

Incorporating Indigenous Voices: The Struggle for Increased Representation in Jasper National Park

By

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the lack of Indigenous representation in Jasper National Park (JNP) and the negative impacts it has on Indigenous communities and their relationship with JNP management. These representational issues foster the formation and dissemination of problematic Indigenous stereotypes and reinforce pan-Indigenous notions in Jasper and Canada. Relying on Indigenous Methodologies, I conducted semi-structured interviews with members of the Jasper Indigenous Forum (JIF) and JNP management which helped address a gap in knowledge as there are so few scholarly works on this issue, particularly in national parks. The findings from this research clearly indicated that while JNP management and the JIF have some overlapping priorities, they have different levels of understandings about the obstacles each group faces. Unequal power dynamics became evident in this research, which suggests a desire among JNP management to maintain the status quo. The research participants identified several areas of concern: Indigenous histories and cultures presented from non-Indigenous perspectives; a lack of cultural awareness training for JNP staff; the presence of culturally insensitive structures in JNP; inadequate time to meet on issues; and a lack of consultation. These key issues are examined in great detail in an effort to increase culturally appropriate representation in JNP and offer some viable solutions to help reconcile the past and move forward to address some of the concerns of Indigenous peoples in Jasper.

Keywords: Indigenous, Representation, Jasper, JIF, JNP, Stereotypes, Interpretation, Reconciliation, History, Traditional

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Dedication

This research is dedicated to my grandfather, Basil H. Johnston, who worked tirelessly in his writing, teaching and research to ensure our Anishinaabe language and stories were preserved to be passed on to the next generations.

PART ONE

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

National parks hold an important place in the identities of many Canadians. They protect and present some of the most beautiful landscapes on the planet and are home to a wide variety of wildlife species. Every year millions of national and international tourists visit Canadian national parks to take in the immense beauty and to learn about Canadian history. National parks play an important role in preserving vital ecosystems, however that was not the original intention behind the creation of these protected areas. Early national parks, including Jasper National Park (JNP) (*See Appendix 1 and 2*), were created in a colonial mindset. They were designed to promote nation building and increase railway profits through making these areas more attractive to tourists (Binnema and Niemi, 2006; Dearden and Berg, 1993; Fluker, 2009; Locke, 2009). Resource extraction was another revenue source for the Rocky Mountain National Parks. While borders of these parks were altered on several occasions to accommodate resource-extraction industries, these parks were originally promoted as pure, untouched wildernesses (Mason, 2014). Therein lies the source of many issues that would develop over the 20th century, such as the ideas that Indigenous peoples did not actively manage and rely on these lands since time immemorial.

Indigenous peoples have been living on and managing the lands redefined as the Rocky Mountain Parks since time immemorial. This dissolved the illusion of an Edenic wilderness (Sandlos, 2008). In order to achieve the ideal empty landscapes that railway companies and national park officials were promoting to tourists, national park officials began the process of forcibly removing Indigenous peoples from their traditional lands inside these newly established parks (Binnema and Niemi, 2006; Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012). Until changes to the National Parks Act in 2000, Indigenous peoples were banned from practicing their traditional subsistence practices and ceremonies within national park boundaries (Langdon, Prosper, and Gagnon, 2010). Changes have been slow and minimal when they have occurred at all. The Jasper National Parks 2010 Management Plan and several Parks Canada management plans speak to the promotion of progress to make changes to the organization in order to become more inclusive of Indigenous voices (Promising Pathways, 2015; This Land is Our Teacher, 2015; State of Canada's Natural and Cultural Heritage Places, 2016; Jasper National Park of Canada Management Plan, 2010). However, this progress has

stemmed from government policy changes due to land claims, historical treaties and supreme court victories in favour of Indigenous land rights and title (Langdon *et al*, 2010; Turner and Bitoni, 2011; Usher, 2003). While Indigenous land rights are being recognized across Canada, incorporating those rights in practice is an incredibly slow process. As the largest national park in the Canadian Rockies, spanning 11,228 square kilometers (Jasper National Park of Canada Management Plan, 2010), Jasper National Park has a unique set of challenges, but also many opportunities when it comes to working with Indigenous peoples whose traditional territory encompasses virtually all of the park lands (Watson, 2018).

JNP management currently collaborates with 26 Indigenous communities (*See Appendix 3*), who have traditional ties to the park, on a variety of projects. The acknowledgment of these traditional ties is based by JNP managements Open-Door Policy which accepts claims of traditional connections by local Indigenous groups. This policy is discussed further in each chapter. These communities make up the Jasper Indigenous Forum (*JIF*), an unofficial advisory committee that provides input to park management. Although park management works with many diverse Indigenous groups, Indigenous representation in JNP is severely lacking. The park histories that are shared through literature overwhelmingly profile European histories. These highlight European explorers and discoveries, while simultaneously glossing over the rich Indigenous histories of the park. Interpretive programming and signage that attempts to address aspects of local Indigenous histories and cultures are done so from a Eurocentric point of view. This serves to perpetuate stereotypes of Indigenous cultures and histories, such as the idea that all Indigenous peoples are the same, interacting with Europeans in the same ways, and not having distinct cultures or languages. This is often perpetuated by homogenizing Indigenous peoples through general statements about their cultures rather than acknowledging their distinctiveness. These Eurocentric perspectives undervalue Indigenous histories in Canada and fail to embrace the vast diversity of Canada's Indigenous peoples.

This pan-Indianism¹ is further endorsed by the Haida totem pole that stands in the center of the town of Jasper, which promotes a northwestern coastal Indigenous culture that has no traditional connection to Jasper. Meanwhile, there is nothing to acknowledge local Indigenous cultures. This is misleading for visitors to the park, who then can go on to disseminate stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous cultures and histories presented through interpretive programming and signage from non-Indigenous perspectives can form large gaps in knowledge as Indigenous peoples are not consulted about what aspects of their cultures should, or could, be shared. This type of misrepresentation leads to marginalization and stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. In this thesis, I will

argue that Increasing consultation with Indigenous groups over interpretive content will not only combat negative stereotypes, but it will also form better relationships between Indigenous groups and JNP management.

Park management has shown a desire to work with local Indigenous communities to increase Indigenous representation in the park, but there is also a lack of understanding of local cultures and histories as well as Indigenous ways of sharing knowledge. According to researcher Megan Youdelis (2016), this desire may simply extend to presenting aspects of Indigenous cultures that do not threaten the existing power dynamic that exists in the park. Jasper Indigenous Forum members have outstanding requests that would see park management further address the misrepresentation issues faced by local Indigenous communities. This study centers on the issues faced by park management and the Jasper Indigenous Forum that impedes the proper and respectful representation of Indigenous peoples in the park. One objective of this study was to determine why Indigenous histories and cultures remain under or misrepresented in the park despite the joint work of park management and many local Indigenous groups. Additionally, this research provides recommendations to increase the effectiveness of the collaborations between park management and the JIF based on input from individuals from both groups. This study is guided by Indigenous research methodologies. Data were collected using semi-structured interviews with members of JNPs management team and representatives from the JIF. The interviews explored issues around stereotyping, sharing knowledge, educating park staff and visitors, timelines, government bureaucracy, cultural connections, relationships between park management and local Indigenous communities, and negative implications of misrepresentation as they relate to Indigenous representations and interpretations in JNP.

Another key objective of this study was to address the lack of self-representation of Indigenous cultures and histories in JNP. Understanding the circumstances that have allowed park management to continually under and misrepresent Indigenous peoples through interpretive programming and signage motivated a set of recommendations on how to increase Indigenous representation and self-representation in the park. As a government agency promoting reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, JNP management has a moral duty to work closely with the JIF to address their concerns and outstanding issues, most of which are related to the marginalization and stereotypes that has negatively impacted Indigenous communities.

This study addresses the following key questions: 1) What is the consultation process between Jasper National Park management and the JIF pertaining to Indigenous interpretive programming and

signage?; 2) What processes are in place to help facilitate communication between park management and the JIF and how effective are these processes?; 3) How can Indigenous communities have more influence and involvement over the ways their cultures are represented in Jasper National Park?; 4) How receptive is park management to Indigenous communities asserting more control over the cultural and historical content in Indigenous interpretive programming and signage?; and, 5) Does park management recognize the negative stereotypes perpetuated by the misrepresentation of Indigenous cultures and histories in Jasper National Park?

Literature Review

The Creation of Parks Canada and the Exclusion of Indigenous Peoples

The history of Canadian national parks is well documented, providing details about the dates and locations of each park. Where the details get less clear is around the initial conception of what national parks are, who they are designed for, and what impacts they facilitated in local communities. In 1832, American artist George Catlin advocated for the creation of protected places to protect and present the hunting lifestyle of the Plains Indian and bison which both depended on the local grassland ecology (Sadler, 1989). Three decades later, in 1864, land around Yosemite Valley was protected by the U.S. government for preservation and public use as Yosemite National Park. This was followed by the creation of the world's first national park, Yellowstone, in 1872 (Sadler, 1989; Wolfley, 2016). The creation of those American parks spurred Canada to develop its first National Park. Banff began as Banff Hot Springs Reserve in 1885, becoming Rocky Mountains National Park in 1887, then, after a final name change in 1930, it became Banff National Park (Mason, 2014). The creation of Rocky Mountains National Park was followed by Glacier and Yoho National Parks in 1886 and Waterton Lakes National Park in 1895 (MacLaren, 2007). Prompted by plans to construct a second transcontinental railway, Jasper Forest Park, later becoming Jasper National Park, was established in 1907 as a way to protect valuable tourism land (MacLaren, 2007). In the 21st century, most Canadians view national parks as a haven for wildlife and the protection of ecosystems that support them from resource extraction practices. However, that was not the original purpose of national parks.

Locke (2009: 104) indicates what motivated early conceptions of national parks through a quote about Banff from Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. McDonald, who said: "This section of the country should be at once brought into usefulness, that people should be encouraged to come there, that hotels should be built." The main goal for early park creation was colonial in nature,

designed to promote nation-building and increase Canadian Pacific Railway profits (Fluker, 2009; Dearden and Berg, 1993; Locke, 2009) as park management's goals were to improve the park to make it more attractive to tourists (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). Many of the Fathers of Confederation were also wealthy railway barons who had a vested interest in drawing in people to use the CPR. The national parks formed in the Canadian Rockies were "designated specifically to protect land, not for conservation, but as a destination for railway tourists" (Dearden and Berg, 1993: 197). The creation of Banff National Park was a joint venture between the government of Canada and the CPR as a way to increase tourism revenue. Conservation concerns were not paramount while centralizing control of the mountain landscape in the hands of the railroads and restricting access to the region were key objectives (Mason, 2008, 2014; Binnema and Niemi, 2006). William Cornelius Van Horne, president of CPR in the late-1800s stated: "If we can't export the scenery, we'll import the tourists" (Locke, 2009: 104). Parks Commissioner, James Harkin, pointed out that "nothing attracts tourists like National Parks. National Parks provide the chief means of bringing to Canada a stream of tourists and a stream of tourist gold" (Mason, 2014: 82). Harking also stated that "helping to promote tourist traffic...is one of the best paying businesses that any district could have" (MacLaren, 2007: 183). Between 1885 to 1971, most park management decisions were most heavily influenced by business desires, such as increasing tourism, and not by any conservation or preservation needs (Dearden and Berg, 1993). The boundaries of Rocky Mountains Park were actually altered on several occasions in order to accommodate increased resource-extraction industries and Commissioner Harkin used an economic argument to expand the national parks system after 1910 (Mason, 2014).

Shultis and Heffner (2016) point out that parks are viewed as places that are separate from human development, places that link visitors with nature but do not damage the environment directly. In discussions around protected areas, there is a general belief among conservation biologists that conservation may require the removal of people (Shultis and Heffner, 2016). However, before the establishment of national parks, these protected areas had been significantly modified by humans since time immemorial. As Snow (2005) points out, technological developments do not make a group wiser. European technologies gave early settlers of the west a sense of superiority, but they did not consider the environmental wisdom shared by many of the Indigenous groups who have been living, hunting, and managing the lands long before the arrival of Europeans. In contrast to western ideas of empty wilderness, it is difficult to imagine any natural environment that has not been significantly altered by human activity and culture (Mason, 2014). Fortress conservation models were often the foundation of early national parks, as they were based on militarized, top-down control (Timko and

Satterfield, 2008). This model focused on the complete exclusion of permanent residents in the parks, except for the few exceptions where there are townsites located in the park. Specifically, Indigenous peoples are excluded from this model as it does not consider the impacts that outside forces (e.g. air and water pollution) have on the park, only forces directly within the park (e.g. hunting). A part of the discourse around Indigenous peoples in the park was the European idea that Indigenous people “were not, and are not, purposeful in their interactions with the environment” (Shultis and Heffner, 2016: 1233), which provided justifications to the government to take over control of the management of these protected areas.

The creation of the mountain national parks allowed the CPR to offer pure views of the mountains to wealthy tourists (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). To get this pure view and produce “the illusion of an Edenic wilderness” (Sandlos, 2008: 189), park officials began the process of forcibly removing Indigenous people from the newly established parks (Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012; Binnema and Niemi, 2006). This removal was done, in part, to cement the Canadian identity ideal of a vast northern wilderness. This concept required the removal of Indigenous peoples from these landscapes to “uphold the fallacy of an empty, pure landscape and to evoke a [*European*] national identity” (Shultis and Heffner, 2016: 1234).

Park officials today reference environmental and conservation concerns as the main driving idea behind the forced removals of Indigenous people from National Parks (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). However, the environmentalists’ wilderness movement (push for wilderness conservation) did not even begin until the late 1920s (Dearden and Berg, 1993), and most people in North America did not view wilderness as a place devoid of humans prior to World War II (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). Snow (2005) points out that the conservation movement emerged from a capitalist-oriented society. These societies never understood Indigenous cultures and traditional practices, and thus viewed them as inferior to their perceived European superiority. The idea of areas void of humans is a European concept, one that was built upon by a desire to increase tourism profits to the CPR. Early tourist access to these parks was primarily by rail. As a result, the railway companies controlled the marketing for what they called the Canadian Alps. This allowed them to create ideas of wilderness and natural spaces and promote colonial ideas of nation-building. As MacLaren (2007) notes, these are paradoxical ideas that were being promoted. On the one hand this wilderness was something to be conquered, while on the other it was being presented as untouchable. These parks and protected areas were presented to the urban elite as a break from society (Mason, 2014). In order to deliver on

this romantic notion of empty wilderness, Indigenous peoples needed to be removed and their traditional practices stopped.

To justify the exclusion of Indigenous people from the park, the first superintendent of Banff, George Stewart, wrote, in 1887, "It is of great importance that if possible the Indians should be excluded from the Park. Their destruction of the game and depredation among the ornamental trees make their too frequent visits to the park a matter of great concern" (Binnema and Niemi, 2006: 729). In 1886, Fisheries Commissioner William F. Whitcher produced a report on the state of the mountain ecosystem. In the report he suggested that exemptions should not be made for Indigenous hunters to use these lands for their subsistence practices, despite their treaty rights. Whitcher spoke of Indigenous people invading park territory for subsistence practices, while claiming they were well cared for on their reserves, in food and clothing, at the public expense (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). Partly due to this report, Rocky Mountain Park superintendent George Stewart, in 1895, recommended that Indigenous peoples be permanently excluded from the park to protect wildlife (Mason, 2014). Once again, this had little to do with conservation. Hunting for subsistence was considered "uncivilized" and moving Indigenous peoples to reserves and severely limiting their rights to traditional practices would force them into the supposedly more "civilized" lifestyle of agriculture (Sandlos, 2008). Government Indigenous policies, around subsistence and cultural practices, were firmly rooted in the nineteenth-century European assumption that their civilization was more superior than any other lifestyle (Snow, 2005). Indigenous hunters were consistently blamed for lower numbers of game animals, while other factors were not considered. The Department of Indian Affairs even acknowledged that the construction of the CPR and the increased number of tourists in the area had significantly impacted Indigenous hunting success, indicating that Indigenous hunters were not solely to blame for lower game populations (Binnema and Niemi, 2006; Snow, 2005). Between 1885 and 1888, the success of Stoney/Nakoda hunters dropped significantly. This was attributed to the completion of the CPR, which not only disturbed wildlife, but brought in a large influx of farmers, ranchers and miners to the region (Mason 2014). In 1929, M. Christianson, an Inspector of Indian Agencies, reviewed the claim made by Rocky Mountains National Park officials that Indigenous peoples would be better off back on their reserve. Christianson found that "no charge is made against the Indians to the effect that they are giving any trouble whatever, it is simply a matter of the Parks Branch wanting to get rid of them" (Snow, 2005: 121). This makes it clear that the main goal behind Indigenous exclusion was not only to create an unhabitated wilderness, but also in order to produce landscapes that were abundant in wild game for both sport hunters and tourists alike.

Researchers have noted that upper-class sport hunters had the greatest influence over the loss of hunting rights for Indigenous people, as they ensured that only true “gentleman” hunters would be able to access fish and game (Sandlos, 2008; Binnema and Niemi, 2006). American conservationist and sportsman William T. Hornaday wrote that this Sportsman’s Code of Ethics was adopted in Canada. According to this code, Indigenous hunters violate the ethics by hunting for food, whereas Hornaday states that gentleman hunters only hunt for sport and trophies (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). Indigenous subsistence practices did not fit into this code, as it originated with the Euro-Canadian urban elite who shared a very different understanding of the purpose of hunting. Sport hunting was a large and growing tourism industry, and thus had financial and political power. In the early 1900s, tourism posed little or no threat to preserving the natural state of the Canadian Rockies. Of course, by the completion of the Calgary-Banff Coach Road in 1914, this was beginning to be reconsidered (MacLaren, 2007). In 1893, the Calgary Rod and Gun Club stressed the importance of enforcing the Indigenous pass system, to preserve game for non-Indigenous hunters and the tourism elite (Mason, 2014). The pass system, enforced after the 1885 Métis Red River Rebellion, was a colonial assimilation system that required Indigenous peoples to have permission to leave their reserves (Snow, 2005).

In an ironic twist, in the mid-1990s, Indigenous communities began to reassert their traditional hunting rights throughout Canadian parks and protected areas. In many cases, these subsistence rights were guaranteed to them in various treaties. This was met with notable resistance from non-Indigenous hunters who claimed that “native harvesting rights are undemocratic because they confer special privileges on one group of people” (Beltran, 2000: 64). Not only did Indigenous subsistence hunting not harm the environment, recent research suggests that small-scale human disturbance, such as Indigenous hunting and land use at various times throughout the year, can increase species diversity and improve overall function of the ecological system (Shultis and Heffner, 2016; Doberstein and Devin, 2004).

Conservation appears not to have been the goal of Indigenous displacement and exclusion from the park, as the laws created to protect game species in the national park from hunting were motivated by a desire to sustain game populations for the use of hunting clubs and elite tourists from outside the park (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). Even in the 1940s, Indigenous subsistence practices were targeted for the decline in game populations in Banff, while tourism, non-Indigenous hunters, and construction were depleting game populations (Mason, 2014). Indigenous assimilation seemed the clearer goal of this displacement and exclusion. Through forcing Indigenous hunters to adopt a

Christian, western agricultural lifestyle in place of traditional subsistence practices, the government moved a step closer to colonization. This idea was more clearly stated as an Indian agent at Morley, a reserve located just outside of Banff National Park, stated that “as long as they can hunt you cannot civilize them” (Binnema and Niemi, 2006: 738). Conservation became necessary in Canada due to the increase in the non-Indigenous population and the development of agriculture. In comparison to these drastic changes in land use, historically Indigenous hunters had very little impact on wildlife populations and ecosystem health (Isbister, 2016).

Treaties and Modern Land Claims

As you read through contemporary Parks Canada management guides and Jasper’s Management Plan, with regard to Indigenous peoples, you will see work being done to create a more inclusive organization that reaches out to Indigenous communities (Promising Pathways, 2015; This Land is Our Teacher, 2015; State of Canada’s Natural and Cultural Heritage Places, 2016; Jasper National Park of Canada Management Plan, 2010). Those documents frame Parks Canada as an organization that has opened its doors, on their own accord, in order to right some of their past wrongs against Indigenous peoples. Parks’ documents frame their work with Indigenous peoples as a decision they made on their own by stating: “Park agencies have come to recognize the special contributions that Aboriginal people and communities can make to Canada’s parks and protected areas...” (Canadian Parks Council, 2011: 4). These policy and management changes have come about as a direct result of Indigenous land claims, based on historical treaties, and a series of supreme court victories in favor of Indigenous land rights and title (Langdon *et al*, 2010; Turner and Bitonti, 2011; Usher, 2003).

Between 1701 and 1923, the Canadian government signed roughly 70 treaties with Indigenous Nations (Langdon *et al*, 2010). The eighty years after signing the Numbered Treaties with Canada were years of “near cultural genocide for the Indians of the Canadian West” (Snow, 2005: 145). While two of the numbered treaties (Treaty 6 and Treaty 7) in the Canadian Rockies were signed prior to the creation of the mountain parks and one (Treaty 8) was signed after (Government of Canada, 2017), that meant little for the rights of Indigenous peoples, both within and outside of the parks. It was Treaty 7, signed in 1877, that established the Indigenous reserve systems (Mason, 2014). Although certainly not presented by government officials at the time, reserves were dominant power structures designed to speed up the colonization process of Indigenous peoples through limiting their rights and restricting their movement. These treaties essentially gave up land rights with little

compensation for moving onto reserves, which constituted about one percent of Indigenous traditional land base (Usher, 2003). Government claims that reserves were designed to both benefit game populations, through restricting Indigenous hunting rights, and benefit the Indigenous peoples who were viewed as “uncivilized” by Euro-Canadian society, were thinly veiled attempts to hide their true purposes. Reserves were established specifically to educate, Christianize, and “civilize” Indigenous peoples to European standards and to gain control of Indigenous lands for the expanding European populations (Snow, 2005).

Most Indigenous groups were misled about the content of the treaties, as they were heavily biased towards government interests. Oral agreements with the government were seen as binding by Indigenous groups, but often Europeans would say one thing but write another. Snow (2005) highlights the controversies over oral and written treaty agreements by acknowledging that Europeans would say: “I didn’t say that and I wrote it that way and what is written is the truth” (82). Treaties in western Canada were a means for the government to secure Indigenous lands and extinguish title in order to make room for European settlers moving west. When Indigenous peoples requested more reserve land to try to offset the loss of traditional livelihoods and growing populations in 1947, the director of Indian Affairs stated (without seeing the irony) that creating additional reserves would attract more Indigenous peoples and that would not be fair to white settlers who were forcibly removed from protected areas (Snow, 2005). The treaties were written by government officials using technical western legal terminology that many Indigenous groups either did not agree to or did not understand, and they did not have the means to decipher a language that was not their own (Usher, 2003; Dearden and Berg, 1993). In fact, treaties, like Treaty 7 for the Stoney/Nakoda, were often viewed by Indigenous groups as peace treaties, not concessions of their traditional land and subsistence practices (Snow, 2005). Often during treaty signings there would be representatives from many Indigenous groups, each speaking a different language, adding to the confusion. Stoney/Nakoda Elders stated that during the signing of Treaty 7, there were no interpreters present who could fluently speak more than two languages (Mason, 2014). This led to languages having to be translated more than once, creating confusion and discrepancies that would cause problems for those impacted by the treaties. While treaty rights were constantly infringed upon by government and European settlers, the first (but not last) outright breaking of treaty rights occurred in 1893 with amendments to the Indian Act. The policy changes restricted hunting of game. This change and its penalties were to be explained to Indigenous hunters by “showing them that the preservation of the game is more fully in their own interest, than those of the white population” (Snow, 2005: 80). Snow

(2005) also points out that when federal lands, containing treaty territories, were passed to provincial governments, the federal government gave up any effective enforcement of treaty rights leaving Indigenous peoples to have more rights infringed upon.

Until the late 1960s when Indigenous peoples brought forth land claims and title assertions to the Supreme Court, the land, and resource, rights of Indigenous people, guaranteed in treaties and agreements, were generally ignored by the government, including Parks Canada, (Dearden and Berg, 1993; Gardner and Nelson, 1981). In 1967, a land title case was brought to the British Columbia Supreme Court by the Nisga'a people, who fought to prove their land title had never been extinguished (Dearden and Berg, 1993). The case was settled in 1973 (Dearden and Berg, 1993), with only a partial victory. However, as Dearden and Berg (1993) point out, this was the catalyst that changed how government deals with Indigenous claims. That partial victory saw the Supreme Court recognize that Indigenous title existed at the time of colonization due to historical Indigenous use, occupation and possession of the land, and they announced the government's willingness to negotiate land claims, outside of the numbered treaty areas (Dearden and Berg, 1993).

The settlement of the Supreme Court of Canada's Calder Decision, in 1973, furthered that victory by acknowledging "Aboriginal title was recognized as a concept in Canadian common law" (Langdon et al, 2010: 223). A year earlier, in April 1972, the first documented land claim received by the federal government was brought forth by the Stoney/Nakoda (Snow, 2005). The Calder victory spurred forward another of the first modern day land claim agreements in 1975, which was between the James Bay Cree, the Inuit of Québec and the governments of Québec and Canada (Canadian Parks Council, 2011). This created the first cooperative management bodies to oversee traditional hunting, trapping and fishing rights (Langdon et al, 2010). In The Royal Proclamation of 1763, it was acknowledged that there was pre-existing Indigenous title to the land, but the Crown still asserted underlying title through their claim of discovering North America (Usher, 2003; Redford and Fearn, 2007). However, the Constitution Act that was enacted in 1982, contained two sections that protected Indigenous rights. The act acknowledges that "property rights, customary laws, and governmental institutions of Aboriginal peoples were assumed to survive the Crown's acquisition of North American territories" (Dearden and Berg, 1993: 208). Between 1973 and January 2015, the federal government has settled twenty-six comprehensive Indigenous land claims, eighteen of which included provisions for self-government. Crowe (2017) stated that there are around 100 land claim and self-government negotiations that remain unresolved in Canada as of 2016. These modern treaties have various stipulations attached to them, one of which is for Indigenous peoples to have an active role in the

management decisions of national parks in areas where land settlements have occurred (Langdon et al, 2010). Two aspects in the wording of the court decisions are very important for Indigenous partners of national parks: *cooperative management* and *newly created parks*. The requirement for cooperative management agreements to be entered into between Parks and Indigenous peoples who have claims in the proposed park areas applied only to newly established parks and protected areas, which left parks like JNP not legally obligated to form co-management agreements, thus having fewer obligations to the Indigenous communities with traditional claims in the park (Dearden and Berg, 1993; Gardner and Nelson, 1981).

