

Tourism in Gwaii Haanas: Contributions to Haida Gwaii communities and co-management

by
Rachel Elliott

B.Sc., University of Victoria, 2011

Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Resource and Environmental Management (Planning)

in the
School of Resource and Environmental Management

Faculty of Environment

© Rachel Elliott
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Spring 2017

Copyright in this work rests with the author. Please ensure that any reproduction or re-use is done in accordance with the relevant national copyright legislation.

Approval

Name: Rachel Elliott

Degree: Master of Resource and Environmental Management

Report No. 664

Title: Tourism in Gwaii Haanas: Contributions to Haida Gwaii communities and co-management

Examining Committee: **Chair:** Sergio Fernandez Losada
PhD of Resource Management Candidate

Evelyn Pinkerton
Senior Supervisor

Professor

Alison Gill
Supervisor

Professor

Date Defended/Approved: April 24th, 2017

Ethics Statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

- a. human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics

or

- b. advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University

or has conducted the research

- c. as a co-investigator, collaborator, or research assistant in a research project approved in advance.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed with the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

Update Spring 2016

Abstract

Nature-based tourism is growing around the world, attracting visitors to remote protected area, which affects the surrounding communities. As tourism within the co-managed Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site increases, so does the necessity for a strong understanding of how tourism within Gwaii Haanas is contributing to communities and co-management on Haida Gwaii. This research was based on interviews with tourism operators permitted to operate in Gwaii Haanas during 2016, and key informants from four communities on Haida Gwaii, combined with participant observation and literature review. Findings show that tourism within Gwaii Haanas is contributing to economic, social, cultural and scientific aspects of life on Haida Gwaii as well as supporting the strong co-management agreement that governs Gwaii Haanas. These findings can help inform management decisions and guide movement toward a sustainable future for the tourism industry on Haida Gwaii.

Keywords: Nature-based tourism; Cultural tourism; First Nations; Governance; Protected areas; Co-management.

Dedication

This research project is dedicated to the late Dr. Wolfgang Haider, my supervisor and mentor throughout the first year of my masters' degree, and my inspiration to pursue research in nature-based tourism.

Acknowledgements

Many people helped, supported, and encouraged me throughout this research and my master's degree. I am thankful to my fellow students, the faculty and staff at REM; my ever loving and supportive partner, my friends, my family, and my colleagues for sharing in the laughter, tears, smiles, adventures and challenges that have brought me this far.

I am grateful to my committee members. Especially to my senior supervisor Evelyn Pinkerton who adopted me into the co-management research group and supported me in developing a new research project, after the death of Wolfgang Haider and the loss of my first project.

I am so very grateful to you all.

Table of Contents

Approval.....	ii
Ethics Statement.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Dedication.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures.....	x
List of Acronyms.....	xi
Preface/Executive Summary/Image.....	xii
Chapter 1. Introduction and Background.....	1
1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. Study Area.....	2
1.3. Background.....	6
1.3.1. Tourism dollars in British Columbia and on Haida Gwaii.....	7
1.3.2. Haida Gwaii Tourism.....	9
1.3.3. Gwaii Haanas Chronology.....	12
1.3.4. Haida Watchman program.....	18
1.4. Conceptual Framework.....	20
Chapter 2. Literature Review.....	22
2.1. Tourism.....	22
2.1.1. Nature-based tourism.....	22
2.1.2. Cultural and aboriginal tourism.....	23
2.1.3. Benefits of tourism in protected areas to local communities.....	25
2.2. Co-management.....	27
2.2.1. Co-management of protected areas.....	27
2.2.2. Conditions for Co-management.....	29
2.2.3. Power sharing agreements.....	30
Chapter 3. Methods.....	33
3.1. The role of the researcher.....	33
3.2. Interviews.....	35
3.3. Transcriptions and analysis.....	38
3.4. Limitations.....	39
Chapter 4. Results and Discussion.....	40
4.1. Interview Results: the impacts of tourism.....	40
4.2. Emergent themes explored.....	45
4.2.1. Tourism within Gwaii Haanas is contributing to the communities of Haida Gwaii.....	45
4.2.2. Tourism is growing in Gwaii Haanas and on Haida Gwaii.....	49

4.2.3.	Cultural tourism is strong in Gwaii Haanas	52
4.2.4.	The Haida Watchman program is highly important	53
4.2.5.	There is a strong sense of community within Gwaii Haanas	55
4.2.6.	Benefits from tourism within Gwaii Haanas are not equally distributed amongst communities of Haida Gwaii.	56
4.2.7.	Tour operators determine their contributions to the communities	59
4.3.	Evaluating the Gwaii Haanas Agreement.....	63
4.4.	Discussion: Community benefits and challenges	66
4.4.1.	Economic Effects	67
4.4.2.	Cultural Effects	69
4.4.3.	Social Effects.....	71
Chapter 5.	Conclusion and recommendations	74
5.1.	Conclusion.....	74
5.2.	Recommendations and future research	76
5.2.1.	Recommendations.....	77
5.2.2.	Future Research.....	80
References		82
Appendix A. Interview Questions		88
Appendix B. Haida words and place names		90
Appendix C. Population of Haida Gwaii		91

List of Tables

Table 1. List of 2016 Gwaii Haanas tourism operators and services offered.....	10
Table 2. Tourist services and transportation infrastructure in each Haida Gwaii community.....	12
Table 3. Bell's four areas of community development illustrate the benefits to gateway communities from eco and cultural tourism	27
Table 4. Sociological and Political conditions necessary for the success of social movements.	29
Table 5. Five phases of creating co-management	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Table 6 Benefits and challenges resulting from Tourism within Gwaii Haanas to the communities of Haida Gwaii	41
Table 7. Services on Haida Gwaii used by Gwaii Haanas Tour Operators mentioned in interviews.	43
Table 8. Distribution of services mentioned in interviews.....	44
Table 9. Themes that emerged from the interviews of community members and tourism operators.....	44
Table 10. Evaluation of Gwaii Haanas Agreement to date.....	64
Table 11. Haida words, phrases and place names	90
Table 12. Population distribution on Haida Gwaii according to Statistics Canada census 2016.....	91

List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of Haida Gwaii	3
Figure 2. Gwaii Haanas Legacy Pole at Hlk'yah GaawGa (Windy Bay)	4
Figure 3. Map of Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site	5
Figure 4. Number of Visitors to Gwaii Haanas National Park and Haida Heritage Site in Canada from 2011 to 2016 (in thousands).	8
Figure 5. 1985 blockade at Athlîi Gwaii (Lylell Island).....	14
Figure 6. First page of the Gwaii Haanas agreement laying out the two nation's agreement to disagree	16
Figure 7. Haida Watchmen atop a pole	19

List of Acronyms

AMB	Archipelago Management Board
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CHN	Council of the Haida Nation
DFO	Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada
MIEDS	Misty Isles Economic Development Society
SFU	Simon Fraser University



Chapter 1. Introduction and Background

1.1. Introduction

Protected areas are tourist attractions worldwide, drawing people who want to see and experience the wilderness and wildlife of the natural world. Nature-based tourism is growing, attracting visitors to remote protected area, which affects the surrounding communities. Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site¹ is a world renowned protected area on Haida Gwaii that protects from the sea floor to the mountain tops of south Moresby Island (For simplicity's sake, the protected area will herein be referred to as Gwaii Haanas). The terrestrial portion of the protected area was established in 1993, with the marine component being added in 2010. The protected area attracts visitors from all over the world to the remote islands of Haida Gwaii off the north coast of British Columbia, Canada, which are accessible only by boat or plane. As nature-based and cultural tourism within Gwaii Haanas increase, members of the Haida Gwaii community, along with tourism operators,

¹ Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site is the name given to the protected area that covers both the marine and terrestrial environments of south Moresby Island. All of Gwaii Haanas is legally protected under regulatory frameworks of both the government of Canada and the Haida Nation. The National Park Reserve protects terrestrial areas under the Canada Parks Act and the Constitution of the Haida Nation; the National Marine Conservation Area Reserve protects the sea bed and water column under the National Marine Protected Areas Act and the Constitution of the Haida Nation, both of which are managed under frameworks described in the Gwaii Haanas Marine Agreement. The term *reserve* in the name of Gwaii Haanas recognizes unsettled treaties, title and land claims, and dictates that the agreements under which Gwaii Haanas is managed hold until the Haida land claim is resolved. The designation of Haida Heritage Site is a Haida designation that recognizes the cultural aspects of the landscape both past and present, and protects areas of cultural significance under the Constitution of the Haida Nation and the management agreements. (Takeda 2015; Parks Canada, 2016a; Haida Nation, 2017)

are seeing a need for it to do so in a way that provides sustainable long term benefits to the communities and people of Haida Gwaii.

1.2. Study Area

Haida Gwaii is an archipelago that lies 100 kilometers off the Northwest coast of British Columbia, 250 kilometers north of Vancouver Island (Figure 1). The islands of Haida Gwaii were known as the Queen Charlotte Islands until the *Haida Gwaii Reconciliation Act* reinstated their traditional name of Haida Gwaii in 2010. Translated into English, Haida Gwaii means *Islands of the Haida*. The Archipelago consists of over 200 islands, the largest two being Graham Island to the north, and Moresby to the south. Today the majority of the population is settled on Graham Island in the communities of Queen Charlotte, Skidegate, Masset, Old Masset, Port Clements and the rural region of Tlell. Moresby Island residents live in the town of Sandspit at the north end of the island, across Skidegate Channel from Graham Island. Old Masset and Skidegate are Haida villages on reserve land, while the others are non-reserve, settler communities. The Haida language is strong and finds its way into everyday use for many non Haida. Out of respect for the Haida who have been on Haida Gwaii since time immemorial, the original Haida place names will be used along with settler names throughout this document (Translations can be found in Table 11, Appendix B).

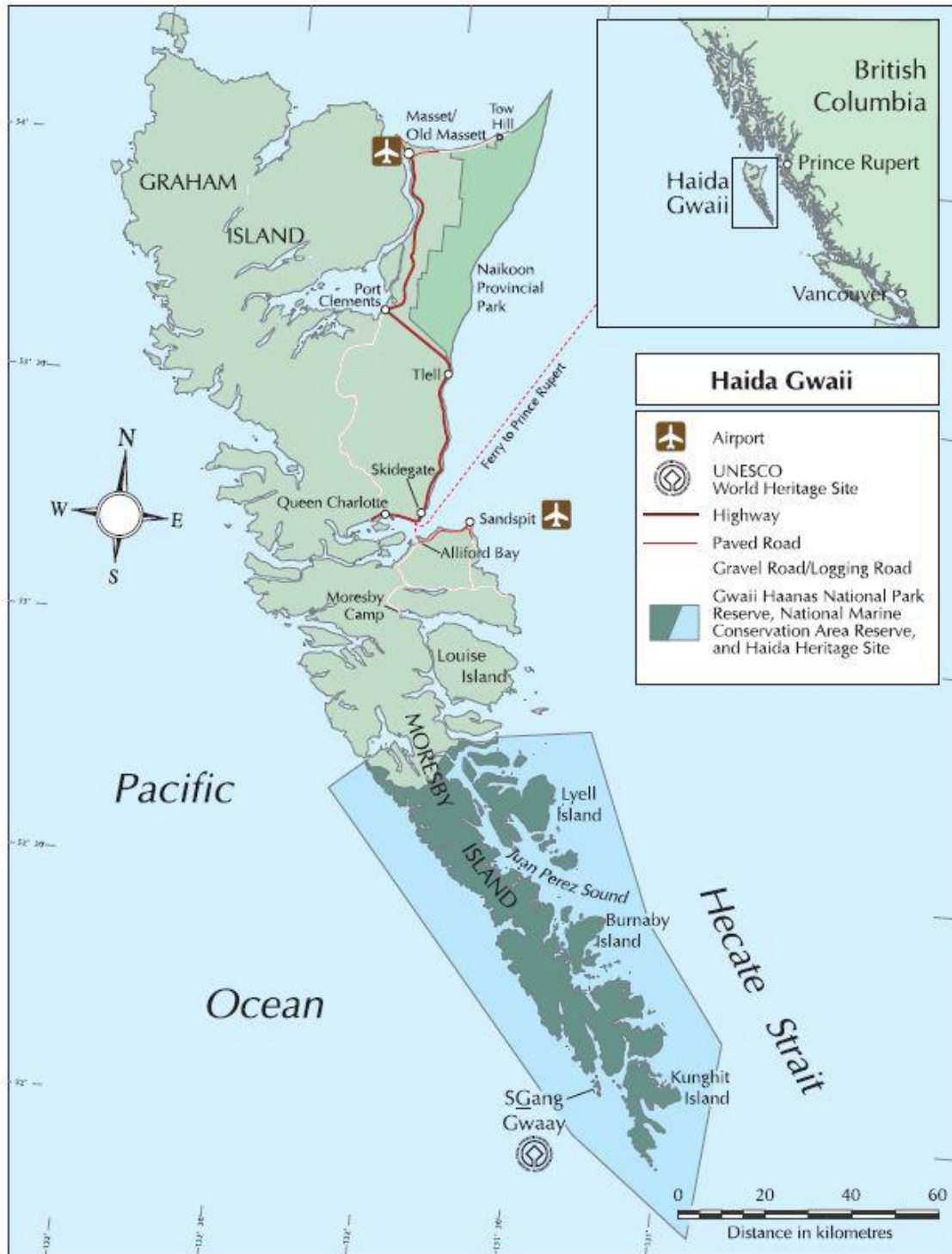


Figure 1. Map of Haida Gwaii (Parks Canada, 2016a)

Historic village sites are found all over the islands. Many of these sites are still used by clans and families of those who last inhabited the village as seasonal fishing and harvesting camps and to continue the traditional ways of life. Several village sites are protected as heritage sites and have resident watchmen who act as stewards and guides during the summer months. The majority of the old village sites in the south are now protected by Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site (For simplicity's sake, the protected area will herein be referred to as Gwaii Haanas). Of these protected southern village sites, Skedans, Tanu, and SGang Gwaii still have standing ancient remains, while Hlk'yah GaawGa (Windy Bay) has a newer pole raised in 2013 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Gwaii Haanas Agreement (Figure 2), and a long house built during the 1985 stand-off to house Haida protestors opposing logging on Athlii Gwaii (Lyell Island). All Watchman sites now have traditional style six-beam Haida longhouses built by Parks Canada under direction from the Archipelago Management Board to provide accommodation for the Haida Watchmen.



Figure 2. Gwaii Haanas Legacy Pole at Hlk'yah GaawGa (Windy Bay)

Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site and National Marine Conservation Area Reserve Gwaii Haanas protects the entire coastal zone from the sea floor to the mountain tops from the Tangil Peninsula on south Moresby Island to Cape Saint James and the Kerouard Islands at the southern tip of Haida Gwaii (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Map of Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site (Parks Canada, 2016a)

The marine region includes zoning for commercial and recreational fishing as well as complete no-take zones. Terrestrially there is no commercial harvesting of any sort allowed, and human impact is carefully monitored and managed. Culturally sensitive areas are either closed to visitors, or have Haida Watchmen present.

Today hundreds of tourists come annually from all around the globe to experience the wilderness, wildlife, and culture of Gwaii Haanas and Haida Gwaii. Parks Canada and the Haida Nation, along with tourism operators and many local residents, work hard to make the visitor experience a memorable one while at the same time not negatively affecting the island communities or ecological integrity of the islands. As Haida Gwaii becomes increasingly popular as a tourist destination, many tourism operators and local residents believe that there is a strong need for responsible and careful development of the industry to ensure it grows in a way that ensures sustainable long term benefits for the communities and people of Haida Gwaii.

