories since the governments who sign these final agreements are doing so on behalf of their citizens, further research should be undertaken that focuses on how non-Indigenous people and institutions understand their own responsibilities in the treaty process. Important in this regard is study that focuses on the intricacies of implementation at the federal and provincial level as well as the impacts that are experienced and perceived in non-indigenous populations, especially in local communities economically linked to treaty Nations through the development or extraction of natural resources.

5.5 Concluding Comments

The case study reported here only represents a small portion of the work that still needs to be done to illuminate the experiences and perceptions of the citizens of modern treaty Indigenous Nations in Canada. The interpretation of data presented here is meant to represent the views and experiences of Huu-ay-aht citizens that participated in the research process during the summer and fall of 2017. The implementation of treaty agreements take time, and while the data has shown that challenges exist in this case, during this time period, it has also shown that there is great

opportunity within treaty for self -determination, and hope for what a future free of dependency on the Indian Act can be.

Colonial occupation of traditional Indigenous territories and policies that sought the oppression and elimination of Indigenous peoples and their ways of life have had a tremendous negative impact on the resiliency of Indigenous Nations and communities for generations. Although I recognize that much criticism of modern treaty agreements as an extension of colonialism exists in the literature, here treaty has been shown to be a source of strength, inspiration, and opportunity for increasing meaningful resistance to the varied destructive legacies of colonialism. Considering the criticism, this work hopefully will not be misinterpreted as a settler researcher praising a structure that may, in some ways, facilitate the process of colonization and assimilation. Despite that possibility for inference, however, I have confidence that I have, to the best of my ability as a settler, accurately represented the views and experiences of participants. I believe my positionality as a settler holds both inherent weakness, and significant opportunity. I turn to the words of settler authors Lowman and Barker (2015, p. 123) who explain that not only do we say settler because it is who we are, but "we say settler because it is not everything we could be."

Throughout this research, I have tried to support Huu-ay-aht citizens in sharing their perspectives and experiences of the implementation of the Maa-nulth Treaty. I recognize that my positionality presents certain barriers to my understanding, and as a result, interpretation of the data. It is encouraging, however, that participant checking resulted in no substantial changes to the interpretation of data presented here. I have tremendous respect for, and am endlessly thankful to, participants who shared their views and experiences with me, and it has been one of the greatest challenges and privileges of my life to thoughtfully honour their contributions. When data

collection ended in October of 2017, I did not want to go back to Ontario, and now, having spent more than two years without setting foot on Huu-ay-aht territory, I cannot wait to go back. To me personally, this project represents not only collaborative research, or part of the completion of a Master's degree, it represents experiences that have changed me and resulted in a greater understanding and appreciation of Indigenous worldviews and experiences. It has also forged important relationships that will continue to be an important part of who I am.

5.6 References

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Appendix A

Info Letter

OUR JOURNEY, OUR CHOICE, OUR FUTURE

Sharing Huu-ay-aht Citizens' Experiences of Treaty Implementation Through Photovoice

Research Project Partner: Huu-ay-aht First Nations

Research Project Supervisor: Dr. Heather Castleden (Queen's University)

Project Coordinator: Vanessa Sloan-Morgan (Queen's University)

Research Project Team Members: Ayanna Clappis (Huu-ay-aht First Nations), Becki Nookemis (Huu-ay-aht First Nations), and Jon Aarssen (Queen's University)

Advisory Committee: Tayii Ḥawiɬ ƛiišin (Derek Peters), Stella Peters, Jane Peters, Wišqii (Rob Dennis Jr.), Simon Dennis, and Mercedes Williams

Research Project Funding: Social Sciences and Humanities

Research Council of Canada

INFORMATION LETTER

<u>Purpose of the Research</u>

The purpose of this research project is for Huu-ay-aht citizens to share their personal experiences of negotiations and implementation of the Maa-Nulth Treaty. The findings from this research project will help the Huu-ay-aht Executive Council and Ha'wilth make decisions about how to improve implementation of the Maa-nulth Treaty and its effects on the Nation. It will also help other First Nations considering modern Treaties by hearing from Huu-ay-aht citizens who have been living in a post-treaty context. This project is part of a larger Treaty implementation study that Dr. Heather Castleden is working on with Huu-ay-aht First Nations.