Cooperative Management, Consultation and Representation

Indigenous representation in national parks has been an issue for Indigenous peoples since the parks were first established. Early park historians wrote of Indigenous peoples as having little understanding or connection to protected areas. Through removing Indigenous histories from these areas, historians and park managers could shape parks' histories as starting with European exploration in order to frame them as part of the European Canadian birthright (Mason, 2014). Pre-European histories of many national parks in Canada, present the parks as natural wilderness areas, creating the modern idea that these are places that humans only visit, but do not live. Defining wilderness in such terms, ignores the fact that the idea of wilderness tourism is a western cultural construct that places pre-conceived ideas of wilderness on areas in which Indigenous peoples had already been living, in some cases for millennia (MacLaren, 2007).

During an interview for the Parks Canada Promising Pathways resource guide, former CEO of Parks Canada, Alan Latourelle, acknowledged that within Canadian Society there is little appreciation for or knowledge about Indigenous cultures. In this interview he stated that before beginning his work with Parks Canada, "...like the average Canadian, I had no appreciation of Aboriginal culture and the magnitude of the challenges they face." (Promising Pathways, 2014: 3). This lack of understanding furthers the knowledge gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Knowledge gaps like this create conditions that lead to negative stereotypes about Indigenous peoples. The representations being presented in places like national parks, which often look at Indigenous cultures as part of the past without any current context, further contribute to these stereotypes.

Indigenous peoples were and are often used as marketing for parks. This is a way to entice tourists, who have preconceived notions about what they should expect to see in national parks, to

visit these places. Early examples from Yosemite National Park in the early 1900s, show how if Indigenous activities promoted public enjoyment then they were welcomed, otherwise Indigenous peoples were kept out of view of the public (Mason, 2014). The Banff Indian Days, a tourist festival that ran from 1894-1978 in Banff National Park, shared similar standards for requiring Indigenous peoples to be useful to tourism. Once the events were wrapped up, local Indigenous peoples were often not welcome in the park. Currently in Jasper, local Indigenous peoples are welcomed into the park for National Aboriginal Day (changed to National Indigenous Peoples Day in 2018) to perform drumming and traditional dances and tourists are encouraged to participate when appropriate and observe, and are allowed to gather plants for medicinal, ceremonial and spiritual purposes (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017).

Often presented as one homogenous group in many representations in the tourism industry, Indigenous peoples are negatively impacted by these misrepresentations that disregard the vast diversity of their languages and cultures (Mason, 2014). This type of cultural representation in national parks is controlled by park managers who shape tourism products to meet the expectations of tourists, market demands and to avoid impacting the dominant historical narrative of the areas. These cultural tourism products are often developed without meaningful input from the peoples whose cultures are being presented and do not reflect how those people wish to see themselves represented.

National parks and other protected areas were created without any governmental acknowledgment of Indigenous rights (Redford and Fearn, 2007), but the modern land claims process beginning in the mid-1970s with supreme court decisions acknowledging Aboriginal title, forced a change in government policies. Among other significant developments, this led to changes to the Canadian National Parks Act in 1974. These amendments facilitated the formation of National Park Reserves (Turner and Bitonti, 2011; Timko and Satterfield, 2008). The change in the National Parks Act acknowledges that in these new reserve parks, First Nations and Inuit in these areas have claims to Aboriginal title and rights that have not yet been settled (Murray and King, 2012). The creation of National Park Reserves is a way for government and Indigenous communities to co-manage and protect sites without yielding ownership or control to the other group (Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012), ensuring that Indigenous rights are not extinguished (Timko and Satterfield, 2008).

In 2018, there are 39 national parks and eight national park reserves in Canada, with under half being established after the changes to the National Parks Act (Parks Canada, 2018). In most of these parks, where there exists a co-management agreement, Parks Canada retains final management

decision authority, with Indigenous concerns heard, but not always incorporated (Lemelin and Bennett, 2010). Indigenous peoples across Canada have been asserting their power over traditional land and title rights within national park co-management plans. This ensures their voices, concerns and traditional knowledge are being incorporated into national park creation and management decisions. Due to this shift, there are now several national park reserves in which Indigenous partners and park management share equal authority over management decisions. Two such examples are Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve (Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012; Timko and Satterfield, 2008) and Torngat Mountains National Park (Parks Canada, 2017).

This gradual shift into equitable co-management plans will hopefully reach JNPs management plan, as member communities of the Jasper Indigenous Forum (originally named the Jasper Aboriginal Forum) continue to assert their rights. In 2006, the JIF was established to work with JNP management on various projects and consultations (Youdelis, 2016). The forum consists of representatives from 26 Indigenous communities that have traditional ties to the area around Jasper, these include: Stoney/Nakoda, Beaver, Cree, Ojibway, Métis, and Secwepemc. Among forum members there are mixed feelings about the effectiveness of this group's collaboration with JNP management, which is made clear throughout this research. Some members view it as mechanism for JNP management to claim that they have done their due diligence by consulting with them, but this does not necessarily ensure that their concerns are taken seriously (Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017). Others in the JIF view it as a progress to get their concerns addressed by the park and work towards solutions (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017).

The changes in park policy that occurred beginning in the mid-1970s were due to the court cases that required the government to acknowledge Indigenous rights, thus bringing about the atmosphere of inclusion by force of circumstance (Sadler, 1989), not by goodwill on the side of Parks Canada. There was a further amendment to the National Parks Act in 2000, which gave park management the power to authorize the use of park lands, and the use or removal of flora and other natural objects, by Aboriginal people for traditional, spiritual and ceremonial purposes (Langdon *et al*, 2010). While the amendments to the National Parks Act impacts every national park and reserve, there is no one comprehensive Parks Canada policy for working with Indigenous groups. This leaves considerable room for creativity and possibility, but also confusion and mistrust (Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012).

The terminology of "joint" and "cooperative management" were used intentionally, as this leaves ultimate authority with Parks Canada (Langdon *et al*, 2010; Lemelin and Bennett, 2010). This is

because the term co-management is very loosely defined. The application of co-management processes can vary greatly. This can mean as little as Indigenous groups to receive information about a proposed project or it can enable Indigenous groups to have actual authority over resources and management decisions (Youdelis, 2016). Co-management agreements with older parks do exist, however; it has been noted that these types of agreements tend to be stronger if they were established when the park was being established (Gardner and Nelson, 1981).

It was not until 2004, with the Haida and Taku River Supreme Court of Canada decisions, that the crown's duty to Indigenous peoples was clarified. The Supreme Court ruled that the government has a legal duty to consult and possibly accommodate Indigenous peoples where there are current or potential negative impacts to Indigenous rights and land with outstanding title claims (Langdon et al, 2010; Youdelis, 2016; Turner and Bitonti, 2011). This newly defined duty to consult was enacted throughout all federal government agencies, including Parks Canada (Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012). This duty to consult was built on the idea that the government (Crown) holds ultimate power to give or remove rights of Indigenous peoples. Within this duty to consult is the power of justifiable infringement (Youdelis, 2016). This infringement can be justified in many ways, including protecting non-Indigenous economic interests from the potential effects of recognizing Aboriginal rights (Coulthard, 2014), which basically states that if Indigenous rights might cause a loss of profits for non-Indigenous businesses, those rights may be revoked. However, as stated in the Constitution Act, the government is required to justify any legislation that has some negative effect on an Aboriginal right protected (Dearden and Berg, 1993). This can be done relatively easily since the rules were written to benefit government interests.

In Jasper, park management approaches Indigenous consultation through interest-based participation (Jasper National Park Management Guide, 2010). This type of consultation means management will only engage with Indigenous groups who show an overt interest in any development proposal. JNP management holds to the idea that Indigenous Land rights were extinguished with the establishment of the park and management will not discuss treaty rights as they do not fall within the park's mandate. By refusing to discuss treaty rights, Youdelis (2016) points out that JNP management is forcing Indigenous peoples, who have traditional claims in the park, to accept that the government has complete decision-making authority within their territory. There are two Indigenous community groups that work with Jasper on a variety of issues and programs; the Jasper Aboriginal Forum and the Elders Council of Descendants of Jasper (Jasper National Park Management Guide, 2010). Within the park's management guide (2010) it states that leadership work with the member communities of

these groups on issues around park management decisions, incorporating traditional knowledge, adding cultural programs, and economic as well as employment opportunities. The guide provides an overview of the park's work with Indigenous communities, but it does not give detailed accounts of how these will be accomplished. There is not a formal or standardized process that JNP management follows when dealing with Indigenous concerns or suggestions about projects. They use the interest-based participation model to avoid having to take responsibility for reaching out for consultation with local Indigenous groups. As part of her research with the JIF, Youdelis (2016: 12) noted that "non-threatening aspects of First Nations' cultures are celebrated to give Jasper the appearance of doing its due diligence." There are various aspects of Indigenous cultures presented throughout the park, including a Haida totem pole (whereas Haida have never had traditional territory in the Canadian Rockies), interpretive programming and signage. In Tuhiwai Smiths' research she indicates how representation without consultation exercises a heavy colonial bias:

It appalls us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations. (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:1)

The desire to add Indigenous content into interpretative programming should not be conditional on it reaffirming the narrative set out by JNP, but rather on being a true representation of those peoples whose cultures are being presented. Ownership of those stories and cultures must remain firmly with the Indigenous peoples from which they originated.

Two recent private development projects put this duty to consult to the test in Jasper: Brewster Travel's Glacier Skywalk and Maligne Tour's hotel proposal. Many members of the JIF who were interviewed about Jasper's consultation process around the above-mentioned projects, noted that the park often used "divide and conquer" approaches (Youdelis, 2016). Through this strategy, the park looks to communities who will be more likely to support these types of projects, then negotiate terms to get their support, thus claiming they had consulted with and received Indigenous support that satisfies their duty to consult. Through park management demonstrating they received support from an Indigenous community, other Indigenous communities that do not support a project can be labelled as unreasonable. This controls how non-Indigenous peoples view the Indigenous communities who continue to resist this viewed "goodwill" on behalf of park management.

Contextualizing Jasper National Park

As the largest national park in the Canadian Rockies, JNP contains within its boundaries numerous species of plants and animals, species at risk, hundreds-of-years-old trees, vital and unique ecosystems, high mountain peaks, ice age glaciers, glacial-carved valleys, swift flowing rivers, and tranquil, blue-green lakes. In short, JNP is an awe-inspiring setting that attracts millions of visitors every year. Wildlife was not the only life living in this area before the park was established. The mountains and valleys of what is now JNP have been home to diverse groups of Indigenous peoples for thousands of years. Their lives, cultures, languages, traditions and stories are deeply rooted in the Rocky Mountains, the foothills, and the surrounding landscapes. They are intrinsically connected to the plants, animals and the land itself. This incredible history is all but ignored in the park when it comes to park interpretation. Visitors to the park's website will find very little information about this rich history or the diverse peoples who lived, traded, migrated through, and hunted in this place (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017; Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017; Wesley, B., personal interview, October 11, 2017; Wesley, J., personal interview, October 11, 2017).

Established in 1907, JNP was named after a North West Company trading post clerk, Jasper Hawes. The park was established as Jasper Forest Park, which covered 13,000km², and officially becoming a National Park in 1930 (MacLaren, 2007). As with most other national parks in Canada that were produced during the first three quarters of the 20th century, JNP was established without consultation with, or consideration for, the Indigenous peoples who called these lands home. Indigenous peoples were forcibly removed from JNP, under the guise of conservation concerns, by park wardens, deputized non-Indigenous locals, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Belcourt, personal interview, November 27, 2017; Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017; Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017). The park management at the time claimed that Indigenous hunters were the cause of wildlife decline in the park, while not acknowledging the role of logging, mining, railways, and tourism on wildlife population declines (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). The reality was much darker. Indigenous peoples were seen as “uncivilized”, their lifestyles backwards, and their presence in the park as an unwelcome detail in the narrative that park management was trying to establish – the landscapes of the park was pure and pristine (Mason, 2014). Indigenous peoples living in the park did not mesh well with the park managers romanticized notion of an unspoiled wilderness. The forced removals, often leading to moving Indigenous people onto reserves while taking control of their traditional lands and outlawing

of traditional practices, fit in with the colonial process of assimilation taking place across Canada (Snow, 2005).

Jasper was not alone in this. Banff National Park and Riding Mountain National Park are only two of many examples of forced removals and loss of traditional Indigenous lands and ways of life (Mason, 2014; Sandlos, 2008). These occurred as a direct result of the creation of the national park system. Since the acknowledgement in the 1970s, by the Supreme Court, that Aboriginal title exists, Indigenous peoples have been asserting some measure of control over their traditional lands and working to incorporate their cultures back into the landscapes from which they were forced out (Langdon *et al*, 2010). This has been a long and tedious process, with marginal progress being made as governments are reluctant to give up total control of the lands they manage in national parks. This unwillingness to share control can be seen through the lack of representation of Indigenous peoples in places like Jasper National Park through their interpretive signage and programming (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017). As you travel through Jasper townsite and park, the only sense of Indigenous content you are exposed to is the Haida Totem Pole in the center of town, a display that doesn't have significance or relevance to any Indigenous group that has traditional connections to the lands in Jasper (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Wesley, J., personal interview, October 11, 2017).

While the relationship between JNP management and local Indigenous peoples has been a tumultuous one throughout much of the history of the park, there have been attempts made to mend that relationship to the benefit of all of those involved (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). The formation of the JIF in 2006 (Parks Canada, 2018), and the Upper Athabasca Elders Council in 2004, originally the Council of Elders of the Descendants of Jasper Park (Ouellet, 2016), saw new relationships being built between Indigenous groups who have traditional connections to Jasper and the management team of JNP.

In the 21st century, these new relationships are not perfect, but they are still evolving. While JNP management has an Open-Door Policy to determine who can participate in the Jasper Indigenous Forum, the forum remains an unofficial advisory committee. Management has no official duty to act on the forum's recommendations or concerns. JNP management maintains that an official partnership is not necessary, and they recognize how difficult this would be due to such a high number of forum members. Management works closely with the members to ensure that projects are undertaken with mutual interests in mind. JNP management seems to have good intentions and genuinely believes the work it is doing is being done to the best of their ability with the resources and knowledge that they

have available to them. However, there remains the dark past of Parks Canada and their relations with local Indigenous groups. This has not been appropriately acknowledged or owned, which should include an admission of responsibility for the mistakes made by Parks Canada and how these decisions have significantly impacted local Indigenous communities and the ecosystems currently defined as park lands.

The Jasper Indigenous Forum

Research regarding the Jasper Indigenous Forum (*JIF*) advisory group is minimal. Secondary research concerning Indigenous involvement in national parks came from academic journal articles and books focusing on Indigenous experiences in national parks across Canada, the exclusion of Indigenous peoples from protected areas, as well as Parks Canada documents. Several secondary research sources focused on Banff National Park which shares similar Indigenous histories and experiences with Jasper. This secondary research is incorporated into the body of this thesis and has helped to focus the direction of the research to address the gaps in knowledge found throughout the literature. In 2004, an Indigenous group made up of Elders who were descendants of the Indigenous peoples who were evicted from the Jasper Forest Reserve since its establishment in 1907, was formed and named The Council of Elders of the Descendants of Jasper Park (Ouellet, 2016). This group was renamed The Upper Athabasca Elders Council in 2011, as some see it, as a way to delegitimize the claims of some of the descendants of individuals forcibly removed from Jasper (Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017). A separate Indigenous group was formed in Jasper in 2006. This group was the Jasper Aboriginal Forum, renamed the Jasper Indigenous Forum in 2017 (Parks Canada, 2018).

The Forum, is open to any Indigenous community that has ties to the national park lands through traditional occupancy and/or usage. There is currently no vetting in place to gauge each groups' strength of claim to the land. JNP management takes the word each Indigenous community involved that they have a traditional connection to Jasper (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). This open-door style policy creates a great deal of potential for Indigenous groups to work towards reestablishing a connection between its people and the land they were forcibly removed from when the park was established (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017). This Open-Door Policy also generates unique and complicated issues for park management and the JIF members themselves. As will become clear through this chapter, an Open-Door Policy invites inconsistency in the group dynamics. Having Indigenous groups freely joining, leaving, and sending new representatives to the JIF meetings produces constant struggles to remain

focused on one objective to see it through to the end. It also makes it challenging to have all Indigenous communities speak together with a single voice on certain issues (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017). Youdelis (2016) found that there are concerns among some JIF members as to the legitimacy of the claims of some groups regarding their connection to Jasper. There are feelings that only certain groups should have seats on the JIF. She also noted that many respondents throughout her research felt that the “looseness of the Forum compromises its efficiency and capacity to realize goals” (8).

Throughout this research process it was made clear that there are several Indigenous communities who have been forum members since the JIF was first formed and have strived to remain consistent in their participation and in who they send to represent them at the meetings, while others have been less consistent (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017; Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017). This produces friction within the JIF and ultimately diminishes some of the power that a unified JIF would have towards accomplishing shared objectives. This friction comes in many forms, one of which emerges when a community joins, or rejoins after an absence, and wants to discuss an issue that the other JIF members have already come to some kind of agreement around and have moved on from. A number of JIF members have spoken to the fact that often times there is another member who is unwilling to accept a decision made by the large JIF and insists on remaining on that issue until they are satisfied (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017). This can derail meetings at which some JIF members had hoped to address other issues. A constant theme when speaking with Jasper park management and JIF members was that around time, and more specifically the long duration of time that it takes to achieve certain objectives (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017; Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017).

The JIF is not alone in causing delays in decisions being made and changes implemented. Jasper park management has their own objectives and steps to go through, many of which do not fit within Indigenous methods of achieving objectives (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). The JIF works with park management, by sharing ideas and concerns regarding park management objectives, environmental monitoring and management, cultural representation, and cultural awareness training for parks staff, along with other objectives deemed important by JIF members (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Meetings between the JIF and Jasper park management occur, generally, on a bi-annual basis, usually one in the spring and one in the fall (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017; Keyes-Brady,

personal interview, August 28, 2017). These meetings, however are not set in stone and can be shifted as need be, with additional meetings occurring from time to time. Slow progress has plagued the forum and park management ever since the formation of the JIF. This has led to the establishment of working groups as offshoots from the larger JIF. These working groups focus on: Environmental Monitoring; Cultural Awareness Training; Indigenous Interpretation; Cultural Use Area; and the Indigenous Exhibit structure. Each working group will include several representatives from the JIF and will focus on their own individual goals, potentially producing more progress at a faster pace (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

Overall, aside from some ongoing issues, the relationship between the JIF and JNP park management seems to be improving as more progress is made towards increased Indigenous representation. Some JIF members see the work being done in the park as very trailblazing on the side of JNP, while others see the work as far behind other places and believe that Jasper has a duty to do more and that they should acknowledge Indigenous histories, cultures, cultural sites, traditional territories and rights to the land (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017; Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). JNP management seems to understand the requests of the JIF, to some extent, and express a sincere desire to make the necessary changes to respectfully include Indigenous peoples back into Jasper and to tell their stories (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). However, there is doubt that this is truly the case (Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017). Intentions and desires, as noble as they may be, are less important to JIF members than meaningful action. JIF members want their histories told, their cultures and cultural sites protected and respected, their youth to find pride in the connection to their traditional lands, and to have control over how they are represented within the park (Abraham, S., personal interview, October 17, 2017; Belcourt, personal interview, November 27, 2017; Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Gall; 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017; Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017; Wesley, B., personal interview, October 11, 2017). In order to achieve their goals, the JIF needs to become more unified and show JNP management that they have the ability, desire, and resolve to regain control over their own representation in their traditional territories.

Methodological Approaches

This research was completed by relying on Indigenous Methodologies (IM). Many research techniques used to collect qualitative data in Indigenous research rely on western paradigms of

knowledge production. These paradigms portray researchers as objective and often view Indigenous communities as passive subjects to be studied rather than as holders and makers of knowledge (Koster, Baccar, and Lemelin, 2012). IM focuses on the Indigenous research paradigm ideas of trust, respect, reciprocity, and inclusion (Steinhauer, 2002; Kenny, Faries, Fiske, and Voyageur, 2004). Guided by IM, I worked in collaboration with Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples while acknowledging the importance of participants' perspectives and knowledge throughout the research. This led to qualitative data that provided a deeper understanding of the issues being explored.

IM focuses on gathering data from participants who are directly involved with the topic being studied, allowing them to express their views on the subject in a way that can both explain what the issues are and how the impacts are felt (Kenny *et al*, 2004). In this research, substantive information was collected from those individuals who are most affected by the issues being researched, particularly the JIF communities. In this project, participants are not viewed as objects of research, but rather as having valuable knowledge that helped to shape the research questions and overall objectives of this study. Consequently, participants shared ownership over the research results. To be successful in this process, it was key to ensure that the research had reasonable benefits for all parties involved (Koaster *et al*, 2002), such as better representation for local Indigenous peoples and an improved working relationship between JNP management and JIF communities in Jasper.

Some western research paradigms dismiss relational ideas because of their potential to bias research (Kovach, 2010). However, a central objective of IM is to collaborate with research participants while holding Indigenous perspectives and ways of knowing at the center of the project. These perspectives focus on the awareness that all things are related or connected and that certain decisions or actions can have long-lasting and far-reaching impacts (Steinhauer, 2002). The IM process ensures that the interests of Indigenous peoples are acknowledged and culturally sensitive material is appropriately protected (Battiste and Henderson, 2000). Utilizing open-ended, semi-structured interviews provided the participants with some degree of control to share what information they deemed necessary or appropriate. Critically, IM also helps to highlight unequal power relationships between dominant and non-dominant cultures, for example the relations between a powerful, Euro-Canadian federal government agency like Parks Canada, and local Indigenous communities that have been previously displaced from and denied access to the region.

IM requires researchers to follow specific ethical guidelines, which include, but is not limited to "a mutually respectful research relationship; that the research benefits the community; that appropriate permission and informed consent is sought; that the research is non-exploitive and non-

extractive; and that there is respect for community ethics and protocol” (Kovach, 2010: 46). Throughout this research, I followed these guidelines. Respect was given to all participants and the knowledge they shared. The results of this research will benefit all participants by promoting mutual understanding and respect for multiple perspectives from both JNP management and JIF communities. This encourages a clearer understanding of how to address issues and problems that have been identified by participants.

An important aspect of IM is reciprocity, shared benefits among all participants. This research was designed to gather and analyze information and to offer recommendations on how to address the misrepresentation issues faced by Indigenous peoples in JNP. This document is lengthy and detailed. The research participants devoted time out of their busy schedules to share their knowledge and views with me and in return I offer them this document summarizing their views, concerns and suggested recommendations. However, this document can be time consuming to read and may leave those participants who have limited time to read it unable to access the information within. As such, I will summarize my results into a condensed, plain language document that will be given to each JNP and JIF participant, along with the full document.

Each participant was invited to sign a consent form, with over half of them signing the form. However, several Indigenous participants declined, opting instead for an oral agreement and a handshake which were viewed as more valuable than signing on the idea that their contributions will be used in a respectful manner. Too often, written agreements between Indigenous peoples and organizations, researchers or governments, have not been honoured or have been misleading, leaving Indigenous signatories with unfulfilled promises. The signing of consent forms was not mandatory, but rather a way for myself, as the researcher, to offer certain assurances to the participants that their contributions would be used in a way they want and present their ideas in their own voices rather than my interpretation. This form provided them with the information they would need for contact with my thesis supervisor, the university ethics board or myself should they wish to discuss any issues with or ask questions regarding my research. The consent forms, whether signed or not, outlined how this research would be conducted and how the results would be disseminated. Each participant agreed to the terms of the consent form and raised no objections to any parts of it. From this, each participant agreed to include their names in my research. I believe this was done for several reasons. Firstly, the topics being discussed are important to many people, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Through including their names, the participants stood behind their positions and their views on the various subjects that were discussed, adding validity to those ideas. Secondly, while this

research and the interview questions focused specifically on Indigenous representation through interpretation in JNP, it also dealt with general information. It was not the intention of this research to gather culturally or personally sensitive information from participants, but rather general feelings, views and experiences around the issues of Indigenous misrepresentation. As such, participants were willing to provide information from their own perspectives about the many issues discussed throughout this document without worrying about misuse of sensitive personal or cultural information. Each participant was also provided the opportunity to edit their transcribed interviews to add, remove or clarify any portion of it they felt was necessary prior to incorporating it into my research. This removed any potential apprehension they may have held about allowing their names to be used alongside their words. Finally, the information gathered did not collect personal information about, or animosity towards, any particular group or individual. It did focus on long standing issues between JNP and local Indigenous groups, but it did not aim to single out any person or Indigenous nation. Participants shared information that tended to be widely known among other participants, allowing me to generate the themes discussed throughout this document. Therefore, all information and knowledge collected and presented is done so in a manner that is respectful to the participants' contributions and concerns about what knowledge could, and should, be shared.

As detailed in the methods section below, each participant was given the opportunity to review transcripts of the interviews and provide critical feedback. Contact information was provided for myself, my research supervisor Dr. Courtney Mason, and the Thompson Rivers University Research Ethics Board, allowing participants to follow up with any questions or concerns that may have arisen during or after the interviews. They were encouraged to reach out to me at any time if they wished to receive updates about the research and writing progress. All participants will receive a copy of the finalized research paper.

To successfully incorporate IM, researchers must situate themselves in the context of the research (Steinhauer, 2002). As the researcher, I relied on my background working with Parks Canada on Indigenous interpretation and, importantly, my own Indigenous cultural background to become well-positioned to address perspectives from both groups. In the *Researcher Positionality* section found further on in this chapter, I explain how my personal and professional background enabled me to understand and appreciate the participants' diverse perspectives while avoiding misinterpretation of their interview responses.

Research Methods

Semi-Structured Interviews

Participants were invited to take part in conversations with me, at the times and locations of their choosing. Open-ended questions were asked of participants in a semi-structured interview setting. Open-ended questions allowed participants to control what information they shared and how it was expressed, avoiding misinterpretation on the part of the researcher. Kenny *et al* (2004) point out that oral traditions, which are the foundation of many Indigenous cultures, can be incorporated through the utilization of conversations and interviews in research. They also define the potential drawbacks of qualitative research – including that it can be quite time consuming, but “since more time is allotted to the gathering of data, more meaningful quality information can be gathered” (Kenny *et al*, 2004: 19). The duration of time spent at this stage, can also aid in the data analysis phases. Gathering information through interviews and conversations respects Indigenous oral traditions and as Kovach (2010: 42) describes, “the use of story, through conversation, [is] a culturally organic way to gather knowledge within research.” I relied on these methods of sharing and listening, to gather knowledge from the participants as a way to develop relationships based on trust and understanding with the participants.