1.3. Background

Since contact with European settlers, the communities of Haida Gwaii have primarily relied on fisheries and forestry for their economic wellbeing, but as resources decrease and management frameworks shift, the economy is diversifying and tourism is increasing. Multiple factors play into the increase of tourism including the establishment and ongoing management of Gwaii Haanas, increasing awareness on island of the need for a diversified economy as well as increasing numbers of visitors coming to the islands.

There has been a strong push for localization and reclaiming ownership and management rights by the Haida of this Haida traditional territory. The shift began in the

early 1970s with a focus on stopping the logging of old growth forests on south Moresby Island. At that time forest practices, such as clearcutting on steep slopes resulting in landslides and substantial loss of fish and wildlife habitat were not curtailed by government. Since then, the Haida, with strong support from non-Haida residents of Haida Gwaii and environmental organizations, have come a long way, leading the world in collaborative management of protected areas. The process of moving from a largely resource extraction economy to one oriented more toward tourism is long, slow and far from complete. The shift to a tourism-focused economy is occurring faster in communities closer to Gwaii Haanas and taking longer in the communities at the north end of Graham Island. Nevertheless, steps are being taken to protect and promote the natural world, and word is getting out that Haida Gwaii is an attractive tourism destination.

1.3.1. Tourism dollars in British Columbia and on Haida Gwaii

Nature-based tourism is already a strong part of the tourism sector in British Columbia. Nature-based tourism brought in a total of \$908.9 million dollars directly, and when spin-off impacts were considered, nature-based tourism businesses generated \$1.55 billion in revenues and \$783 million in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for British Columbia in 2001 (Tourism BC, 2005). In 2004, nearly one million tourists were already spending more than \$900 million through roughly 2,200 businesses that offered nature-based activities in British Columbia (Tourism BC, 2005).

Although much of this spending is occurring in the southern regions of BC, as visitation to Haida Gwaii increases, so will the economic benefits. Visitation to Gwaii Haanas is on the rise, growing by 23% between 2011 and 2016 (Figure 4). Parks Canada is working towards increasing visitation by two percent per year over the next ten years in

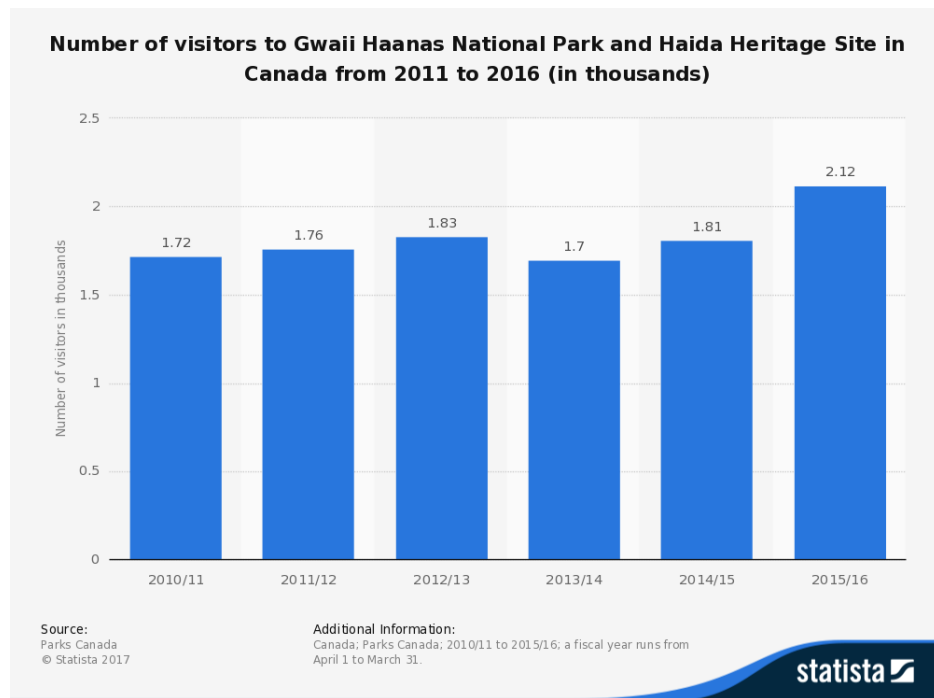


Figure 4. Number of Visitors to Gwaii Haanas National Park and Haida Heritage Site in Canada from 2011 to 2016 (in thousands). (Parks Canada, 2016b)

order to connect more people with the natural world and bolster revenue from visitation to help offset management and operations costs (Parks Canada, 2015). A slow steady increase in visitation will allow the communities to keep up with infrastructure maintenance and construction without being overwhelmed or stretched beyond their means. With increased visitation, there will be a need for infrastructure development; however, increased revenue as a result of tourism will help to offset construction costs.

1.3.2. Haida Gwaii Tourism

The unique combination of wilderness, wildlife and culture that exists on Haida Gwaii has drawn tourists to the islands for many years. The natural and cultural history of the place are inextricably intertwined on the landscape, telling stories of the past to those who take the time to read them. Early tourism consisted of kayak groups as well as sailboat tours that took people to south Moresby to experience the wilderness, wildlife, and cultural landscape. Today, tourists venture into the protected area either in private vessels, or on chartered tours by sailboat, kayak, powerboat or float plane as there are no roads within Gwaii Haanas. In 2016 there were nineteen different outfits offering tours and transportation into Gwaii Haanas via a range of transportation types (Table 1).

The communities on Haida Gwaii are small, and infrastructure for tourism is minimal. Communities on-island range in size from 297 (Sandspit) to 852 (Queen Charlotte) (See Table 12 in Appendix C), combining with outlying rural areas for a total population of 4381 (Statistics Canada, 2017). Since tourism appears likely to cause growth in infrastructure and possibly population, many residents are concerned about whether and how to manage and guide its nature and growth.

Table 1. List of 2016 Gwaii Haanas tourism operators and services offered

	Air Charters	Kayak Tours	Mothership Kayaking	Kayak Rental	Transport Services	Powerboat Tours	Sailboat Tours
Archipelago Ventures			✓		✓	✓	
Atlas Ocean Tours			✓			✓	
Bluewater Adventures			✓				✓
Butterfly Tours		✓	✓				
Green Coast Kayaking		✓					
Gwaii Haanas Guest House		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Haida Gwaii Charters							✓
Haida Style Expeditions					✓	✓	
Inland Air Charters	✓				✓		
Kingfisher Wilderness Adventures		✓					
Maple Leaf Adventures			✓				✓
Moresby Explorers		✓		✓	✓	✓	
Ocean Adventures			✓			✓	
Ocean Light II Adventures			✓				✓
Ocean Sound Kayaking		✓					
Outer Shores Expeditions			✓				✓
Rose Harbour Guest House		✓	✓			✓	
Tofino Expeditions		✓					

Haida Gwaii's communities have limited infrastructure to support tourism. Table 2 lists the number of each services present in each community, giving a clear picture of how limited tourism infrastructure is currently. There are not many roads on the islands, and a considerable number of them are unpaved logging roads (Figure 1, page 3). The remote nature of Haida Gwaii, and the fact that it is only accessible by air or water, make it a destination rather than a stop along the way to another location. Travel to and from the islands has to be planned several months in advance as both the ferry and flights book up quickly throughout the tourist season of early May to late September. On the islands, transportation within and between communities is lacking, limiting the movement of locals and tourists on the islands. As is shown in Table 2, there is no public transportation available: the one private bus company only runs a shuttle between Queen Charlotte and the Sandspit Airport, and not all communities have taxi services. Hitchhiking is popular on the islands as in many cases it is the only option for traveling between communities.

Table 2. Tourist services and transportation infrastructure in each Haida Gwaii community (Misty Isles Economic Development Society, 2014)

Major services and infrastructure	Old Masset	Masset	Port Clements	Tlell	Skidegate	Queen Charlotte	Sandspit
Accommodation	1	14	3	6	1	14	6
Campgrounds	1	2	1	1		2	1
Restaurants/cafes		4		2	4	5	3
Taxi		2			1	2	0
Private bus/ shuttle service						1	
Car rental business		1				1	1
Airport		1					1
Local ferry terminal					1		1
Major ferry terminal					1		
Public transit							
Gas station		1	1		1	1	1
Grocery/ convenience stores		3	2	1	1	3	1
Visitor information centre		1				1	1

1.3.3. Gwaii Haanas Chronology

Tourism has been occurring in south Moresby for over forty years, allowing people to explore remote wilderness and gain a greater understanding of Haida culture and its links to the landscapes of Haida Gwaii. Gwaii Haanas came into existence as a result of conflict between the resource extraction industry and the Haida and environmental NGOs who wanted to preserve the region (Gill, 2009; Schliessler and Wilkinson, 2015; Gill, 2009). The History of Gwaii Haanas has made it the place it is today and stands to carry its legacy of hope and collaboration forward for generations to come.

Resistance

Beginning in the 1970s, residents of Haida Gwaii began to mobilize against the logging industry and its practices that had severely degraded the landscapes throughout the previous two decades (Pinkerton, 1983; Islands Protection Society, 1984; Takeda, 2015). As provincially approved clear-cut logging continued to threaten local salmon runs, traditional food gathering areas, important cultural sites, and the ecological diversity and integrity of south Moresby Island, the resistance movement gained strength (Takeda, 2015). Islands Protection Society, a community based environmental group made up of Haida and non-Haida community members, was formed and publicly criticized the forestry practices while lobbying for protection of south Moresby at both the provincial and federal levels (Pinkerton, 1983; Islands Protection Society 1984, Takeda 2015). Throughout the years of resistance, multiple legal challenges and petitions were made to stop the logging, and eventually the challenge made it to the Supreme Court of Canada (Pinkerton, 1983; Islands Protection Society, 1984). Shifts in public opinion, development of grass roots environmentalism and many years of dedication eventually resulted in the signing of the Gwaii Haanas agreement and the protection of south Moresby. (Pinkerton, 1983; Islands Protection Society, 1984; Bear and Jones 2003; Lee, 2012).

Lyell Island stand-off

In 1985, the Haida, with support from community members, as well as many environmental organizations, held a blockade line on Athlii Gwaii (Lyell Island). The stand-off was to prevent logging companies from gaining access to old growth forest in

Athlii Gwaii and throughout the rest of south Moresby, as well as to assert the Haida sovereignty over the region (Takeda, 2015). An injunction was sought by Western Forest Products and Frank Beban, who held the logging permit for the area, and the injunction



Figure 5. 1985 blockade at Athlii Gwaii (Lyell Island) (Windsor Star, 2017)

was granted (Takeda, 2015). The Haida did not back down, with elders dressed in full regalia being the first to be arrested (Figure 5). In total seventy-two people were arrested on the line at Athlii Gwaii (Takeda, 2015). Eventually the Haida and environmentalists were successful in their stand and logging on Athlii Gwaii and throughout the rest of south Moresby ceased, setting the stage for the establishment of a protected area.

South Moresby agreement

In 1988 the *South Moresby Agreement* was signed by the government of Canada and the Haida Nation, designating south Moresby as a National Park Reserve. The signing of this agreement formally marked the beginning of the co-management relationship between the Haida and the Government of Canada. The Agreement stated that while there were disagreements over ownership and sovereignty of the land, there was unanimous agreement on the need to protect the region for ecological and cultural purposes (Gwaii Haanas Agreement 1993; Gill, 2009; von der Porten, 2010). Following the signing of the *South Moresby Agreement*, the two governments worked together to develop a co-operative management arrangement for the region.

Gwaii Haanas agreement

In 1993, five years after the signing of the *South Moresby Agreement*, the *Gwaii Haanas Agreement* was signed. This second agreement laid out the co-management relationship between the Federal Agency of Parks Canada and the Haida Nation in relation to the care and stewardship of south Moresby. It was an unprecedented, landmark management agreement that is considered by many to be the strongest example of a co-management relationship for a protected area between a Federal government and a First Nation. This consideration is due to the equal sharing of authority between two parties in the Archipelago Management Board. Most importantly, the agreement built on the *South Moresby Agreement* to disagree over the sovereignty, or ownership and title of Gwaii Haanas, while reaching the goal of protection of a culturally and ecologically significant wilderness through joint management under the AMB. (Lee, 2012; Gwaii Haanas Agreement 1993)

The *Gwaii Haanas Agreement* (which calls for joint management between the Haida Nation and the Parks Canada) was the first agreement of its kind in Canada in which a park reserve is co-managed by a First Nation and the Federal Government (Takeda and Ropke, 2010). The agreement lays out the differing viewpoints on ownership of the land, but clarifies that the two nations “agree that long-term protective measures are essential to safeguard the archipelago as one of the world’s greatest natural and cultural treasures, and that the highest standards of protection and preservation should be applied’ (Gwaii Haanas Agreement) (Figure 6).

GWAII HAANAS AGREEMENT

BETWEEN: THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, represented by the Minister of the Environment

AND: THE COUNCIL OF THE HAIDA NATION, for and on behalf of the Haida Nation and represented by the Vice President of the Council

Respecting the land area known variously as Gwaii Haanas and South Moresby, and generally referred to herein as "the Archipelago" (described in Section 2 below). The parties agree as follows:

1.0 REASONS FOR AGREEMENT

- 1.1 The parties maintain viewpoints regarding the Archipelago that converge with respect to objectives concerning the care, protection and enjoyment of the Archipelago, as set out in Section 1.2 below, and diverge with respect to sovereignty, title or ownership, as follows:

The Haida Nation sees the Archipelago as Haida Lands, subject to the collective and individual rights of the Haida citizens, the sovereignty of the Hereditary Chiefs, and jurisdiction of the Council of the Haida Nation. The Haida Nation owns these lands and waters by virtue of heredity, subject to the laws of the Constitution of the Haida Nation, and the legislative jurisdiction of the Haida House of Assembly.

The Haida have designated and managed the Archipelago as the "Gwaii Haanas Heritage Site", and thereby will maintain the area in its natural state while continuing their traditional way of life as they have for countless generations. In this way the Haida Nation will sustain the continuity of their culture while allowing for the enjoyment of visitors.

"Haida" means all people of Haida ancestry.

The Government of Canada views the Archipelago as Crown land, subject to certain private rights or interests, and subject to the sovereignty of her Majesty the Queen and the legislative jurisdiction of the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of the Province of British Columbia.

By virtue of the above, the Constitution Acts and, more particularly, by an agreement between the Governments of Canada and the Province of British Columbia dated July 12, 1988, the Crown in right of Canada is or will become the owner of the Archipelago and an area within the Archipelago Marine Park Area in order that these lands may constitute as a reserve for a National Park of Canada and a reserve for a National Marine Park of Canada respectively, to which the National Parks Act will apply. The Government of Canada intends to establish the park reserves pending the disposition of any Haida claim to any right, title or interest in or to the lands comprised therein.

For purposes of the Government of Canada's authorization and implementation of this agreement "Haida" refers to the aboriginal people of Haida Gwaii with respect to whom sub-section 35 (1) of the Constitution Act, 1982 applies.

- 1.2 Both parties agree that long-term protective measures are essential to safeguard the Archipelago as one of the world's great natural and cultural treasures, and that the highest standards of protection and preservation should be applied.

Figure 6. First page of the Gwaii Haanas agreement laying out the two nation's agreement to disagree

In 2010, Gwaii Haanas expanded to include the marine environment in the protected area. This added two representatives to the AMB, taking it from four to six members. The Haida Nation and government of Canada hold equal power within the AMB, where there is a mandated 50% Haida representation who maintain collective choice rights in the planning, operation and management of Gwaii Haanas (Lee, 2012). Of the six members, three represent the Haida Nation and three represent Government of Canada Agencies. The board members, as of July 2016, are Ernie Gladstone, Gwaii Haanas Superintendent, Parks Canada; Colin Masson, Fisheries and Oceans Canada; Tyler Peet, Parks Canada; Robert Bennett, Council of the Haida Nation (CHN) – Masset; Jason Alsop, CHN – Skidegate; Cindy Boyko, CHN-Skidegate (Parks Canada, 2016c). While Ernie Gladstone represents Parks Canada and the Government of Canada, he is of Haida heritage. This intercultural representation of Haida and federal government stands to strengthen the cross-cultural understanding, communication and respect between members of the AMB and the governments they represent.