Research Questions participants are asked to consider when taking pictures:

What do you think are the key benefits of the Maa-nulth Treaty?

What do you think are the key drawbacks of the Maa-nulth Treaty?

How have you experienced/seen the impacts of the treaty process over the past 10 years?

What were the key environmental and health concerns you had 10 years ago?

What are the key environment and health concerns you have now?

What are the things are you most proud of with respect to being a Huu-ay-aht citizen?

What will happen?

This "photovoice" research project has 4 parts.

Part 1: Getting Ready. In part 1, at the onset of the project, we will meet one-on-one to talk about the project and the technology we will be using. Digital cameras will be provided. If you are more comfortable taking photographs with your cell phone, you are free to use that instead. You can take as many photos as you like, though we will be asking you to select between 10-20 that are connected to your thoughts about the Treaty negotiation and implementation process.

Part 2: Taking Pictures. Part 2 will begin after the training session, which will be your time to take photographs. In Anacla and Port Alberni, Ayanna and Jon will be available throughout this time if you have any questions or need to brainstorm some ideas about the project. In Vancouver, Becki and Vanessa will be available if you have any questions or need to brainstorm some ideas about the project. Approximately one week after you start taking pictures, we will check in with you to see if you are done or to determine whether more time is needed. You will then be invited to move to Part 3, described below.

Part 3: Sharing Stories About Your Pictures. Part 3 will begin once all of your pictures are taken and you select approximately 10-20 photographs you consider to be most important to you. We will have a one-on-one interview about your photographs; we will ask you where you took the picture, what the picture is of, why you took the picture, and what it means to you. During this time, we will also take time to talk about the research project, how it is going, and to get your opinion about using photography and the stories about the photos, as a research method for collecting information. This interview will be recorded.

Part 4: Sharing What We Learned. Your recorded interview will be transcribed word-for-word and used to inform our final reports. These reports may include using your quotes and/or photos to convey what is important to you. If you wish, you will have an opportunity to review anything you have said and photos you have taken before the data analysis is finalized. We will share what we learned with Huu-ay-aht First Nations, the public, and the scholarly community.

Permission?

If you wish to volunteer to take part in the project, we will go over the formal consent process. In our first meeting (Part 1), we will talk about what the project involves, clarify any questions you may have, and, if you wish to participate, we will ask for your written consent. You can request to have your work or statements not attributed to you (coded) in the final project. There is no penalty for wanting to withdraw any or all of your work at any time up until the final analysis stage of the project.

Who Will Know?

Your photographs and thoughts will be shared as much or as little as you want them to be. You can share as many or as few photos as you like with the team. It is important to note that staying anonymous (unidentified) as a participant will not be possible because of the small Huu-ay-aht First Nations population. However, if you wish, some or all of your contributions can be altered to make it hard to know who said what. Otherwise, your identity will be attached to your contributions in public presentations or publications about this research. If you do not want your name used, you can say so on the consent form, and then no reference to your name will be made in any presentations or publications.

The data and research findings that come out of this project are shared between You, Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Dr. Heather Castleden. All information collected during this study will be stored in a locked cabinet inside Dr. Heather Castleden's research lab at Queen's University for 5 years. Your interview transcript and pictures will also be kept by Huu-ay-aht First Nations in their archives indefinitely. You can request your interview transcript and pictures not become part of the Huu-ay-aht archives, and we will respect that request. However, the project's Advisory Committee and Ha'wiilth will still see the general findings of the project, in which your contributions can be coded. Thus, given the small size of the Huu-ay-aht community and small number of participants, the Advisory Committee and Ha'wiilth may still be able to attribute your contributions to you. If you do not want your contributions to be associated with you, you will be given a chance to review any findings to make sure that revealing information is removed.

Your photographs and the transcripts from our interview will be seen by the Research Team and possibly members of the Advisory Committee (unless you do not consent to Huu-ay-aht ownership of your data). Any work you contribute in the form of photographs, thoughts, and ideas are your own (your intellectual property). You will be able to pick what parts of your work you want to share with the Research Team and in the final project findings. You do not have to share anything you do not want to. When the project is complete, results will be compiled and you will be given the opportunity to review how your pictures and your words (if we quote you) are used in reports. After, the final project will be reviewed by the Advisory Committee, and given to Huu-ay-aht First Nations to use as seen fit. As well, this final project will be used to fulfill the academic and research requirements of Jon Aarssen's Master of Arts program in Geography at Queens University.