Questions were asked (*See Appendix 4 and 5*) to guide the conversation while leaving some control in the hands of the participants as to the depth in which they would like to delve into their answers. This facilitated as much, or as little, detail as participants felt appropriate while creating opportunities for them to provide other information they believed important in our conversation. Steinhauer (2002) points out that research guided by IM is not something that is just out there to be collected, it is something that is built by the researcher and the research participants for the benefit of the community. Researchers have often misappropriated Indigenous knowledge. However, when participants are considered co-researchers and co-owners of the research, which was the case in this project, a more respectful and receptive relationship is formed with Indigenous contributors and knowledge holders (Kenny *et al*, 2004).

Participants were invited to skip any questions they did not wish to answer, to readdress any question at any time, and to withdraw from the conversation completely if they so chose. This process ensured that some control over the conversations was exercised by participants. Interview transcripts were provided to each participant. This allowed participants to review the conversation and edit for clarity and to add or remove content where they felt appropriate. This was done to respect the right of participants to reconsider their responses and to ensure that their answers were not misinterpreted

or misunderstood. As is emphasized in IM approaches, this process was also completed in this project to protect sensitive cultural knowledge. IM guided this research and shaped how the data was collected and analyzed. Both JNP management and JIF members had separate sets of questions based on the primary data collected. My Indigenous background and professional experience within the Parks Canada Agency, helped organize appropriate interview material for each group of participants to address. The specifics of data collection for the JIF and JNP management interviews are outlined in the following paragraphs.

Secondary research on Jasper National Park's Indigenous interpretation began with an analysis of scholarly literature of the history of Parks Canada and its relationship with Indigenous peoples. This came in the form of journal articles and Parks Canada documents and management plans. Minimal research has been done in Jasper with regards to Indigenous histories and cultures or the relationship with park management. To understand the policies that shaped Jasper and its relationship with Indigenous peoples, other parks were looked at, including Banff and Riding Mountain National Parks. These are two of many parks that share similar histories of Indigenous displacement. Analysis of Parks Canada documents – such as *Two Paths One Direction: Parks Canada and Aboriginal Peoples Working Together* and *Promising Pathways: Strengthening Engagement and Relationships with Aboriginal Peoples in Parks Canada Heritage Places* – reveal a desire to work with Indigenous peoples, but there is a lack of understanding of the diversities between Indigenous groups and their protocols, often promoting a one-size fits all approach. This research is incorporated into the body of this chapter to provide complimentary information and context alongside the primary research results.

Primary research was conducted in the form of open-ended, semi-structured interview questions with members of JNP's management team who are directly responsible for working with Indigenous communities to develop and present interpretive content. This interview structure is used to “prompt conversations where participant and researcher co-create knowledge” (Kovach, 2010; 44). Open-ended, semi-structure interviews allow for the collection of qualitative data through supporting participants to address larger ideas and perspectives related to the interview questions without being limited to simple yes or no responses. Through this method, the researcher is able to understand not only what the issues are, but how they came to be and what impacts they have (Kenny *et al*, 2004). Due to the lack of historical or contemporary research regarding Indigenous representation and interpretation in JNP, the bulk of Chapter 2 is composed of interview results from JNP management research participants. It was critical to hear from park management as their views and experiences

will be different from those laid out in official management plans. Six interviews were conducted with park management staff, please see below for their positions:

Name	Position with Jasper National Park
Greg Deagle (<i>Métis</i>)	<i>Administrative Assistant for the Indigenous Affairs Unit</i>
Mark Young (<i>Swampy Cree</i>)	<i>Indigenous Affairs Manager</i>
Gloria Keyes-Brady	<i>Interpretation and Information Center Coordinator</i>
Brian Catto	<i>Interpretation Coordinator</i>
Joshua Ibelshauser (<i>Algonquins of Greater Golden Lake First Nation</i>)	<i>Information Center Coordinator (former Indigenous Interpreter)</i>
Alan Fehr	<i>Field Unit Superintendent for the Jasper Field Unit</i>

Table 1.1 JNP Management Participants

Research participants were chosen due to their roles working directly with Indigenous communities on a variety of projects and for their responsibilities to produce and disseminate interpretive content in the park, including Indigenous interpretive content. Each participant has a unique experience working with Indigenous communities, either directly or representing their cultures and histories through interpretive programming and signage. Three of park management participants are Indigenous; Mark Young (Swampy Cree), Greg Deagle (Métis), and Josh Ibelshauser (Algonquins of Greater Golden Lake First Nation).

Prior to the interviews, participants were given the opportunity to sign a research consent form, which each one did. Each participant's interview lasted between 45 minutes and 1 hour and 15 minutes during which they were asked to answer 12 questions based on their knowledge of Indigenous connections to Jasper, how park management works with Indigenous communities and a variety of questions about issues surrounding Indigenous representation in JNP (*See Appendix 4*). All of the interviews were conducted between August 24, 2017 and September 22, 2017. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Transcriptions were then sent to each participant for review and editing if they deemed necessary. Unwanted or sensitive content was reconsidered or removed before it was analyzed. Interviews were analyzed with content categorized into key themes. These included: Indigenous participation in park management; improving the relationship between park management and Indigenous communities; incorporating more Indigenous content into interpretation and signage; as well as opportunities and challenges of working with many Indigenous communities. Block quotes are included throughout the text in Chapter 2 to better represent certain

ideas that were shared by participants in their own words. Similar methods were utilized in Chapter 3.

The majority of content found in Chapter 3 has come from the primary research conducted with members of the Jasper Indigenous Forum, due to the lack of historical or contemporary research regarding Indigenous interpretation and representation issues in JNP. The primary research included semi-structured, open-ended question interviews with representatives from several Indigenous groups with traditional connections to the land in JNP. Indigenous representation in national parks is an under researched area of study leaving the research participants as the primary contributors to content on the subject throughout Chapter 3. As with the JNP management interviews, the rationale for utilizing semi-structured, opened ended interviews with participants from the Jasper Indigenous Forum was to collect qualitative data. It was a goal in this research to understand what the issues facing the JIF are while also understanding how those issues impact them. Through this method, interview “participants are in control of what information is relayed and how it is expressed”, thus leaving little room for research bias or misinterpretation of the information (Kenny *et al*, 2004; 19).

Direct initial contact between myself and the JIF was not possible as the official list of JIF members and their contact information was not public. This information was held by the Indigenous Affairs Manager for Jasper National Park, Mark Young, and was not shared for privacy reasons. A letter, explaining the research and its goals, along with my contact information, was sent to Young who then sent it out to all members of the JIF. Those JIF members who were interested in contributing to the research reached out to me, and while they represent a good cross-section of forum members, I do not assume there is a consensus among or within all JIF communities. JIF research participants include band council members, Elders, lawyers, community members and researchers. Meeting times and locations were set with interested participants. Twelve JIF members were interviewed for this research:

Name	Nation/Ancestry
Barry Wesley	<i>Bighorn Chiniki Stoney/Nakoda</i>
John Wesley (Elder)	<i>Bighorn Chiniki Stoney/Nakoda</i>
Seona Abraham	<i>Bighorn Chiniki Stoney/Nakoda</i>
Charlie Abraham (Elder)	<i>Bighorn Chiniki Stoney/Nakoda</i>
Raymond Cardinal	<i>Sucker Creek First Nation and Paul First Nation</i>
Christopher Gall	<i>Métis Nation of BC</i>
Laurian Gladue	<i>Kelly Lake Cree Nation</i>

George Lampreau	<i>Simpcw First Nation</i>
Christina Plante (Elder)	<i>Métis and Cree</i>
Loretta Belcourt	<i>Lac Ste. Anne Métis</i>
William Snow	<i>Stoney/Nakoda Nation</i>
Rick Ouellet	<i>Descendant of John Moberly</i>

Table 1.2 *Indigenous Participants*

Many JIF members have very full schedules which occupy a great deal of their time and travelling to Jasper to meet was difficult as some communities are far from JNP. As necessitated by these time constraints and prior obligations of some JIF members as well as the geographical separation between some JIF communities and JNP, I travelled to five communities in both British Columbia and Alberta to meet with seven participants to conduct the interviews. Five interviews were conducted in Jasper while JIF members were in the park for their bi-annual meeting with park management. As protocol required, in several interviews an offering of tobacco was made to the participant to thank them for sharing their time and knowledge.

Prior to the interviews participants were given the opportunity to sign a research consent form. Some participants did, while others declined opting instead for a handshake and an oral exchange as a sign of understanding and respect that their contribution to the research will be used in a good way. Each interview lasted between 25 minutes and 2 hours during which participants were asked to answer 12 questions. The questions focused on traditional Indigenous connections to the lands in and around Jasper, their views on Indigenous representation, or lack thereof, in Jasper, and how that impacts their communities, as well as their relationships with park management (See *Appendix 5*).

All of the interviews were conducted between October 11, 2017 and December 3, 2017. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Transcriptions were then sent to each participant for review and editing as they deemed necessary. Unwanted or sensitive content was removed or additional content added for detail by participants before any interview analysis began. Interviews were analyzed with content categorized into key themes including: traditional connections to Jasper, incorporating Indigenous knowledge into park management decisions, barriers to successfully working with park management, and recommendations on how to increase positive Indigenous representation in Jasper. As much as possible direct block quotes are utilized throughout Chapter 3 to ensure that the JIF participants' points are clear in their own words.

Interview Analysis Process

Once each participant had reviewed their transcriptions and sent them back to me, I printed and bound them together to keep them organized; one set of bound interviews for JIF participants and one for JNP management participants. I then read through each interview to familiarize myself with the information. While reading the interviews, I highlighted particular sections that addressed one or more of my five research questions (see *Chapter 1 Introduction*). I included note pages at the end of each transcription for myself to write out the main points from each interview. From this I was able to organize the ideas into general themes.

To organize the interview content, I created a Word document to group related themes. In the document, I copied and pasted block quotes from the interviews under general theme headings. This allowed me to easily access the information shared by the participants and place the general themes into main sections for Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. There was some thematic overlap between JNP and JIF participant interviews. However, the JIF themes were more varied and they thoroughly examined the experiences and impacts of misrepresentation, whereas the JNP themes focused more on the history and current reality of Indigenous misrepresentation in the park (*See Appendix 6 and 8*). While the content of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 were primarily influenced by JNP management and the JIF, respectively, there were times that participants from one group contributed to the themes of the other groups' chapter. This breakdown of contributions can be seen in *Appendix 7 and 9*.

Researcher Positionality

It is important to communicate who I am as a researcher and how my own upbringing and life experiences have shaped my perspectives and guided my research process. I am a 30-year-old Anishinaabe man. I grew up in Neyaashiinigiing, a small First Nations reserve in central Ontario. Throughout my upbringing my mother and grandfather instilled in me the importance of being proud of and embracing my First Nations roots, and incorporating our connections to our community and to Mother Earth in everything I do. My mother has spent many years working with Indigenous families and communities, helping them to maintain connections to their communities and cultures through understanding who they are and where they come from. My grandfather spent his life preserving our stories, histories and language. His wisdom and passion have inspired me and helped to guide my work. Despite his past experiences with the horrors of residential schools, being taken from his family and community, being taught to be ashamed of who he was, he persevered and went on to become

a renowned and highly respected Indigenous scholar. He did so by maintaining his connection to our culture and our traditional lands, showing me the importance of those connections to Indigenous peoples. My First Nations background allowed me to better understand the perspectives of the Jasper Indigenous Forum (*JIF*) participants and the impacts that stem from their forced removal from their traditional territories and the continuous misrepresentation of their histories and cultures.

Additionally, I have worked for Parks Canada Agency in interpretation for nine seasons over the past twelve years. The most recent three seasons, 2016-2018, have been spent working as an Indigenous interpreter with JNP. My work for Parks Canada and JNP gives me a deep understanding of interpretation in national parks as well as direct working relationships with many of the JNP research participants. These working relationships and knowledge of interpretation is beneficial in understanding the views of JNP participants and enabled me to ask questions specific to current interpretive content, employee training, consultation with JIF members with regards to interpretation and representation issues. This allowed JNP participants to focus on answering questions and providing insight without having to spend time explaining the finer details of interpretation and current content and issues. My work with Parks Canada interpretation also gave me the knowledge and experience to provide insight into interpretation practices to JIF participants to increase their understanding of how programs and interpretative content are developed in Jasper. This helped them to speak to issues around interpretation with a deeper understanding of how interpretive content is developed in JNP. My First Nations background combined with my professional experience as a Parks Canada interpreter ideally situated me to work with both JIF and JNP participants to understand and empathize with their points of views. My understanding of each participant's perspectives allowed me to appreciate and present the concerns faced by both parties. The research results presented through this thesis are solely based on the perspectives and opinions of the research participants. My cultural and professional backgrounds guided the direction of my research and enabled me to effectively analyze, interpret and present the reviewed literature and participants perspectives or opinions.

Thesis Overview

To understand the various perspectives surrounding Indigenous representation in Jasper National Park, this thesis is separated into two distinct chapters. Chapter 2 focuses on the work and perspectives of JNP's management team that is responsible for the production and dissemination of interpretive content for the park, working directly with Indigenous communities, and the overall

management of the park. The goal of this chapter was to understand how park management views their relationship with local Indigenous communities as well as to gauge their understanding of the issues faced by those communities. These park management participants play an important role in developing relationships with Indigenous communities and gathering information to produce and present Indigenous interpretive content. This chapter will compare park management views on Indigenous representation issues in the park.

Chapter 3 consults with the Jasper Indigenous Forum (*JIF*) to determine what representation issues are faced by Indigenous communities in Jasper and how they are, or should be, addressed by park management. JIF participants, from various First Nations and Métis communities, explain the limitations of park management in addressing their concerns and incorporating their cultures and histories into the parks interpretive content. The chapter looks at the issues faced by park management that limits their ability to adequately address concerns, consider possible solutions and track progress made. Indigenous misrepresentation in national parks produce further-reaching issues than are initially understood and the JIF suspects park management do not fully appreciate those issues or the role they have played in creating them.

In the conclusion, I discuss the concerns and limitations of both groups, while suggesting ways in which further progress can be made to address the lingering issues surround Indigenous representation in JNP. There are no easy solutions to the issues presented through this research, however there are steps to be taken to address them which would inevitably lead to a change in the power dynamic between JNP management and JIF members as well as a shift in the narrative that JNP was built on. These changes would foster a greater understanding of Indigenous histories, cultures and rights among park visitors and park management, as well as a greater understanding among JIF members of the bureaucracy through which JNP management must operate. They also may upset the power dynamic that has been in place for over a century that firmly places JNP management in charge of all park management decisions, which is a contributing factor to the slow progress in incorporating Indigenous voices and histories into JNP interpretation and park management.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 2. RETHINKING REPRESENTATION: SHIFTING FROM A EUROCENTRIC LENS TO INDIGENOUS WAYS OF SHARING KNOWLEDGE

Canada is known around the world for its vast wilderness areas, high mountain peaks, lush forests, beautiful lakes and rivers, and an abundance of wildlife. National parks embody the image of what it is to be Canadian. National parks exist to preserve wilderness areas and wildlife, as well as culturally and historically significant sites. They also provide a place for visitors from all over the world to come and explore. Tourism abounds in Canada's national parks, particularly in the famous Canadian Rockies. For example, millions of people visit Banff National Park and Jasper National Park (*JNP*) annually. Visitors are exposed to a vast array of natural and Canadian history when visiting the park. They can learn about wildlife, geology, hundreds-of-years-old trees, the history of railways, ice ages, invasive species, early explorers, discoveries and the fur trade. However, JNP's interpretive content includes minimal information about Indigenous peoples, whose traditional territories are often inside park boundaries. There are rich, extensive histories of Indigenous use and occupation of the lands in and around Jasper, stretching back millennia, but very little is shared about those Indigenous cultures and histories in the park. Although these topics vary greatly, they all have one aspect in common – they are presented through interpretive programs and signage, overwhelmingly from Eurocentric perspectives. Representations of Indigenous peoples are centered on Western perspectives, values, and experiences. These perspectives regularly underrepresent and misrepresent the Indigenous cultures and histories of the peoples who have lived and relied on the lands since time immemorial. This disconnect between JNP management's understanding of the importance of incorporating Indigenous cultures and histories can be attributed to “the fact that conservation, as a western concept, served, and still serves, western management agendas that erase Indigenous history, culture and agency from the landscape (Shultis and Heffner, 2016: 1228). Representation of Indigenous peoples in JNP, like many other national parks, is severely problematic.

The lack of recognition of Indigenous connections to Jasper stems partially from the forced removals of Indigenous groups from national parks. Across Canada, for over a century, Indigenous peoples have been working to re-establish connections to, and assert their rights in, their traditional territories. In many cases, Indigenous communities were forcibly removed during the establishment of national parks in the name of environmental conservation and tourism expansion. These

experiences of displacement include the Indigenous peoples of JNP (Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012; Binnema and Niemi, 2006; Shultis and Heffner, 2016). Misrepresentation of Indigenous cultures and histories can produce and perpetuate negative stereotypes of and further marginalize Indigenous peoples. In the spirit of reconciliation, it is the responsibility of leaders of JNP management to work with Indigenous communities to create interpretive programming and signage that accurately and respectfully represents Indigenous cultures and histories in the park. However, too often the terms of reconciliation and recognition are dictated by those in positions of authority (Youdelis, 2016). In this chapter, I will examine how appropriate representations of Indigenous peoples will have positive impacts on both the Indigenous communities and the park itself. Indigenous peoples can benefit from regaining control over their cultural knowledge in JNP, control over how they are represented to non-Indigenous visitors, and from being active participants in park management. In addition to building stronger relationships with Indigenous partners, JNP management will benefit by having more historically accurate Indigenous interpretation offerings which can help facilitate deeper connections to the park and its peoples for visitors.

JNP management, throughout much of the park's history, has been unwilling to include Indigenous voices in the park. From a Eurocentric perspective, park management have chosen to continue to represent Indigenous peoples in ways that support romanticized narratives of Canadian history. JNP management is long overdue to make positive changes in their relationship with Indigenous peoples. To work towards increased Indigenous participation and representation in park planning, management and operations staff have been working on a number of projects in collaboration with many Indigenous communities. Despite this progress, there remains a disconnect in the evolving relationship between JNP management and Indigenous communities. Communication issues, as well as differences in priorities, limit the progression of Indigenous representation in JNP. JNP management must rethink how Indigenous cultures and histories are represented and interpreted in the park. JNP management is in a unique position, with opportunities and challenges, as it works with multiple Indigenous communities to develop interpretive content to increase awareness of Indigenous cultures and histories among visitors and park staff. Inclusive and respectful working relationships between park management and Indigenous communities will foster the production of culturally appropriate representations of local Indigenous histories and empower local people.

The Jasper Indigenous Forum: Indigenous Participation in Park Management

It was not until 2006, nearly a century after it was established, that Jasper National Park formed an Indigenous Affairs Unit and parks staff collaborated with local Indigenous communities to develop the Jasper Indigenous Forum (*JIF*), formerly referred to as the Jasper Aboriginal Forum (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). Mark Young, who is Swampy Cree from Manitoba and the Indigenous Affairs Manager for JNP, pointed out that the JIF is currently comprised of 26 Indigenous communities, however, that number can fluctuate as some communities leave and others join the JIF (personal interview, August 28, 2017). According to Greg Deagle, who is Métis and is the Administrative Assistant for the Indigenous Affairs Unit in JNP, of the current 26 members, between 9 and 12 of the JIF communities play active roles in the forum's on-going projects (personal interview, August 24, 2017). As stated by Jaspers Field Unit Superintendent, Alan Fehr, the level of community participation can depend on several factors, including their immediate connection, geographical or historical, to park lands, their capacity to engage with the park, the level of interest by their political leadership, chief and council, or whether forum projects are a priority (personal interview, September 22, 2017).

Jasper has an Open-Door Policy when it comes to who can be a part of the JIF. Each JIF community has different levels of capacity for demonstrating their traditional connection to the park. This capacity may be influenced by the amount of local traditional knowledge available, or lack of thereof, due to the forced removals from Jasper and the loss of connections to those lands. It may also be influenced by the financial and human resources available for a community to participate in a traditional land use study or research archival documents to show their connections. JNP management does not challenge those connections with Strength of Claim analyses or any other types of assessments (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Strength of claim analyses are not incorporated into the relationship between JNP management and Indigenous forum members. Young explains that those types of analyses include legal components that would start the relationship off in an adversarial way (personal interview, August 28, 2017). This would particularly be the case if groups were asked to measure how strong their traditional claims to Jasper are. As long as they have a memorandum of understanding with the Jasper Indigenous Forum, there is no registration or set qualifications other than the JIF being intended for those communities who have a historical connection to the park and want to reconnect (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Brian Catto, the Interpretation Coordinator for JNP, explained that a portion of the memorandum of understanding (*MOA*) entitles the Indigenous groups to free

passes to enter the park (personal interview, August 29, 2017). Youdelis (2016) explains that the idea that Indigenous peoples must negotiate for free access to their own territories is not only unjust but also shows the unequal and paternalistic power dynamic between them and JNP management. Through the MOA, Indigenous communities are also permitted ceremonial, spiritual, or traditional harvesting of plants within the park. According to Deagle the mountains, reputedly, have some of the strongest traditional medicines in the area, and some forum communities, historically, would come to Jasper to harvest them (personal interview, August 24, 2017). He also indicated that JNP management is always receptive to Indigenous communities who have a defined historic interest in Jasper and their claims of traditional connection are not contested. Young points out that whether those historic connections to Jasper exist in the written records or not, JNP management will have to act on the assumption that the claims are genuine and honour them (personal interview, August 28, 2017). These claims are simply assumed to be correct and the community is invited to participate in the forum.

The initial push for the foundation of the Jasper Indigenous Forum is unclear as most current JNP management were not part of the park when the forum was established in 2006. The creation of the JIF is understood, by park staff, to have been spearheaded by Indigenous communities pushing for improved contact with park management to increase meaningful connections to their traditional territories and gain more input into park management decisions. JNP management presented itself, to interested groups, as having an Open-Door Policy, and when Indigenous groups came forward “the park inevitably...acquiesced to those [requests]” to form a group that has since become the JIF (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Fehr supposed that the establishment of the forum was similar to other parks he has experience in and that there was interest expressed by Indigenous groups in working with Jasper (personal interview, September 22, 2017). That interest was in the form of meeting with past superintendents and managers or writing letters. The interest expressed by these Indigenous representatives led to the park management decision to establish a group to bring all interested parties together. How long this process took is unknown, or it was not recorded. The Jasper National Park Management Guide (2010) highlights the park’s use of interest-based participation in engaging with Indigenous communities who show an interest in a development proposal. Some of the initial Indigenous groups that imposed themselves on the park to establish the forum include: the Alexis Foothills Ojibway; the Bighorn Stoney/Nakoda; and, the Métis heritage families that had cabins in the park (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

Although the forum has been around for 12 years, it still remains an unofficial entity in JNP. The forum is not used for consultation. It is a shared interest advisory body that is oriented to engagement and for the initiation as well as development of shared projects (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Currently, there is not a formalized management board to work with Treaty 6 and Treaty 8 First Nations, non-treaty First Nations, non-status First Nations and Métis groups in Jasper. No cooperative framework exists, which means that developing a working relationship is far more complicated, especially when trying to manage over 20 Indigenous groups (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). There are no official agreements by which the forum exists, and as Young stated, “there is nothing telling us we need to stay involved. We can technically dissolve it if we wanted to” (personal interview, August 28, 2017). That is not to say that this will occur. Young pointed out that working with so many different groups in the JIF would never have been something he would have advised due to the potential complications that could arise. He continued to express his amazement that the JIF is working, forum members are still meeting, and that JNP management has some positive momentum with the forum that they should not turn away from. As indicated by Young, there is still a great deal of work to be done to get the relationship between the forum and JNP management to where it needs to be:

Park management and the forum is still not where it needs to be. I think it has a great history... the JIF. I think it's done some great things actually, to this point. We want to continue to evolve it in a way where we are utilizing peoples' information, in a way where they feel it's actually making a difference. I need them to know we are utilizing information and I need the superintendent and other managers to be open to changing, and it's not always easy. I think they just need somebody there that is able to operationalize and help them operationalize a lot of these changes. And I think that strength is really going to come from the people from the JIF, you know. So really, I'm facilitating us really making this a better place for them, but also for the park. (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017)

As indicated above, many different Indigenous groups claim a traditional connection to the lands in and around JNP. Fehr asserts that there is a measure of wanting to be linked to Jasper simply because it is an iconic park, but also acknowledges that there are aspects of spiritual connectedness that make Jasper important to Indigenous groups (personal interview, September 22, 2017). While the level of connection to Jasper varies from group to group, the Rocky Mountains, and Jasper in particular, were regarded as a cultural crossroads, where people from the east and west came to trade with one another. This area was pivotal in terms of trading and history. The trading here would include songs, dances and ceremonies (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). Jasper was not just used for

trading, but for travel, gathering, hunting, fishing, and ceremonies. According to Josh Ibelshauer, who is a member of Algonquins of Greater Golden Lake First Nation in Ontario and is the Information Center Coordinator, and a past Interpretation Coordinator for JNP, there was year-round occupation for thousands of years and that has created very deep ties to the land (personal interview, August 30, 2017). The importance and significance of Jasper is the reason why there are so many Indigenous groups with traditional ties to it. Many Indigenous groups in this area have lost certain connections and knowledge that was intrinsically tied to the land in the park. During the establishment of Jasper, Indigenous rights were extinguished in the park leading to a loss of contact with many important places (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017). This loss of connection manifests itself in many different ways – from loss of language, traditions, knowledge, and the relationships with other communities. Young pointed out that a lot of Indigenous groups are disconnected from the park due to them being displaced and denied access until very recently (personal interview, August 28, 2017). These groups know there is a deep history here, but in some cases, they cannot provide information about their ties to specific places. Indigenous groups are coming back into Jasper to rekindle and revive ceremonies, such as the Sweat Lodge and the Sundance which were once banned in Canada (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). Researchers Thomlinson and Crouch (2012) point out that when Indigenous peoples were forcibly removed from their traditional territories in the newly established national park boundaries, their traditional practices were redefined as intolerable or illegal.

Indigenous histories and knowledge passed down from time immemorial were done through oral histories, the loss of which has had dramatic impacts on the connections that Indigenous groups have with certain places. For oral cultures, having access to traditional territories is a key educational resource. It is through spending time with community members in sacred places that linguistic and cultural practices are passed down between generations (Snow, 2005). Oral histories in many places in Canada have been disrupted by the imposition of English and French on Indigenous groups. Indigenous language speakers losing their language lead to a loss of history (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Gloria Keyes-Brady, JNP's Interpretation and Information Center Coordinator, supposed that in some cases the extent of traditional connection may not be fully known and "...within each of the Indigenous groups that has ties and connections to place, sometimes they themselves are just learning and finding out" what that connection is (personal interview, August 28, 2017). Adding Indigenous histories into interpretation in the park is difficult when some of the Indigenous communities do not know their histories as a direct result of how the country operated in

the past with forced removals and restriction of Indigenous rights (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017).