While Gwaii Haanas is a leading example of successful co-management of a protected area by an indigenous group and a national government, it was not an overnight success. It took many unstable years of disagreement and distrust expressed in continuous negotiations between the Haida and the Government of Canada before there was any possibility of co-management. There are still disagreements; however, the importance of protecting the south Moresby region is agreed upon, and the relationship between the two nations continues to grow and evolve. There will always be room for improvement, but to date it has been highly successful in managing Gwaii Haanas in a collaborative relationship.

1.3.4. Haida Watchman program

There are two main draws for tourists to Haida Gwaii: nature and culture which the Watchman program connects in supporting Haida people to be in Gwaii Haanas as educating and sharing their culture with visitors. The Haida Watchmen are operational level co-managers of Gwaii Haanas, working collaboratively with the tour operators to conserve, protect and promote the culture and nature of Gwaii Haanas. Having the Haida Watchmen as hosts of tourism in Gwaii Haanas ensures that the Haida story and traditional ways of life are shared in authentic and meaningful ways while also presenting the Haida as a vibrant contemporary culture, rather than one lost to the past. In addition to the role the program plays in Gwaii Haanas, the Watchmen program also provides positive contributions to the communities of Haida Gwaii through skill development and capacity building, as well as offering employment opportunities that support traditional connections with the land and sea.

The Haida Watchman Program employs Haida people as stewards of the old village sites who share their knowledge of Haida history and ways of life with visitors. Although there were Watchmen before the establishment of Gwaii Haanas, they are now part of the protected area and contribute to the maintenance, stewardship and visitor experience within the protected area. Watchmen spend one to four months stationed at ancient village sites within Gwaii Haanas throughout the summer months. There are often several generations employed as Watchmen so that knowledge can be passed on to young Haida who want to learn about their historic culture and ways of life within their traditional territories. Through this program Haida are reconnecting with their traditional

territories while acting as ambassadors for the Haida Nation to visitors from all over the world.

The symbol of the three Watchmen is found in Haida stories and art. They are three human figures wearing tall hats often seen atop totem poles. One figure looks straight ahead, while the others look to the sides. The symbolic role of the Watchmen on the totem poles is to look out to sea, up the coast and down the coast to see who is approaching the village (Figure 7). The Haida Watchmen of today are eyes and ears on the land and water ensuring that culturally sensitive sites are cared for and respected and that those who travel in Gwaii Haanas are safe. During the winter months, when there are no Watchmen on site, the cabins are left unlocked and stocked with supplies in case of emergencies.



Figure 7. Haida Watchmen atop a pole (royalbcmuseum.bc.ca, 2016)

Haida Watchmen are an integral part of Gwaii Haanas. With a history extending before the establishment of the co-management agreement they help to give a long-term view that both draws on the past and looks to the future to help in decision making for Gwaii Haanas management. The Haida Watchman program not only enhances the Gwaii Haanas visitor experience, but also supports cultural learning and revitalization, all while helping to educate the world about rich culture and wilderness of Gwaii Haanas.

1.4. Conceptual Framework

This study combines co-management theory, a sub-field of political ecology (Paulson et al. 2003), with tourism studies to create the conceptual framework from which to approach the research questions (Plummer and Fennell, 2009). Examining the tourism industry that has developed within Gwaii Haanas brings the interdisciplinary nature of the study of protected areas to the forefront. Gwaii Haanas is a geographical and conceptual space in which tourism, conservation, co-management, and indigenous rights intersect and combine to create a unique protected area and management structure.

Prior to conducting this research, I spent six seasons working as a Gwaii Haanas certified guide with Bluewater Adventures. Drawing on grounded theory, I approached my data with insights from my own experience, allowing the story to unfold as I proceeded through the research process, as further explained in section 3.1 below.

As nature-based and cultural tourism grow on Haida Gwaii, so does the necessity for a strong understanding of how tourism within Gwaii Haanas is affecting the local communities and the co-management on Haida Gwaii. A clear understanding of the effects is essential to help inform management decisions and guide a sustainable future for the tourism industry on Haida Gwaii.

This research considers three questions:

1. How is tourism within Gwaii Haanas contributing to, or detracting from, the social, cultural, economic, and scientific aspects of the communities on Haida Gwaii?
2. What are potential future contributions from Gwaii Haanas permitted tourism operators that would improve local benefits the communities of Haida Gwaii?

3. What are the contributions of tourism within Gwaii Haanas to co-management there?

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Throughout this chapter I will be examining both tourism and co-management literature to give context and set the groundwork on which the research is built. First I will address the tourism literature, exploring nature-based, cultural, and aboriginal tourism as well as the benefits and contributions of tourism within protected areas to proximal communities. I then move on to explore literature on co-management of protected areas, conditions that contribute to successful co-management and power sharing agreements. Given that this research sits at the juncture of nature-based tourism and co-management of protected areas, it is important to understand how it is situated in the literature and how it relates to, and builds on, previous research.

2.1. Tourism.

2.1.1. Nature-based tourism

Nature-based tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors of the tourism industry worldwide (Renn and Walker, 2008; Coghlan and Buckley, 2013). Wildlife viewing is the fastest growing area of nature-based tourism within Canada (Parks Canada, 2002), and relies on conservation and protection of natural environments and wildlife populations for long term viability of the industry. Canada's share of the nature-based tourism market, which includes wildlife viewing, is expected to increase by almost 8 percent for American travelers and 5 percent for Canadian travelers between 2000 and 2025 (Tourism BC, 2009). Trends in the literature indicate a shift in the profile of the

average tourist in Canada from being “a passive receiver of leisure who is getting away from work to an active engaged outdoor adventurer who is interested in lifelong learning” (Loucks et al., 2015). Increasingly eco and sustainable tourism options are becoming top choice for tourists who wish to have as little impact as possible on the animals and environments they are visiting, while learning about the environments that they are exploring. The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) defines ecotourism as “environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features—both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations” (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (2011) states that “the buildup of consumers’ socio-environmental awareness of tourism development, is leading to increased scrutiny on the part of the public in destination decision-making and a growing requirement for new tourism developments to be sustainable”. Large natural areas, and protected areas are a strong draw for visitors interested in nature-based tourism. Increasing sustainable and nature-based tourism stands to benefit local communities economically, socially and environmentally, contributing to the long-term wellbeing of the communities (Goodwin, 2002).

2.1.2. Cultural and aboriginal tourism

Cultural and aboriginal tourism are becoming increasingly popular with growing interest in travel to learn about different cultures and ways of life. Aboriginal tourism is a subcategory of cultural tourism that refers to tourism which has aboriginal peoples

directly involved in providing the attraction, whether it be through control of the attraction, or having their culture and way of life as all or part of the attraction (Hinch and Butler, 1996; Williams and Richter, 2002; Butler and Hinch, 2007). Indigenous tourism often overlaps significantly with ecotourism, as they have similar elements of protecting a community's cultural and environmental components, while addressing community poverty issues and environmental degradation (Colton and Harris, 2007). Both eco and indigenous tourism complement existing opportunities within communities taking advantage of social and natural capital and assist in diversification of local economies. When done in a sustainable and responsible way, tourism assists in sustaining host communities in both social and economic aspects of community life (Colton and Harris, 2007; Zeppel, 2007).

Cultural tourism is inherently educational, as it presents a people's way of life to those visitors who take part in it. Through sharing a culture with visitors, misunderstandings and misinformation around the culture can be highlighted and stereotypes can be countered (Mason, 2004). Cultural tourism is not only an educational opportunity for visitors, but can create a space for indigenous people to engage with their own culture, contributing to cultural revitalization and rejuvenation. Strengthening of cultural ties can occur through a nation showcasing their cultural traditions, employing youth and other community members to be guides, interpreters and ambassadors for their culture and way of life, and encouraging cross generational knowledge sharing (Colton and Harris, 2007; Wearing and Harris, 2011).

Balance between the host community's and visitors' needs is key to the long-term success of cultural and eco tourism. Appropriate and sustainable development at the

community level is necessary for success. As MacHattie and Wolfe-Keddie (2000) identified, successful tourism development in communities must build on the strengths of the community, move forward at the pace and scale consistent with the people and resources available to the community and produce tangible results early on to showcase the possibilities. Providing an authentic experience to visitors that is respectful to the culture it is portraying can be challenging, but visitors can leave with a stronger understanding of the culture, the people and their past and way of life, both currently and historically (Colton and Harris, 2007). Those visitors then become ambassadors of that culture wherever else they go, taking the stories they were told and spreading them across the globe.

2.1.3. Benefits of tourism in protected areas to local communities

Eco and cultural tourism in protected areas can provide many benefits to local communities. It is common for large protected areas to have communities on the periphery, or within them. Often referred to as gateway communities (Bennett et al. 2012), communities on the edges of protected areas can reap the benefits of having visitors stop on their way into and out of the protected areas, as well as the environmental protection and conservation that the protected area provides. Benefits identified in the literature include ecosystem conservation, social and cultural benefits, and non-extractive economic development opportunities including tourism (Agardy, 1993; Goodwin, 2002; Lynch et al. 2010, Bennett et al. 2012).

Ecosystem protection and conservation helps to maintain ecological integrity as well as traditional and culturally sensitive landscapes and sites (Zeppel, 2006).

Ecotourism is nature-based, educational and managed for social, economic and cultural sustainability (Diamantis and Westlake, 2001), and can provide a feasible alternative to short-term extractive resource activities. Replacing traditional extractive resource practices with ecotourism gives an opportunity for long-term sustainable development in gateway communities through increased employment, infrastructure maintenance and creation, and cultural revitalization, while supporting environmental conservation initiatives (Buultjens, 2010; Bennett et al., 2012). Healthy natural ecosystems are important for human health and wellbeing as well as the health of the wildlife and wilderness that draw visitors to the region.

Social and cultural benefits from tourism within protected areas can be considerable for gateway communities (Bennett et al., 2012; Butler and Hinch, 2007). Ecotourism frequently complements and augments existing opportunities within communities, helping to build cultural esteem, pride and cultural identity (Warry, 2000), in turn supporting cultural revitalization and rejuvenation (Colton and Harris, 2007; Hinch and Butler 1996). Increased community engagement helps to reinforce existing, or foster a new, sense of place and connection to the natural environment that improves mental and emotional health (Kudryavtsev et al., 2011).

Working with indigenous communities in Canada's north, Bell (1999a, 1999b, 2000) developed a typology of aboriginal community development that has four categories of community benefits. The four areas of community development according to Bell are community empowerment, community economic development, community wellness and community learning (Table 3). This framework applies to eco and cultural tourism development and clearly illustrates the benefits of gateway communities from such

activities. Strongest and most direct from cultural and ecotourism are the community wellness, community economic development, and community learning benefits; however, community empowerment benefits are contributed through ecotourism development.

Table 3. Bell's four areas of community development illustrate the benefits to gateway communities from eco and cultural tourism. (Bell 1999, 2000)

Community Empowerment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governance • Community control • Organizational structures • Representation • Programs and services • Resources • Policy frameworks • Control of mixed economies 	Community economic development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jobs and development • Business • Investment • Community economic development strategies • Models, partnerships, support mechanisms
Community wellness <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical, mental, social, and spiritual health • Relationship with the land • Self-identify through traditional culture • Healing • Prevention • Supportive relationships • Links between personal and family needs, healthcare services • Strong families 	Community learning <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community as a classroom • Land as a classroom • Acquiring wisdom and knowledge from elders • Schooling • Individual and group learning • Literacy and adult basic education • Skill development and training

2.2. Co-management

2.2.1. Co-management of protected areas

Collaboration and cooperation in the protection and conservation of natural resources and the environment is becoming increasingly popular worldwide (Plummer

and Fennell, 2009). Globally, there is a shift away from colonial management systems, which tend to displace indigenous peoples, to participatory and collaborative approaches that recognize local peoples as an integral part of the natural landscape (Usongo and Nkanje, 2004). International and inter-governmental co-management of protected areas is practiced in many parts of the world with varying degrees of commitment and success (Nepal, 2002; Colton and Harris, 2007; Nursey-Bray and Rist, 2009). In most cases collaboration is between local communities or indigenous people working with governments to maintain biodiversity and ecological integrity of natural areas and traditional territories (Nepal, 2002; Johnson and Nelson, 2004; Reid et al. 2004; Nursey-Bray and Rist, 2009).

Gwaii Haanas is a leading example of a co-managed² protected area that has been successfully managed by two nations for over twenty years (Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012; Takeda, 2015). The protected area is managed by the Archipelago Management Board (AMB), a team comprised of three representatives from the Haida Nation and three from the Government of Canada. Establishing Gwaii Haanas and the AMB was not an overnight success, and there are still disagreements over title and sovereignty; however, protecting south Moresby is a shared priority agreed on by both nations. Researchers concur that, although the partnership is ongoing and evolving, and there is room for improvement, in general the collaborative relationship between the Haida Nation and the Government of Canada has been quite successful in managing Gwaii Haanas (Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012; Takeda, 2015).

² Co-management will include collaborative and cooperative management for the purposes of this paper, as both are terms used by the Haida Nation and the Government of Canada to describe their management relationship for Gwaii Haanas.

2.2.2. Conditions for Co-management

Co-management has been generally defined by Pinkerton (1992) as power-sharing in the exercise of resource management between government and a community or organization of stakeholders. Pinkerton (1993) identifies sociological and political conditions that are necessary for the success of social movements (Table 4) which could also be considered as circumstances favourable to the occurrence and persistence of co-management. All the conditions were present prior to the signing of the Gwaii Haanas agreement, a power sharing agreement that now governs the co-management relationship.

Table 4. Sociological and Political conditions necessary for the success of social movements (Pinkerton, 1993).

Sociological conditions	Political conditions
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Ability to articulate a consistent vision2. Access to financial and logistical resources.3. Ability to demonstrate that radical reform is necessary and not being addressed4. Access to old and new public forums of debate and dissemination of opinion	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. The existence of new and expanding organizations2. The existence of new and expanding forms of political expression3. The ability to form issue networks4. The ability to form coalitions at both the local and the provincial level5. The ability to identify issues with the public interest6. Access to power

Presumed power-sharing can range from token involvement to equal rights in policy development; thus, the level of power-sharing throughout the development of a co-management agreement shapes the ultimate power balance within the agreement, and can ultimately determine the success of the agreement. Pinkerton (2003) identifies the ability of groups involved to exercise their collective choice rights in decision-making for

management of resources, rather than simply holding access rights, as important for the development of an effective co-management agreement or relationship.

Table 5. Five phases of creating co-management (Pinkerton 1992)

Phases of co-management creation
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Adopting a negotiating posture2. Conducting negotiations3. Producing an agreement4. Fully implementing the agreement5. Institutionalizing procedures

There are five phases of creating co-management according to Pinkerton (1992) (Table 5), which require meaningful, high level participation of stakeholder groups if there is to be long-term success. Pinkerton (1992) looked at how groups overcome barriers to co-management, and the necessary steps for success. The five phases of creating co-management were illustrated with the process undertaken by a coalition of indigenous and environmental groups working toward collaborative fish habitat protection in Washington State. In the case of the Gwaii Haanas agreement, both parties involved went through the five phases outlined above in the process to attaining their common goal of protecting Gwaii Haanas.

2.2.3. Power sharing agreements

The Gwaii Haanas agreement marked the first significant power-sharing agreement between the Haida Nation and a federal authority over issues previously managed solely under federal jurisdiction (Lee, 2012). The agreement created a

framework for the sharing of management by the Haida Nation and the Government of Canada.