Recording Interviews:

We would like to audio record our one-on-one interviews. By recording, it means that we can listen to you and talk to you without having to write everything that you say down. It also means that we can hear the ideas you and other participants talk about again and make sure we understand what you are saying. There are no wrong or right answers. If you do not want to be audio recorded, we will ask your permission to take some hand-written notes during our conversation. You can review transcripts if you want to and remove any details you no longer wish to share.

It's Your Choice:

It is your choice to participate. Participation is voluntary and you do not have to participate if you do not want to. You may stop participating at any time up until the final analysis stage of the project. Once you have taken your photographs and the interviews are completed, you will receive a modest stipend (keep the digital camera provided or receive $100) to thank you for your time and contributions to this research project. You may ask me, or any of the project team members if you have questions at any time.

Risks:

While there is minimal risk in your participating in this project, some of the subject matter may be sensitive. You do not have to share anything you do not want to and you may stop participating in the project at any time up until the final analysis stage of the project. If you are unfamiliar with photography and cameras, we will assist you in learning how to use the technology and take effective and ethical photographs. If you wish to share some of all of your contributions in Nuu-chah-nulth, and not English,

you are free to do so. If you feel uncomfortable at any point during the research project someone from the Research Team, or Advisory Committee (list of members at the beginning of this document), can assist you. If you have any questions or concerns do not hesitate to ask any members of the research team.

To withdraw from the project:

You may withdraw from the project at anytime up until the final analysis stage of the project. There are no repercussions if you wish to withdraw. If you wish to withdraw from the project, please contact a member of the Research Team or the Advisory Committee.

Questions:

If you have questions please contact a member of the Research Team or the Advisory Committee:

- Jon: 613-770-4877 or jonathan.aarssen@queensu.ca (**Anacla and Port Alberni**)
- Ayanna: 250-710-3324 or ayanna.clappis@live.ca (**Anacla and Port Alberni**)
- Becki: 250-668-6791 or bnookemis@gmail.com (**Nanaimo and Vancouver**)
- Vanessa: 250-508-3410 or vanessa.sloan.morgan@queensu.ca (**Nanaimo and Vancouver**)
- Heather: 902-489-2412 or heather.castleden@queensu.ca (**Research Team Supervisor**)

If you have any concerns about this project and/or the conduct of the research team, you may also call the Director of the Queen's University General Ethics Review Board at 613-533-6000 ext. 33108. The Director is not linked to this project. The General Ethics Review Board at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario has given ethical approval for this study. This study has been granted clearance according to the recommended principles of Canadian ethics guidelines, and Queen's policies.

Thank you for your interest!

Appendix B

Consent Form

OUR JOURNEY, OUR CHOICE, OUR FUTURE

Sharing Huu-ay-aht Citizens' Experiences of Treaty Implementation Through Photovoice

Research Project Partner: Huu-ay-aht First Nations

Research Project Supervisor: Dr. Heather Castleden (Queen's University)

Project Coordinator: Vanessa Sloan-Morgan (Queen's University)

Research Project Team Members: Ayanna Clappis (Huu-ay-aht First Nations), Becki Nookemis (Huu-ay-aht First Nations), and Jon Aarssen (Queen's University)

Advisory Committee: Stella Peters, Jane Peters, Tayii Ḥawiłƛ̓iišin (Derek Peters), Wišqii (Rob Dennis Jr.), Simon Dennis, and Mercedes Williams

Research Project Funding: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

CONSENT FORM: To be completed by the research participant**:**

Circle Yes or No

1. Have you received sufficient information to participate in this research study Yes No

2. Have you received and read a copy of the attached Information Letter? Yes No

3. Do you understand the risks involved in taking part in this research study? Yes No

4. Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study with a member of the research team? Yes No

5. Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time up until the final analysis stage of the project? You do not have to give a reason and it will not affect you. Yes No

6. Do you understand who will have access to your photographs and interviews? Yes No

7. All data you share with the research team will be secured on an encrypted and/or password secured computer. Do you understand how your contributions (data) will be protected through the research project and after the project is complete? Yes No