Some Indigenous histories within Jasper are better recorded than others, for a variety of reasons, which allows certain Indigenous groups to more easily re-establish their connections. Métis histories in Jasper are one of the very few Indigenous connections in the park that visitors are exposed to, aside from the Haida totem pole, which will be discussed later in this chapter. A well-known Métis site in Jasper is the Moberly Homestead. Métis histories are shared in several locations in the park, including the homestead and the Jasper museum. Young stated that there is specific, more obvious Métis histories in this region, more of an Iroquois Métis who might be a bit different from the Red River Métis from Manitoba (personal interview, August 28, 2017).ⁱⁱ There was never a lot of information about other Indigenous groups, other than the Métis, or the treaties in this area according to Keyes-Brady (personal interview, August 28, 2017). She went on to say that she had always known there were many ties between the Métis people and Jasper. With the Moberly Métis family, there is more recent history which makes it easier for Métis people to show a specific connection to this area (Keyes-Brady, 2017). The Métis people have a direct connection to Jasper through the fur trade and the Hudson's Bay Company that operated at Jasper House prior to the formation of Jasper Forest Park (MacLaren, 2007).

Researching and gathering data about Indigenous histories in the park is a costly and time-consuming practice. One way to collect historical data is through Traditional Land Use Studies. These studies are one of the main ways that stories and histories can be gathered from Indigenous Elders and from descendants of people who historically used the land. Deagle pointed out that Traditional Land Use Studies are extremely expensive and as such, Jasper has only funded two of them in the park; one of which was for the Bighorn Chiniki Stoney/Nakoda Nation (personal interview, August 24, 2017). He went on to point out that Jasper is currently working on an Indigenous territories map. This map extends beyond the borders of Jasper, out into British Columbia and Alberta. Some Indigenous oral histories have been recorded and local GIS technicians will be producing this map that will identify First Nation reserves, Métis settlements, and treaty areas (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017).

Adding local Indigenous voices to JNP can be facilitated by the forum, through Indigenous research and consultation and through direct employment. The idea of having an agreement or policy in place between JNP and the Jasper Indigenous Forum in regards to hiring from forum communities is one that comes up frequently at forum meetings. As of yet, there is no such agreement or policy in

place (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). While there is not an official commitment to hire from Indigenous forum communities, there is a desire to, as JNP management has identified hiring Indigenous interpreters as a priority (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017). Deagle did point out that Jaspers' Indigenous affairs unit is proactive when it comes to distributing information about potential hiring opportunities to forum communities (personal interview, August 24, 2017). However, with hiring agreements there is a potential for not finding enough personnel who meet the job requirements to fill the positions (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Traditional land use studies, direct employment and making the Jasper Indigenous Forum an official partner group or engaging it in a co-management capacity, are just a few of the many steps that park management can take towards reconciliation with Indigenous peoples whose traditional territories were taken from them. These types of consultation and collaboration can also build better representations of Indigenous peoples, histories and cultures in JNP.

Improving Relationships: Park Management and Local Indigenous Communities

The Government and Prime Minister of Canada have been vocal about their commitment to renew and strengthen relationships with Indigenous peoples. To summarize this commitment, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said the following on National Aboriginal Day 2017:

No relationship is more important to Canada than the relationship with Indigenous peoples. We are determined to make a real difference in the lives of Indigenous peoples – by close socio-economic gaps, supporting greater self-determination, and establishing opportunities to work together on shared priorities. (Trudeau, 2017)

This announcement makes it clear that there is a need to honour the roles and place of Indigenous peoples in Canada, and that a shifting relationship needs to acknowledge Indigenous rights. Youdelis (2016), however, notes that these types of statements by the government is important for the buy-in of Canadians but also paints those who do not accept the gestures of reconciliation as unreasonable. Parks Canada administers over 90 per cent of federal lands, most of which have been traditionally used by Indigenous peoples according to Parks Canada former CEO, Daniel Watson (2018). Watson states that many parks are cooperatively managed with Indigenous peoples, but did not elaborate. JNP has no such cooperative management agreement in place with any of the current 26 Jasper Indigenous Forum communities who claim traditional connection to the park (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017).

Parks Canada has a wide variety of cooperative management agreements in place with various Indigenous groups. These include co-operative management where Indigenous partners and park officials share equal authority over park management decisions, for example Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve in British Columbia (Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012; Timko and Satterfield, 2008) and Torngat Mountains National Park in Labrador (Parks Canada, 2017). However, most of the older national parks, including Jasper National Park, were established without governmental acknowledgement of Indigenous rights (Redford and Fearn, 2007). It was not until the changes to the Canadian National Parks Act in 1974 that the government was legally bound to consider Indigenous rights and land claims when establishing national parks. This led to the creation of joint or cooperatively managed areas (Murray and King, 2012; Timko and Satterfield, 2008; Turner and Bitoni, 2011). Jasper was established long before the changes were made to the Canadian National Parks Act and was thus not legally bound to manage the park cooperatively with Indigenous peoples. Having co-management agreement in place in Jasper would be beneficial for the cultural interpretation aspects as Indigenous communities would have more control over how they are being represented. It has been noted that the logistics of Jasper, with 26 Indigenous communities, would make a co-management agreement extremely difficult (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). Other national parks that have developed co-management agreements with Indigenous communities have often done so with one or two Indigenous communities, where there were no treaties in place, and through a land claims process (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Hypothetically, it could be possible for Jasper to create a co-management agreement with some Indigenous partners, but according to Keyes-Brady, that decision would have to be made at a higher level of government than even the institution's management (personal interview, August 28, 2017).

Watson (2018) acknowledged the fact that allowing Indigenous peoples to exercise their traditional rights in national protected areas will lead to greater protection of those places and their natural resources so they can be enjoyed by future generations. Indigenous participation and acknowledgement in Jasper has evolved in recent years according to Deagle, who explained that in 2006, when the Jasper Indigenous Forum and the Jasper Indigenous Affairs Unit were formed, aside from random events, there was virtually nothing in terms of Indigenous interpretive programming (personal interview, August 24, 2017). Catto also described the lack of Indigenous representation by indicating that he initially did not see any Indigenous content being shared in Jasper in the past, which made it difficult to see the potential for incorporating Indigenous programming in the park (personal interview, August 29, 2017). This began to change slowly with the formation of two Indigenous

advisory groups: The Council of Elders of the Descendants of Jasper Park (2004), now called the Upper Athabasca Elders Council; and the Jasper Aboriginal Forum in 2006, now called the Jasper Indigenous Forum (*JIF*).

The JIF acting as an advisory body on certain mutual-interest projects with JNP management is working towards increased Indigenous representation in the park (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Improved Indigenous representation is another step towards the reconciliation that the Canadian government and Parks Canada want to build. Respectful and Indigenous lead representations of their cultures is an important aspect of that reconciliation. This can be partially achieved through interpretive programming, signage, and content. Throughout the entire history of JNP, what little Indigenous content was shared through signage and programming, was done through a narrow, Eurocentric perspective. These Eurocentric perspectives produce and maintain stereotypes about Indigenous cultures and histories as they are being presented without consultation. According to Young, wherever you look, Jasper is viewed in a very Eurocentric light (personal interview, August 28, 2017).

There seems to be an understanding among JNP management that there are issues around representing Indigenous cultures from Eurocentric perspectives. There is also a genuine desire to make positive changes. However, this is hindered by the fact that incorporating Indigenous cultures and histories respectfully is incredibly difficult for a number of reasons. Relationship building between JNP management and Indigenous communities has only relatively recently become a priority for the park. Keyes-Brady pointed out that, in the past, Jasper has made numerous mistakes in its relationship with Indigenous peoples (personal interview, August 28, 2017). She outlined further that these mistakes came from a place of genuine ignorance, while others were made out of pure prejudice. When the Indigenous forum began the process and importance of relationship building was not fully understood. As Catto explained, instead of focusing on taking the time to build relationships, the process when working with Indigenous communities was done in a bureaucratic sense led by Parks Canada (personal interview, August 29, 2017). Jimmy Ochiese, an Ojibway Elder with the JIF, explained to Young (personal interview, August 28, 2017), that in order to understand and talk about something you must invest the time to learn – you must sit and listen.

Building relationships between JNP management and Indigenous communities has challenges. Work can be done on certain objectives between JNP management and Indigenous communities, but funding could be lost before the project is complete (Ibelshauer, personal interview, August 30, 2017). There can be reluctance on the side of management to go too far with

relationships, as they make commitments that they do not necessarily have the authority to follow through on with funding or positional change (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Indigenous forum members want to see interpretation park management make more commitments to their on-going projects with them, however; Keyes-Brady explains that one of her fears is that she does not want to create an expectation that she cannot deliver on and has no authority to do so (personal interview, August 28, 2017). She goes on to say that while many of the forum members who have worked with park management for a while understand the issue of expectations not being met, they do not like the way the park operates in that sense, but they understand why it happens. While relationships with JNP management are important, Ibelshouser believes it is equally crucial for park interpreters to develop relationship with Indigenous forum members as well, but there has never been the time to reach out (personal interview, August 30, 2017). Jasper interpreters find themselves very isolated from the Indigenous communities and Indigenous cultures they are meant to represent. JNP management, and Parks Canada as a whole, have been working towards more Indigenous involvement in parks as a path towards reconciliation for years (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017).

Indigenous forum communities have only recently been involved with interpretation in Jasper. This lack of involvement is likely based on many aspects of the historic relationships with JNP management. Indigenous communities were not consulted or asked for input for interpretive content historically. Indigenous forum members have many priorities and interpretation may not have been high on their lists (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017; Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). The perspective of Parks Canada is that they want to build a relationship and increase Indigenous representation in Jasper. To achieve this, JNP management wants to have more Indigenous people involved to tell their own histories, to do their own programs, as well as to dispel some of the myths and stereotypes, while also increasing economic opportunities through contract work (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017; Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Historically, JNP management never reached out to Indigenous communities for input on Indigenous interpretation (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). While the interpretation programs and signage are an important part of Jasper, because it is a smaller department in the grand scheme of the park, the relationship between the interpretation department and the Indigenous forum is very ineffective (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). Ibelshouser explained that the interpretation department had not historically had any opportunities to meet with the forum to discuss Indigenous interpretive content. There is potential for that to change with the recent creation

of an interpretive advisory working group, off of the main Indigenous forum (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Keyes-Brady acknowledges that changes need to be made from how things used to be, affirming that now that park managers know better, they can make decisions to improve Indigenous representations (personal interview, August 28, 2017).

There is an understanding among JNP management that there needs to be more outreach to communities to get their input on Indigenous interpretation in the park. Currently, there is virtually no involvement from the Indigenous forum with the interpretation programs. There is a long way to go to change that, and it is a slow process, but one that is very important and long overdue (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017). With mixed results, the production of some interpretive signage in the park saw management reach out to Indigenous forum communities. Some groups offered a lot of information, while some offered none (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017). The challenge then becomes how to fit a large amount of information on a small interpretive panel. The challenges around how to incorporate Indigenous knowledge will be discussed further on in this and the following chapter. Catto stated that if an interpretive program is going to represent Indigenous cultures, ultimately there needs to be some sort of consultation (personal interview, August 29, 2017). The personal interpretive programs have not benefitted from consultation with Indigenous groups about what should be represented (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017). Consulting is a loosely used term, as there is no formal agreement in place with the Indigenous forum, and projects can move forward without consent from forum communities. Keyes-Brady describes below:

...now we're in a place where we can and need to be consulting with them. I use the term consulting in kind of a general sense because there's definitely...in my experience...sometimes you just got to get things done and I don't know, the few projects I have worked on it's a really slow process and it's really challenging to find an ending to some of these things. (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017)

Despite these challenges, there remains a desire to work with Indigenous communities. According to Deagle, in the winter of 2017 an Indigenous Parks Canada staff member from the Indigenous Affairs branch in Ottawa delivered consultation training to JNP and there was tremendous uptake by staff (personal interview, August 24, 2017). Catto expressed his desire to see more input from Indigenous forum communities on interpretive content within the park (personal interview, August 29, 2017). A consultation process where Jasper gets more input from Indigenous communities on what they want to share with visitors would be beneficial. As Catto outlines below, with many on-going projects with the Indigenous forum communities, a strong relationship is important for success:

...I would like to see more input from the groups, from the Indigenous groups that are related to Jasper, on what we're doing here. We also have pots of money where we've been able to reach out to those groups and have them come in and do their own programming as well. We had mixed success with that...but it's the challenge of finding a group to come in or finding someone to coordinate it, because again this is going back to relationship building. We haven't had enough time to do the relationship building to get to the point where we can get those folks in...so we're not aware of all the different possibilities out there... (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017)

The desire to have Indigenous input in interpretation comes from JNP management and from the Indigenous forum. Ibelshauser believes that the interpreters in Jasper would have the support of the Indigenous communities to incorporate more Indigenous content, because they want their stories told (personal interview, August 30, 2017). They want their histories in the park acknowledged and shared. They would also likely want to be a part of the presentation of their own Indigenous content through having interpreters coming from those communities to present their histories and cultures. This direct, first-hand, knowledge would help to dispel stereotypes about Indigenous peoples and cultures, while limiting misrepresentation by people who are not from those cultures (Ibelshauser, personal interview, August 30, 2017; Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Ibelshauser believes that JNP management works really well when incorporating the feedback which they receive from the forum communities because they realize they have a duty to make changes (personal interview, August 30, 2017). However, the projects they work on together must be of mutual interest to both the park and the forum.

Meaningful change to the relationship between JNP and Indigenous communities cannot be accomplished without knowledge of Indigenous histories in the park and relationships with the park. As previously stated, Indigenous histories of Jasper are overwhelmingly presented from Eurocentric perspectives, leaving Indigenous cultures and histories to be misrepresented and underrepresented. In order for effective change in representation to take place in Jasper, staff must be educated about the Indigenous histories of the park, through cultural awareness training. Lack of cultural awareness training is a very large oversight in JNP. When Young began working with Jasper in 2016, he found that very minimal cultural awareness staff training was available (personal interview, August 28, 2017). Creation of an awareness training program is a large undertaking for a park that has had minimal input from Indigenous communities in regards to Indigenous histories and cultures. There is a great deal of employee training that takes place in the park and covers a wide array of content and issues throughout the many departments, but there is a lack cultural awareness training regarding

Indigenous histories and the parks practices of consultation. In Jeanette Wolfley's (2016) research focusing on Indigenous peoples returning to their ancestral lands, she explains that the training and education process in national parks can be "time-consuming and frustrating for federal government staff because they often want quick answers to specific questions, relationships, and pin-pointing areas and designating isolated boundaries of cultural significance" (70). This notion is echoed in JNP as the cultural awareness training information that is presented is primarily done in a very condensed manner (Ibelshausen, personal interview, August 30, 2017).

JNP management and the Jasper Indigenous Forum set a target of having at least two meetings each year where all Indigenous forum members meet with park management to discuss projects, issues, and topics of significant interest in Jasper (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). JNP management and the Indigenous forum have set up several working groups off of the main forum to focus on specific projects in the park (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). During the spring 2017 Indigenous forum meeting it was decided that a working group would be formed to promote and enhance Indigenous cultural awareness in JNP staff. Deagle explained that the committee is a cross representational group of the Indigenous partners and includes First Nations, Métis and Non-Status Indigenous peoples (personal interview, August 24, 2017). Their duty will be to inform and assist the park in the development of a cultural awareness curriculum. This training is intended to increase park staff and management's awareness of Indigenous histories in this area and improve relations with park management. However, providing this training is complicated due to the high numbers of staff in Jasper.

During its peak season, JNP employs approximately 350 to 400 staff (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Some of these staff members are full-time, others are seasonal staff. Adding new staff each year can create difficulty in ensuring that they all receive the training needed for the upcoming season. However, as policies change, new knowledge is gained, and relationships with Indigenous peoples evolve, additional training is necessary, even for established staff members. Catto explained that the information he received about Indigenous histories in the park has changed drastically between the mid-1990's and 2017 (personal interview, August 29, 2017). For example, based on archaeological evidence it is now clear that Indigenous peoples occupied these lands year-round, not seasonally as previously believed (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017). Changing relationships with Indigenous communities will no doubt continue to add Indigenous knowledge and reshape the histories that are presented in the park. This requires cultural awareness training for new and permanent staff alike. Providing training, not only cultural awareness training, to approximately

400 staff is incredibly complicated. A number of key questions linger: how do you provide cultural awareness training to 400 staff?; how much time should be invested in training front-line visitor experience staff members who deal with visitors on a daily basis compared to middle management?; and, how much time should be allocated to staff members who will never see a member of the public? The cultural awareness working group will be looking at those questions and make recommendations to both the larger Indigenous forum and park management (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

Another question should be asked: should cultural awareness training be seen only as an investment in the park for visitors? Keyes-Brady believes that Jasper desperately needs cultural awareness training for all staff, not only front-line visitor experience staff (personal interview, August 28, 2017). This training can provide context to understand what is going on in the park, to better understand the past and on-going relationship with Indigenous peoples and whether they are improving. In addition, it would help staff feel more connected to, and engaged in, the park (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017; Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). As explained by Deagle, the cultural awareness training is ultimately directed towards front-line visitor experience staff as they have the ability to distribute that information out to the general public which helps increase awareness of Indigenous cultures and histories in the area (personal interview, August 24, 2017). Catto agrees that front-line staff should receive more comprehensive cultural awareness training but believes that some level of cultural awareness training should be mandatory for all staff (personal interview, August 29, 2017). Increased cultural awareness and knowledge in some staff, including supervisors, would overtime flow through to other staff (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Cultural awareness training can help staff connect more deeply with the park and gain more understanding of Indigenous histories and cultures, even if it does not apply directly to their position. Ibelshouser asserts:

...just knowing a little bit extra about the many little stories really makes me feel more connected to the park and to what we're doing...because it makes me feel the park invests in me learning about this, which makes me feel like I should be invested in learning as well and helping to further my knowledge. So, I think that might be the most important thing...if the park shows me as a staff that they're willing to let me participate in this training, which doesn't necessarily relate to my job, it makes me feel more connected to this place, to what I'm doing, the importance of my job...then also supportive of the organization in a way. (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017)

Finding the time to provide training for all staff members is only part of the challenge. Knowing what content to present in the cultural awareness training can also be difficult (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017).

The current 26 Indigenous forum communities agreed to the creation of the working group to develop cultural awareness training with Jasper. Now it comes down to focusing on general awareness and education, which are two separate issues, that include combining Indigenous knowledge with non-Indigenous knowledge (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). The initial aim was to have a training curriculum for the start of the 2018 summer season. However, developing a training curriculum with Indigenous content is a slow process, which partially depends on the cohesiveness of the cultural awareness working group (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). Young pointed out that it has taken decades for Indigenous peoples to get to this point in their relationship with JNP management, and it will not be a quick process to address the missing pieces of knowledge in the park (personal interview, August 28, 2017). Within each Indigenous community there will be a different level and set of knowledge, which will determine their own learning objectives (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Each staff member will have a different level of knowledge of Indigenous cultures, histories, issues, and policies in Canada and in Jasper. Young points to the lack of education in schools, colleges, and universities pertaining to Indigenous peoples as a cause for differences in staff members understanding of Indigenous peoples and histories (personal interview, August 28, 2017). This creates additional challenges when determining what to include in the cultural awareness training curriculum. Creating the cultural awareness curriculum to provide knowledge to the staff, which can then be passed onto the public in some cases, is a balancing act between sharing Indigenous histories, from Indigenous perspectives, and telling the stories of the past relationships between Indigenous peoples, the government, and Parks Canada without damaging the reputation of these institutions. Ibelshauer speaks to the difficulty of striking this balance:

We were working on a half a day awareness program, which is being overhauled again. So, it's kind of like a moving target. So, its original conception was a very accurate representation of the historical relationships between Indigenous peoples and the government. And then I think that was just deemed a little bit harsh, a little bit too "oh we don't want to go that deep." (Ibelshauer, personal interview, August 30, 2017)

Ibelshauer acknowledges that the turbulent relationship between Indigenous peoples and Canada, and in extension, JNP, is often sugar-coated by not acknowledging those past mistakes (personal

interview, August 30, 2017). He sees that more support is being gained from park management for telling these traumatic histories, but it is a slow process.

Cultural awareness training cannot simply leave out the parts of history that portray governments in a negative manner. To do so, continues on the path that the country has been on for too long, which has entailed providing content from Eurocentric perspectives without taking into consideration the impacts on Indigenous communities. The training needs to be more holistic, rather than an “us versus them” scenario. Ibelshouser thinks that the relationship is moving in that direction and the training should reflect that by speaking to what has happened in the past while also looking to what is being done to make changes and rebuild relationships (personal interview, August 30, 2017). To understand where the government and JNP are heading, people need to understand the past relationships, policy changes, and reconciliation actions. Fehr speaks to this:

I think that it is key for people to understand the basic stories and why reconciliation is important and why it's important to work with First Nation and Métis in the case of Jasper. I think it's important for them to have that basic understanding. With some of the things around Section 35 of the Constitution Act, and you know, some of the history that's happened related to, whether its residential schools or treaties, implementation of treaties or lack thereof, and land claim agreements, and some of the evolution. (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017)

Through increased awareness of Indigenous histories and contemporary lives, park staff can better appreciate the work that park management is doing with the JIF communities and understand the that more changes still need to be made. Staff participation in Indigenous ceremonies, when an invitation from an Indigenous group has been extended, will complement their knowledge gained from the cultural awareness training, as they will receive knowledge directly from Indigenous peoples themselves. As the Indigenous Affairs Manager for JNP, Young, helps to facilitate these learning opportunities with Indigenous groups in the park. Ibelshouser (personal interview, August 30, 2017) explains that Young works with the groups and does his due diligence to ensure that any interested staff can come, participate, and learn. Through the cooperation of JNP management and the JIF, steps are being taken to address the Indigenous representation and misrepresentation issues in JNP. There is slight progress being made however there remain outstanding issues that need to be addressed cooperatively between JNP management and the JIF.

The Haida Totem Pole in Jasper

In the midst of reconciliation talks and action in the park, there remains a highly visible structure that continues to misrepresent local Indigenous cultures. In the heart of Jasper townsite stands a 45ft tall Haida totem pole, erected in 2011, known as the Two Brothers Totem Pole. One issue that arises from this totem pole is that it come from the Haida First Nation culture from northwestern, coastal British Columbia. These peoples do not have traditional ties to lands in and around Jasper National Park. In 2017, over two million people visited JNP (Statista, 2018). As with some park staff, many visitors may be entering the park with little or no knowledge of Indigenous cultures or histories, thus they rely on information provided to them in places like national parks to build their knowledge base. The same can be true for individuals who live in Jasper. Catto points out that there remains little knowledge and awareness of Indigenous peoples among locals (personal interview, August 29, 2017). As reinforced by management and members of the JIF alike, the totem pole serves as a way to reinforce stereotypes or generalizations about Indigenous cultures (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017; Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017; Wesley, J., personal interview, October 11, 2017). As there are not many opportunities to increase Indigenous awareness among Jasper residents, structures like the totem pole shape local awareness and can lead to uniformed ideas (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017). Keyes-Brady acknowledges that within the business community of Jasper there has been some ignorance about local Indigenous histories (personal interview, August 28, 2017). Catto believes that JNP management should increase cultural awareness among locals, while others feel the education of locals falls outside the direct duties of Jasper park staff (personal interview, August 29, 2017). However, proper cultural awareness training for staff will provide them with knowledge that can be disseminated throughout the town of Jasper, which is predominantly residents of Euro-Canadian descent (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Young feels it is unfortunate to have a totem pole in Jasper, as it continues to confuse the understanding of whose traditional territory this is (personal interview, August 28, 2017). The totem pole makes cultural awareness more difficult as it is harder to communicate the importance of Indigenous connection to this place when the only symbol of Indigenous culture does not accurately represent any of the local Indigenous groups.