The legal powers of the Haida Nation are equal to those of the Government of Canada within the AMB, where there is a mandated 50 percent Haida representation who maintain collective choice rights in the planning, operation and management of Gwaii Haanas (Lee, 2012). The AMB works with consensus decision making, meaning all members must agree on the decision. If consensus cannot be reached on a decision, the issue is put aside and revisited at a later date. If the matter is not resolved by the AMB when it is revisited it may be brought to the Minister responsible for Parks Canada (Lee, 2012). This decision-making process does not always result in quick decisions; however, it ensures that all voices at the table are heard and hold equal power in the decision-making process. Respect and trust between the members of the AMB is integral to the success of the agreement. It is stated that “this Agreement represents both parties' understanding of their reciprocal good faith and common cause in the protection and preservation of the Archipelago, and is without prejudice to the viewpoint of either party respecting sovereignty, ownership or title” (Gwaii Haanas Agreement, 1993). The AMB is an ongoing dynamic co-management relationship, which serves to govern the planning, operations and management of Gwaii Haanas, and protect the area for generations to come (Parks Canada, 2012).

The influence of such power sharing agreements goes beyond the signing of the Gwaii Haanas Agreement. Collaborative land use planning has been occurring on Haida Gwaii since 2001 with greater Haida control in forestry planning and negotiation (Takeda and Ropke, 2010). In 2015, the Haida exercised their co-management rights, successfully

closing the herring fishery for conservation purposes (Jones et al., 2017). In this case, when bilateral negotiations failed, the Haida turned to litigation, drawing on the importance and strength of the co-management relationship in Gwaii Haanas as a key argument to support the need for backing Haida conservation concerns (Jones et al., 2017). Jones et al. (2017) go on to suggest that the long-term efforts required for the successful establishment and persistence of co-management agreements, that include at least some collective choice rights, have implications for future assertion of indigenous rights. The Gwaii Haanas agreement, provided a foundation for appropriate and meaningful place-based management of the herring fishery while setting a legal precedent for conservation rights and co-management relationships.

Chapter 3. Methods

In addition to the literature review discussed in Chapter 2, this research was based on interviews with tourism operators permitted to operate in Gwaii Haanas during 2016, and with key informants from four communities on Haida Gwaii. Participant observation during the research period as well as tacit participant observation throughout my six years of experience working in the Gwaii Haanas tourism industry were used to inform the research questions and to augment the interview findings.

Permission from the Archipelago Management Board (AMB) to conduct research was sought and granted; additionally, research was approved by the Parks Canada Visitor Experience team. Hilary Thorpe, in the role of Marine Project Manager for parks Canada, provided important guidance in developing this research, alerting me to what would be beneficial to the AMB and Gwaii Haanas, and would contribute to the ten year Gwaii Haanas management plan that is currently under development.

3.1. The role of the researcher

Prior to beginning this research project, I spent six seasons working as a Parks Canada certified guide for Bluewater Adventures, a tourism operator in Gwaii Haanas, and continued to work as a guide throughout the time that the data were being gathered. This put me in a unique position as an insider, as I had pre-established relationships and connections with other Gwaii Haanas tour operators, Haida Watchmen and Haida Gwaii community members. Playing this insider/outsider role gave me strong advantages including access to data, ideas and perspectives of my employer and fellow guides,

personal experience and, perhaps most importantly, the trust of both tour operators and community members that I would represent them and their views fairly.

Bluewater Adventures and its owner Randy Burke are well respected in Gwaii Haanas and on the British Columbia coast and have supported me in making the connections that were so helpful for this research. In the initial stages of research development, I was able to have frank, open-ended conversations with Randy and other members of the tourism community that contributed to the scoping and framing of my research. My first-hand experience in the Gwaii Haanas tourism industry allows me a high level of confidence in my research findings, as I have seen and participated in successes and challenges that the industry has faced.

While my personal connection to the Gwaii Haanas tourism industry was of great benefit in many ways, it also shaped the perspective from which I approached this research, potentially limiting the effectiveness of the research process. Being aware of this possibility, I made a concerted effort to account for it in both the development of the interview questions and in the interviews themselves, making sure that all interviewees knew that I worked as a Gwaii Haanas guide and that I was doing the research independently from my employer.

Given my previous experience and background in the field, I employed a grounded theory-inspired approach from the naturalistic paradigm. With naturalist research, the researcher becomes the data gathering instrument using their skills in listening, observing and understanding to obtain the data; additionally, it is accepted that the researcher's perspective will affect what is learned through the interactions with research participants (Rubin and Rubin, 2011). This approach allows themes to emerge from the data so that

the researcher's emerging construction of concepts shaped both the process and the product (Charmaz, 2014). Using this approach, I was able to let the story unfold as I progressed through the research process.

3.2. Interviews

In developing a questionnaire, to guide the interviews and ensure a level of consistency throughout the data collection process, I incorporated input from Randy Burke of Bluewater Adventures, members of the Gwaii Haanas Parks Canada Team, as well as the Archipelago Management Board (AMB), the body that makes management and operations decisions for Gwaii Haanas. Incorporating input from industry professionals as well as Parks Canada and the AMB ensured that interview questions were relevant to the concerns of both, and would elicit a useful response from tourism operators and community members alike. In addition, the conceptual framework and the literature guided me towards designing questions that addressed the potential benefits and challenges of tourism and co-management that have arisen in past research. Furthermore, the recognition of need for open ended questions that create space for the story to unfold throughout the interview process was a strong influence of the conceptual framework.

Not all the interview questions were posed to all participants. Some questions pertained specifically to tourism operators, while others were directed at key informants and community members. The questions were divided into two groups specific to the interviewee type (see Appendix A).

Interviews were conducted in person or over the phone between January and December of 2016. Fifteen semi-structured interviews were conducted in total with Gwaii Haanas tourism operators (n=8), and key informants (n=7) from four communities on

Haida Gwaii. Thirteen of the interviews were in person and two were carried out over the phone. All interviews were recorded using an audio recorder to allow a more natural conversation to develop rather than be disrupted by the interviewer taking notes throughout the interview.

Tourism operator participants were selected from the list of companies certified to work in Gwaii Haanas in 2016 supplied by Parks Canada. The Parks Canada certification process ensures that companies and their vessels meet the minimum requirements set out by regulatory bodies, including Transport Canada, the AMB and Parks Canada before they are given permission to operate in Gwaii Haanas (Parks Canada, 2017). From the 2016 Parks Canada list, companies that carry freight only, or that do not conduct tours were eliminated as potential participants as they do not conduct tours within Gwaii Haanas. This left fourteen tourism companies operating in Gwaii Haanas as potential interviewees for the research. In July 2016, five Haida Gwaii-based companies were contacted, and the three who responded were interviewed in July and August of 2016. Given that nature-based tourism companies are busiest throughout the summer months and into the autumn, companies based in the BC's lower mainland and on Vancouver Island were contacted in October and November 2016, once their field seasons were over and owners and operators were home for the winter season. Six off-island companies were contacted and five responded for interviews.

Eight tourism operators were interviewed in all, three of which were Haida Gwaii based companies, and five of which were based out of British Columbia's Lower Mainland or Southern Vancouver Island. This resulted in 60 percent of Haida Gwaii based companies and 55 percent of off-island companies being interviewed. As many of

the interviews as possible were conducted in person; however, there was one occasion on which that was not possible and a phone interview was conducted. Eight out of fourteen companies (57% response rate) were interviewed. The seven key informants were all members of Haida Gwaii communities representing Old Masset, Skidegate, Queen Charlotte City, and Sandspit. Six of the key informant interviews were carried out in person, while one was conducted over the phone.

Participant observation occurred during my time in the communities of Haida Gwaii and while working in Gwaii Haanas. Whenever possible, I took notes after interactions and conversations that I deemed relevant and helpful to my research. The majority of people I interacted with, know me in my roles as both a Gwaii Haanas guide with Bluewater Adventures, and a researcher. Additionally, I drew on my historical experience in Gwaii Haanas and on Haida Gwaii to complement the interview data I gathered. Although not recorded word for word, these observations, experiences, conversations and interactions contribute to the conclusions of this research.

Interviews with both tourism operators and key informants sought to identify how operations of tourism activities in Gwaii Haanas are contributing to the communities of Haida Gwaii and where they felt there was opportunity for change or improvement. It was important to get the perspectives of both the tour operators and the Haida Gwaii residents, to hear multiple points of view from people connected to the Gwaii Haanas tourism industry. All tourism operators interviewed were owners and operators of the companies who are involved in both the administrative side of the business and the field operations. Owners, as opposed to employees, were selected as interviewees to ensure the broadest possible perspective on the company and the details of its operations.

Interviews with key informants within the communities of Haida Gwaii sought to identify how community members perceived the operations of tourism activities in Gwaii Haanas, and whether they are seen as contributing to the communities of Haida Gwaii. Additionally, they identified where they felt there is need for changes or improvement, and how that change could become a reality. Key informants were selected based on residency on Haida Gwaii as well as their connection to and understanding of the tourism activities in Gwaii Haanas.

3.3. Transcriptions and analysis

All interviews were transcribed manually verbatim in order to allow for full quotations to be available. Simple analysis took place during the transcription process with notes being taken as themes developed from the interviews. Following the transcriptions and preliminary analysis, emergent theme analysis was employed to identify themes in the interviews. Themes were identified, and compiled into similar groupings as they surfaced.

Where appropriate, tables were created to clearly lay out data (see Tables in Chapter 4). Tables were created for community based services used by Gwaii Haanas permitted tourism operators, and impacts of tourism within Gwaii Haanas to the communities of Haida Gwaii. Bennett et al.'s (2012) framework of potential benefits and negative consequences of tourism was used as a template to organize data that emerged from the interviews.

3.4. Limitations

There were multiple limits to my research as it was carried out. These included time and seasonal accessibility to interviewees, remote location of study site, and minimal funding availability. As previously mentioned, summer months are the busiest in the nature-based tourism industry, making it challenging to get in touch with, and meet in person with operators during that period. Funds severely limited the amount of time spent on Haida Gwaii for research purposes. Given that I was already travelling there for work, travel costs to and from Haida Gwaii were minimized, allowing for ten days in the communities of Haida Gwaii.

Additionally, the sampling approach was modified part way through the data collection phase as it became evident that, to get a balanced view of current and potential community benefits of tourism within Gwaii Haanas, equal input from tourism operators and key informants was necessary. I determined that collecting data from tourism operators alone would not give the full picture and considerably limit the understanding gained through this project.

Chapter 4. Results and Discussion

In this Chapter I lay out my findings; impacts that tourism within Gwaii Haanas has on the communities of Haida Gwaii, the themes that emerged from the interviews and the findings from evaluation of the Gwaii Haanas co-management agreement. The results are then discussed in terms of what they mean for Gwaii Haanas tourism and the communities of Haida Gwaii.

4.1. Interview Results: the impacts of tourism

Analysis of the interview data revealed that tourism within Gwaii Haanas has many spillover effects that affect the communities of Haida Gwaii. Tourism within Gwaii Haanas is contributing to employment, social development, cultural pride and revitalization as well as scientific observation databases on Haida Gwaii. A large portion of the benefits are connected with the considerable number of direct and indirect jobs that result from tourism operations in Gwaii Haanas. The tourism related employment strengthens social, cultural and economic aspects of the communities on Haida Gwaii.

The spill-over for the most part has been identified as highly beneficial to the communities; however, there will always be room for improvement. Challenges and areas for improvement were also identified during the interviews, as well as opportunities for operators to better contribute to the communities. An overview of benefits and challenges for the economic, social and cultural aspects of the communities is presented in Table 6. This table uses the framework from the Bennett et al. (2012) table of potential

benefits and negative consequences to display the challenges and benefits that came up during the interviews for this research project.

Table 6 Benefits and challenges resulting from Tourism within Gwaii Haanas to the communities of Haida Gwaii

Community impact type	Benefits	challenges
Economic	Sales of goods and services	Potential overuse of community resources including physical (e.g., food, fuel, accommodation, transportation), human (available workers, knowledge and skillsets), and financial (through tourism infrastructure costs).
	Increased employment opportunities	Seasonal cash flows and employment
	Support of local businesses and entrepreneurship	Lack of local capacity to meet demands of growing needs
	Increased cash flow into the economy	
Cultural	Promote respect for, and understanding of local culture	Insensitivity toward cultural resources, practices and knowledge as a result of ignorance
	Support for conservation and documentation of cultural knowledge, language and artifacts	Perceived inauthentic representations or "selling out" of culture
	Increased support and opportunities for cultural revitalization	Damage to cultural resources and artifacts, and areas of sacred significance.
	Employment that reinforces cultural links with land and sea.	
Social	Increased local training and education opportunities	Perceptions of crowding in gathering areas, use of public services, grocery stores and restaurants, and wilderness areas (e.g., hiking trails, campgrounds).
	Increased local self-esteem and community pride	Feelings of being on display
	Intergenerational connections and knowledge sharing	
	Strong community amongst Haida Watchmen and Gwaii Haanas tourism operators	

Tourism operators use many local services on Haida Gwaii to support their operations in Gwaii Haanas. Table 7 lists the services and cultural activities mentioned by tourism operators and key informants during the interviews. This is not an exhaustive list of each business, organization and service that benefit from Gwaii Haanas tourism, but it illustrates the importance of the connections between tourism in Gwaii Haanas and the communities of Haida Gwaii.

Table 7. Services on Haida Gwaii used by Gwaii Haanas Tour Operators mentioned in interviews.

Services	Businesses	location
Groceries	Supervalu	Sandspit
	Isabel Creek Store	Queen Charlotte
	Maude Island Farm	Queen Charlotte
	Co-op	Skidegate
Fuel	Doug Gould fuel transportation	Sandspit
	Sandspit Marina	Sandspit
	Queen Charlotte fuel dock	Queen Charlotte
Transportation	Sandspit Bus	Sandspit
	Inland Air	Queen Charlotte
Laundry	Rainbow laundry	Sandspit
Marine supplies	Bridgeview marine	Sandspit
	Meegan's Store	Queen Charlotte
Accommodations	Sand Spit Inn	Sandspit
	Moresby Island Guest House	Sandspit
	Seaport B&B	Sandspit
	Bayview Garden B&B and Hostel	Sandspit
	Jags Beanstalk Bistro and Beds	Skidegate
	Premiere Creek Lodge	Queen Charlotte
	Dorothy & Mike's Guest House	Queen Charlotte
	Sea Raven Motel	Queen Charlotte
	Haida House	Tlell
	Copper Beech House	Masset
Food services	Sandspit Inn	Sandspit
	Jags Beanstalk Bistro and Beds	Skidegate
	Dick's Wok In	Sandspit
	Sea Raven	Queen Charlotte
	Kaay Bistro	Skidegate
Cultural experiences	Keenawaii's Kitchen	Skidegate
	Kaay Llnagaay, Haida Heritage Centre	Skidegate
	Spirit Lake walk	Queen Charlotte
	Christian White's carving shed	Old Masset
Educational/Scientific	Laskeek Bay Conservation Society	Queen Charlotte
Visitor info	Sandspit Visitors Centre	Sandspit
	Queen Charlotte Visitors Centre	Queen Charlotte

Distribution of benefits from tourism within Gwaii Haanas are more numerous in communities closer to the protected area than in those farther away. There are a lot of direct economic benefits to Sandspit, fewer to Skidegate and Queen Charlotte, and even fewer to the northern communities. Table 8 shows the distribution of services used by

the Gwaii Haanas tourism industry mentioned in interviews clustered on Moresby Island and at south end of Graham Island, with few in the northern communities (Table 8).