8. Do you give permission to audio record our one-on-one interviews? Yes No

9. Would you like to review and confirm the accuracy of your interview transcripts? Yes No

10. Would you like to receive a summary of the preliminary findings to comment on them? Yes No

11. Do you give permission for the use of full quotations in the dissemination of results? Yes No

12. Do you want a copy of your photographs and interview transcript added to Huu-ay-aht's archives? Yes No

13. Do you give permission for your story to be shared in future presentations, publications, and on Huu-ay-aht First Nations and Heather Castleden's research lab (HEC Lab) websites? Yes No

If you circled "yes" for #11 or #12, please provide your electronic or postal address:

_____

If you have questions please contact a member of the research team or the Advisory Committee:

- Jon: 613-770-4877 or jonathan.aarssen@queensu.ca (Anacla and Port Alberni)

- Ayanna: 250-710-3324 or ayanna.clappis@live.ca (Anacla and Port Alberni)
- Becki: 250-668-6791 or bnookemis@gmail.com (Nanaimo and Vancouver)
- Vanessa: 250-508-3410 or vanessa.sloan.morgan@queensu.ca (Nanaimo and Vancouver).

You can also contact the project supervisor, Dr. Heather Castleden, with questions or concerns at: 902-489-2412 or by email: heather.castleden@queensu.ca.

If you have any concerns about this project and/or the conduct of the research team, you may also call the Chair of the Queen's University General Ethics Review Board at 613-533-6000 ext. 33108. The Chair is not linked to this project. The General Ethics Review Board at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario has given ethical approval for this study.

I agree to take part in this study.

Signature of Research Participant: _____

Printed Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____

Printed Name of Researcher: _____

Date: _____

THE INFORMATION LETTER IS ATTACHED TO THIS CONSENT FORM AND A COPY IS GIVEN TO THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

Appendix C

Training Instruction Sheet

OUR JOURNEY, OUR CHOICE, OUR FUTURE

Sharing Huu-ay-aht Citizens' Experiences of Treaty Implementation Through Photovoice

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Advisory Committee: Stella Peters, Jane Peters, Tayii Ḥawiłƛ̓iišin (Derek Peters), Wišqii (Rob Dennis Jr.), Simon Dennis, and Mercedes Williams

Research Project Funding: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Training Session Instruction Sheet (Handout for Participants)

Your role as a participant in this research involves **four parts**:

1. **Getting Ready.** In part 1, at the onset of the project, we will meet one-on-one to talk about the project and the technology we will be using.
2. **Taking Pictures.** Part 2 will begin after this training session, which will be your time to take photographs that represent your views on the Treaty process, from negotiations to implementation.
3. **Sharing Stories About Your Pictures.** Part 3 will begin once all of your pictures are taken and you select approximately 10-20 photographs you consider to be most important to you. We will have a one-on-one interview about your photographs; we will ask you where you took the picture, what the picture is of, why you took the picture, and what it means to you.
4. **Sharing What We Learned.** Your recorded interview will be transcribed word-for-word and used to inform our final reports.

Questions to consider when taking pictures:

- *What do you think are the key benefits of the Maa-nulth Treaty?*
- *What do you think are the key drawbacks of the Maa-nulth Treaty?*
- *How have you experienced/seen the impacts of the treaty process over the past 10 years?*
- *What were the key environmental and health concerns you had 10 years ago?*
- *What are the key environment and health concerns you have now?*
- *What are the things are you most proud of with respect to being a Huu-ay-aht citizen?*

It is important to remember:

- When you carry a camera your role in the community changes.
- Cameras are very powerful tools because they are devices that record real life.
- When you carry a camera you must respect the privacy and rights of other individuals and the community.

Steps for taking pictures:

1. **ENSURE YOUR OWN SAFETY AND THE SAFETY OF OTHERS AROUND YOU!** Your safety is top priority. We do not want you to put yourself or others at risk for a great photo opportunity. No picture is worth taking if it causes you or anyone else harm in any way.
2. Take a few photographs of an important scene, subject(s) or object from several **different perspectives,** get closer (safely), or perhaps change your perspective, get down low, or up higher to see more, or differently.
3. Don't just *take* pictures, *make* them! Before you 'click', pay attention to what is included in the camera 'frame' so you are sure to include all of the elements needed to show, or tell your stories with the greatest impact.