The Two Brothers Totem Pole was not the first totem pole in Jasper. When JNP was established, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway brought in the first Haida totem pole, known as the Raven Totem Pole, which stood for almost one hundred years before being replaced by the Two Brother

pole (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). The origin of the first pole is known, but the mindset of those who erected it is not clear. Parks in the past were primarily tourism focused and Indigenous art was certainly a draw for tourists (Ibelshauser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). Keyes-Brady (personal interview, August 28, 2017) and Wesley, J. (personal interview, October 11, 2017) surmise that people did not think of how the erecting of a Haida pole would be received negatively in Jasper. The lack of consideration for local Indigenous cultures speaks to the Euro-Canadian perspectives of Indigenous peoples when Jasper was first being established, and in particular the insensitivities with respect to Indigenous issues (Ibelshauser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). In 2011, the current totem pole was erected. While there remains no recognition of any of the local Indigenous groups who are part of the Jasper Indigenous forum (Ibelshauser, personal interview, August 30, 2017), it appears that there is disagreement over whether or not to accept a Haida totem pole in Jasper. Deagle spoke of the pipe ceremony that took place in Jasper on July 15, 2011 between some of the local Indigenous communities and the Council of the Haida Nation (personal interview, August 24, 2017). The Haida were welcomed as an honorary member of the Jasper Indigenous Forum. It is not clear which Indigenous forum communities were a part of this ceremony (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Deagle also went on to say that there are Indigenous communities who do have issue with the totem pole being in Jasper, but indicated that they are still getting used to the idea that it is not going to be removed (personal interview, August 24, 2017). Through her research, Megan Youdelis (2016) spoke with local Indigenous peoples from eight different First Nations, and she found that many were concerned that the totem pole would spread misinformation about which Indigenous people actually lived in Jasper and that it also did not represent any Alberta nations. Deagle stated that eventually local Indigenous peoples will have an opportunity to celebrate their cultures in proximity to the totem pole (personal interview, August 24, 2017). This sentiment was echoed by Fehr:

When I first came here occasionally people would bring it [*the totem pole*] up in the forum. We've been working on the Indigenous exhibit in earnest, for about a year and a half or so. It's rare that the totem pole gets mentioned in that context. I think people understand that the totem pole was here, there's a history associated with it. A lot of the forum participants, like the nations, attended with the Haida, the raising of the pole and so on. I think it was obviously controversial, I think probably, my guess is a lot of forum members would probably prefer that the pole not be there, but I think they understand how it came to be and I think, my understanding and my hope, is that they understand that Parks Canada and the Forum have other things that we can do. I'm not hearing a lot of negative feedback, because we've got some pretty interesting initiatives on the go with the

forum and I think as long as those things keep moving forward and they understand that Parks Canada is genuinely interested in working with them and advancing key initiatives and priorities, I don't think we'll hear much about it. (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017)

While there are initiatives underway to improve relationship between Indigenous forum communities and JNP management, the issue of the totem pole does not appear to have gone away. Some Indigenous forum members see the totem pole as a reminder that the government will do what it wants, regardless of connection to place, regardless of whose traditional territory it is (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Having a Haida totem pole in Jasper has upset some of the local Indigenous communities. It misrepresents Indigenous cultures to visitors and locals, and it denies local Indigenous groups the ability to present their own cultures in their own territory (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017; Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017; Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). The erection of the new totem pole without representation of any local Indigenous groups is demonstrative of park management overlooking what is important to Indigenous peoples (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). There is no historical reason to have the current Haida totem pole (Two-Brother Pole) in Jasper, other than the fact that there has been a totem pole (Raven Pole) in the park since JNP was established. It does not relate to local Indigenous communities, it does, however act as a reminder to how things used to be done, and Ibelshouser believes it can be a reminder of how decisions can be better made today with considerations made for local Indigenous cultures and histories (personal interview, August 30, 2017). There is a general understanding, among park management, that the totem pole itself is not entirely respectful of local Indigenous groups, but there is little notion that the pole will be removed (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017; Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Jasper locals have a sentimental connection to the totem pole even though it was erected strictly for tourism purposes. This stems from the fact that a totem pole has stood in Jasper since the park was established (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). There does not seem to be much local interest in obtaining a more complete history of the area, and some non-Indigenous locals are protective of the park and object to any changes being made (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017; Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

Despite the acknowledgement by some JIF member and JNP management that the totem pole is not culturally relevant or appropriate to local Indigenous cultures, there does not appear to be any plans to remove it, or add clarifying details to its interpretive panels to address the cultural

discrepancy it poses in Jasper (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). While removing the totem pole does not seem to be an option that JNP management is pursuing, there remains a different step to take in shaping the representation of local Indigenous cultures. When speaking to the general public or answering questions about the totem pole, most interpreters in Jasper will tell the story as they know it. This includes the information that the totem pole does not accurately represent local Indigenous cultures (Ibelshauser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). To address this misrepresentation, the interpretive panels located next to the totem pole should include content that reflects the history of the totem pole's arrival in Jasper and its lack of connection to Indigenous groups whose traditional territory it stands on (Ibelshauser, personal interview, August 30, 2017; Wesley, J., personal interview, October 11, 2017). Ibelshauser believes this type of acknowledgement of the history of the totem pole could be more beneficial than simply removing it. The representation issue of having a Haida totem pole in Jasper is only one of many issues that the JIF faces. Each JIF community has its own priorities and those priorities are combined with other communities to produce a list of objectives they want to achieve.

Cultural Use Area

When the JIF was first formed, it had a list of objectives. High on that list was the identification of an area within Jasper that would be suitable for small gatherings and ceremonies. In 2011, the Cultural Use Area was established in Jasper and was considered a milestone achievement of the forum (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). JNP management and some Indigenous forum members see the Cultural Use Area as a great example of progress being made (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). William Snow, a JIF member representing the Stoney/Nakoda First Nation at Morley, commented that it was "the one bright spot, I would say the one really good thing that Jasper has done, that is leading everyone else" (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). The establishment of this site was a reconciliation initiative for Indigenous groups who were displaced from the park decades ago. These groups are now welcomed back into a space just for them to do ceremonies and gather without having to worry about being bothered or having a permit. As Young indicates, this is a space to come and be a part of the park (personal interview, August 28, 2017).

The creation of the Cultural Use Area was a great accomplishment for the Indigenous forum who had long been at odds with the park over the inability of local Indigenous groups to practice their ceremonies as well as collect medical and ceremonial plants on land that was traditionally their own.

The local newspaper in Jasper, *The Fitzhugh*, published an article in August of 2017 about the Cultural Use Area entitled “Opinion: National Park rules should apply to all groups”. In the article, local Jasper resident Loni Klettl (2017) characterizes the site as a “lawless oasis in the middle of a national park.” Pointing to two examples, a grizzly bear on the site and a ceremonial fire burning during a park-wide fire ban, the author attempts to place the reader in the mindset that the people using the site are law breakers with no respect for park regulations or wildlife and characterizes the appearance of the bear on site as one who was lured there. She continues on to say that while these Indigenous groups should be allowed in the park to practice their ceremonies, they should not be able to do so at the expense of public safety. What the author does not address is the common occurrences of wildlife traveling through campsites throughout the park, not only at the Cultural Use Area. In addition, the author characterizes all users of the site as untidy, a generalization that would likely not be made for other campsites in Jasper. It was also overlooked, or intentionally omitted, that the ceremonial fire that was burning during the fire ban was approved by JNP management and the users of the site were provided with safety equipment to ensure the fire remained controlled. Young, who directed me to that article, viewed it, if not as starkly racist, as inciting fear that Indigenous peoples are trying to take something away from non-Indigenous peoples through having an area dedicated specifically for Indigenous cultural uses (personal interview, August 28, 2017). It builds upon stereotypes of Indigenous peoples and is clearly missing details. This leads readers to develop their own misinformed views. An increase in positive representations of Indigenous peoples, histories, and rights in Jasper could serve to curb the production of damaging stereotypes.

Simpcw First Nation Traditional Hunt

Similar issues unfolded when Simpcw First Nation began a traditional hunt that took place in JNP in October of 2017. For the hunt, members of the Simpcw, including Elders, youth, men and women, reconnected with their traditional lands during the harvest period. They travelled on foot and harvested three elk, two bighorn sheep and one white-tailed deer with bows and rifles. Park management confirmed that the traditional hunt would in no way have an impact on the sustainability of wildlife populations in the park (Jasper National Park, 2017). Referring to the hunt, Jaspers’ superintendent, Alan Fehr, stated:

Parks Canada recognizes and commemorates the contributions of Indigenous peoples, their history and cultures, as well as the special relationship Indigenous peoples have with the land. In JNP, we work actively with Indigenous communities

that have historical associations with the lands that are today within the park. Parks Canada was proud to support the Simpcw First Nation to conduct traditional harvest activities in JNP in a safe and sustainable way. (Jasper National Park, 2017)

While this hunt was supported by JNP management, occurred in the traditional territory of the Simpcw First Nation, in an area closed for several days to the public, and had no impact on the sustainability of wildlife in the park, many people were unhappy that it took place. Jasper locals and other Canadians who were critical of the hunt took to social media to share their displeasure and their ideas. The public took issue with the definition of traditional, saying that traditionally, indigenous peoples would not have been using rifles and modern tools (Mathews, 2017). This type of thinking falls squarely within the realm of the temporalizing stereotypes that position Indigenous peoples as unable to adapt to changing technologies and the conceptions of “progress” that Europeans brought to the continent. Nathan Mathew, Chief of the Simpcw First Nation, commented that despite using modern tools, community hunts are opportunities to educate the community’s youth on traditional Simpcw ways of life. George Lampreau, a member of the JIF from Simpcw First Nation, asks if “they [*critics of the hunt*] expect us to be running around in buckskin with a stick and string?” (personal interview, November 18, 2017). Jasper park management worked closely with Simpcw First Nation and took time to find a sufficient level of agreement on the hunt’s time, location, species to be hunted and by what means (Mathews, 2017). Chief Mathew explained that they do not want to be confrontational and are simply exercising their constitutionally protected rights to hunt on their traditional territory. JNP management worked well to ensure there was public awareness of the hunt, consultation with Simpcw First Nation, and the sustainability of the wildlife in the park. This seemed to have little effect on public perception of the hunt and what constitutes traditional practices. Critics were still vocal about why Indigenous groups have the right to decide what is and what is not traditional.

This speaks to the problem of the lack of Indigenous awareness among non-Indigenous Canadians. Increased Indigenous representation in places like JNP will set the stage for higher levels of public awareness of Indigenous cultures, histories, and policies throughout Canada. The changes to Indigenous representation and steps being taken towards reconciliation in JNP are moving forward at the same speed as the rest of the country. While there is progress being made to address and repair past relationships between governments and Indigenous peoples, it is happening at a slow pace (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). The incorporation of respectful Indigenous

content into national parks interpretive programming and signage will foster reconciliation and an improved relationship between governments and local Indigenous communities.

Incorporating Additional Indigenous Interpretive Content in Jasper National Park

The minimal amount of Indigenous histories and cultures that form part of Jasper National Parks' interpretive content are mainly shown from Euro-Canadian points of view, rather than from the perspectives of the Indigenous groups whose cultures and histories are being represented (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). The history of the park is often represented in a way that shapes visitors' ideas that Jasper has no history other than European history. Gaining more knowledge of Indigenous histories in the park would debunk the idea that the human presence in Jasper is only a century old (Ibelshauer, personal interview, August 30, 2017). Interpretive content being presented from strictly Eurocentric perspectives demonstrates how Jasper was created and managed. Jasper was managed essentially so people would not have to look at Indigenous peoples, and that is how the park evolved over the years (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). In the early years of interpretation in Jasper, the notion of going out and including Indigenous peoples in the production of interpretive content about their cultures and histories was not there, instead there was a focus on using archival documents to shape what was presented (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Excluding Indigenous peoples from these processes, served to maintain a level of institutionalized racism. European histories are often in the forefront of Jasper's interpretation of history as many Canadian visitors are of European decent and can relate to it. As expressed by Ibelshauer, international visitors may not have the same kind of connection to that content, instead relating more with Indigenous content (personal interview, August 30, 2017). As Young alludes to below, there needs to be a shift in what is being presented, but also how park managers think about interpretation in regards to Indigenous knowledge:

TK [*traditional knowledge*], oral history, Indigenous heritage is what we have to continue to bring into the organization [*Parks Canada*], but more than that we have to continue to change the way we think about interpretation. The way we think about it now is geared toward, again, a very Eurocentric form of getting information and disseminating information. We have to start thinking differently about that, and allowing alternative forms of providing information to visitors, and alternative forms of getting information. And really, we have to just kind of get away from any of the dictates and policies that currently exist in interpretation...what that served to do was just limit thinking and maintain a level

of institutionalized racism from the other side of the table. (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017)

Shifting to a new mindset regarding how information is collected and shared is no small task for park management, but is essential to bringing lasting changes to the relationships between themselves and the JIF communities. Ibelshouser acknowledges that park management may have to change the way they think about Interpretive content, how to better suit Indigenous stories, and how to determine what could, or should, be shared with the public (personal interview, August 30, 2017).

Currently, as JNP functions partly like a business and needs resources to operate, it is oriented towards high numbers of visitors and the quickest ways to deliver information to them. The park, in some ways, has been less invested in bringing people who have traditional knowledge into the park, than bringing people into the park who can continue to create interpretive content based on what visitors want and expect to see and experience (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). This focus on catering to visitor expectations “ignores the ways in which First Nations continue to be disposed from their lands in the name of colonial-capitalist growth” (Youdelis, 2016:7). A national Canadian survey that looked at non-Indigenous people’s views of Indigenous peoples, found that about two-thirds of Canadians were beginning to learn about Indigenous peoples and issues, however negative stereotypes about Indigenous peoples are still profuse (Canadian Public Opinion on Aboriginal Peoples, 2016). The executive director of the First Nations and Family Caring Society, Cindy Blackstock, explained that negative stereotypes allow the federal government to continue to discriminate against First Nations because their actions can match what some non-Indigenous Canadians think Indigenous peoples deserve (CBC News, 2016).

Although there is no hiring agreement in place between JNP management and the Indigenous forum, JNP management has begun to focus on hiring Indigenous interpreters, beginning with their first Indigenous interpreter hiring competition in 2008 (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017). These Indigenous interpreters are not always representative of local Indigenous groups but are starting to incorporate a change in thinking around interpretation that has dominated the park for more than 80 years (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Catto stated that he had the ambition to grow Indigenous interpretation in Jasper since 2008 because as a person of European descent he does not feel appropriate in sharing Indigenous cultural histories, unless it is from a very broad, scientific perspective, as they are not his stories to share (personal interview, August 29, 2017). Hiring Indigenous interpreters not only contributes to a deeper understanding for visitors, but it allows for better representations of Indigenous histories and cultures of the area and it is an

opportunity for JNP management to live up to commitments that they have made to the JIF (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017; Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Increased Indigenous participation in interpretation has been identified as a priority by park management and the Indigenous forum. This has led to the creation of an interpretation working group in 2017 (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017; Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). As Catto contends, adding Indigenous content is an important step in reconciliation between JNP management and Indigenous peoples:

It was something that was not communicated for so very long and that can, in itself, harm a relationship when there is no acknowledgement of this history over a long term. But it's also important for our visitors to understand that national parks, that JNP is not just a protected area, it is also a cultural landscape that has been used since time immemorial really. (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017)

While JNP management has been trying to hire more Indigenous interpreters, Indigenous cultures and histories in the park are still delivered from Eurocentric viewpoints (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017), even though incorporating Indigenous content would provide that layer of missing information that parks and historic sites across the country need (Ibelshauser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). Personal interpretive programming in the park has seen slightly more success in the incorporation of Indigenous content than interpretive signage, which still has mostly no Indigenous content (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017). The questions then become: how do they incorporate Indigenous content and what needs to be removed? Should some of the current Eurocentric history signs be changed? Ibelshauser wants to see an increase in Indigenous content, but also sees the merit in keeping the Eurocentric signage (personal interview, August 30, 2017). He believes that history is important to share, as it speaks to how the country operated in the past in its relationship with Indigenous peoples. It is part of our heritage and our evolving nation. He explains further:

We've done awful things in our country, really bad, terrible things but I think that getting rid of that and kind of not acknowledging it, being like "that was in the past" might be hard but by acknowledging it and talking about it and keeping it kind of in the forefront...I think we can learn a lot from our own mistakes. I think it's important to keep that. (Ibelshauser, personal interview, August 30, 2017)

He makes the point that much of the older interpretive content is inaccurate and insensitive with regards to Indigenous cultures and histories, but that shows how Indigenous peoples were viewed in

the past and how that shaped how they are viewed today. Much more can be done to incorporate Indigenous content into interpretive signs in Jasper, but not through merging European and Indigenous content (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017). Adding context to Eurocentric signs could be productive, but Ibelshouser would like to see Indigenous specific content in order to represent Indigenous stories and knowledge (personal interview, August 30, 2017). There are options of how to represent Indigenous knowledge through interpretive signage, but it must be considered carefully and include input from the Indigenous forum, or the interpretation working group. Keyes-Brady offers two possible solutions: create interpretive signs dedicated specifically to Indigenous content; or include an element of Indigenous perspectives into all interpretive signage (personal interview, August 28, 2017). This would let the public know that Indigenous peoples were a large part of the history of Jasper. Fehr understands the importance of incorporating Indigenous content into interpretation in the park, but does not believe that everything should include Indigenous content, because it may not always be appropriate or meaningful (personal interview, September 22, 2017).

There are many challenges that arise when changing the status quo. In this case, there are many steps to be taken to alter the representation of Indigenous peoples in Jasper. Keyes-Brady has identified a step to make meaningful progress around the issue of Indigenous representation (personal interview, August 28, 2017). She has highlighted the establishment of an official interpretive plan for JNP. This would allow park management and the Indigenous forum to establish a direction, set goals and guidelines and shape the rules of engagement between the groups. Having an interpretive plan would allow JNP management to clearly document the priorities of the forum for messaging in interpretive programming. To some extent, this is partially the goal of the interpretation working group. When the JIF was established virtually no Indigenous programming existed in the park (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017; Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). JNP management has been working with the JIF to increase Indigenous representation in interpretation. Little by little, more Indigenous content has been gradually added over the years. The changes have been very slow, but management unanimously agreed that they are moving in the right direction (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017; Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017; Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017; Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

Changing the narrative that has dominated Canadian history for 150 years is not an easy task. Altering what people think they know about Indigenous peoples and about places like JNP, can often be met with anger and fear (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Young acknowledges that adding more Indigenous content and participation might be a bitter pill for some people to swallow,

but ultimately, Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people want the same thing, for the park to be sustainable (personal interview, August 28, 2017). Part of his job is to demonstrate that it is in the best interest of Canadians and Jasper residents to incorporate Indigenous peoples into JNP. He believes that in the future when we look back on this time, we will wonder why anyone questioned the need to make these changes.

The ability to incorporate Indigenous content is partially based on the willingness and capacity of Jasper and the Indigenous communities to work together to that end, but it is also based on the availability of Indigenous knowledge. As a result of the forced removals of Indigenous peoples from Jasper during the parks' formation, in some cases, there is a disconnect between Indigenous knowledge and traditional areas in Jasper (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Some local Indigenous groups are trying to re-establish that connection to their traditional lands after being displaced from and denied access to the park, however in some cases, they do not have deep levels of traditional knowledge of Jasper (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Fehr speaks to the importance of incorporating Indigenous content into Jasper, but acknowledges that it can be difficult without an Indigenous knowledge holder to help shape the content:

If we don't have any of that information and we're not able to get it from the Stoney (*Nakoda*) or from some other group, well then obviously we're not going to just fabricate it. We're not going to go back to a book written in 1975 and go "here's our reference". I would hope that we wouldn't do that. (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017)

There is a need to gather Indigenous knowledge and history directly from those peoples whose cultures are being shared. Relying on dated information from people who are not part of those cultures will simply continue to perpetuate misinformation and reify colonial ideas and processes.

Without that direct reference to specific Indigenous knowledge, JNP management shares Indigenous histories and cultures through general and universal statements, even though they are not as powerful as specifics (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). Understanding that Indigenous cultures are not static and that they are ever changing, Keyes-Brady says they want to avoid statements like "Indigenous culture is..." because it presents those cultures only from a pre-contact historical perspective without acknowledging that cultures are living and changing (personal interview, August 28, 2017). Ibelshouser thinks that Indigenous interpretation in Jasper is currently being done as well as it can be with the resources they have (personal interview, August 30, 2017). He goes on to explain that prior to the formation of the Indigenous interpretation working group,

Jaspers' interpretation department was very isolated from Indigenous communities and that direct knowledge. He explained further that the lack of resources has required Indigenous interpretation in Jasper to remain minimal and focus on the universal messages until more specific knowledge can be acquired from the Indigenous communities. He went on to describe that there are many ways to represent Indigenous content, some of which can be site and group specific. There are several valley corridors around the current townsite of Jasper, some of which would have been used more heavily by certain Indigenous groups than others. This provides an opportunity for different groups to share their own knowledge in different areas, rather than combining the knowledge of many groups into generalized information.

In JNP, as with any government organization, timelines and deadlines dictate when projects need to be completed. Timelines for interpretive content, programs, and signage are often determined by when the tourism season begins, deadlines for funding applications and submission requests. Moving forward on Indigenous interpretive content without Indigenous participation may be a result of a number of the issues discussed so far in this chapter, but they often lead to the production of generic content because specific knowledge was not acquired. Keyes-Brady recognizes that representing Indigenous content in such a manner opens it up to Indigenous groups to come forward to tell them what is wrong and what needs to be corrected (personal interview, August 28, 2017). She points to that content as being a place-holder until Jasper actually consults with Indigenous groups to add specific and accurate content. It is quite difficult, with such a large and diverse gathering of Indigenous groups, to present all the cultural and historical knowledge that each group wants to contribute to interpretive programming or signage. When reaching out to communities for content, Catto noted that the amount of information gathered was much more than that which could fit into the interpretive panels (personal interview, August 29, 2017). Knowledge of interpretive techniques and scope is limited among those people who do not work in the field and may not understand how interpretive content is currently produced or communicated. It becomes a balancing act between sharing deep Indigenous knowledge and providing consumer-level interpretation for visitors to Jasper (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Each Indigenous group has their own stories to tell, so it becomes simpler to focus on a smattering of commonalities between each Indigenous group, rather than specifics (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). This comes back to the idea of having to change how interpretation is thought about and how, in its current form, it may not match with Indigenous ways of thinking and sharing knowledge (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). JNP management appears to be open to changing

how representations and consultations are organized and produced. There seems to be support in making these types of significant changes to process (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017).

The ability of Indigenous groups to share their own stories on their traditional homes lands is very important and it would allow visitors to connect with the Indigenous histories of the park in a way they never could before. These histories are as significant as anything else in the park (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). Sharing Indigenous place names, stories, and histories, as well as incorporating those connections to place in Jasper would allow visitors to understand the Indigenous stories inside the region (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). It is critical for Indigenous peoples to see themselves reflected in the landscape of the park once again. Management agreed that this could instil a sense of pride in Indigenous communities to see their knowledge being shared in a way that is representative and respectful of their cultures and histories (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

It is not only Indigenous groups and JNP management that want to see more Indigenous content in the park, but also tourism producers as well. Larger tourism companies understand that there is a growing trend among Canadian and international tourists to demand more Indigenous content. Those tourism companies want to offer more experiences of Indigenous programming because that is what their clients want (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). As Raymond Cardinal, the JIF member representing both Sucker Creek and Paul First Nation, points out, the incorporation of Indigenous histories in and connections to parks makes sense from a reconciliation standpoint, but it also makes good business sense. Cardinal points to the fact that Indigenous tourism is a multimillion-dollar industry (personal interview, November 14, 2017). Indigenous tourism ventures provide the means to improve relations between national park management and Indigenous communities. This helps those Indigenous communities to generate a greater sense of ownership over and expression of their cultural heritage (Canadian Parks Council, 2011). It is also important to note that some JIF members want their cultures and histories incorporated into the park, not for visitors, but for themselves (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Western ideals of tourism focus on economic benefits, which is often at odds with Indigenous communities who desire tangible and intangible benefits. These benefits can include increased self-determination, reclaiming history, language and culture, and community health (Shultis and Heffner, 2016). Whatever the reasons, all parties involved seem to understand that Indigenous peoples need to be more respectfully represented in JNP and from Indigenous perspectives. As

Ibelshouser states, JNP management has a duty to represent Indigenous peoples, histories and cultures:

I think that's our duty as the federal parks' system in the country, it's our duty to present and to be honest with people about everything that's going on...I think it's absolutely our duty to push forward and to be champions for Indigenous people and their home territory in our parks and their connections to our parks...it's just slow. (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017)

Park management must work with the JIF communities to ensure that their cultures are being accurately represented. This will provide benefits to the communities, through combating negative stereotypes created through misrepresentation, and to the park itself through providing visitors with comprehensive representations of the park's histories and relationships with Indigenous peoples. However, working with many Indigenous communities while dealing with government bureaucracy has a unique set of challenges, but also great opportunities to positively impact the park and local Indigenous communities.

Opportunities and Challenges: Working with Multiple Indigenous Communities

Each of the 26 JIF communities have their own set of priorities, their own histories, and their own levels of cultural and historic knowledge (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Catto acknowledges the complications that come along with having so many diverse groups and histories represented on the JIF, but he points out that there are also Indigenous groups that are not represented (personal interview, August 29, 2017). Having 26 Indigenous forum members means that there are many diverse histories tied to the land, strengthening overall Indigenous connections to Jasper, but it also creates the issue of not being able to focus on presenting the histories of one group in sufficient detail when producing interpretive content. This diversity of Indigenous cultures and histories usually leads interpretive programming and signage to representing Indigenous content through universal themes that can resonate with multiple Indigenous groups. Ibelshouser states that while broader themes can be very important in sharing Indigenous connections to Jasper with visitors, they are not as impactful or effective as presenting specific Indigenous knowledge (personal interview, August 30, 2017). He continues to make the point that relying on universal themes around Indigenous cultures and histories can limit the knowledge visitors attain about Jasper and the connections people feel to Jasper, which is arguably the central point of interpretive programs and signage.