Table 8. Distribution of services mentioned in interviews

Number of services mentioned in interviews	Community	Location	Population
13	Sandspit	North Moresby Island	296
12	Queen Charlotte	South Graham Island	852
7	Skidegate	South Graham Island	837
1	Masset	North Graham Island	793
1	Old Masset	North Graham Island	555
1	Tlell (rural region)	East Central Graham Island	183

In addition to identifying the benefits and challenges and connections to the community, overarching themes that persisted throughout the interviews were identified. In total seven emergent themes were identified that allow the results to be grouped in such a way as to offer answers as well as deeper understanding and context for the research questions (Table 9).

Table 9. Themes that emerged from the interviews of community members and tourism operators.

Emergent Themes
1. Tourism within Gwaii Haanas is contributing to the communities of Haida Gwaii
2. Tourism is growing in Gwaii Haanas and on Haida Gwaii
3. Cultural tourism is strong in Gwaii Haanas
4. The Haida Watchman Program is highly important
5. There is a strong sense of community within Gwaii Haanas
6. Benefits from tourism within Gwaii Haanas are not equally distributed amongst the communities of Haida Gwaii.
7. Tour operators determine their contributions to the communities

4.2. Emergent themes explored

4.2.1. Tourism within Gwaii Haanas is contributing to the communities of Haida Gwaii

There are many benefits to the communities of Haida Gwaii that have been identified as contributing to economic diversity, employment, social development, cultural pride and revitalization, and scientific understanding. Numerous benefits are multifaceted, contributing in multiple ways at once. Such benefits not only bolster the economy but also strengthen the social fabric of the communities on Haida Gwaii.

Multiple interviewees commented on the excitement of seeing the first tourists coming into town in the spring, mentioning how the tourists bring life into the town after a quiet winter. *“People get genuinely excited about it. It’s more life, and something a bit different”*. Tourist season means new conversations, new perspectives as well as economic inputs. Having tourists come from around the world to visit gives a sense of pride, and confidence to the residents. One community member said that having tourists come is

“so fulfilling just as like, people build themselves through conversations we have so, the more that happens, the more you get to retell your story...reinforcing your connection to the place”.

Additionally, having visitors come from around to world to experience the nature and culture of a place people call home, bolsters community esteem and pride. As one tour operator mentioned,

“people come back from the boat trips and they’re really excited about it and jacked up and so it’s bringing the people in the community, that they’re interacting with, oh you like the place my people are from! Everyone likes to get a compliment...[it] also validates what they have done”.

Having strong seasonal influx of workers, job opportunities, tourists and related services means that there are more services running and available year-round, and residents are able to maintain a quality of life throughout the off-season similar to what they have during the summer. One Haida Gwaii-based tour operator put it succinctly, saying *“the reason we get people to stay on island before and after the tours [into Gwaii Haanas] is so we have green vegetables in the grocery store in January”*. Without the busy summer season, there would be even fewer services available throughout the rest of the year. As it is, not all businesses are able to stay open year-round: for example, many of the restaurants and other services have reduced hours, and some close for a couple of months in the winter. Without the influx of tourism dollars into the economy in the summer, very few businesses and services would be able to stay open, even part time, during the winter.

It is common for people employed in tourism to have multiple jobs and roles within their communities. For example, a full-time grocery store employee also takes evening shifts at a local restaurant to help out when it is busy. Another example is a school teacher who also works as a part-time bus driver for the Sandspit bus taking tourists to their boats. This means that during the busy season they are working a lot with little time off, but once the season slows down there is the financial stability for residents

to maintain their quality of life, as they have more money to spend supporting local businesses to stay open throughout the winter.

As is the case in many remote communities, youth tend to move away from Haida Gwaii for employment and educational opportunities. Gwaii Haanas tourism creates employment that can potentially attract youth back to Haida Gwaii once they have completed their training and education elsewhere. One community member remarked that

"it's hard for young people to return to the Island, so these are, you know this is a demographic thing. I mean kids need to go to get their trainings, but it's hard for them to come back. So I mean, I do see tourism, growth in tourism as taking up part of that slack".

Employment through Gwaii Haanas tourism such as the Haida Watchman program can provide opportunities to acquire skills without leaving Haida Gwaii.

Cultural activities such as the 2013 raising of the Gwaii Haanas legacy pole in Hlk'yah GaawGa (Windy Bay), have a multitude of benefits that affect the communities.

"There's more that goes into a pole than just raising it for tourism's sake. But you know the spill off from, and the spinoffs from it is immense; everyone benefits".

While there is an economic benefit, the social and cultural benefits of such projects are immense. These benefits include strong support for cultural revitalization, education about Haida traditions for visitors and locals, learning opportunities for artists, cultural pride, international attention and increased tourism, to name a few. The legacy pole project took 3 years and resulted in the first pole raising in over 130 years in south Moresby. Through this project, the legacy of Haida traditional culture and way of life has

been continued. As one young Haida carver and artist observed, the Haida *“way of life is continuing...the world is changing, but the meaning of what [they] do stays the same”* (Edenshaw, 2013).

Multiple times during the interview processes, Gwaii Haanas tourism was described as highly beneficial to the communities in contrast with the sport fishing industry. The sport fishing industry uses self-contained lodges, most of which are located on the northwest coast of Haida Gwaii; these have their supplies and guests flown in and out. Very few of the benefits go directly into the communities of Haida Gwaii. Masset is one of the busiest airports in BC during the summer months, but that is not reflected in the communities on Graham Island, and most of the traffic in the Masset airport is from the sport fishing lodges. In Masset, one interviewee explained,

“the sports fishing operations stop in the airport, and don’t go anywhere else outside of the airport and then helicopter right to their destination. They pay that large amount of money for what they do, but at the same time...Does that money really make it into the community? No, not really”

Community members notice the stark difference between these contributions,

“everyone says well tourism... 80% of that was sport fishing lodges, if not 90%. So the, the public's attitude locally is well, unless they're eating in our restaurants, sleeping in our hotels and Bed and Breakfasts, boutique lodges, and visiting our galleries, then where's the direct benefit?”

The Gwaii Haanas tourism industry does use all the services listed in the above quote, connecting and contributing directly to the local economy.

4.2.2. Tourism is growing in Gwaii Haanas and on Haida Gwaii

There have been several factors to which people attribute the recent growth in tourist interest in Haida Gwaii. The 2013 raising of the legacy pole in Gwaii Haanas was covered live nationwide and internationally. In 2015, National Geographic named Haida Gwaii in their top 10 places to visit in the world, giving these mysterious islands even more publicity. The CBC's Rick Mercer did a show all about Haida Gwaii and Gwaii Haanas in 2016; as well there have been several recent documentaries and films including *Hadwin's Judgment* (2015 docudrama), *Haida Gwaii: On the edge of the world* (2015 documentary), that have been shown at film festivals throughout the western world. All of these have publicized the wild beauty and mystery of remote Haida Gwaii, attracting tourists. *"I had some people come from Australia last year, 'we gotta see these islands at the edge of the world'"*, explained one tour operator. During my work as a guide I have met several people who had seen two of the films at the Toronto Hot Docs festival, and subsequently decided to travel to Gwaii Haanas to see the real thing for themselves.

Tour operators say people are drawn by the mystique of Gwaii Haanas, looking to travel to pristine, perfect wilderness place where they can escape the rest of the world. One tour operator described Gwaii Haanas as *"a place where you can be and still pretend that the world is perfect"*. For the Watchmen living and working in Gwaii Haanas it's a simpler way of life: *"People come with the tide and leave with the tide; if it's raining you have to go out"*. This idea of a simpler way of life in a beautiful wilderness setting where culture and nature are intertwined is very attractive to residents and tourists seeking the experience of living in tune with the movements and rhythms of the natural world.

While Gwaii Haanas is the draw for many coming to Haida Gwaii, not all make it into the protected area, but may end up exploring the rest of Haida Gwaii instead. This draw of tourists is a spill-over effect of having tourism within Gwaii Haanas that helps to increase tourism on the rest of Haida Gwaii.

“Either for time or money there's a whole bunch of people who would love to experience the full Gwaii Haanas experience and are not going to achieve that, so you have people, so a day tour to [the ancient village site of] Skedans is a spin-off of the Gwaii Haanas experience...Kaay Llnagaay [the Haida Heritage Centre] is a giant plus... you have poles there, you have culture and education, I'm not going to say it's a mini Gwaii Haanas experience, but there are elements of it, there's a direct parallel and somebody who goes there, if they only get to the Kaay Llnagaay, have had a touch of that”.

Not all tourism related growth is welcome. Community members and tourism operators alike do not want to see large cruise ships making Gwaii Haanas a destination, and the attitude of keeping major development such as lodges out of Gwaii Haanas is strong. Interviews highlighted the deep-rooted desire to maintain local identity and way of life year-round in order to manage resources and infrastructure stresses. Many stated that the expansion of the nature based-tourism sector is positive so long as it grows within the means of the local communities.

Several people, including tour operators and key informants, brought up the fact that they don't want to the communities on Haida Gwaii to be overrun by tourists in the summer months, making reference to the popularity of Tofino, a nature-based tourism community on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

“We don’t want to be the next Tofino”

Tofino has similarities to communities on Haida Gwaii as it was once a resource based town and has transitioned to a tourism economy, in addition to being a gateway community for Pacific Rim National Park Reserve. Resource management during the summer season has been a challenge in the community of Tofino, specifically managing water use. Droughts are not uncommon during the summer, resulting in seasonal water shortages. In 2006, the water shortage was so severe, Tofino opted to truck water in in order to keep businesses open. Resource management issues as limits to growth is something members of the Haida Gwaii communities are very aware of, and the topic came up in conversations and interviews.

Growth within the means of the community is key to prevent the area being “loved to death” by tourists. Several interviewees mentioned that in their view the current infrastructure is not capable of supporting a rapid increase of tourism, but that if it’s going to happen, it must be at a pace that the communities can keep up with. Life on Haida Gwaii moves at a different pace than in the urban centers and that can take visitors by surprise.

"There’s not many stores, you have to kind of put on your breaks when you get there. There's no stores open some days. You have to be prepared for all of that; they're not open Mondays anywhere”.

Despite this, there are currently a lot of opportunities for growth as many community members are in favor of increasing and developing tourism and transportation infrastructure to support more tourism; however, there is limited leadership and capacity to do so, making it ever more important for slow growth that caters to the needs of the

community while enhancing tourism opportunities. If tourism grows at a rate faster than what the community can support, over use of resources by visitors can put local residents at a disadvantage.

4.2.3. Cultural tourism is strong in Gwaii Haanas

Many tourists are coming to Haida Gwaii wanting to experience the wildlife and wilderness and the cultural aspects are less well known.

“We attract them with nature, and then we keep them with the culture”.

Culture is not always the initial draw for people wanting to visit Gwaii Haanas and Haida Gwaii, but through the efforts of educators, guides, and tour operators, the culture is a strong part of the story that visitors to Gwaii Haanas are told. One community member used the example of Moresby Explorers, one of the Gwaii Haanas tour companies, to articulate the role of guides as educators:

“Moresby Explorers sets such a good example of talking about culture, giving a wild nature experience, but also ensuring that, reminding people that these are not untouched places, because they’re not, they’ve been touched by people for tens of thousands of years”

Another community member highlighted the importance of the educational aspects of tourism occurring within Gwaii Haanas. Guides along with Haida Watchmen help to tell the story of the culture of the Haida and show it as part of the landscape.

“It kind of occurred to me the relationship between Gwaii Haanas and Haida Gwaii, the rest of us, is I think that place gives us all an attachment to the past, it makes the culture more real and that's what we sell, that's what we show

people in the villages....and it gives people a longer term view if they have the connection to the past all of a sudden it's not just the here and the now, it's a longer story”

4.2.4. The Haida Watchman program is highly important

The Gwaii Haanas Haida Watchman program is highly important for visitor experience, Haida cultural learning, revitalization and pride, as well as capacity building and employment. There is a strong sense that the Watchman program is what makes the Gwaii Haanas experience so rich for all who visit. Even in sites where there are no standing poles, the Watchmen help to tell the story of the landscape that people visiting love and connect with. It also ensures that there is a Haida presence, Haida people on their land telling their stories.

“Being able to bring people to such a unique place where there are First Nations on their land willing and happy to share their history and their stories. It’s a very unique set up. And time and time again people have said how important the Watchman program is to that experience, but also talking to Watchmen and people in the communities, how important that is for cultural pride and understanding within the communities”

The Watchman program also connects the past with the present, helping to give the bigger picture to those who are there to see it. As time passes, the standing totems in the village sites are degrading and going back to the earth as their creators intended, but this changes physical and cultural landscape that tourists are going to see.

“the challenge for Gwaii Haanas is that the poles are decaying and will be gone, that is the overt image that draws people, and why the significance of raising a new pole at Windy Bay is big, why discussions of raising more poles in Gwaii Haanas I think are very valid and could be wonderful, and right now I think it's the Watchman program that fills in all the blanks”

Having Watchmen at the village sites also helps to dispel any misconceptions that they are a people and culture stuck in the past. Through guides educating their guests and Watchmen being present on the landscape we can:

“show tourists that the Haida aren't just living in the past, that they have not been completely destroyed through colonialism. They're ongoing, they're living, they're promoting their culture and way of life. They're still hereand they're reclaiming their culture which is a huge process of decolonization”

As for the Haida Watchmen, some express pride in having the opportunity to be an ambassador to the world for their culture, sharing their stories and helping to educate visitors about who they are as a people and a culture.

“I really appreciate my position as a Watchman and being able to share our world on our land with people that are interested”

Each Watchman must go through the same cultural training program to ensure a level of consistency, but there is freedom to tell their own stories, and interact with the guests in their own way whether that be through story-telling, discussing current events and political challenges for the Haida, through song or any other way they choose. Additionally, there is a lot of practical training that goes into the Watchman

program so that the Watchmen have the skills necessary to live in a remote location for extended periods of time and can help mariners out should the need arise.

4.2.5. There is a strong sense of community within Gwaii Haanas

There is a strong sense of community amongst the Haida Watchman and the tourism operators. In Gwaii Haanas they are essentially neighbours and reliant on each other in times of need. At times during the season Watchmen can go several days without visitors, so having a tour operator come for a visit and bring their guests can be a welcome break from solitude. Whether it's stopping by for tea, to borrow or lend a cup of sugar, or assisting during a medical emergency, a strong community and support network has developed amongst those who live and work in Gwaii Haanas during the tourism season. The comradery adds to the visitor experience as people love to experience that sense of community in a remote setting.

“[What] I try to show my guests most is the camaraderie between all of us down there, again, the relationship of the Watchman program and the Haida all have their connectedness to it”

However, several tourism operators commented on the fact that the Parks Canada wardens and other parks Canada staff are not a strong part of the community, stating that everyone, operators, parks staff, Watchmen and guests would all benefit if there was more connection among the groups.

“we should all be on a first name basis, and we should be working together so that you say Hey Russ, or Hey Neil and how's it going? What's the word on the street, what's happening? So that whether its talking about wildlife, or having

*concerns about trampling effects at a particular creek or estuary or problems
Watchmen sites so that there's communication and sharing and all working
towards a common goal and in some cases just enforcement"*

4.2.6. Benefits from tourism within Gwaii Haanas are not equally distributed amongst communities of Haida Gwaii.

The benefits that spill over into the communities from tourism in Gwaii Haanas are not equally distributed amongst the communities. As shown in Table 8 (page 44), more services are used by tourism operators and their guests in communities closer to the protected areas than in communities farther away. This disparity is felt by community members as is described by one resident.

"We continue to pay the price for the south end to be the host to the world all the time, and yet we're like the poor cousins up in the north that have to deal with all the crap that comes with that. Which is the devastation of our forests and stuff."