If you are taking a picture of a person(s), get their verbal consent before you take the picture and then get written consent after the picture is taken. Offer to give the person(s) a copy of the picture that you have taken.

TECHNICAL NOTES:

I. Personal Smartphones and Digital Cameras

- Feel free to ask any member of the research team for help on how to get the best picture possible.
- You should only use yours if it has 10+ Megapixels

II. Provided Digital Camera (Canon PowerShot Elph 180)

- 8x Optical Zoom
- 20.0 megapixel CCD sensor
- "Smart AUTO" (automatically detects the scene and selects the appropriate settings)
- Onboard flash

- Rechargeable battery (200-300 pictures). The battery will come partially charged but it is a good idea to charge the battery before use to get the maximum battery life.
- IMPORTANT: have a member of the research team instruct you on inserting the battery properly the first time.
- Memory card: each camera will come with an 8gb SD memory card, ask for help if needed for inserting the card in the camera. When you have selected the pictures you want to share, or when your card is full, contact a member of the research team who will load your pictures on a laptop computer, and provide you a copy, either on a flash drive, or dvd.
- Set "Recording pixels", or "Image Size" to "L".

Additional shooting modes:

- **Portrait:** Brings the subject into focus while beautifully blurring the background.
- **Face Self-timer:** The camera waits for a face to enter the frame before releasing the shutter.
- **Low Light:** For high-quality image capture in an amazing range of dimly lit situations.
- **Fisheye Effect:** A classic photographic distortion – without a special lens.
- **Fireworks:** Create brilliant images of skyrocketing fireworks.
- **Long Shutter:** Use to blur moving subjects for artistic effect, ideal for urban night photography.

Questions:

If you have questions please contact a member of the Research Team or the Advisory Committee:

- Jon: 613-770-4877 or jonathan.aarrsen@queensu.ca (**Anacla and Port Alberni**)
- Ayanna: 250-710-3324 or ayanna.clappis@live.ca (**Anacla and Port Alberni**)
- Becki: 250-668-6791 or bnookemis@gmail.com (**Nanaimo and Vancouver**)
- Vanessa: 250-508-3410 or vanessa.sloan.morgan@queensu.ca (**Nanaimo and Vancouver**)
- Heather: 902-489-2412 or heather.castleden@queensu.ca (**Research Team Supervisor**)

Thank you for participating!

Appendix D

Training Session Script

OUR JOURNEY, OUR CHOICE, OUR FUTURE

Sharing Huu-ay-aht Citizens' Experiences of Treaty Implementation Through Photovoice

TRAINING SESSION SCRIPT

Greeting and welcome statement - thank you again for consenting to participate in this project.

Before we get this research underway, we need to have a brief summary discussion of what the purpose of this research is and what your responsibilities are, particularly in terms of the photography. I'd like to begin our discussion with a summary of what your role is in this study and then move into a discussion on cameras, ethics, and power; safety; and the importance of giving photographs back to community members as a way of expression appreciation, respect, and solidarity. Finally, I will address the mechanical aspects of camera use.

Are you familiar with the research questions we are asking you to consider while taking photos? (If *not* review the questions)

Research Questions participants are asked to consider when taking pictures:

What do you think are the key benefits of the Maa-nulth Treaty?

What do you think are the key drawbacks of the Maa-nulth Treaty?

How have you experienced/seen the impacts of the treaty process over the past 10 years?

What were the key environmental and health concerns you had 10 years ago? (Explain that this is what we asked of people 12 years ago during a project by HFN and Heather Castleden)

What are the key environment and health concerns you have now?

What are the things are you most proud of with respect to being a Huu-ay-aht citizen?

As you may recall from our earlier conversations, your role involves four parts:

Part 1: Getting Ready. In part 1, at the onset of the project, we will meet one-on-one to talk about the project and the technology we will be using. Digital cameras will be provided. If you are more comfortable taking photographs with your cell phone, you are free to use that instead. You can take as many photos as you like, though we will be asking you to select between 10-20 that are connected to your thoughts about the Treaty negotiation and implementation process.

Part 2: Taking Pictures. Part 2 will begin after this training session, which will be your time to take photographs. In Anacla and Port Alberni, Ayanna and Jon will be available throughout this time if you have any questions or need to brainstorm some ideas about the project. In Vancouver, Becki and Vanessa will be available if you have any questions or need to brainstorm some ideas about the project. Approximately one week after you start taking pictures, we will check in with you to see if you are done or to determine whether more time is needed. You will then be invited to move to Part 3, described below.