As Young notes, the complications of having 26 separate Indigenous communities claiming traditional connection to the lands in Jasper seems to be a direct result of past government policies:

Really you have 26 groups but really, when you look back to it...a treaty, reservation, reserve system happened, and you know, territorial control continued. Fragmentation of communities continued. What you see, really, is about five or six different groups, out of the 26. Even then you can boil that down to less. (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017)

There is an understanding among some JIF communities that complexities can arise from having so many distinct voices on the Indigenous forum. This can impede progress on certain projects, and although current JNP management did not create these issues they are responsible for working with Indigenous communities to address them. Cardinal makes clear that the complexities of JNP management having to work with so many different communities are not the result of decisions made by those communities:

It wasn't our choice. We didn't make a choice. The government made a choice... It was the government of Canada that decided to break our communities into multiple administrative units...Here in central Alberta, they have broken up our communities into 17 [*units*]. The populations from treaty six, to seven and eight, are all just about the same. There are seven reserves in treaty seven, 17 in central Alberta, 24 in northern Alberta, because that was government policy changed over time and our reserves were broken up into smaller and smaller pieces. So, when you're saying the number is [*of communities*], the numbers are a direct result of government's policy [*in the past*]. I know it is unfortunate, it makes consultation and engagement with our communities more challenging the further north you go. But that is a problem we didn't create. That is a problem that government created...it is that kind of issue where you have to understand the history of the province, the history of treaty making, the history of reserve making, to understand that this is a problem and a challenge that the government of Canada created. I realize that now parks [*JNP management*] now has to deal with all of these communities. It would be so much easier if there was one Treaty Six, one Treaty Seven, one Treaty Eight rep. But that also doesn't consider regional differences and priorities. So, it's a mess, but it is not our mess, it is their mess that they created. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Despite the complications of having so many different communities involved in the Indigenous forum, the only way to make positive change is to move forward, adapting to solve problems as they arise. Some Indigenous forum communities have been a part of the forum since its conception in 2006, while others joined after it had been established (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017). Deagle states that "of those 20 plus groups [*in the Indigenous forum*], in reality, probably 9-12 play a very active role and the remaining groups are what

we refer to as outlying, the groups demonstrate their level of proactivity just through their deeds and actions” (personal interview, August 24, 2017). The Indigenous forum is an ever-changing entity, with Indigenous communities joining and departing as it suits their community’s needs, priorities, political leadership and capacity to be involved. As Fehr outlines, this can lead to inconsistent forum representation:

A nation will come and there’ll be one or two individuals that have been coming for a number of months or years, and then all of sudden those individuals stop coming, then somebody else might come, and somebody else comes to the next meeting. So, we don’t always have a lot of continuity as far as the membership, the participation from a particular nation. In other cases, it’s very consistent who comes. I think a lot of it’s related to personal interest, and maybe the priority that the community places on the connection to Jasper. (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017)

Lack of continuity in membership can make reaching out to communities difficult when trying to gather information or get feedback when developing a cultural use site or updating interpretive signage because it can be hard to know who to reach out to (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Laurain Gladue, JIF representative from the Kelly Lake Cree Nation, explained that it is a challenge to consistently have the same representation and the same community involvement year after year because for most forum members these meetings require them taking time away from their other responsibilities (personal interview, November 16, 2017). This fluctuation in membership can create complications for the forum and impede progress on some projects. Christopher Gall, an Indigenous forum member representing the Métis Nation of BC, understands the frustration that comes from a lack of continuity in forum membership:

...when all of a sudden you get a committee with a bunch of people and you get new faces quite frequently that bogs the whole process down, because somebody wants to argue or talk about something that happened, or that everybody already came to consensus on a year ago or two years ago or six months ago, and they want to rehash those things and you can spend two days rehashing something that was already settled, and well that was sort of a complete waste of time for everybody who had dealt with that. (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017)

Slow progress is an on-going issue surrounding Indigenous representation in Jasper (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017; Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). There are many reasons for that, such as lack of Indigenous knowledge in the park. As discussed earlier in this chapter, this lack of knowledge is directly related to the disconnection of Indigenous peoples who were forcibly removed from their traditional lands. A general lack of understanding of interpretative techniques among

Indigenous forum members can make it difficult for them to work with JNP management to incorporate their knowledge into the park's interpretive content. Keyes-Brady observed in her working with the JIF on interpretation, that some of the forum members were not familiar with interpretative concepts utilized in the creation and dissemination of interpretive content (personal interview, August 28, 2017). She explained that many of JIF members wanted a lot of information presented in a way that does not work with the current interpretive techniques utilized in Jasper. To clarify, interpretation is the action of explaining the meaning of something, which can be done in various ways, such as through information panels, educational presentations or through theatrics. Indigenous interpretation seeks to represent Indigenous peoples in Jasper. Representation is acting or speaking on behalf of some with regards to a certain subject, Indigenous cultures and histories in this case. Misrepresenting Indigenous cultures and histories in Jasper through sharing false or misleading information about them is generally due to lack of knowledge on the subject or bias towards a certain way of thinking, such as Eurocentric approaches. Timelines, as explored above, become an issue as well in the working relationship between the JIF and JNP management. These issues arise as there are different sets of objectives and differences in understanding on both sides. There are situations where JNP management would like to get feedback on something from the forum, but they have to move forward without that feedback in order to meet their timelines. Keyes-Brady provided an example of issues that arise around reaching out for feedback from forum members:

I sent out a note asking for input and in hindsight, now I recognize that they didn't know how to, like they wanted massive amounts of stuff, they weren't aware of how precise an interpretive panel has to be. So, after getting a few responses, not that many groups responded, after getting a few responses, I said "ok I got to get this done", I got a budget, there's the operational reality of time and money. (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017)

This speaks to the disconnect on both sides. Some JIF members want their information shared in their own way, while park management wants the information to conform to the way they do interpretation. Teaching JIF members interpretative techniques is only one half of the solution. Park management must also be willing to learn from Indigenous communities how they want their knowledge shared in ways that fits their cultures. This is difficult for park managers as they have procedures that they have been taught to follow that do not necessarily mesh well with local Indigenous protocols.

Working within the bureaucracy of a government agency can be difficult because there are timelines to follow and deadlines to meet, sometimes requiring projects to move forward regardless of whether it is fully complete or not. Ibelshauer understands the importance of incorporating Indigenous cultures and histories into Jasper's interpretative content, while also understanding that the information provided by Indigenous forum members does not necessarily fit into the interpretive model used in Jasper (personal interview, August 30, 2017). From the perspective of management, sometimes Indigenous stories must fit into set molds to be effective. It is difficult to gather information, but it is more difficult to disseminate it in a way that is readable and consumable by the masses (Ibelshauer, personal interview, August 30, 2017). However, this crossroads emphasizes the notion that JNP management needs to rethink how interpretation is done and acknowledge that the current methods may not fit with Indigenous ways of sharing knowledge (Ibelshauer, personal interview, August 30, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

JNP management has been working with the Indigenous forum to find ways in which Indigenous input can be more effectively gathered and utilized in various aspects of the park. The establishment of these working groups is a way to address the lack of progress being made with JNP management and the JIF on a variety of projects. Young points out that some topics are quite in-depth and they cannot be adequately addressed during any one JIF meeting, such as the issue of Indigenous representation or interpretation (personal interview, August 28, 2017). JNP management would like to see that each working group consist of First Nations, Métis and Non-Status individuals from the JIF to ensure equal representation and the broadest amount of input available for them to base their decisions on (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). The idea for the working groups is that they will have spokespeople who will report back to the JIF. The working groups are a way for JNP management to get input from JIF members on specific issues and synthesize results. This process is to work with Indigenous forum members to come up with recommendations, make decisions based on those recommendations, and then ultimately generate changes to the way the park operates (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

The cultural heritage site working group was the first working group established and it is focused on making recommendations on how to properly manage and utilize the cultural use area which is mostly used for Indigenous gatherings and ceremonies (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). As indicated, the Cultural Use Area in Jasper is an area open to all Indigenous groups with traditional connections to Jasper and, as a result, there are many different cultural practices that dictate how the site is used. The site is tailored for approximately 60 people, but there have been

gatherings of up to 400 people. Some of the Indigenous communities feel that it is too intensive of use for that area. Deagle explained that the working group around overseeing that area was never solidified, for uncertain reasons, so the responsibility to coordinate and schedule events there has fallen to Jaspers' Indigenous Affairs Unit (personal interview, August 24, 2017). He continued saying that JNP management would like to see the Cultural Use Area evolve, but the suggestions of how that should be done needs to come through the cultural use area working group. The direction the cultural use area remains unclear as there is not a consensus on what should be done. Some Indigenous forum members want it left as it is, with little infrastructure, while others would like to see more facilities built (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017).

The decision to create a working group to address cultural awareness training in Jasper was made at the JIF meeting in April 2017. The cross-cultural awareness working group had its initial meeting in September 2017 (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). Their goal is to address some of the cultural awareness training shortfalls in Jasper, which were discussed earlier in this chapter. They are developing a curriculum that will introduce park staff to Indigenous cultures and histories in a more comprehensive and respectful way which incorporates Indigenous perspectives. This will move away from the overwhelming Eurocentric perspectives that dominate the current histories being presented in the park.

To address some issues of misrepresentation, JNP management and the JIF have been creating an exhibit structure to represent local Indigenous cultures, which will be located across the street from the totem pole in the Jasper townsite. As indicated by Deagle, the new Indigenous exhibit structure is being created as a direct response to the totem pole:

The totem pole was the catalyst for the Indigenous exhibit. Because the totem pole, as you likely know, is not regarded as a traditionally authentic piece from this area. It was brought to the area, you know, to replace a previously decommissioned pole that stood for 90 some odd years. The original totem was brought to Jasper by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. So, partners look askance at the Haida totem. The superintendent at the time of the placement of the two-brothers' totem made a promise to the Indigenous partners that JNP would support and fund a complement to the two-brother totem pole and what was decided upon was the Indigenous exhibit which is quite tremendous in scope. (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017)

Fehr, does acknowledge that when he first began work with the JIF in 2015 the issue of having a Haida totem pole in Jasper was brought up during Indigenous forum meetings. He hopes that this new Indigenous exhibit will demonstrate that Parks Canada is genuinely interested in working with the

Indigenous forum and advancing key initiatives and priorities. Initially the exhibit was scheduled to be completed by the spring of 2018. Deagle points out that this project has been progressing at a very slow pace but remains hopeful that the exhibit will be on ground by the fall of 2018 (personal interview, August 24, 2017). The exhibit is being overseen by the Indigenous Exhibit Working Group and it will be a centerpiece sculpture, symbolizing the Indigenous presence in Jasper. Space will also be provided so that each of the 26 Indigenous forum communities can present their own cultures and histories (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). The representation of these cultures and histories from Indigenous forum communities goes back to the issue of how interpretation is done in Jasper, which may not be conducive to Indigenous ways of sharing knowledge (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). During a presentation about what interpretation could be to some of the Indigenous forum members, Keyes-Brady felt as though some members were considering her views on interpretation. However, others told her that they were not presenting their cultures for visitors, they were doing it for themselves (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). This idea does not fit with the current, consumer-focused, methods of interpretation in Jasper (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Many of the Indigenous forum members prefer just to have their stories told and they want people to know JNP was created on their land (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017).

Increasing communication between JNP management and the Indigenous forum is another goal of these working groups. Deagle still sees the need for communication bridges to be built between JNP management and the forum:

We have received feedback from JIF members who have remarked that they're not aware that there are Indigenous interpreters in Jasper. They feel like they aren't being kept in the loop and that's our oversight, that's an oversight of the IA (*Indigenous Affairs*) unit, of not keeping members apprised of the hiring of Indigenous interpreters. So, it begs the question should there be better...do we need to strengthen the relationship between the Indigenous interpretation program and the forum members directly. You know, I think a bridge needs to be built between those two functions to improve communication and to learn. (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017)

This idea of reshaping interpretation in Jasper to include Indigenous perspectives is being addressed through the Indigenous interpretation working group. This working group will allow for more direct contact between those creating and presenting Indigenous interpretive content and those who are the subject of that content. There remains a disconnect between the way Indigenous interpretation is done and the way Indigenous people want their information shared. The working group can allow

Indigenous forum members and Jasper interpreters to share their expectations to develop a productive strategy. The working group is a way to work together to find a middle ground that each group is satisfied with (Ibelshauser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). Having this group as an advisory body, one that can help shape interpretive content, will allow management and the forum to set educational targets they would each like to achieve (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017). Ibelshauser points out that JNP management can be effective at accepting feedback, but Indigenous forum members would be able to provide much better contextual feedback about Indigenous content, which would lead to more accurate and impactful interpretive representations (personal interview, August 30, 2017). As Keyes-Brady explains, without that relationship and working group with Indigenous forum members, Indigenous interpretation in Jasper was done under the presumption that it is better to have something instead of nothing:

I hope that we air on the side of caution, but I think, my theory behind doing the Indigenous interpretation, is it's better to go out and kind of do something. And if somebody doesn't like it then you can change it. But if you're doing nothing you don't know what you're doing wrong and you don't know what you're doing right. (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017)

The idea of doing something wrong rather than doing nothing at all leads back to the lack of communication between the JIF communities and park management. Indigenous communities have knowledge that should be incorporated into the parks interpretive offerings. The creation of the interpretation working group shows a willingness by park management to rethink how they interact with Indigenous communities when it comes to producing Indigenous interpretive content.

The Indigenous interpretation working group can help to ensure that both the JIF and JNP management are in agreement when it comes to what the priorities are around interpretation and Indigenous representation. Keyes-Brady has a sense that interpretation is not as important to the Indigenous forum because they have more pressing issues that they are working on (personal interview, August 28, 2017). Ibelshauser echoes that idea as he believes that interpretation is not a main focus of the Indigenous forum as other projects around Indigenous consultation and the Indigenous exhibit structure seem to take precedence (personal interview, August 30, 2017). The Indigenous exhibit, however, is primarily an interpretive structure which will include interpretive panels designed to allow Indigenous groups to share their cultures and histories from Indigenous perspectives.

Deagle indicates that JNP management is not hearing comments or complaints from Indigenous communities expressing that they do not feel like their cultures are accurately represented (personal interview, August 24, 2017). A number of JIF members have expressed their displeasure with the lack of visual acknowledgement that this is their traditional territories in Jasper. Numerous JIF members feel like this lack of visual acknowledgement impacts how they are being represented in the park (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017; Wesley, B., personal interview, October 11, 2017; Wesley, J., personal interview, October 11, 2017). This reveals either an inability to communicate effectively, differing priorities and perceived levels of importance in certain issues, or an unwillingness to address Indigenous concerns. These issues can lead to poor relationships and diminish progress on project goals and reconciliation. It is clear that producing accurate Indigenous interpretive content is a challenge for JNP management for a number of reasons. This is partially due to the fact that accurate Indigenous representation have not been a priority for JNP throughout most of its history and adding it now will change the narratives that have been in place for over 100 years. It is also partially due to the fact that there are many diverse Indigenous cultures and histories that need to be represented in Jasper and the current, consumer-level interpretive methods employed, do not always mesh with Indigenous ways of sharing knowledge. An example of a change that was made to Indigenous interpretation in 2017 was the removal of Medicine Wheel teachings from interpretive programming. Several Indigenous forum members expressed concern about the way the teachings were being done. As a result, these teachings were pulled from interpretive programming to be respectful of the concerns of forum members (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017; Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

Fehr acknowledges that the Medicine Wheel teachings are important spiritual objects to some Indigenous groups, but also admits that it is hard to know how to handle issues like that and questions whether it is feasible to stop doing something each time someone brings up a concern about it (personal interview, September 22, 2017). He understands that with 26 Indigenous groups, as with any diverse group, you will likely never get everyone to agree on something. The Indigenous interpretation working group was formed to address those kinds of issues and to review interpretive content and signage. There are many interpretive panels in Jasper that are out of date. Collaborating with the working group, JNP management can determine which signs to redo and how they should be redone, with some having Indigenous content and some not. As Fehr explains, this collaborative

process can take a long time and can require JNP management to get Indigenous input multiple times over the course of a project:

...but when you're going to be going back multiple times, it adds to the timeline, but it also adds to the strength of the connection to the place. So, you have to be prepared not to deliver something in the next summer. The process is often important...The process of being heard and being seen that they're [JIF] being heard and that they have an opportunity to continue to speak and to be listened to...is important. (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017)

The working group will help facilitate the discussions about specific issues regarding signage and programming. Even with the working group, progress will be slow as agreements need to be reached between park management and JIF members as well as between JIF members themselves. Some liberties are taken to ensure that Indigenous knowledge is shared, but that it can also apply to several Indigenous groups as space for sharing information can be limited.

Creating Indigenous interpretive content in Jasper is done using general themes to allow for a grouping of Indigenous messages and avoid getting specific details wrong (Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). Fehr states that it is not uncommon for interpretive signs in the park to read "Indigenous people did this..." or "First Nations people did that...", and feels that is reasonable given the lack of specific Indigenous knowledge the park has (personal interview, September 22, 2017). He goes on to say that sharing generalized Indigenous content on signage is simpler, because unlike personal interpretive programming delivered by an interpreter, you cannot adjust content on signs as easily.

The production of Indigenous interpretive content and the reviewing of existing content will hopefully include more input from the JIF and from its working groups. Changing Indigenous representation is not only about reaching out for input to bring into the park, but it is also about JNP management looking at themselves to figure out why they do what they do and challenge some of the foundational concepts that have shaped interpretation. JNP management must be willing to change and evolve (Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017). As there is so much diverse Indigenous history in the park, Catto would like to see that at least half of the interpretation team in Jasper come from an Indigenous background (personal interview, August 29, 2017). Aside from the newly created Indigenous interpretation working group, there were no consultation channels available for park interpreters and managers to work with Indigenous groups on developing Indigenous content (Catto, personal interview, August 29, 2017; Ibelshouser, personal interview, August 30, 2017). The current Indigenous interpretive content is acting as a place holder until

consultation can be done with Indigenous groups over what they would like to share (Keyes-Brady, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

If not for the recent Canada 150 Celebrationⁱⁱⁱ, one would wonder if the reconciliation actions being discussed in Parks Canada would have been at the forefront in the public perception of Jasper (Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017). Fehr believes that although many changes are being made, or discussed, in Parks Canada under the designation of reconciliation, the organization has been working towards that goal for many years. He commented further: "...it's to the point now that Indigenous initiatives are part of our daily work" (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). As a part of the preparations for the release and implementation of the 2020 JNP management Plan, management is working with the JIF on the Indigenous Relations Indicators for the Jasper National Park State of the Park Assessment (Parks Canada, 2018). The assessment will include the rating of several indicators related to Indigenous relations with JNP, including collaborating in park planning, management and operations, in order to evaluate how JNP management and the JIF work together and identify areas for improvement. This evaluation must take into consideration not only government measures of success but also how Indigenous communities view progress towards adequately addressing issues. As explored throughout this chapter thus far, there are many issues that require a deeper understanding and appreciation by JNP management in order to address them in a way that is both respectful to the JIF communities and that will produce lasting results. Only with a comprehensive view of the representation issues faced by Indigenous communities and their impacts can JNP management collaborate appropriately with JIF communities to remedy those issues.

Conclusion

Most of Jasper National Park management who participated in this research seemed to demonstrate a genuine desire to work towards improving Indigenous representation in Jasper, but they offered few tangible suggestions on how to achieve it. There is a vision of how relations could or should be in Jasper, but a lack of understanding of how to get there. The misunderstandings around interpretation comes from both sides of the table. Some JIF members are not familiar with interpretive theory and how it is meant to work, while some JNP management do not fully understand or appreciate the negative impacts misrepresentative can have on Indigenous peoples. Misrepresentation can reinforce negative stereotypes of Indigenous peoples as they are continually portrayed in a way that maintains the status quo. Eurocentric perspectives trivialize many significant

portions of Indigenous histories in Canada, partially through homogenizing Indigenous cultural histories into one pan-Indigenous experience instead of embracing the vast diversity.

National parks across Canada, and those that manage them, have their own set of unique challenges and opportunities when working with Indigenous peoples. Consequently, there is no Parks Canada-wide scale to measure success in this context. The improvement of relations between Indigenous communities and JNP, including any progress made towards increased Indigenous participation in park planning, management and operation, is measured against past successes or failures. This leads to ambiguous results when one claims that Indigenous representation or participation in the park is improving, when one only compares it to the recent past. It becomes easy to tout current relationships with Indigenous communities as beneficial, when the base measurement is no relationship at all or one fraught with cultural loss or displacement from sacred territories.

Timelines are an ever-present issue within any company or government organization and JNP is no different. The slow progress being made in Jasper around Indigenous representation can be explainable, as there are many moving pieces when working on various projects with multiple partners. This progress is hindered further by having numerous Indigenous communities working with park management, who at times struggle to understand or accept the importance of relationship building and Indigenous ways of sharing knowledge. Slow progress is seen as acceptable by park management when working towards Indigenous representation as so much time has passed without any interaction between the two groups. On the contrary, the status quo and slow progress are sentiments not shared by many Indigenous communities who have waited for these opportunities to assert their rights and return, at least partially, to their traditional territories.

JNP management has made positive changes in the park through their relationships with Indigenous communities. The best example of this is the Cultural Use Area in Jasper where Indigenous communities can gather and reconnect to their traditional lands. They have also established working groups through which park management and Indigenous communities can focus directly on specific projects, potentially allowing for them to progress more quickly. The working groups are looking to address specific issues in the park, including Indigenous interpretation and cultural awareness training. Interpretation is focused on consumer-level methods of presenting information and this limits how and what aspects of Indigenous cultures and histories could, or should, be shared. Cultural awareness training will be resisted by many who hold current ways of thinking about Indigenous histories in Canada. Subsequently, it becomes a challenge to include the aspects of Indigenous histories that portray Canada, and Jasper, in a negative light.

While some progress has been made to improve Indigenous representation in Jasper, there remains large hurdles to overcome on the path to true reconciliation. JNP management works with diverse Indigenous communities, welcoming their insight and feedback and incorporating their ideas into park operations and projects. Currently, this working relationship remains unofficial. This means that Jasper is under no legal obligation to remain working with Indigenous communities on issues of interpretive representation. This may cause uncertainty over how the relationships will evolve as Indigenous communities look for greater involvement in the park. To address many of the issues that impact Indigenous representation in the park, management has to work more closely with Indigenous communities to represent the aspects of Indigenous cultures and histories that communities deem appropriate to share with people outside of their cultures. Working towards reconciliation must include a willingness on behalf of park managers to rethink how they have represented Indigenous peoples in the past and be receptive to new ways of thinking about interpretation that includes Indigenous knowledge as well as Indigenous methods of knowledge production and dissemination.

CHAPTER 3. REALIZING RECONCILIATION: THE NEED FOR INCREASED INDIGENOUS INVOLVEMENT IN JASPER NATIONAL PARK

People travel from across Canada and around the world to visit Jasper National Park. They come to view the incredible landscapes, glimpse at illusive wildlife, traverse exciting hiking trails, swim and paddle in pristine lakes as well as to learn about the history of this area (Jasper National Park of Canada Management Plan, 2010). There is no shortage of history to share in Jasper, however as has been discussed previously, and examined further throughout this chapter, aspects of the history in Jasper and Canada are excluded, diluted or misrepresented. The establishment of Canada's first national parks, including Jasper, were motivated by economic objectives. To forward these economic and political goals, the Canadian mountain national parks were designed specifically to protect land, not for conservation, but for tourists (Binnema and Niemi, 2006; Dearden and Berg, 1993) and to accommodate increased resource-extraction in the parks (Mason, 2014). Shultis and Heffner (2016) explained that although protected areas, such as national parks, serve many functions, their primary purpose has always been for leisure or recreational activities. To access the newly formed mountain national parks, early tourists relied primarily on the railway. Since the railway held a monopoly on tourists travelling into the parks, they were able to shape their marketing to fit their needs. This led to the popular belief that places such as Jasper were empty, untouched wildernesses. However, Jasper was not vacant. For thousands of years prior to European arrival, Indigenous peoples lived and thrived in the Canadian Rockies. In order to back up the idea of pristine wilderness in the park and show tourists these untouched landscapes, Indigenous peoples were forcibly removed from their traditional territories in the newly established park boundaries and their traditional practices became illegal or unwelcome (Thomlinson and Crouch, 2012; Binnema and Niemi, 2006). The justification for and impacts of the forced removals will be discussed further on in this chapter.

Although traditional Indigenous connections to the lands in and around Jasper are accepted and acknowledged by JNP management, Indigenous cultures and histories have been overwhelmingly omitted from interpretive programming and signage within the park. Individuals looking to learn more about Indigenous histories in Jasper may visit JNPs website in search of information. However, the website yields minimal mention of local Indigenous groups who have traditional connections to the area and includes no acknowledgement of what Indigenous nations they are. One of Parks Canada's fundamental mandates is education (Jasper National Park of Canada Management Plan, 2010). This education must extend to educating the public about Indigenous histories and cultures within the

park, through collaborative efforts between JNP management and the JIF. Within portions of Canadian society there is little appreciation for or knowledge of Indigenous cultures (Promising Pathways, 2014). Lack of education about and acknowledgement of Indigenous cultures and histories in Jasper has led to the continuation of misinformed ideas and problematic stereotypes about Indigenous peoples. As this chapter will reveal, these ideas and stereotypes have been partly perpetuated by the lack of Indigenous representation and the production and dissemination of interpretive programs and signage that present Indigenous cultures and histories from Eurocentric perspectives. Guided by Indigenous Methodologies, the research findings presented in this chapter draw from evidence collected during semi-structured interviews with the diverse members of JIF. Recommendations of how to address several of the representation issues in JNP, including education, are addressed in this chapter. JNP management and JIF members have similar goals in some cases, but often have differing perspectives and methods for achieving those goals. This chapter focuses more heavily on the perspectives and opinions of JIF members, who have deeper understandings of the impacts misrepresentations have on their communities, as well as productive ideas about how to address these representations.

Incorporating Indigenous content into JNPs interpretive programming and signage is a slow process and what little has been done is still influenced and controlled by those outside of the cultures that are being presented. In this chapter, I contend that changing the way Indigenous knowledge is gathered and presented is necessary to ensure that respectful and accurate content is shared with park visitors. Through working more closely with local Indigenous peoples, JNP management will be able to address the issues that arise from the misrepresentation of Indigenous histories and cultures and take responsibility for their role in producing and perpetuating Indigenous stereotypes and marginalization. Incorporating diverse Indigenous voices into park management decisions is essential to not only the production of interpretive content that acknowledges the historical land rights and contemporary presences of local Indigenous communities, but also to build the necessary bridges that make reconciliation possible.

Traditional Connections: Indigenous Ties to the Lands in Jasper National Park

Every national park across Canada has a unique history that includes Indigenous peoples, as they all exist on the traditional territories of one or more Indigenous groups. Parks Canada former CEO, Daniel Watson (2018), acknowledges that most federal lands that Parks Canada administer have been traditionally used by Indigenous peoples. JNP is no exception. Jasper is rich in Indigenous

histories and cultures but operated for nearly 100 years without input from, or consideration for, Indigenous peoples. Jasper is located in the traditional territories of many Indigenous groups, most of whom are still fighting to have their voices and concerns heard and respected by park management.

It was not until 2006 that an unofficial Indigenous advisory committee was established to allow JNP management and local Indigenous groups to meet and discuss Indigenous concerns related to their traditional lands and activities in the park. This advisory committee is the Jasper Indigenous Forum, or JIF. The JIF consists of representatives from 26 Indigenous communities with traditional ties to the park. These traditional connections are not questioned by park management, but accepted according to Jasper's superintendent, Alan Fehr (personal interview, September 22, 2017) and Jasper's Indigenous Affairs Manager, Mark Young (personal interview, August 28, 2017).

Fehr, while unsure about the actual process, believed that the establishment of the forum stemmed from interest expressed by Indigenous groups to work with JNP management (personal interview, September 22, 2017). This interest was articulated by Indigenous nations meeting with and writing letters to past superintendents and managers. Barry Wesley, from the Bighorn Chiniki Stoney/Nakoda community, works directly with parks in consultation. Wesley, B. confirmed that the JIF was formed by Indigenous communities coming together and meeting with JNP management who agreed to its development (personal interview, October 11, 2017). The initial JIF was comprised of only five communities when it was first established, all of whom had the same requests (Wesley, B., personal interview, October 11, 2017). Some of these requests have been fulfilled, such as the complementary park passes, while many others are still outstanding (Wesley, B., personal interview, October 11, 2017).