The speaker makes the point that having Gwaii Haanas as a major international draw means that the communities of Sandspit, Queen Charlotte and to a lesser degree Skidegate are reaping the benefits, while the communities on the north end of Graham island are not seeing the benefits, but are suffering some consequences. Not all of Haida Gwaii is protected, and clear-cut logging still occurs, much of it on Graham Island. Although there is interest, developing the nature-based and aboriginal tourism industry and associated infrastructure has been very slow in the northern communities, as much of the energy and resources have been focused on Gwaii Haanas and the southern

communities. Additionally, having a federal agency involved in tourism on the south end of Graham island provides a lot of support in terms of capacity and funding that is lacking in the northern communities.

In contrast to the northern communities, Sandspit, the gateway community, is closely linked with the Gwaii Haanas tourism industry and is reliant on the economic benefits. Without tourism in Gwaii Haanas there would be very few employment opportunities in Sandspit. Resource extraction jobs are few, and although it used to be a logging based town, today there is a strong reliance on the tourism industry. The grocery and liquor store, accommodations, restaurants, Sandspit bus, car rental, the visitors' center, laundry services and associated jobs are all dependent on the companies running tours in Gwaii Haanas. Having an influx of tourism dollars throughout the summer months means that the grocery store and other services can stay open year-round and people are able to maintain their quality of life throughout the year.

Community members in Sandspit are very much aware of the need to maintain the connection with Gwaii Haanas tourism and have actively taken steps to develop infrastructure to support the industry. In the autumn of 2015 the owners and operators of Sandspit taxi company moved away, leaving tourism operators with no way to transport goods and people from Sandspit to their vessels and launch points for the 2016 season. To remedy this, the Sandspit Community Society took it upon themselves to create a bus service to replace the services to tourism operators, ensuring that the town maintained its economic connections with Gwaii Haanas tour operators.

The Sandspit Community Society is a not for profit organization dedicated to promoting economic growth and stability in and around Sandspit, specifically through

supporting the tourism industry. They operate the Sandspit Inn and the Sandspit Bus; both initiatives were a result of the recognition that basic accommodation and transportation infrastructure is essential to maintaining and growing the tourism industry for Sandspit and Haida Gwaii. Not all community members were in full support of either project; however, without them the connection between the community and the Gwaii Haanas tourism industry would be compromised, negatively affecting the economy within Sandspit and elsewhere on Haida Gwaii.

Barriers to equal benefits

There are multiple barriers that hinder the flow of benefits of Gwaii Haanas tourism from the south up to the north of the islands. Barriers include: limited options for travel to and from Haida Gwaii, transportation challenges on Haida Gwaii, and a need for infrastructure to keep up with increasing numbers of visitors.

Transportation to and from the islands considerably limits flexibility of travel for tourists, not allowing them to change plans and stay on island longer once they have arrived. Residents and tour operators alike mentioned that many visitors would likely stay longer and explore the communities of Graham Island if it were easier to change transportation plans. As it is, Pacific Coastal, Air Canada, and BC ferries get booked up and there is little to no flexibility at the time of travel, and what flexibility does exist is extremely costly. This is also a drawback and negative spin-off effect for locals. With transportation options being fully booked throughout the busy season, it is challenging for locals to get off the islands on short notice should they need to.

Once on Haida Gwaii, travel between communities is challenging unless one has access to a private vehicle. There is no public transit; taxis are expensive; and private

busses have very limited routes, so car rental or hitchhiking are the only options for visitors to move between communities and take advantage of the various goods and services they have to offer. Graham island and Moresby Island are connected by the BC ferries operated Alliford Bay ferry which crosses Skidegate Channel, the body of water between Moresby and Graham Islands. The channel creates a physical barrier between Gwaii Haanas and the majority of the population centers on Haida Gwaii. In recent years, the number of sailings per day have been reduced, severely limiting connectivity between Skidegate/Queen Charlotte and Sandspit. Locals and tourists alike are restricted in travel between the communities and subsequently, goods and services that they would take advantage of if the opportunity were there are impacted. For better connection and flow of Gwaii Haanas tourism benefits to the north end of the islands, transportation infrastructure needs to be developed to support connectivity between the communities.

4.2.7. Tour operators determine their contributions to the communities

Tourism operators have the freedom to choose the level to which they contribute to the communities of Haida Gwaii. The current level of contribution is high, with a strong effort being made to connect with the communities through using goods and services in addition to encouraging guests to stay on and explore the communities of Haida Gwaii after their time in Gwaii Haanas. Each tourism operator creates their own schedule in terms of trip length, arrival and departure times and number of days their guests stay in the communities of Haida Gwaii. Tourism operators are also contributing

scientifically through data collection initiatives, and are positioned to increase such contributions.

The AMB and Parks Canada has the ability to regulate, to some extent, connections between Gwaii Haanas tour operators and the communities of Haida Gwaii. The permitting process already requires tour operators to fill in a trip completion form listing wildlife sightings of note, trip route, locations visited and encounters with other groups. In addition, the AMB and Parks Canada strongly encourages visitors to spend time in the communities and elsewhere on Haida Gwaii and make choices that support local businesses (Parks Canada, 2014).

Community-Tour operator connections

All operators interviewed stated that they recommend that their guests spend at least one night on the islands before or after heading into Gwaii Haanas. Many design the trip schedules so that 2 nights' accommodation in the communities are mandatory, one at either end of the Gwaii Haanas trip. They also strongly encourage their guests to make a longer trip, beyond their time in Gwaii Haanas and explore more of Graham Island. Building required accommodation nights into schedules is important for supporting local accommodation, restaurants, grocery stores and other services within the communities.

“Without that night before and after trips, Sandspit would be having a rough time.”

All tour operators strongly encourage their guests to take advantage of local cultural experiences and visit the Haida Gwaii Museum at Kaay Llnagaay, located on the outskirts of Skidegate. Some include admission in the tour price, and a few take people on organized day tours of Skidegate and Queen Charlotte that include a tour of the Haida

Gwaii Museum and the Kaay center. These and other cultural experiences within the communities of Haida Gwaii support employment that connects locals with their culture while giving visitors an introduction to the history and culture Haida Gwaii. Many tour operators mentioned that their guests are often interested in buying art from local artists, but it can be challenging to know where to direct their guests, as they mostly rely on word of mouth to find out when artists are open for business. This results in visitors buying what they can find in the local gift shops, rather than buying directly from artists. Although that is still supporting local business, it limits the opportunities for economic connections to be made, putting pressure on the few gift shops on-island while excluding the artists that do not display their art at those locations. The suggestion was made during interviews, that a schedule of days that artists are open would greatly benefit both the artists and the visitors as it would allow the direct connections to be made.

The tourism operators are committed to supporting the communities that help support them and their business. Many of them mentioned the importance of both ecological and social impacts of their businesses, and continually strive to do better.

“It's so important for operators in particular to engage in meaningful ways with First Nations communities, Haida or any other ones on the BC coast, so that they realize that we walk the talk. We're not just there to take, we're there to give in the best ways that we can.”

Scientific contributions

Gwaii Haanas tour operators are all involved in collecting wildlife sightings data. Parks Canada asks that permitted operators record sightings of interests and submit them after every tour. Many operators also voluntarily take part in recording marine mammal

sighting for the BC Cetaceans Sightings Network. These data collection efforts are not only beneficial to the organizations that use the data, but they also create educational opportunities for guests, contribute to conservation research that is beneficial to marine ecotourism, and gives the tourism companies scientific credibility.

Parks Canada sightings of interest include marine mammals, unusual and rare birds and animals, endemic species as well as invasive species. The tour operators serve as eyes and ears on the water and the islands within Gwaii Haanas and can help in monitoring and data collection throughout their voyages. For example, in recent years there has been an increase in sea otter sightings. The species was extirpated from the region as a result of the fur trade in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2014), but was since reintroduced to the Central coast of BC. A population will likely soon establish itself on Haida Gwaii, which will have ecological implications, as the ecosystems have adapted to life without sea otters. Tourism operators are constantly on the move, visiting different areas within Gwaii Haanas every day, and having their eyes out for species of interest is important for the ecological and scientific knowledge and wellbeing of Gwaii Haanas.

The Cetacean Sightings Network is run by the Vancouver Aquarium Marine Science Centre and focuses on cetaceans (whales, porpoises, and dolphins). They are a BC coast wide initiative that make use of “marine mammal researchers, lighthouse keepers, whale watching companies, kayaking and ecotourism companies, Coast Guard personnel, B.C. ferry personnel, commercial fishers and waterfront residents” (Wild Whales, 2017) to collect data. The data are used to better understand the cetacean populations and develop conservation programs to help those in need. While participation

in this program is voluntary, the majority of the companies that operate in Gwaii Haanas are recording their cetacean sightings and contributing to the database. Combining the wildlife sightings records for Parks Canada and the cetacean sightings network would reduce the paperwork, making it simpler and less time consuming for operators to record and submit their sightings.

During the interviews, there was mention several times that there is currently a lot of paperwork that operators are required to fill out and that this sometimes hinders wildlife sightings responses. There is strong interest in maintaining the data collection and even expanding it to include other local science and monitoring initiatives as they come up. There is currently a lot of research being done on the prevalence and effects of micro-plastics in the marine environment (Desforges et al., 2015; Doyle et al., 2011), and tourism operators are well positioned to collect water samples and other data to support this and similar research.

4.3. Evaluating the Gwaii Haanas Agreement

Hawkes (1996) developed a framework for evaluating co-management agreements that uses seven criteria that draw on the co-management literature. The criteria assess elements of the agreement, reflecting the overall strength of the agreement. Hawkes used the framework to assess the Gwaii Haanas agreement shortly after its signing. I have used the same criteria to assess the implementation and success of the power sharing agreement twenty years later (Table 10). Using Hawkes (1996) explanations of how the initial agreement met the criteria, I assessed the current situation of the Gwaii Haanas power sharing relationship based on a synthesis of literature, my

experience, and interview findings. Using a ten-point scale, with one being poor and ten being excellent, the success of different aspects of the agreement were rated.

Table 10. Evaluation of Gwaii Haanas Agreement to date

Criteria	Explanation of criteria	Evaluation score
1. Cultural and ecological protection	Co - management is most likely to succeed if both local ecosystems and cultural systems are conserved and management parties share an ecosystems perspective. (Pinkerton 1989; Ostrom 1990; Reed 1990; Griggs 1991; Hawkes, 1996).	9
2. Shared information	Co - management is successful where the responsibilities for data collection and analysis are willingly shared by local users and the state. Collaborators are more invested and confident in the data, and therefore more likely to comply with decisions based on that data (Pinkerton 1989; Ostrom 1990; Berkes 1994; Griggs 1990; Reed 1990; Hawkes, 1996).	6
3. Clearly defined boundaries	Co - management is most likely to succeed where both the biophysical and cultural boundaries are well defined at an appropriate scale. Communities of users should have a cohesive social system in which membership is clear, communication among members is apparent, and regulations can be effectively applied. (Pinkerton 1989; Ostrom 1990; Griggs 1990; Hawkes, 1996).	8
4. Enforcement	Co - management is most likely to succeed where enforcement activities are shared between the state and local users (Pinkerton 1989; Ostrom 1990; Griggs 1990; Hawkes, 1996)	6
5. Community economic development	Local users and communities should derive significant direct and indirect economic benefits from the co - managed resource., it is critical that wealth generated by superior stewardship and management be recirculated back into the local community (Pinkerton 1989; Ostrom 1990; East 1995; Griggs 1990; Hawkes, 1996).	8

6. Flexibility and responsiveness	Successful co-management systems are not rigid, rather they are flexible and responsive to dynamic environments, cultures and institutions over time. Goals and needs of parties may evolve and grow, so the co - management framework must be able to adapt and respond, while adhering to long - range goals. (Pinkerton 1989; Ostrom 1990; Griggs 1990; East 1995; Hawkes, 1996; Armitage et al. 2007).	7
7. Conflict resolution	All parties in the co-management agreement must have easy access to low-cost, local forums to resolve conflicts among local users or between users and state officials. Whatever the process for dispute resolution, it must be clear and mutually agreeable to all parties. Moreover, there must be a clear agreement concerning alternatives for making necessary decisions if a mutually acceptable agreement is not reached (Pinkerton 1989; Griggs 1990; Ostrom 1990; Hawkes, 1996).	8

Table 10 illustrates the success and strength of the Gwaii Haanas Agreement and the power sharing relationship that it governs. Cultural and ecological protection are at the forefront of the agreement, so it is only logical that it would score the highest in the evaluation. Respect for the “protection and preservation of the environment, the Haida culture, and the maintenance of a benchmark for science and human understanding” (Gwaii Haanas agreement, 1993) as stated in the Gwaii Haanas agreement has been carefully adhered to since the signing of the agreement. Information sharing does occur, but scored lower as there is room for diversification of sharing and communication, as well as improvement on the current sharing arrangement (See recommendations 1 and 5). Physical and socio-cultural boundaries are well defined for Gwaii Haanas and the agreement. Enforcement was identified as lacking by Hawkes (1996), but there are now functioning enforcement frameworks in place that use the jurisdiction of all parties

involved in the agreement. There could be more interaction and use of unofficial groups for monitoring and reporting (see recommendation 1). Community economic development is strong with many direct and indirect benefits to the communities as a result of Gwaii Haanas, as is seen in the findings of this paper. The flexibility of the AMB and the Gwaii Haanas agreement is good; however, responsiveness, while decent, is sometimes slow. Steps could be taken to assist in speeding up response times, but it is the nature of a consensus based co-management arrangement to take time in decision making. The Gwaii Haanas agreement does a very good job of laying out the conflict resolution process. While there are disagreements over title and sovereignty, they remain outside the Gwaii Haanas agreement and do not distract the AMB from their task of managing the archipelago “so as to leave it unimpaired for the benefit, education and enjoyment of future generations” (Gwaii Haanas Agreement, 1993). Overall the Gwaii Haanas agreement scores well in this assessment, showing that the power sharing relationship that has been built was strong when it started and has only improved with time.

4.4. Discussion: Community benefits and challenges

Emerging themes have highlighted the benefits and challenges that occur as a result of tourism within Gwaii Haanas. While the benefits outweigh the challenges, both are affecting life in the communities of Haida Gwaii. Some effects are more tangible than others, but they all influence how residents are living, their opportunities and choices. Many of the benefits identified through the interviews overlap with Bell’s (1999) framework of community development (Table 3, page27), which illustrates the benefits to

gateway communities from eco and cultural tourism. Community wellness, empowerment and learning are three of Bell's four categories that exemplify some less tangible effects that can be challenging to quantify, but are highly positive community influences. Bennett et al. (2012), drew on the literature to compile a table of potential benefits and negative consequences of tourism development. While both tables were helpful in identifying benefits and challenges as they came up in interviews throughout the data analysis phase, Bell focused on benefits, without showing any of the associated challenges, while Bennett et al., addressed potential effects informed by a wide range of research projects. Table 6, (page 41) is a simpler rendition that takes the benefits and challenges of Gwaii Haanas tourism and divides them into three categories, economic, cultural and social, to get a clear idea of what they are, and how they affect the communities of Haida Gwaii. In many cases the impacts are multi-faceted, influencing multiple aspects of community life. Additionally, some of the impacts have both benefits and challenges associated with them. Overall the benefits outweigh the challenges as is discussed throughout this section.

4.4.1. Economic Effects

Economic effects are realized in sales of goods and services, employment opportunities, both direct and indirect, and support for local business and entrepreneurship. Service and tourism related jobs are plentiful during the summer tourist season; goods and services are needed and the high demand for tourist related businesses helps to support small local companies.