Part 3: Sharing Stories About Your Pictures. Part 3 will begin once all of your pictures are taken and you select approximately 10-20 photographs you consider to be most important to you. We will have a one-on-one interview about your photographs; we will ask you where you took the picture, what the picture is of, why you took the picture, and what it means to you. During this time, we will also take time to talk about the research project, how it is going, and to get your opinion about using photography and the stories about the photos, as a research method for collecting information. This interview will be recorded.

Part 4: Sharing What We Learned. Your recorded interview will be transcribed word-for-word and used to inform our final reports. These reports may include using your quotes and/or photos to convey what is important to you. If you wish, you will have an opportunity to review anything you have said and

photos you have taken before the data analysis is finalized. We will share what we learned with Huu-ay-aht First Nations, the public, and the scholarly community.

An advantageous part of this this method of research is that it creates an opportunity for Huu-ay-aht First Nations to define for yourselves and others, including policy makers, not only what is important to you and worth remembering but also what you feel needs to be changed.

Do you have any questions about your participation in this study? (respond to any questions)

In terms of cameras, ethics, and power, it is important that you realize that when you carry a camera your role in the community changes. Cameras are very powerful tools because they are devices that record real life. When you carry a camera, you must respect the privacy and rights of other individuals and the community. That is why if you want to take a picture of anyone doing any particular activity, you must first obtain their verbal consent and then, after the picture is taken, you must ask them to sign this consent form (we will provide each participant with 10 copies of the 'Subject of Photography' Consent Form), which says that they have agreed to let you take their picture for this research and that they understand the purpose of this research. I realize that interrupting a photo opportunity to discuss the research project and obtain consent can have an impact on the spontaneity of the activity but it is important to do this to prevent any misunderstanding, build trust, and it may even create an opportunity for you to engage in a discussion with people and gain additional insight into implementation of Treaty and environment and health risks in the community.

You might like to offer to give the person a copy of the picture you have taken and that is definitely ok. You might also like to have your own picture taken doing a particular activity – either the research team can help you out with that or you may want to ask someone else take your picture, both are acceptable.

I think the most important consideration, when taking pictures of other people is to ask yourself: "would I want someone taking a picture of me doing this particular activity?"

Do you have any questions about the consent forms or about your role as a photographer?
(respond to questions)

Do you have any questions about any of what we have talked about so far? (respond to questions)

I would like to talk now about safety precautions while you are out in the community and traditional territory. Your safety is a top concern of the research team. You are not to, in any way, put yourself in danger for a great photo opportunity. No picture is worth taking if it causes your harm in any way. So, don't stand in front of an oncoming logging truck or chase a cougar or take a tumble over a waterfall!

Do you have any questions about safety or concerns about risks that you may encounter?
(respond to questions)

The last thing I want to discuss is how to use this camera.

First some tips on taking photo's in general: when going out to take photos, consider taking a number of photographs of an important scene, subject(s) or object from different perspectives.

Although your camera or phone has a screen to view the images, the screen on the device itself often does not do the picture justice and you may not know which perspective turned out best until after you have returned from a taking the pictures. The cameras provided, should you choose to use one, have a capacity of about 1000 pictures. Although you do not have to take this many pictures, this capacity means that you should feel free to take as many as you like. The camera provided comes with a rechargeable battery that is good for taking about 200-300 pictures before needing to be recharged.

Also keep in mind though, when you are capturing and looking through your pictures, that we would like you to select between 10-20 for further discussion that are connected to your thoughts about the questions I mentioned earlier, found on your information sheet. In that sense, and from an artistic point of view as well, it is a very useful to be as specific about what you include and don't include in the picture. If your subject or element of interest is not emphasized well by the distance you are from it, get closer (safely), or perhaps change your perspective, get down low, or up higher to see more, or differently. By making these sorts of decisions and thinking about these things you are *making* photographs, rather than simply *taking* them, which will result in better quality pictures overall.