The JIF has been viewed by its members as both a positive tool in allowing them to work with park management and as a committee that does not have as large of an impact as it should on Indigenous participation in park management decisions. Christopher Gall, the JIF representative for the Métis Nation of British Columbia, sees the JIF as a "really powerful advocacy tool" for Indigenous communities to participate in park management (personal interview, November 15, 2017). William Snow, the consultation manager for the Stoney/Nakoda Nations, views the forum as a positive way to bring people together and into the conversation around Indigenous participation in the park (personal interview, December 1, 2017). Raymond Cardinal, from Sucker Creek First Nation, was a member of the JIF when it was first established (personal interview, November 14, 2017). Cardinal represents both Sucker Creek and Paul First Nation on the JIF. He acknowledges that having the forum allows Indigenous communities to raise issues and concerns with park management, but also it makes clear

that many concerns are expressed time and again without seeing any progress from park management in addressing them. Gall understands the frustrations over the lack of progress on certain issues in Jasper, but tries to keep the focus on what has already been achieved. He can view issues from park management perspectives and understands the complications that comes with working with so many different groups:

I think it [JIF] has broken a lot of ground and done things that have not been done elsewhere, and in a context, that is really complicated and messy and convoluted...with just so many different nations and groups and voices. And the fact that they have done that and accomplish what we have I think is a tremendous testament to the Parks staff, to the superintendent, and the desire of Parks Canada and the forum members to right some wrongs and move things forward...but again a lot of these things can be done better and more can be done. (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017)

Despite progress, the JIF remains unofficial twelve years after its formation and there are no official agreements by which the forum exists. Young pointed out that there is nothing directing JNP management that they need to stay involved with the JIF (personal interview, August 28, 2017). While there is no indication that will occur, the JIF could technically be dissolved if management chose to do so. George Lampreau, a counselor from and representative for Simpcw First Nation on the JIF, questions why the JIF members are not partners with the park instead of just an advisory group (personal interview, November 18, 2017). He believes that JIF members should have as much decision-making authority as JNP management in park management decisions. Rick Ouellet, the grandson of John Moberly, of the Moberly Métis homesteaders from Jasper, does not believe that park management will ever move to make the JIF any more than an unofficial advisory group (personal interview, December 3, 2017).

The JIF has been a way for Indigenous peoples to come together and express their connection to Jasper through their cultural or historic ties and spiritual practices (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017). Each JIF community has a connection to Jasper. Stoney/Nakoda Elders John Wesley (personal interview, October 11, 2017) and Charlie Abraham (personal interview, October 17, 2017) both spoke to deep connections to the land in Jasper, but also to the Canadian Rockies and foothills to the east. Abraham, C. shared the story about how his grandfather would travel through the mountains to hunt and fish, and how they would live in the winter on dried meats and berries that were collected through the summer (personal interview, October 17, 2017). According to Wesley, B., the Stoney/Nakoda peoples have a connection to all areas within Jasper's boundaries, with some

significant ceremonial sites that they would like to have protected from the intrusion of the public (personal interview, October 11, 2017). There are many sacred places and burial sites in these areas. Snow stated that the Stoney/Nakoda have used these lands for hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering (personal interview, December 1, 2017). Wesley, B. went on to say that there are other groups with historical ties to the area even if they did not sign treaties, for example the Métis (personal interview, October 11, 2017). Gall participates in the JIF on behalf of the Métis who have strong ties to Jasper as a part of the fur trade (personal interview, November 15, 2017). He believes that most Métis cultural routes are so strongly tied to fur trade routes, some of which passed through Jasper, that the region has historical significance for Métis peoples. Gladue stated that her people have been in this area since time immemorial (personal interview, November 16, 2017). She says that they were always a mountain people and that this is their home. Gladue points out that there are a number of sacred sites for her people in Jasper, one of which was a site that passed through Snake Indian Pass. Lampreau also made clear that the area in Jasper was the start of the Simpcw traditional territory, and that his people were living there prior to the establishment of the park (personal interview, November 18, 2017).

As previously stated, Indigenous peoples were forcibly removed from their traditional and historic territories as the newly established park was represented to tourists as an empty wilderness and to make room for resource extraction. There were many excuses presented as justification for the removal of Indigenous peoples from their traditional lands, none of which stand up to scrutiny. George Stewart, the first superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park (the precursor to Banff National Park), stated that “It is of great importance that if possible, the Indians should be excluded from the park” (Binnema and Niemi, 2006: 729). His reasoning was to protect game species and ornamental trees. Indigenous hunters were often blamed for declines in wildlife populations and that was justification to evict them from the newly formed mountain parks. A report by the Department of Indian Affairs pointed to the construction of the railway as a contributing factor to the declining wildlife population as it impacted the success of Indigenous hunters (Binnema and Niemi, 2006; Snow, 2005). In 1929 M. Christianson, an Inspector of Indian Agencies, found that Indigenous peoples were causing no harm in the parks and the excuses to remove them was “simply a matter of the Parks Branch wanting to get rid of them” (Snow, 2005: 121).

Forced removals had and continue to have tremendous impacts on Indigenous communities. According to Elder Charlie Abraham everything had changed once the park came into being; “You can’t hunt. Everything had changed” (personal interview, October 17, 2017). During many forced

removals, no consideration by park management, was given to the material, cultural and livelihood losses felt by Indigenous peoples and no assistance was provided to find alternatives to the resources that were previously available from their traditional lands (Timko and Satterfield, 2008). The removals not only impacted the people who were removed, but also their descendants:

It was a huge impact and it is still. It's a history that we don't want to be lost. We don't want it to be lost that we have this presence here. This is the home of my ancestors and I feel like we are respecting our ancestors by acknowledging...the biggest part of it is for our ancestors. And for our youth that are coming up. It's our duty. We are stewards of this land and we're never going to stop being knowledge holders. We have many knowledge holders of families that used this area. We don't want it to be forgotten." (Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017)

These histories must be remembered and acknowledged. Although certainly a darker chapter in Canadian history, forced removals are a part of Jasper and Gall believes that park management has an opportunity to celebrate the diversity of Indigenous cultures, but must also acknowledge the colonial mindset that shaped the creation of the park (personal interview, November 15, 2017). Loretta Belcourt (personal interview, November 27, 2017), Métis JIF representative from Lac Ste. Anne, and Ouellet (personal interview, December 3, 2017) both shared stories of RCMP and police, under the threat of force or by force, removing Indigenous people from their homes within the park boundary. This history of forced removals is mostly understood by park management but the impacts may not be. As Snow alludes to:

There are a wide range of impacts. I think the biggest impact was hunting and gathering. From what I recall, I believe, the restrictions around removing First Nations from Parks happened shortly after the Parks were created...shortly after the Parks were created there is some Federal legislation under the Indian Act that identified Indians could no longer reside or camp or hunt and fish within Parks, Federal parks...that restricts your ability to exercise your Aboriginal and Treaty rights...

I don't think they [*JNP management*] all understand that. I'm not sure if they are all aware of the impact. They are not aware of that repressive policy period. I would say, generally, not all parks personnel are aware of that. (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017)

More cultural awareness and Parks Canada history trainings are necessary for Jasper parks staff and management to understand and appreciate the impacts that early government policies had and continue to have on Indigenous communities. The issues around cultural awareness training will be addressed further on in this chapter.

The forced removals led to the banning of many cultural practices in Jasper and in many locations throughout the western provinces. Wesley, J. pointed out that before the JIF it was hard to harvest medicinal plants as you had to sneak into the park where traditional medicines were found because there was no freedom to do so (personal interview, October 11, 2017). According to Brian Catto, the Interpretation Coordinator for JNP, currently, as per a memorandum of understanding with JNP management, JIF community members are now officially permitted to harvest plants in the park for ceremonial, spiritual, or traditional purposes (personal interview, August 29, 2017). Despite being forcibly removed from Jasper and having their cultural practices, such as hunting, fishing and gathering, banned, many Indigenous groups continued to utilize their traditional lands in secret:

I'll tell you right up front, that connection was not lost, it just went underground. Those practices of...at least gathering have continued. It's just that people are very cautious and careful in terms of them that, because we do have a connection that we respect and recognize. And the fact that white people tell us we cannot do it is not grounds enough for us to stop that activity. It's just that we aren't going to be flagrant about it and do it in front of everybody. But these kinds of practices have happened, and they continue to happen, and now the park has allowed some limited gathering of plants in the community, we do not expect it to stop. It is just something that should be recognized in your paper, that this continued use of the park has happened and it did not stop because the Parks said no. It was just something that people had to do very discreetly, with understanding that they could be charged if they were caught. But that is not grounds enough. If you look at our history as a people in this country, where a lot of us have had our ceremonies go underground. A lot of our traditions had to go underground. The same thing with Jasper. They had to go underground, but it never stopped. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Rick Ouellet, a descendant of the Moberly Métis homesteaders from Jasper, mirrored this sentiment by stating that he grew up accessing and hunting in the park (personal interview, December 3, 2017). He pointed out that while park management may claim control over the park, in reality, they only control a narrow corridor of the park. Ouellet also noted that there has never been an official invite back to the park by park management for those Indigenous people who were forced out. This hunting and accessing the park was not done in a spiteful manner, but rather in a way that allowed people to maintain a connection to their traditional territories that were taken from them. While there are treaties in Jasper, not all Indigenous people signed treaties:

We never extinguished our rights and title. We never signed treaty. That just means that we never extinguished our rights and title to Jasper. So, we want that to be acknowledged. We want it to be recognized. (Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017)

Treaty boundaries should be considered with the same respect and level of significance as traditional park boundaries by JNP management. In the official JNP Indigenous acknowledgement Treaty 6 and Treaty 8 are acknowledged, as well as the traditional territories of the Beaver, Cree, Ojibway, Shuswap, Stoney/Nakoda, and Métis Nations. The treaties are areas of contention among some JIF members. Gall says “some people at the forum get really mad when people go I’m from treaty seven, I’m from treaty six, I’m from treaty five. I think that’s a challenge” (personal interview, November 15, 2017). Wesley, B feels that frustration. When people talk about treaty boundaries, especially in the mountains, he says:

For us, for Stoney (*Nakoda*), we don’t really honour the treaty boundaries because that was made by the government, without consulting the Stoney (*Nakoda*) people. (Wesley, B., personal interview, October 11, 2017)

Treaty boundaries do not mean traditional territories. The argument that Wesley, B. makes is that there are some groups who claim Jasper as their traditional territory simply because “the government said this is treaty 6” (personal interview, October 11, 2017). As Wesley, J. stated, “the government sets out these treaty boundaries without consulting the people. That is their control over us” (personal interview, October 11, 2017). The contention, within the JIF, over who was here first and who has traditional claim on the land can create internal conflict that has the potential to limit progress on issues in the park. Current JNP management are not responsible for some of these long-standing issues. However, past decisions made by the federal government without consulting Indigenous peoples have produced these discrepancies and related conflicts. It is thus a responsibility of Parks Canada, as an entity of the federal government, to address and reconcile these issues with Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous Perspectives: Incorporating Indigenous Knowledge and Histories

Throughout Jasper National Park there are numerous interpretive signs directing visitor’s attention to far off mountain peaks, valley bottoms, waterfalls and lakes, as well as certain historical sites. Some of these signs educate readers about important natural features or one of the park’s many wildlife species. Some are located at historical sites that may refer to European settlers and explorers, such as Mary Schäffer and Lewis Swift. There are several signs throughout the park that speak to some Indigenous histories. There are also interpretive programs, in the form of guided hikes, presentations and family activities, that aim to create awareness of wildlife issues and safety, natural features or

processes and Indigenous histories in the park. The Indigenous content shared with visitors is minimal, however the issue at hand in Jasper is not necessarily a lack of desire to add Indigenous content, as most park management seem to genuinely want more, but rather the lack of understanding of how to go about it and why it is important to do so. Young acknowledges that throughout Jasper, the histories are viewed and presented in a very Eurocentric perspective (personal interview, August 28, 2017). He also observed that interpretive content being presented from strictly Eurocentric perspectives demonstrates the mindset in which Jasper was established and managed throughout much of its history. There has been movement in the hiring of more Indigenous interpreters, but according to Gloria Keyes-Brady, JNPs Interpretation and Information Center Coordinator, Indigenous cultures and histories in the park are still delivered from Eurocentric viewpoints (personal interview, August 28, 2017).

It is important to have Indigenous people sharing their own cultures and histories. Wesley, B. believes that the Stoney/Nakoda should be sharing their own stories, otherwise visitors will be getting fictions not facts (personal interview, October 11, 2017). While not all JIF members are as familiar with the interpretive programming in the park, those that are, do not enjoy seeing their cultures presented through Eurocentric perspectives:

I could only stomach so much Indigenous programming because I find a lot of it, you know, kind of white washes everything, it tries to make it in digestible bites for visitors who are coming for the day. It does not really touch on our core values or core identity.

Really if you're going to do educational programming, or Indigenous programming, there really needs to be a strong and continuous tie between our communities and our Elders specifically, and these parks. Because, a lot of times it's not that you couldn't do it, it's just that people haven't been involved. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

The lack of proper Indigenous representation in these programs and signs has contributed to the uniformed ideas by non-Indigenous visitors about Indigenous cultures and histories. It is crucial to have Indigenous peoples be a part of the production of interpretative content. Without their input, JNP management will continue down the path of misrepresenting Indigenous peoples by relying on Eurocentric perspectives to form interpretive content. Seona Abraham, a JIF representative from the Big Horn Stoney/Nakoda Band, pointed out that tourists visit parks to learn about Canada, and Indigenous history is a part of Canada (personal interview, October 17, 2017). Many of those tourists know little, if anything, about Indigenous cultures. Abraham, S. believes that most tourists likely view

Indigenous peoples as being all one people and speaking one language (personal interview, October 17, 2017). It is a struggle to address, even on a small scale, the many misconceptions and stereotypes about Indigenous peoples:

I think really its tackling sheer ignorance by the visitors from abroad and especially Canadians here at home that just don't have a clue. So, trying to pick some piece of the story, how do we slowly change that national dialogue on some of these things? Never mind even nationally, how do we address people living in Jasper talking on Facebook and their ignorance about some of these things? We don't have to win over the world, lets win over people living right here who care about this place and are passionate about it. (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017)

There are many views that are based on unawareness of the histories of Indigenous peoples in Jasper and across Canada. Most Indigenous histories and cultures are temporalized, or presented as something from the distant past, without recognizing contemporary Indigenous lives:

That is where they are able to tie the ancient history of our peoples to the modern cultures of our communities. That is something where we are not just relics of the past, we are also modern-day peoples as well. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

To those who believe Indigenous cultures must remain in the past, Lampreau questions why Canadian society is allowed to advance while Indigenous society must remain in the past or lose their perceived authenticity (personal interview, November 18, 2017). Indigenous cultures and traditions are often viewed as artifacts that are frozen in time, something that should be left in the past (Shultis and Heffner, 2016). There is a lack of knowledge contributing to these ideas:

...there is a real lack of knowledge out there when it comes to Indigenous peoples, period... Most of the opinions and comments you see is just ignorance, lack of knowledge. (Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017)

Despite the lacking of understanding about Indigenous peoples among non-Indigenous peoples, Wesley, B. believes that there are people out there who do want to hear the histories from Indigenous peoples (personal interview, October 11, 2017). Timko and Satterfield (2008) note that traditional knowledge is often dismissed in national parks as it doesn't fit within the parameters of western scientific research. However, Wesley, B. does understand that some of their stories will conflict with western science and history as it is presented, but thinks it is about time people began to consult Indigenous peoples and value their knowledge (personal interview, October 11, 2017). Lack of proper

representation is not only a problem in that it perpetuates stereotypes and misrepresents Indigenous cultures and histories, but that it causes stress on Indigenous communities themselves:

When I visited the historical center there in Jasper, there was virtually no history about Indigenous peoples. There was a lot on the fur trade. There was a lot on David Thompson. There was a lot on the railway, and pioneers coming in and settlers coming in...but virtually nothing on sacred places and the Indigenous uses of those areas, prior to contact. In the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), the idea that they talk about, is this idea of cultural stress. Colonization has created stress within the Indigenous communities by not having their history represented, by not recognizing their place names, by not identifying grave sites, and by operating largely without knowing the history on a various number of projects. The cultural stress that is felt within communities it's not being dealt with. The forum [JIF] is not designed to accomplish those larger RCAP^{iv}, TRC^v goals. Its only working on a portion of those issues in a very limited way. (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017)

Researchers Timko and Satterfield (2008) noted that displacement and forced removals from traditional territories often led to psychological harm to those peoples who were displaced. Starting to address cultural stress can come in the form of allowing Indigenous peoples to re-establish their lost connections to their territories within Jasper. This is especially important for Indigenous youth. While JIF community members have access to Jasper for the gathering of medicinal and ceremonial plants and the Simpcw First Nation carried out a traditional hunt in 2017, more is necessary to allow youth to see their cultures and histories presented in a respectful way in the park:

We have to think for the future. Our grandchildren. We don't say anything today, our grandkids, our children will miss out. If we have signage that explains which tribes [were here], or in this case, the Stoney (*Nakoda*), they'll feel proud. They'll feel like they're at home. And that's very important. (Wesley, B., personal interview, October 11, 2017)

Abraham, C. agrees that having Indigenous youth understand their history is an important step towards reconnecting with their cultures and traditional lands (personal interview, October 17, 2017). He explains that if they are better educated about who they are and where they come from they will be better prepared to work with the government, including JNP management, on issues surrounding traditional land use and management. According to Abraham, S. it is difficult for some Indigenous youth today because they do not know their own histories in their own territories (personal interview, October 17, 2017). Through seeing themselves respectfully and accurately represented, Indigenous youth will have a better understanding of their history and more pride in themselves, not having to be ashamed of who they are (Abraham, S., personal interview, October 17,

2017; Belcourt, personal interview, November 27, 2017). She feels that JNP management should play a role in facilitating the reconnection of Indigenous youth to their traditional territories because the youth currently view the park as off limits. Gladue shares the belief that Indigenous youth would benefit from seeing their cultures positively and respectfully represented in Jasper (personal interview, November 16, 2017). She also sees the benefits for Elders. Coming back into a park, where they are welcomed and their cultures shared, would be like a homecoming, back to where their parents and grandparents called home.

Under representation or misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples in Jasper is an on-going issue, but as Cardinal points out, this can be partly addressed through allowing Indigenous communities to share their own histories and cultures in the park in a meaningful way:

This is something where our communities have always struggled over the last 50 to 100 years...we are always told we don't have value, that we lack value. You see that in the substance abuse in our communities, the drugs and alcohol in our communities. In our missing and murdered women. There are a lot of people that can use some positive reaffirmation, like those places were connected to us and they are still connected to us. We have names for them. Our identity and our values matter, and they are not ignored or swept under the rug. Because that is a really how it feels when we go to Jasper, you don't see any Indigenous anything in the park...except on National Aboriginal Day where all the Indians in feathers come out. I think that is part of the overall parks' experience. I don't see anywhere that harms the park, to have some elements, some space for us, other than a little camping site [*Cultural Use Area*]. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Cardinal stresses that what he is asking for is not unreasonable. He wants park management and visitors to recognize traditional place names, cultures and histories. He believes those should be a part of the park experience for those visitors who are interested in learning about them.

An example of the challenges ahead, there has been a request that has been made of JNP management by many JIF members. This request, to place a sign at the entrances of JNP acknowledging that it is the traditional territory of various Indigenous groups and list the group names, is years old and nothing has been done to address the request (Abraham, S., personal interview, October 17, 2017; Belcourt, personal interview, November 27, 2017; Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017; Plante, personal interview, November 27, 2017). This type of acknowledgement would be the only indication that the majority of visitors to Jasper would get to understand that these are Indigenous lands and that the

park's history is more than European fur traders, railways and wildlife. Gall points out that adding an acknowledgment sign is not "a huge ask...not a huge expense but I think that it is a simple gesture" (personal interview, November 15, 2017). George Lampreau, of Simpcw First Nation, gave an example of the unwillingness to erect Indigenous territory signs by park management:

Our chief put up a sign, "you are entering the traditional territory of the Simpcw First Nation." Parks took it down and put it away. They don't do anything with signage. This sign, that we want at either end of the park, would probably be just as easy if we went out and designed one, had it made, agreed upon, with the Parks, then just told them we are putting this up. To me, that is what is going to have to happen. No matter what they say they are going to drag their feet... (Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017)

It has been suggested that a reason JNP management is apprehensive to erect acknowledgement signs at the entrances to the park is because that would admit that Indigenous peoples have an inherent right to this land and should have a voice in its management. Through not recognizing that Indigenous peoples have traditional territory in the park, and subsequently, rights to the land, park management "effectively forces First Nations to unquestioningly accept that the Crown has full decision-making power within their traditional territories, normalizing their continued alienation" (Youdelis, 2016: 9). The idea of JNP management fearing the loss of some of their power and control will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

As discussed earlier, histories presented in Jasper are primarily through Euro-Canadian perspectives and deal very minimally with Indigenous histories or cultures. Wesley, B. points out that Indigenous Elders and knowledge holders know the history far beyond the European era, and that the time has come to move forward to include this knowledge into the histories that are presented in Jasper (personal interview, October 11, 2017). He would like to see more Indigenous involvement in the creation of programs that deal with history in Jasper to ensure that Indigenous histories are included. However, incorporating some Indigenous content can be met with resistance:

They [*JNP management*] listen to and incorporate the things that they want to incorporate and ignore the things that they don't want to incorporate. (Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017)

This resistance can stem from the Indigenous content not matching with the preconceived ideas of what Jasper was and is today. Eurocentric ideas about the park and its history shape what is presented and how it is presented. Young (personal interview, August 28, 2017) and Josh Ibelshauer (personal interview, August 30, 2017), the Information Center Coordinator, and a past Interpretation

Coordinator for JNP, agree that JNP management needs to rethink how interpretation is done and acknowledge that the current methods may not fit with Indigenous ways of sharing knowledge. Older national parks, such as Jasper, rely on practices and policies that are usually indicative of their colonial pasts (Timko and Satterfield, 2008). George Lampreau of Simpcw First Nation believes that facts and histories should be presented regardless of them not matching up with the long-accepted and often romanticized histories of a place:

That is history. That is the truth. Those are facts. It would be different if it was embellished, and you are trying to make people feel bad and make a good story, but when it is strictly facts, you have to present them as is, no matter what it makes people feel or think. (Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017)

Park management faces many challenges in adding Indigenous content to interpretive programs and signage. Some challenges stem from how the park was managed through most of its history, making it more difficult to move past Eurocentric mindsets, which are often reinforced by schools, universities and governments, and respond to perceived visitor expectations. Meeting these perceived expectations as they relate to the representation of Indigenous peoples “can often reinforce racist stereotypes as they are in some ways designed to simulate consumers’ expectations of Indigenous groups and meet market demands to satisfy the tourism industry...” (Mason, 2008: 408-409). Other challenges, such as having many different Indigenous groups wanting their histories shared, stem from past government policies partitioning Indigenous peoples into smaller groups. Gall understands that the history of Jasper is complex because there is no pan-Indigenous Jasper experience from which to base all Indigenous content (personal interview, November 15, 2017). He goes on to explain that although having many different Indigenous groups in the JIF make incorporating their histories and cultures more complicated, something being complicated is never an excuse for not doing it. Gall believes that park management is working in the right direction with regards to adding Indigenous content, though it is difficult to do it quickly when there are many barriers to overcome. He does not think many JIF members fully appreciate that process. However, he does see that there is room for improvement in the working relationship between JNP management and the JIF.

Several JIF members have seen some progress made on their requests for control over their representation, while others have not. Wesley, B. spoke of a request he made of JNP management to have a sign removed from a parking area in the park to minimize public disturbance to a sacred site (personal interview, October 11, 2017). He said that within weeks of his request the sign was removed. However, despite having made that request in the early 2000’s, he has yet to see is any incorporation

of his peoples' history to any of the point of interest signs that can be found along the park's highways. While there has been some progress around Indigenous participation in Jasper, such as the Cultural Use Area and the Simpcw First Nation Traditional Hunt in the fall of 2017^{vi}, Ouellet has not seen any outward acknowledgement through signage or visuals in the park to show Indigenous connections to Jasper (personal interview, December 3, 2017). Having that type of acknowledgement would serve to educate the public. Most people who live in or travel to Jasper know very little of the Indigenous histories of the area due to a lack of representation. This is considered very disrespectful to those people who lived on and used these lands before the arrival of Europeans (Abraham, S., personal interview, October 17, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017). Making changes in the park is a very slow process, and aside from having the JIF, little has been done to acknowledge traditional connections to Jasper (Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017). Elders and Indigenous peoples have learned patience when dealing with park management, but "a hundred years has gone by with the park and nothing has ever been done" (Belcourt, personal interview, November 27, 2017).

Adding Indigenous historical and cultural content is important for many JIF members. Equally as significant is the addition of their languages on signage. Having language as a part of the stories and histories that are told is important for the preservation of culture for future generations. Wesley, J. explained "If I lose my language then I would say 'who am I?' Then my stories won't be very effective...The reason is that we believe in our culture. We have respect and honour" (personal interview, October 11, 2017). The inclusion of place names in different Indigenous languages has been something that has also been requested of park management for some time according to Raymond Cardinal, who represents Paul and Sucker Creek First Nations (personal interview, November 14, 2017). He points out that adding Indigenous names alongside the other place names will not do any harm, it will only serve to show visitors that Indigenous peoples are connected to those places. Cardinal points out that they have not had any discussions with or support from members of Jasper's management team about adding Indigenous place names in the park. Gall supports the idea of adding Indigenous content to place names, but also understands that complications arise from some Indigenous communities having been distanced from the region since being removed from the park and the tremendous loss of local knowledge that this facilitated (personal interview, November 15, 2017).

In order to incorporate Indigenous languages and histories, park management needs to work directly with Indigenous communities to collect and record that information. Cardinal wants to be

able to gather Elders to meet with park management, to travel to sites in Jasper, and to share their histories and place names, which then can be incorporated into signage and programming (personal interview, November 14, 2017). He desires this not just for his own peoples, but also for other JIF communities. This process in some form is ongoing for the production of the delayed Indigenous exhibit structure. Reconciliation is a key term that is being used by the Canadian government across the country. Reconciliation can take many forms in many different circumstances. In Jasper work towards reconciliation can be seen through the establishment of the JIF, the Cultural Use Area, and the JIF working groups which will be discussed further on. However, reconciliation must also take the form of acknowledging and accepting Indigenous histories and cultures. According to Gall, JNP management has a tremendous opportunity to demonstrate to visitors how unique and varied Jasper's Indigenous histories and cultures are (personal interview, November 15, 2017). He believes it is critically important to acknowledge how long Indigenous peoples have been on this land. It is a part of Canadian history and presenting it this way will help support wider public learning around Indigenous histories (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017). General statements about Indigenous use of the lands will not suffice. It is necessary to have specific acknowledgements of the Indigenous communities who called these lands home before they were forcibly removed when Jasper was established. Some JIF members feel that incorporating this history is not seen as a priority by park management as there has not been opportunities to sit with park management to educate them about the Indigenous histories of Jasper (Belcourt, personal interview, November 27, 2017; Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). It is clear that JNP management should be presenting the parks histories regardless of harsh nature of its treatment of Indigenous peoples (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). Ouellet sees a reluctance on the part of park management to acknowledge the darker side of the park's history, noting that they just want to move on from it (personal interview, December 3, 2017). He does believe that Canadians are interested in learning accurate histories of Canada:

I think the Canadian public is slowly understanding the depth of the colonial project, and I think the truth of this story, although, ending harshly, is repairable, and it's interesting. I think it's a very interesting aspect of the westward expansion. It's an interesting moment. And I think the Canadian public would eat it up. I think there is a huge appetite for this... (Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017)

In order to address some of these concerns and barriers to incorporate Indigenous content and histories into the park, JNP management and the JIF have formed several working groups to focus on specific areas of interest.