Seasonal job opportunities bring cash into the economy, build capacity and skills as well as support business on Haida Gwaii. As discussed above, some communities, such as Sandspit and Queen Charlotte rely heavily on the economic boost that the tourist season brings for services to be available in the winter months. The influx of tourists creates a direct need for accommodation, food services and visitor information and indirectly supporting businesses. Skill sets held by locals can become sources of income during the tourist season when demand is higher, supporting and facilitating local entrepreneurship.

There are programs in place to help new businesses get up and running on Haida Gwaii. These include the Gwaii Trust which provides funding for island based projects and ventures, and the Haida Owned and Operated initiative that aims to get more Haida owned companies running on Haida Gwaii. With tourism in Gwaii Haanas and all over Haida Gwaii growing, there are increasing opportunities for local business and employment that support the tourism industry. This is a big part of the economic shift away from extractive resource sector and diversification into tourism, taking advantage of the existing natural capital that is the wilderness and wildlife of Haida Gwaii.

While this all sounds very nice, there are challenges that arise with the economic aspects of tourism. There are limited resources in any community, but Haida Gwaii is a remote island making it challenging to get goods such as groceries onto the shelves. While increased sales of goods and services due to tourism boosts economic gains, it can put residents at a disadvantage, limiting their access to the goods and services.

As was mentioned previously, some community impacts can be seen as both benefits and challenges, depending on the perspective from which they are viewed. One

such impact is the seasonality of tourism related employment opportunities. Throughout the summer many people work multiple jobs in order to survive during the winter when they have little to no employment. There are employment opportunities throughout the winter months, but there is not the same demand for employees, which can make it challenging to maintain the same standard of living throughout the year. There is no question that seasonal employment opportunities do bolster economic and employment prospects during the winter; however, the “feast or famine” nature of seasonal employment does pose a challenge for Haida Gwaii residents who rely on tourism for employment. Many people adapt to the seasonality, but others commented on the challenges of having to ‘survive’ the slow winters. Additionally, service and tourism industry jobs tend to pay considerably less than resource extraction jobs of the past, making it a difficult shift for people to make. There is a limit to the capacity of the people within the communities of Haida Gwaii. Individuals can only do so much, and in many cases people already are playing multiple roles within their communities and in some cases, there simply is not capacity to grow in such a way as to encourage development of the tourism industry. Ideally growth would be proactive and steer the development of tourism on Haida Gwaii, but more frequently it is reactive filling in the gaps *ad hoc* to fulfill needs as they become apparent.

4.4.2. Cultural Effects

The cultural effects of tourism within Gwaii Haanas for the communities are strongly positive. Haida Watchmen, trip leaders and wilderness guides that operate within the protected area are trained to educate their visitors about the local natural and cultural

history. The emphasis on cultural education is strong. Tourists who decide to travel into Gwaii Haanas independent of a guide are required to attend an orientation session that outlines the natural and cultural history of the area and how to conduct oneself so as to be respectful of that and minimize the human impacts of visitors. The strong cultural education ethos from Gwaii Haanas promotes respect and understanding of Haida culture amongst visitors and residents alike, spilling out of the protected area and into the communities. Through education there is an increase in support for the conservation and documentation of cultural knowledge, language and artifacts. A strong example of this can be seen in the Haida Heritage Centre at Kaay Illnagaay, where Haida artifacts are displayed, archeological research is conducted and educational opportunities are plentiful, as well as with the Skidegate Haida Immersion Program (SHIP) that works with elders to document and teach the Haida language. Today Haida is taught in the schools on Haida Gwaii and the strong revitalization effort is paying off and the language and culture are alive and strong. Although tourism within Gwaii Haanas is not responsible for the success of either initiative, cultural education that comes as part of the tourism contributes positively to the overall success of the programs. Moreover, Gwaii Haanas tourism operators take advantage of the Haida Heritage Centre helping to keep its doors open and its staff employed. Employment opportunities through the Haida Heritage Centre at Kaay Llnagaay and the Haida Watchman program are very important as they reinforce cultural links with land and sea, as well as educating visitors.

As with the economic effects, there are both positive and negative cultural effects. One major negative is the possibility of damage to cultural resources and artifacts, and areas of sacred significance through ignorance. Within Gwaii Haanas and elsewhere on

Haida Gwaii there are areas that are culturally sensitive that, unless told, the public would not know. Education is the best way to manage and mitigate damage through ignorance. Another challenge is the balance between education and entertainment. Throughout this research, the opinion that there is the potential for what are sometime perceived as inauthentic representations or "selling out" of culture by those who are not directly involved in the Gwaii Haanas tourism industry, was brought up. One interviewee told a story of visiting Ketchikan Alaska and seeing a performance by the local First Nation. After the performance, he was taken aside by one of the performers and invited to a feast to "*see the real thing*". In Gwaii Haanas, the Watchmen are their authentic selves and tourists are included public in events such as the legacy pole raising. The desire to maintain this authenticity is strong and, throughout the interviews, the only examples and stories of perceptions of lack of authenticity resulted from rumours and miscommunications that were quickly set straight.

4.4.3. Social Effects

There are social spin-offs of having tourism in Gwaii Haanas that affect the communities of Haida Gwaii. Education and training, community pride and community building all come as a result of Gwaii Haanas tourism. As was previously discussed, tourism brings employment opportunities, and with those come training and education opportunities. For example, Haida Watchmen receive training in cultural interpretation, wilderness first aid, boat driving and maintenance prior to beginning their postings in Gwaii Haanas. These skills and others that they pick up along the way are important to the job but also contribute to the overall skill level of the community and augment the

capacity and capability of the community and its members. Community pride and self esteem is built though having visitors come to see the place that some people call home. Within Gwaii Haanas a strong community amongst the tourism operators and Haida Watchmen has developed, as is discussed above. This sense of community extends beyond the boundaries of Gwaii Haanas to the people employed by, and involved in, tourism related organizations and companies. Through this Gwaii Haanas-centred community, existing social networks and connections are strengthened and new ones are developed, increasing a sense of belonging and connecting to place.

Having tourists spend time in the communities outside of Gwaii Haanas can lead to perceptions of crowding in local areas, as well as residents feeling as if they are on display. While neither of these came up as issues of major concern during the interviews, they are consequences of increased tourism and crowding at Watchman sites within Gwaii Haanas.

Crowding is highly subjective, so what looks empty to one person may seem overly crowded to another. In Gwaii Haanas tourists often go for a day or two without seeing another group, and the tourism operators communicate amongst themselves over the VHF radio to help make this happen. Many operators want their guests to experience the feeling of being the only ones exploring the wilds off Gwaii Haanas. This is becoming more challenging to achieve as more visitors come to Gwaii Haanas and spending time at the Watchman sites is becoming more popular. It is worth being cognisant of potential crowding issues, especially in remote wilderness areas, so as to ensure that social or ecological carrying capacity is not exceeded. A potential result of crowding is trampling and ecological damage through overuse of an area. Through

monitoring of areas at risk of damage by overuse, and communication between operators, Watchmen and Parks Canada staff, damage can be prevented.

In terms of locals feeling as if they are on display, that comes with tourism anywhere. Tourism operators, for the most part, are careful to ensure that their guests ask permission to take photos of people and are respectful, but there is no way to ensure that respect continues outside of Gwaii Haanas. Education and engagement of visitors by locals is the best way to ensure respect and understanding of the people, culture and society on Haida Gwaii.

Chapter 5. Conclusion and recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

Through this research, it has been shown that tourism within Gwaii Haanas is contributing to employment, social development, cultural pride and revitalization, and scientific observations to the communities of Haida Gwaii. While the benefits are not equally distributed amongst the communities, they are all benefit to some degree. There are many direct and indirect jobs that result from tourism operations in Gwaii Haanas that boost and diversify the economy, helping to shift reliance on resource extraction to a broader more sustainable economic base.

Gwaii Haanas tourism operators are currently supporting many local businesses in the communities of Haida Gwaii. With the support of those connections, and the strong working relationship with the AMB, tourism operators provide a world class experience to their guests. The ongoing success of Gwaii Haanas tourism is drawing increasing numbers to the region every year. Gwaii Haanas is built on a relationship between nations that overcame conflict and disagreement. While it is by no means perfect today, it has been highly successful in meeting its initial objective of protecting a uniquely beautiful part of the world for current and future generations. Balanced relationships that rely on respect, collaboration and communication are necessary for the ongoing success of what has been built thus far. As the industry continues to grow and expand, operators have indicated that they are open and willing to build new connections within the communities while keeping those that are already in place. Long-term sustainability and success of

tourism in Gwaii Haanas requires these ongoing relationships and connections with the communities to be maintained and for new ones to evolve with the industry.

Gwaii Haanas is built on a strong foundation, and is still a powerful agreement. The co-management agreement successfully provides the framework for governance that facilitates cultural and ecological conservation while supporting responsible nature-based and cultural tourism that feeds back into the communities of Haida Gwaii.

As the tourism industry grows and evolves, it is important that the growth does not exceed the capacity of the communities. The natural and social capital of Haida Gwaii strongly supports the nature-based and cultural tourism industry growing within Gwaii Haanas and across Haida Gwaii. The relationships and community connections that support Gwaii Haanas tourism can be expanded to create a support network for tourism development elsewhere on the islands. Careful management of tourism development moving forward is key to building and maintaining a truly sustainable nature-based and cultural tourism industry on Haida Gwaii.

Moving forward, the future of Gwaii Haanas is bright. Gwaii Haanas has many successes and strength, which combined with the findings of this research can support the management and development of nature-based and cultural tourism that aligns with the goals of the co-management agreement and positively contributes to the communities of Haida Gwaii. The findings of this research can directly contribute to the newest ten year Gwaii Haanas management plan that is in the process of being developed and assist in guiding future research to support responsible and sustainable tourism on Haida Gwaii.

5.2. Recommendations and future research

The following recommendations are intended for Gwaii Haanas management staff, including members of the AMB, the Gwaii Haanas tourism operator association and its members, as well as community members involved with tourism related businesses and organizations. Based on the findings of this research, they provide pathways and suggestions for ways to build on the current connections between Gwaii Haanas tourism and the communities of Haida Gwaii. The main suggestions that emerged from the research are:

1. Strengthen and broaden the community that already exists within Gwaii Haanas.
2. Support and expand the Haida Watchman program.
3. Develop better transportation infrastructure within and between the communities of Haida Gwaii.
4. Take steps to facilitate better flow of benefits into the communities and strengthen current connections.
5. Streamline the wildlife sightings log to reduce paperwork so that tourism operators can get involved in other research initiatives.
6. Involve youth and community members in tourism management decisions.
7. Plan to minimize the effects of crowding as tourism increases.
8. Ensure growth happens in a sustainable and responsible manner.
9. Mandate minimum community contributions of tourism operators

5.2.1. Recommendations

Strengthen and broaden the community that already exists with Gwaii Haanas

It would greatly benefit enforcement, knowledge sharing and community building if Parks Canada staff who are spending time on the water took time to get to know the tourism vessels that are working in Gwaii Haanas. Through this, informal lines of communication can be established, allowing for updates and concerns to be brought forward in an informal setting. Issues arising with wildlife, invasive species, unregistered Gwaii Haanas visitors, or use patterns, are noticed by tourism operators and can be reported more effectively and efficiently to enforcement officers who are in Gwaii Haanas, than waiting until the end of a trip to file an official report. For that to happen there needs to be familiarity and trust, both of which take time to build, but do eventually develop as the community network gets established. While wardens are there to enforce regulations, being part of the Gwaii Haanas community stands to benefit everyone involved and make the community stronger.

Support and expand the Haida Watchman program

The Haida Watchman program is a significant part of the Gwaii Haanas experience and should continue to be supported. As tourism in Gwaii Haanas grows, there will be a need for more Watchmen to be stationed at each village site to ensure they do not get over worked and burned out. Involving more youth and partnering them with more experienced Watchmen and elders will support intergenerational knowledge sharing and benefit the individuals, their communities and Gwaii Haanas tourism.

Develop better transportation infrastructure within and between the communities of Haida Gwaii.

Transportation infrastructure, including buses within and between communities, as well as more frequent ferry sailings between Skidegate and Alliford Bay, would be highly beneficial for locals and tourists alike. Public transportation development will support connectivity between communities and help spread benefits of Gwaii Haanas tourism more equally amongst communities allowing more travel between the south and north ends of Graham Island. With increased travel opportunities will come increased flow of benefits (i.e., tourists and tour operators using goods and services within the communities) from Gwaii Haanas to all of Graham Island.

Take steps to facilitate better flow of benefits into the communities and strengthen current connections

In addition to improving island-based transportation, steps can be taken to can be taken to bring more benefits into the communities from Gwaii Haanas tourism. Some simple actions such as ensuring that return-for-refund recyclables go to the Sandspit elementary school to help fund programs. Others steps include tour operators putting more effort into getting guests to stay longer on Haida Gwaii after spending time in Gwaii Haanas, or assisting Haida Gwaii artists to come together and build a schedule for when they are open so as to better connect them with tourists who are looking to buy art.

Streamline the wildlife sightings logs to reduce paperwork and increase time for tourism operators to get involved in other research initiatives.

Parks Canada and the BC Cetacean Sightings Network are interested in similar wildlife sightings data. Recording all sightings in one place would make it easier on tourism operators and potentially free up time and energy for them to become more involved in other research projects as they develop.

Involve youth and community members in tourism management decisions

Tourism is set to continue growing as Haida Gwaii becomes better known around the world. Involving youth and community members in tourism management decisions that affect the communities would likely increase local investment and long term buy-in. Youth are future leaders within the communities. Involving youth in decision making gives them a voice in the shaping the future of their communities and their islands.

Plan to minimize effects of crowding as tourism increases

Crowding is a potential issue both within Gwaii Haanas and within the communities of Haida Gwaii. While some measures are already in place to mitigate issues associated with crowding in Gwaii Haanas, increasing trail development, highlighting alternate sites of interest, and maintaining careful group size management will assist in minimizing the possibility of exceeding the social and ecological carrying capacity in any one area. In the communities and elsewhere on Haida Gwaii development and maintenance of appropriate infrastructure is necessary to reduce over use and crowding of public spaces.

Ensure growth happens in a sustainable responsible manner

Community based growth of Haida Gwaii tourism will ensure that growth does not exceed the ability of the communities and capacity of people, resources and skills that are available on island. The communities hold a lot of creativity and potential that could be harnessed to help infrastructure development and maintenance to keep pace with the current tourism levels as well and take steps in anticipation of future growth, while still supporting the needs of the communities. There are many opportunities for development

that will support local residents and tourists alike including building public washrooms in the communities, transportation infrastructure such as busses and bike paths, as well as increased ferry sailings.

Mandate minimum community contributions of tourism operators

The current level of community contribution from Gwaii Haanas permitted operators is high despite there being no mandated minimum requirement. To help maintain and build on the present level, it is recommended that as part of the Gwaii Haanas permitting process, operators be required to ensure that their guests are spending at least one night in local accommodation before or after spending time in the protected area. Mandating a minimum contribution such as this would ensure that the level of community contributions do not decrease in the future, and would help increase awareness around the importance of the community - tour operator connections.

5.2.2. Future Research

Future research opportunities have been identified that would facilitate greater understanding of tourism within Gwaii Haanas and on Haida Gwaii. The scope of this research was not broad enough to look at the benefits of all tourism on Haida Gwaii, but rather focused on those specific to tourism within Gwaii Haanas. Future research examining the benefits and challenges of different aspects of the tourism industry on Haida Gwaii as a whole, would be highly beneficial in understanding the big picture of the contributions of all tourism to Haida Gwaii. In particular, a study addressing the benefits and challenges to communities from the sport fishing industry, as well as one

focused on understanding the needs of independent travelers coming to Haida Gwaii would help to round out the understanding. These, in conjunction with the research reported here, would highlight which aspects of Haida Gwaii tourism are contributing most to the communities and the needs of the tourists that are seeking to explore Haida Gwaii on their own. Such information would be very helpful in guiding tourism development to best serve the communities of Haida Gwaii for sustainable long term success.