Should you choose to use your own camera or smartphone, both will likely be equipped with many features to help you take great photos, if you are unclear about the capabilities of your device, feel free to ask any member of the research team to help. We recommend using a digital camera with a

resolution of 10+ megapixels, to ensure that quality is somewhat consistent between pictures. If you are unclear about the specifications of your smartphone or camera, a member of the research team will be able to help.

------(Continue for those who took a camera OR skip to final section)

The camera provided, should you choose to use one, has many easy-to-use features to help create photos that accurately represent what you want to show in your community. The 8x Optical Zoom lets you get close to the action or subject, while the 20.0 megapixel CCD sensor helps produce clear images. For added convenience, “Smart AUTO” and other automatic settings figure out suitable settings for what you’re photographing so you don’t have to worry about finding a picture mode yourself. The camera is equipped with a flash, which can be useful for darker scenes inside, make sure though, that your use of flash is as minimal and purposeful, it is distracting for subjects and creates harsh shadows that may or may not help to emphasis what you want in a particular scene, and it also reduces the amount of shots you can take on a fully charged battery.

If you need help navigating the menu or selecting a scene mode, there is an instruction manual that comes with every camera for your reference, or feel free to contact any member of the research team, who will be happy to help.

The camera is equipped with a memory card and rechargeable battery that can be removed, I, or another member of the Research Team will show you how to insert the battery and memory card properly.

When you turn the camera on for the first time it will ask you for a date and time, although if you skip this you can find it later in the menu, I would strongly recommend changing it now, and putting the timestamping feature of the camera on, so that each picture has the time and/or date along with the picture. This can be very useful for determining when and where a particular photo was taken, and describing its relevance,

The camera should be default set to the highest quality, but you should make sure at all times that the camera is set to “L” or the highest resolution, which means that the picture will me as clear as possible.

(Show them how to insert battery and memory card properly, how to set up the time stamp and set time and quality if needed)

Do you have any questions right now about how to use this camera? (respond to questions)

Do you have any questions about any of the training items we have covered today or about the study or how to begin? (respond to questions)

We are now finished the training component. Please take one to two weeks to go out and take your pictures. You might want to spend a day or two thinking about what kinds of pictures you want to take before you take them or you may already have in mind what you want to capture. I will leave it entirely up to you. If you have any questions or need any assistance during this period, please don't hesitate to contact me or another member of the research team. I will be here (location) most of the time. You can find me at (office space), or you can also call me at (phone number) or email me at (email). I will check in with you next week to see how things are going and then when you are all done taking pictures we can schedule a time to do our interview, we can look at the pictures together and you can tell me about them.

Thanks again for participating in this study!

Appendix E

Interview Guide

OUR JOURNEY, OUR CHOICE, OUR FUTURE

Sharing Huu-ay-aht Citizens' Experiences of Treaty Implementation Through Photovoice

INTERVIEW GUIDE *(For use of member of the research team)*

Preamble

Thank you for taking the time to speak with me. As the information sheet described, our conversation today should take anywhere from 30 minutes to two hours. If at any point you don't want to answer a question, we can skip it. You also have the right to withdraw from the study, including withdrawal of your data, up the point of final analysis. Let me also remind you that we cannot guarantee what you say will be kept anonymous and/or confidential. Do you have any questions before we get started? Okay, let's begin [turn on audio recorder if they have consented to being digitally recorded]…

Research Questions participants were asked to consider when taking pictures:

What do you think are the key benefits of the Maa-nulth Treaty?

What do you think are the key drawbacks of the Maa-nulth Treaty?

How have you experienced/seen the impacts of the treaty process over the past 10 years?

What were the key environmental and health concerns you had 10 years ago?

What are the key environment and health concerns you have now?

What are the things are you most proud of with respect to being a Huu-ay-aht citizen?

(If these are not answered during the interview – please raise them at the end of the interview – without pictures to support is ok)

Semi-structured questions begin:

Did you participate in the Photovoice project that HFN and Heather did 12 years ago? (with Lonnie and Dempsey)

Where was the picture taken?

[Succinct information or point on a map to include in digital atlas]

Tell me what you see here….

Probe: Why did you take this photo?

What is happening?

What does it mean?

Is there anything that isn't in the photo that is relevant to what is happening?

How does this relate to your life?

How do the benefits/drawbacks of this relate to Huu-ay-aht First Nations?

Why does this problem/strength exist?

What can we do to change it/protect it?

Appendix F

Recruitment Poster