References

- Armitage, D., Berkes, F., and Doubleday, N. eds. (2007). *Adaptive Co-management: Collaborative Learning and Multi-level Governance*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.
- Bear, J.(Producer) and Jones, M. (Director) (2003). *Athlii Gwaii: The Line at Lyell*. Film. Canada: Ravens and Eagles.
- Bell, M. (1999a). *The Changing Face of Community Development in the North: From the Power Paradigm to the Spirit Paradigm*. Yellowknife: Inukshuk Management Consultants.
- Bell, M. (1999b). *Creating Public Government in Nunavut – The Life-Place Model*. Yellowknife: Inukshuk Management Consultants.
- Bell, M (2000). *Recreation: A Tool for Community Development and Capacity Building in Aboriginal Communities*. Thunder Bay, Ontario: Recreation Northwest.
- Bennett, N. and Dearden, P. (2012). *From Outcomes to Inputs: What is Required to Achieve the Ecological and Socio-Economic Potential of Marine Protected Areas?* Victoria, Canada: University of Victoria.
- Bennett, N. Lemelin, R.H., Koster, R. and Budke, I. (2012). A capital assets framework for appraising and building capacity for tourism development in aboriginal protected area gateway communities. *Tourism Management*, 33, 752-766.
- Berkes, F. (1994). Co-management: Bridging the two solitudes. *Northern Perspectives*, 22(3), 18-20.
- Butler, R and Hinch, T. (2007), *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heineman
- Buultjens, J. Gale, D. and White, N.E. (2010) Synergies between Australian indigenous tourism and ecotourism: possibilities and problems for future development. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18(4), 497-513.
- Ceballos-Lascurain, H. (1996). *Tourism, ecotourism, and protected areas: The state of nature-based tourism around the world and guidelines for its development*. Cambridge, UK: IUCN.
- Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing Grounded Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Coghlan, A. and Buckley, R. (2013). Nature-based tourism. In Holden, A., Fennell, D.(Eds.). *Routledge Handbook of Tourism and the Environment*. Routledge
- Colton, J. and Harris, S. (2007). Indigenous ecotourism's role in community development: the case of the Lennox Island First Nation. In Butler,R. and Hinch, T (Eds.), *Tourism and indigenous peoples: Issues and implications* (pp. 220-233). Oxford, UK: Butterworth Heinemann.
- Council of the Haida Nation (2016). *New Cabin Stirs past memories*. Retrieved March 21, 2017 from: <https://haidanation.wordpress.com/2016/07/14/new-cabin-stirs-past-memories/>
- Council of the Haida Nation (2017). Agreements. Retrieved Mar 21, 2017 from: <http://www.haidanation.ca/Pages/Agreements/pdfs/GHMarineAgreement.pdf>
- Desforges, JP., Galbraith, M. and Ross, P. (2015). Ingestion of microplastics by zooplankton in the northeast Pacific Ocean. *Arch Environ Contam Toxicol*. 69 (320).
- Diamantis, D., and Westlake, J. (2001). Ecolabelling in the context of sustainable tourism and eco-tourism. In Font X. and Buckley R.C. (Eds.), *Ecolabelling: Certification and promotion of sustainable management* (pp. 27–40). Wallingford, UK: CABI.
- Doyle, M., Watson, W., Bowlin, N. and Sheavly, S. (2011). Plastic particles in coastal pelagic ecosystems of the northeast Pacific Ocean. *Marine Environmental Research*, 71(1), 41-52.
- Edenshaw, J. (2013). *The Gwaii Haanas Legacy Pole*. Produced by Parks Canada and the Haida Nation. Canada. Retrieved from www.youtube.com/watch?v=vT4Yc9ask58
- Fisheries and Oceans Canada. 2014. *Management Plan for the Sea Otter (Enhydra lutris) in Canada*. Species at Risk Act Management Plan Series. Ottawa: Fisheries and Oceans Canada.
- Gill, I. (2009). *All That We Say Is Ours: Guujaaw and the Reawakening of the Haida Nation*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.
- Goodwin, H. (2002). Local Community Involvement in Tourism around National Parks: Opportunities and Constraints. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 5(3), 338-360.
- Griggs, J. (1991). Developing Cooperative Management Systems for Common Property Resources: Resolving Cross - Cultural Conflict in a West Coast Fishery. University of British Columbia School of Community and Regional Planning, Canadian Planning Issues Paper No.29.

- Gwaii Haanas Agreement (1993). Council of the Haida Nation and Government of Canada. Retrieved February 9, 2017 from:
<http://www.haidanation.ca/Pages/Agreements/pdfs/GwaiiHaanasAgreement.pdf>
- Hawkes, S. (1996). The Gwaii Haanas Agreement: From conflict to cooperation. *Environments*, 23(2), 87-100.
- Heck, N. and Dearden, P. (2012). Local Expectations for Future Marine Protected Area Performance: A Case Study of the Proposed National Marine Conservation Area in the Southern Strait of Georgia. *Canada, Coastal Management*, 40(6), 577-593.
- Hinch, T. D., and Butler, R. (1996). Indigenous tourism: a common ground for discussion. In Butler, R. and Hinch, T. (Eds.), *Tourism and indigenous peoples*. Toronto: International Thomson Business Press.
- Islands Protection Society (1984). *Islands at the Edge: Preserving the Queen Charlotte Islands Wilderness*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.
- Johnson, K., and Nelson, K. C. (2004). Common property and conservation: The potential for effective communal forest management within a National Park in Mexico. *Human Ecology*, 32(6), 703–733.
- Jones, R., C. Rigg, and E. Pinkerton (2017). Strategies for assertion of conservation and local management rights: A Haida Gwaii herring story. *Marine Policy*, 80, 154–167.
- Kudryavtsev, A., Stedman, R. and Krasny, M.E. (2012). Sense of place in environmental education. *Environmental Education Research*, 18(2), 229-250.
- Lee, L. (2012). *People, Land & Sea: Environmental Governance on Haida Gwaii*. Paper prepared for the Action Canada Northern Conference, Haida Gwaii.
- Loucks, L., Thicke, C., White, B., Bird, G., and Harris, R. (2015). Pacific Rim Education Tourism Market Research and Strategy Development. Final Report. Tofino: Clayoquot Biosphere Trust.
- Lynch, M., Duinker, P., Sheehan, L. and Chute, J. (2010) Sustainable Mi'kmaw cultural tourism development in Nova Scotia, Canada: examining cultural tourist and Mi'kmaw perspectives. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18(4), 539-556.
- MacHattie, B. and Wolfe-Keddie, J. (2000). *Mi'kmaw of a Sacred Bay – Lennox Island Aboriginal Ecotourism Strategy: Ten-year Strategic Planning Process 1999-2009*. Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph.
- Mason, K. (2004). Sound and meaning in Aboriginal tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(4), 837 - 854.

- Misty Isles Economic Development Society. (2014). *Hiada Gwaii business directory*. Haida Gwaii: MIEDS.
- Nepal, S. (2002). Involving indigenous peoples in protected area management: comparative perspectives from Nepal, Thailand and China. *Environmental Management*, 30, 748–763.
- Nurse-Bray, M., and Rist, P. (2009). Co-management and protected area management: Achieving effective management of a contested site, lessons from the Great Barrier Reef World Heritage Area (GBRWA). *Marine Policy*, 33(1), 118–127.
- Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Parks Canada. (2002). Marine Wildlife viewing. Haida Gwaii: Parks Canada.
- Parks Canada. (2012). Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, National Marine Conservation Area Reserve, and Haida Heritage Site. Ottawa: Parks Canada.
- Parks Canada. (2014). Code of Ethics for Travellers. Retrieved March 25, 2017 from: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/visit/visit7/visit7b.aspx>
- Parks Canada. (2015). Land Sea People draft for review. Haida Gwaii: Parks Canada.
- Parks Canada (2016a). The People. Retrieved March 21, 2017 from: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/natcul/natcul3.aspx>.
- Parks Canada (2016b). Number of Visitors to Gwaii Haanas National Park and Haida Heritage Site in Canada from 2011 to 2016 (in Thousands). Retrieved Feb 15, 2017 from: <https://www-statista-com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/statistics/501631/visitors-to-gwaii-haanas-national-park/>.
- Parks Canada, (2016c). The Archipelago Management Board. Retrieved Jan 25, 2017 from: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/plan/Plan1A.aspx>.
- Parks Canada (2017). Liscenced tour operators. Retrieved March 4, 2017 from <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/visit/visit7.aspx>.
- Paulson, S., Gezon, L and Watts, M. (2003). Locating the political in political ecology: an introduction. *Human Organization*, 62(3), 205-217.
- Pinkerton, E. (1989). *Co - operative Management of Local Fisheries: New Directions for Improved Management and Community Development*. University of British Columbia Press: Vancouver.

- Pinkerton, E. (1992). Translating legal rights into management practice: overcoming barriers to the exercise of co-management. *Human Organization*, 51(4), 330–341.
- Pinkerton, E. (2003). Toward Specificity in Complexity. In Wilson, D.C., Neilsen, J.R., and Degnbol, P. (Eds.). *The Fisheries Co-Management Experience: accomplishments, challenges and prospects*. Kluwer: Boston.
- Plummer, R. and Fennell, D. (2009). Managing protected areas for sustainable tourism: prospects for adaptive co-management. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 17(2), 149–168.
- Reed, M. G. (1990). *Managing for Sustainable Development: A Case Study of a Hinterland Community, Ignace, Ontario, Canada*. Doctoral Thesis, Department of Geography: University of Waterloo.
- Reid, H. K., Fig, D., Magome, H., and Leader-Williams, N. (2004). Co-management of contractual national parks in South Africa: lessons from Australia. *Conservation and society* 2(2), 377–410.
- Renn, O. and Walker, K. (2008). *Global Risk Governance, Concept and Practice Using the IRGC Framework*. Geneva, Switzerland: Springer Science & Business Media.
- Rubin, H. J., and I. S. Rubin. (2011). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Schliessler, T. (Producer), and Wilkinson, C. (Director). (2015). *Haida Gwaii: on the Edge of the World*. Canada: Knowledge Network.
- Statistics Canada, (2017). Skeena-Queen Charlotte regional district [census division]. Retrieved March 21, 2017 from: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/censusrecensement/2016/geo/geosearchgeorecherche/in dexeng.cfm?LANG=E&DGUID=2016A00055947804>.
- Takeda, L., and Røpke, I. (2010). Power and contestation in collaborative ecosystem-based management: The case of Haida Gwaii. *Ecological Economics*, 70(2), 178–188.
- Takeda, L. (2015). *Island Spirit Rising: Reclaiming the Forests of Haida Gwaii*. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.
- Thomlinson, E., and Crouch, G. (2012). Aboriginal peoples, Parks Canada, and protected spaces: a case study in co-management at Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 15(1) 69–86.
- Tourism BC. (2005). *Characteristics of the Commercial Nature-Based Tourism Industry in British Columbia*.

- Tourism BC. (2009). Wildlife viewing product overview. Vancouver: Tourism BC.
- United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2011). *Handbook on Tourism Product Development*. Madrid, Spain: United Nations.
- Von der Porten, S. (2010). *Study: Social Innovation by the Haida Nation* (Vol. 3).
- Williams, P. W., and Richter, C. (2002). Developing and supporting European tour operator distribution channels for Canadian Aboriginal tourism development. *Journal of Travel Research*, 40(4), 404-415.
- Warry, W. (2000). *Unfinished Dreams: Community Healing and the Reality of Aboriginal Self-government*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Wearing, S. and Harris, M. (2011). An approach to training for indigenous ecotourism development. *World Leisure and Recreation* 41(2), 9-17.
- Wild Whales (2017). Logbook program. Retrieved Mar 2,2017 from:
<https://wildwhales.org/sightings-network/logbook-program/>.
- Windsor Star (2017). Lyell Island: Land of Conflict. Retrieved March 23, 2017 from:
<http://www.windsorstar.com/travel/Photos+Lyell+Island+Land+conflict/3821157/story.html>.
- Zeppel, H. (2006). *Indigenous Ecotourism: Sustainable Development and Management*. Wallingford, UK: CABI.
- Zeppel, H. (2007). Indigenous ecotourism: conservation and resource rights. In Higham, J. (Ed.), *Critical Issues in Ecotourism*. (pp. 309- 348). Oxford, UK: Butterworth Heinemann.

Appendix A. Interview Questions

Interview Questions:

Questions for Gwaii Haanas Permitted Tourism Operators

Company Background:

1. Where is the company based?
2. What kind of tourism do they engage in?
3. Do they operate in other regions as well as Gwaii Haanas?

Interview Questions:

1. How many of your clients spend time on island before or after their trip into Gwaii Haanas?
2. What percentage of your guests come to Haida Gwaii specifically for your trips into Gwaii Haanas?
3. Do you engage your guests in cultural activities outside of Gwaii Haanas? If so which ones? (museums, art galleries, traditional meals etc.)
 - a. Are there other forms of connection to local communities and culture that they might enjoy while on Haida Gwaii, that your company could facilitate?
4. What local services does your company use on Haida Gwaii? (e.g., fuel, provisions, accommodations, etc.)
5. How many of your employees are residents of Haida Gwaii?
6. What are aspects of tourism within Gwaii Haanas that you can see currently benefitting local communities?
7. Are there things you would like to see the Gwaii Haanas tourism operators do in future?
8. Are there aspects that are negatively impacting the communities on island?
9. Do you have a long-term vision for Gwaii Haanas tourism?
10. Are you currently collecting any data (marine mammal sightings, birds, weather, unusual occurrences, etc.?) during your voyages into Gwaii Haanas?
 - a. How and where are you currently sharing that data?
 - b. What additional data are you positioned to collect, and are you willing to do?

Questions for Key Informants from Haida Gwaii Communities

Individual Background

1. Which community do you live in?
2. How have you been involved in tourism on Haida Gwaii?
3. What do you currently do?

Interview Questions

1. How do you see tourism impacting the social, cultural and economic aspects of Haida Gwaii communities?
2. What are aspects of tourism within Gwaii Haanas that you can see currently benefitting local communities?
3. Do you see negative aspects of having tourism within Gwaii Haanas?
4. Do you know how much (percentage) of employment in your community or on island is from tourism?
5. How do you see the Watchman program affecting the community?
 - a. Successes?
 - b. Challenges?
6. How is tourism perceived within the community?
 - a. Are there concerns about selling out?
7. How would you like to see tourism go in the future?
 - a. Is there room for growth?
8. Are there things you would like to see the Gwaii Haanas tourism operators do in future?
 - a. Are there ways they could be more involved or more connected with the communities?
9. Do you have a long-term vision for Gwaii Haanas tourism and how you would like to see it move into the future?

Appendix B. Haida words and place names

Table 11. Haida words, phrases and place names

Haida word/ Place name	English translation/ Place name
Gwaii Haanas	Islands of beauty
Haida Gwaii	Islands of the people
Hawa'a	Thank you
Haida	People
Llnagaay	Village or town
Gwaii, Gwaay	Island(s)
Athlii Gwaii	Lyell Island
Hlk'yah GaawGa	Windy Bay
Kaay Llnagaay	Sea Lion Town

Appendix C. Population of Haida Gwaii

Table 12. Population distribution on Haida Gwaii according to Statistics Canada census 2016.

Community/region	2016 Population
Moresby Island Rural Areas	44
Tlell	183
Port Clements	282
Sandspit	296
Graham Island Rural Areas	539
Old Masset	555
Masset	793
Skidegate	837
Queen Charlotte	852
Total Haida Gwaii	4381