These working groups include one related to the cultural heritage site in Jasper, one related to advising about Indigenous interpretation, and another related to cross-cultural awareness training for staff (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). There is also a working group to focus on the production of the Indigenous exhibit that is planning to be erected in the Jasper townsite. These small working groups consist of representatives from several JIF communities who meet with the appropriate park management teams to focus on their specific projects and issues. There are some members from the local Indigenous groups who view the working groups as a positive step towards incorporating Indigenous content from Indigenous perspectives. Gladue points out that having only bi-annual JIF meetings make progress incredibly slow as there is so little time to discuss issues and solutions (personal interview, November 16, 2017). She sees the working groups as an opportunity to help focus more directly on issues and move more quickly towards viable solutions. Lampreau agrees that the creation of the working groups was a positive and strategic move on behalf of park management (personal interview, November 18, 2017). He sees that smaller groups with less individuals involved can more easily concentrate on specific tasks instead of being distracted by issues that are not directly related to the projects the working group want to focus on. However, some view this process critically. For example, Ouellet considers the working groups as simply serving the interests of park management, not of the Indigenous communities (personal interview, December 3, 2017). He sees them as a way for park management to work towards goals that best suit the park.

One working group is focused on the development of an Indigenous exhibit in the Jasper townsite. The Indigenous exhibit is primarily an interpretive structure which will include interpretive panels designed to allow each Indigenous nation on the JIF to share their cultures and histories from their own perspectives. According to the Administrative Assistant for the Indigenous Affairs Unit in Jasper, Greg Deagle, construction of the Indigenous exhibit was scheduled to be completed by spring of 2018 (personal interview, August 24, 2017). As of Fall, 2018, construction has yet to begin. While the exhibit is meant to represent local Indigenous groups, it is not without controversy. Although the exhibit stemmed from the JIF members' desire to increase representation to offset some of the misrepresentation issues, there are some who see it as them still having to fit into a mold set by park management. Wesley, B. felt that he was forced to make a decision on the exhibit, but the decision about what the exhibit would be was already made before he was asked for input (personal interview,

October 11, 2017). He pointed out that he is not sure if other JIF members felt the same. He feels as though he is unable to present his knowledge on his own terms.

Many view the production of the Indigenous exhibit will be a starting point in the long road towards accurate representation of local Indigenous peoples in Jasper (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017). Gall believes it is important to acknowledge the time and resources that have been put into the JIF and the Indigenous exhibit by park management (personal interview, November 15, 2017). He goes on to express how well he thinks park management has done considering the complexity and the amount of resources required to work with many different Indigenous groups to create an exhibit where they can all share their cultures. Cardinal is more apprehensive about the outcome of having an exhibit:

This is something where I always try to take a cautious approach because what often happens is people will do something slightly different and then you'll see a lot of press releases that come out telling you how great this new thing is that will radically change the relationship in the place was First Nations people. Then you watch it be implemented and you are like 'oh, that didn't actually do anything'. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

The length of time it has taken to plan the production of an Indigenous exhibit that will serve to accurately represent local Indigenous peoples has left some JIF members frustrated:

Take, take, take, but they're slow at giving. Then when they do, they make a big deal out of it. (Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017)

It will take time, once the exhibit is erected, to determine what impacts it will have on awareness of Indigenous issues in Jasper and the relationship between park management and the JIF. Further research will be needed to determine the impacts of this exhibit on Indigenous representation and awareness in JNP. The desire to have their cultures and histories accurately represented in the park has been on the minds of local Indigenous peoples long before the establishment of the JIF. The objective to have an Indigenous exhibit stemmed directly from the Haida totem pole, and its recent replacement, that has stood in the center of the Jasper townsite for over 100 years. Wesley, J. stated that the totem pole is not part of Jasper's Indigenous history and having it there takes away from being able to share the knowledge of his traditional ways (personal interview, October 11, 2017). Although it is an Indigenous symbol, it is not culturally appropriate to have a Haida totem pole in Jasper when the Haida do not have traditional connections as local Indigenous peoples do. Gall thinks the totem pole continues the line of poor decisions made around Indigenous cultures in Jasper and

plays into the distorted sense of what Indigenous cultures are in North America (personal interview, November 15, 2017). Snow sees the totem pole as insensitive to those Indigenous groups with traditional connections to Jasper (personal interview, December 1, 2017).

At the base of the totem pole are interpretive panels telling the Haida story behind the totem pole. Nowhere on those panels is it explained that the Haida do not have traditional connections to the lands in Jasper. Wesley, B. believes the pole will not be taken down, so he wants to see an explanation added of where it actually comes from, otherwise visitors will continue thinking this is where the Haida are (personal interview, October 11, 2017). The totem pole also promotes the idea that JNP management has not learned anything about local Indigenous cultures:

Over here, on this side of the mountains, it doesn't make sense. It's not something that is Indigenous to here. And this is something where we have our own artists. We have our own culture and traditions. I start to get very concerned when you see things like totem poles on this side of the Rockies, because they don't come from here. And what does that say, that you can't bother to learn about our history to use something that is important to us? (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Cardinal can understand park management making the decision to erect the first totem pole during the establishment of Jasper when they did not know any better, but questions why park management would erect a new totem pole within the last six years^{vii} (personal interview, November 14, 2017). The new totem pole was erected with no other option and no consultation (Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017). It is believed that the totem pole will not be removed, regardless of the local opposition to its presence in Jasper (Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017).

Gladue feels like having to acknowledge the Haida in Jasper while there remains no acknowledgement of local Indigenous groups is an insult to JIF communities (personal interview, November 16, 2017). She believes there are no member of the JIF that appreciate having that totem pole in Jasper as it misrepresents their cultures and histories, and she thinks it should be removed. Lampreau shares those views and does not feel it is appropriate that local Indigenous groups have no representation while the first thing many people see when they enter Jaspers townsite is a Haida totem pole (personal interview, November 18, 2017). The totem pole can be seen as an education tool in some respects as it can be used to begin conversations about Indigenous cultures (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017). However, according to Cardinal, using a Haida totem pole to education visitor about local Indigenous cultures will only confuse them because the pole does not belong to the people who lived in Jasper (personal interview, November 14, 2017). Regardless of how

some JIF members may view its potential for harm or good, it is agreed that context needs to be added to the interpretive panels at the base of the totem pole to explain to visitors that it does not come from the Indigenous peoples in the region.

This list of representation issues and challenges for JNP is extensive. The creation of the Cultural Use Area is one achievement that is viewed as a positive by park management and some JIF members. In 2011 the Cultural Use Area was established in Jasper and was considered as a milestone achievement of the JIF (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). This area is a private site where Indigenous communities can come and reconnect to their traditional lands without being disturbed. JNP management and some JIF members see the Cultural Use Area as a great example of progress being made in Jasper (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017; Young, personal interview, August 28, 2017).

Barriers to Success: Finding a Balance between JNP management and JIF Objectives

In order to successfully integrate Indigenous voices into Jasper National Park's management decisions and interpretative representation, park management and the JIF members must understand what each group wants to accomplish. JNP management has mandates^{viii} to work with Indigenous communities to work towards reconciliation and to develop stronger, more effective working relationships. With the establishment of the JIF, the JIF working groups, and the Cultural Use Area, JNP management has shown an increasing willingness to incorporate Indigenous voices in the park, but many JIF members question whether this is enough.

For over a century, JNPs history has been filled with the intentional exclusion of Indigenous peoples and Indigenous voices. Indigenous peoples have been left out of decisions around park management for many decades and it is time that park management and visitors are educated about the histories and cultures of the people who called these lands home (Abraham, C., personal interview, October 17, 2017). When there is a mandate that that includes education, it is tremendously important to incorporate Indigenous histories and cultures into interpretive content in the park:

I would say they [*JNP management*] absolutely do have a duty [*to incorporate Indigenous knowledge*]. When you look at a park, Jasper for example, with a history tied to and that permeates colonialism...and kicking and keeping people out of a landscape that was near and dear to their communities and our culture... I think they have a duty to right that wrong. (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017)

Lampreau echoes this belief as he sees the goal of national parks is to present history for the world to see and Indigenous peoples are a part of that history (personal interview, November 18, 2017). If it had not been for Canada celebrating its 150th anniversary and the government promoting the idea of reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, Lampreau wonders if changes to Indigenous representation in Jasper would have occurred. Regardless of the idea of reconciliation, Indigenous histories and cultures need to be represented in Jasper, and JNP management has a duty to incorporate them (Belcourt, personal interview, November 27, 2017; Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017).

Canada's Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, has vowed to implement all 94 recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission^{ix}, some of which include the accurate telling of history. Indigenous peoples have made many contributions to Canada and have a vast history that long predates Canada, but that history is often unrecognized and at times devalued:

I think that is a big part of the problem, because a lot of people think that it [*Indigenous and Canadian history*] has been completely separate and now we have to bring Indigenous people into the fold. But it has always been a part of the fold. That story needs to be told, and Jasper is just an example of that. I think it is absolutely the responsibility of a federally funded group in charge of an area, to know something about that history. (Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017)

Officially acknowledging Indigenous historical and cultural connections to JNP could lead to greater authority of Indigenous peoples over the management decisions in their traditional territories. This would facilitate less control by park management, which is something they may not be willing to do:

Part that of the reason, part of the challenge is that Jasper operates under a specific mindset. They have a specific ideology when it comes to planning the park, and everything gets all muddled up if you recognized that First Nations have been there for thousands of years. They don't want to recognize it because that might limit them in terms of what they are able to do, with respect to certain sites, for locations. They don't like...especially when you compare them to other Parks they don't like that idea, because a lot of other Parks are pushing towards Co-Management with First Nations communities, or Indigenous communities. If you were to recognize all of these sites throughout the park then you would be forced to recognize that First Nations should be involved in the Co-Management of JNP, and that is something that this park specifically is the least interested in doing. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

A number of JIF members have raised the issue at JIF meetings, with some regularity, that JNP management will not address some of their concerns because of a fear that they will lose some of their authority (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017). As within other protected areas across

Canada, Jasper's Indigenous histories are underlain with Indigenous rights, and if park management acknowledges those histories, they must also recognize those rights (Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017). Timko and Satterfield's (2008) research evaluated social equity in a number of Canadian national parks. They found that some Indigenous respondents believed that national park management does not want to give their communities any decision-making authority. They believe more Indigenous decision-making authority will lead to park management becoming fearful and resentful of the amount of influence Indigenous peoples will have over park management decisions. In her work with the Jasper Indigenous Forum, researcher Megan Youdelis (2016) noted that it is often the non-threatening aspects of First Nations' cultures that are presented in the park to give the appearance that JNP management are doing their due diligence to incorporate Indigenous voices. Her work focused on the unequal power relations between park management and local Indigenous communities. She noted that through focusing only on past Indigenous land use, present-day Indigenous politics are ignored. This leads to the continuous reinforcement of existing inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. As made clear throughout this chapter, the past Indigenous land uses in JNP are presented from non-Indigenous perspectives. The histories presented overwhelmingly through Eurocentric perspectives allow JNP management to control the narrative of the park's creation. This idea is also supported by Cardinal:

It is just something where here in Canada [*they*] want to pretend that our peoples were never here. It is deconstructing some of the colonial myths about Canada. That is probably the hardest part for Jasper...is letting go what myths they were created on. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Park management controlling what histories are being presented to visitors helps them keep a blank historical slate, allowing them the freedom to manage the park as they want, keeping authority over management decisions with the government (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017). The lack of acknowledgement by park management of Indigenous histories in Jasper is a way for them to maintain the control they have:

Maybe they don't want the First Nations people having more of a say than we are getting now. It is like this reconciliation seems to only go so far...That was brought up a few times [*at JIF meetings*]. It always seemed to fall on deaf ears.

They don't want to talk about any modern history because then they will have to start giving us a chunk of what we really deserve in this province, anyone of the provinces. All of these provinces across Canada were built off the backbones of

First Nations. Our land base was taken and utilized for everything that it is sitting on now. (Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017)

Cardinal views the mountain national parks, particularly Jasper, as being the most reluctant to incorporate Indigenous knowledge and voices into its management:

Losing power...losing control...the historic parks, particularly the mountain parks, have been the most resistant to be including First Nations, for involving First Nations. They have had an authority over everything in the park since their creation, and they don't want now to have to change that to work with our communities. That is probably the biggest challenge that we have seen. Between the mountain parks, Jasper is the most reluctant to deal with any of these issues at all. Even having an Indigenous forum is nice but when I raise issues, raise concerns, JNP for whatever reason doesn't want to listen to them or doesn't want to accommodate them. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Incorporating Indigenous histories may be a challenge for park management due to lack of research data to draw from. Research in the park is incredibly expensive and time consuming. The only research Wesley, B. knows of in Jasper was the Traditional Land Use Study in 2005 (personal interview, October 11, 2017). Deagle pointed out that Traditional Land Use Studies are extremely expensive, so Jasper has only funded two of them in the park (personal interview, August 24, 2017). He stated that Jasper is currently working on an Indigenous territories map. This map extends beyond the borders of Jasper, out into British Columbia and Alberta. Some Indigenous oral histories have been recorded and local GIS technicians will produce this map that will identify First Nation reserves, Métis settlements, and treaty areas (Deagle, personal interview, August 24, 2017). This map, however, does not seem to touch on other culturally significant sites. Cultural mapping has been an important subject for some JIF communities, but there exists no processes or resources to support it in federal parks (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017; Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). Lack of support for cultural mapping may again stem from park management's desire to retain control:

They get this mapping in Banff, so I know it has happened. We have done this mapping within provincial parks. But Parks Canada has a lot of reluctance to doing that with us. And I'm still not exactly sure why, other than as long as they keep it a blank slate then they are free to do whatever they so choose. But once you start populating that with different data points, showing that these sites need to be left alone that restricts what they are able to do. They would rather have the power, than the responsibility and duty to accommodate our concerns. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

The desire for this type of cultural mapping research in Jasper is not only to gain more control over how their traditional lands are managed, but for JIF communities to also protect and preserve culturally significant sites.

Cardinal wants to see research, in Jasper, on Indigenous histories and cultural mapping for his community, and all JIF communities, in order to stop the destruction of cultural, sacred and ceremonial places within the park (personal interview, November 14, 2017). Some JIF members do not believe that JNP management is interested in more Indigenous research in the park, and that they would just prefer to keep what information they have and make decisions based of that body of knowledge (Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017). Lampreau believes that JNP management has more information than they are willing to share with visitors or members of the JIF (personal interview, November 18, 2017). A strong argument can be made for park management to not support additional Indigenous research in the park to maintain control, but Snow thinks there may be additional factors (personal interview, December 1, 2017). There are many sacred sites in Jasper that JIF communities would like to identify and protect. Snow has worked extensively with provincial governments and parks and on crown land to do cultural mapping but does not know of any programs available to support that type of work with federal parks. Though as indicated here, that may not be from a lack of desire on the part of Indigenous communities:

I think it is a lack of capacity on parks side. I don't think it is something that parks doesn't want to do. I think they recognize it, but they have their own capacity and resource issues. (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017)

As previously outlined, gathering information from many different Indigenous groups is a difficult undertaking for park management. The establishment of the JIF allowed for a more organized method for park management and JIF communities to meet and work together to share ideas and information. Wesley, B. appreciates that since the establishment of the JIF they are able to communicate more directly with park management on various issues (personal interview, October 11, 2017).

An issue that remains is that of timelines. In JNP timelines and deadlines dictate when projects need to be completed. Timelines for interpretive content, programs, and signage are often determined by when the tourism season begins, deadlines for funding applications and submissions of requests. If timelines are missed by JIF members than they will miss out on certain projects or opportunities. Wesley, B. does not believe that this should be the case, as some Indigenous cultures do not view timelines and decision making in the same way as Euro-Canadians and governments

(personal interview, October 11, 2017). In order for park management to respect Indigenous cultures they must understand and respect cultural practices. Wesley, B. feels that park management dictates how they want JIF members to make decisions, although they are slowly changing that style of thinking.

The JIF communities are varied and unique and have different protocols for sharing information with those outside their cultures. There can be an unwillingness to share information about sacred sites or other information with park management because it may be used in the future to fight for Indigenous rights with the government. Gall understands that distrust around sharing information is not strictly aimed at governments, but also researchers who come into communities, talk to Elders and leave to write their findings (personal interview, November 15, 2017). Often the communities never hear from researchers again. He believes that it is not necessarily that park management has information that they are not willing to share, but rather information being held back by Indigenous groups originates from a genuine fear that it can be used against them by the government as this has occurred in the past. Due to the colonial legacy of Indigenous displacement, often occurring during the establishment of protected areas, there is a deep mistrust by Indigenous peoples towards sharing information with government agencies to be used in protected areas, such as national parks (Redford and Fearn, 2007). This has sometimes led to Indigenous groups not sharing information with one another:

All of a sudden, the group that's got more information has a stronger position and so they don't want other groups sort of knowing their hand as well. I think in some ways the nature of the relationship between Canada and Indigenous peoples has pitted Indigenous peoples against Canada, which parks is representing as part of the crown, but then Indigenous peoples against other Indigenous peoples in close proximity... (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017)

Gathering a variety of information from various Indigenous nations makes incorporating it into interpretive content in Jasper quite difficult.

Park management and interpreters have to try to decide which information to use, and how to choose one group's perspective over another. The results of which can have potentially negative consequences on the relationship between park management and JIF communities (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017). Reaching out to gather and share information with so many JIF members is difficult, but that is part of serving the public. Loretta Belcourt, a Métis JIF representative from Lac Ste. Anne, points out that Indigenous communities are part of the public and should be served the same as park management serves the general public and visitors (personal interview,

November 27, 2017). JNP management sends out emails and makes phone calls to JIF members about various projects, but only manages to keep a portion of JIF communities involved with ongoing projects (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017).

JIF participation can depend on many factors including a community's immediate connection to park lands, their capacity to engage with the park, priorities at the community level, and the interest of their political leadership, this includes Chief and Council (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Having many members that change regularly can slow down progress being made by the JIF on various projects (Wesley, B., personal interview, October 11, 2017). However, as noted in the previous chapter, having many different JIF members can make consultation and engagement between park management and Indigenous communities more challenging, but it is not a challenge that Indigenous peoples are responsible for (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017). The choice to separate Indigenous communities into many smaller communities made through past federal government policies led to some of the obstacles faced by park management with regards to working with many JIF communities. Cardinal explained that to truly understand these challenges JNP management needs to understand the history of treaty making and the history of reserve making in Canada (personal interview, November 14, 2017). He understands that it would be simpler for park management to work with one representative from each treaty area, however that doesn't consider regional differences and priorities of the many Indigenous communities. So, while it is complicated to work with so many communities, the government is responsible for separating nations into those many communities. The number of different JIF communities is not just a challenge for park management, but also for the JIF members themselves.

Cardinal identified one of the biggest issues with so many members which is that no group is able to fully raise their comments or concerns at the bi-annual JIF meetings because there are so many others who wish to have their voices heard in the short amount of time available (personal interview, November 14, 2017). According to Gall, the time available is never enough to fully discuss all the issues that need to be raised (personal interview, November 15, 2017). This slows down progress to address issues and right some of the wrongs. He went on to say that with new members, comes new issues or revisiting older ones which slows down progress as the new members may wish to discuss items that had previously been addressed and settled on. This can lead to the short amount of time given for JIF meetings to be used rehashing old issues instead of moving forward with other, unaddressed concerns.

Joining the JIF is open to any Indigenous nations that claim traditional connections without it being challenged by park management or other Indigenous nations. However, there are political challenges when you have an Indigenous nation join the JIF that another JIF member may not view as legitimate or that may have different views and priorities (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017; Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). Each community is a political entity in themselves:

It's tough to get to that when you've got political groups that don't really work well together in the real world, outside of Jasper. They have concerns about each other, so it's difficult to get consensus around those kinds of issues. You have ideological differences. You have different histories within each of those parties. You have different issues of representation. (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017)

Having a wide variety of political views can create challenges within any organization, and Parks Canada is no exception. JIF members working with one another and with park management is complicated and multi-faceted. Having many different groups coming together brings together a wide range of experience and understanding around dealing with government and Parks Canada policies. Due to the wide array of experiences in the JIF, Gall sees that there can be a lack of understanding of the bureaucracy and the legal challenges that come with working with park management and Parks Canada on certain projects (personal interview, November 15, 2017). Parks Canada policy can be misunderstood among JIF member with less experience working with park management, which limits progress because there is little time to get into policy at the meetings because park management is project driven and have set timelines (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). This can engender barriers to progress but also provide opportunities for communities to learn:

When we go to a setting like the forum, what we often see is that many First Nations do not have a full understanding of what the policies and what the rules are, and how policies and those discussions at Parks Canada tie into the larger regional discussions, or tie into any provincial or national discussions. That is something where having all those communities together can sometimes minimize or restrict discussion and dialogue....

What we find is that most times when we talk in depth about some of these processes, that we are not the ones feeling that, we're not the only ones thinking that, many other communities also have the same concerns, they just didn't have the right terminology to raise the question to government. There are strengths and weaknesses to it. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Along with learning government policies and gaining experience in dealing with park management, Indigenous communities on the JIF have the opportunity to unify to present a stronger voice for change.

The JIF provides the opportunity for communities to learn more about one another. Lampreau believes that learning more about each JIF member community's histories and cultures will strengthen the connections between them while allowing them to work more closely together to achieve their shared goals (personal interview, November 18, 2017). The JIF has been a learning process for park management in how to work effectively with Indigenous nations. It has also strengthened the relationship between park management and Indigenous communities in some cases while also leading to stronger relationships between Indigenous nations (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017). While there is much work to be done, having Indigenous groups working together in the JIF makes their voices stronger and is seen as a step towards achieving positive representation in Jasper and more voice in park management decisions (Belcourt, personal interview, November 27, 2017; Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017; Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017).

If incorporating Indigenous histories and cultures into interpretative content because it is the right thing to do is not enough of a reason to do so, the argument can be made that adding it is good for park business:

...it just makes sense from a reconciliation standpoint that you acknowledge our histories and the connections to the park, but also it is good business. If you look at the rise and growth of Aboriginal tourism in the province of BC, it's now a multimillion-dollar industry, that First Nations have created sites of importance. They are now profiting from a lot of people that want to spend their vacation time at our First Nations heritage sites. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Cardinal continues by arguing that there is no downside to adding Indigenous content other than it contradicts the narrative that the park was built on which sadly, even a century on, still includes a "wilderness" untouched human presence:

That is something where, if you build that component within JNP, that would show respect to us, and it also could be really positive for increasing international tourism to the park. I don't see the downside for it, other than some people are a little bit old fashioned in their views, let's say, about working with First Nations people or what our role is in relation to the park. Because a lot of people in the park want to create this narrative of this pristine environment before people were there. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

The JIF deals with many different issues through its bi-annual meetings and now with its working groups. Not all JIF communities have the same priorities around conservation or business. Some communities want to focus more on tourism and representation:

We are more interested in tourism projects than some of the larger conservation issues. That's why we need better representation. We need a formal cultural awareness program in place, and we need to start looking at bigger long-term issues. (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017)

There are many aspects of Indigenous representation that need to be addressed by park management. These include conservation issues, cultural research, incorporating Indigenous content into interpretive offerings, cultural awareness training, among other issues raised by the JIF members. An important step towards being successful is having a positive working relationship with JIF members based on openness, trust and mutual respect. Gauging the success of the working relationship between the JIF and management is dependent on progress made on certain issues and projects. Gall feels like park management have achieved quite a lot with creating relationships and opening dialogues with Indigenous communities (personal interview, November 15, 2017). He sees the JIF as a very successful entity and points out that at its conception in 2006 there was practically no relationship between park management and Indigenous nations, whereas now there is an effective Indigenous entity helping to shape park management decisions. He is excited to see what the next decade brings as he feels there is great momentum in the JIF to generate positive changes in the park.

Abraham, S., however, does not feel park management does enough to address Indigenous concerns and that there is still a communication barrier that is impeding progress (personal interview, October 17, 2017). She would like to see more outreach from park management. Wesley, B., despite limited progress on some issues he has raised, feels that his community has a good working relationship with JNP management (personal interview, October 11, 2017). There has been some acknowledgement by park management of Indigenous connections and input by JIF communities (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017). Gladue feels that there is respect from park management and genuine attempts to build strong relationships (personal interview, November 16, 2017). She also acknowledges that any progress comes very slowly. There is an understanding that lack of progress is not always intentional and that government employees can be bound by policies and resources that limit what they can accomplish:

Jasper has put a lot of financial resources and staff time in to building the forum and building the relationships with the communities. I think that's an important

acknowledgement. And I don't for a minute want to say that parks is perfect and they've done everything right. I think that there are staff trying to do stuff and they are trying to do the best they can with limited resources and within the bureaucracy of parks. (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017)

There is a general feeling by the JIF that park management supports the inclusion of many Indigenous groups. To build respectful working relationships there must be inclusive approaches implemented:

I would rather see Parks Canada be inclusive, in terms of involving anyone who has a right or interests to do so. I guess from that standpoint that is one thing they are doing well. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Despite some feelings of inclusion, there are some who feel park management remains a self-serving entity:

They [*park management*] are still not at a point where it is a friendly and open place for Indigenous people, even though they want to have an Indigenous story told, but the reason they want to have an Indigenous story told is because visitors are demanding it. So, the whole thing that is built off of this...how does this serve us?...and that is where we are at, that is where we have remained. (Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017)

There are some feelings that park management chooses who to work with and who not to work with depending on how it will serve them. Ouellet views some of the JIF membership as being comprised of Indigenous communities that park management has chosen to work with and that progress, while minimal, made on different projects is something that park management would be working towards regardless of Indigenous involvement (personal interview, December 3, 2017). He believes park management only wants to work with communities that are friendly with the park rather than communities with experience and knowledge of the policies in the park. Some Indigenous communities still do not have representation on the JIF. Snow points out that park management only makes space for two representatives from each community (personal interview, December 1, 2017). This means that the Stoney/Nakoda representatives at the meetings do not represent all Stoney/Nakoda communities. He would like to see two representatives from each of his people's bands, but that is not something that is available. This issue again can tie back into the larger issue of past government policies and treaty agreements, including the formation of reserves, that separated Indigenous communities and sometimes collective families, into many smaller divisions.

Grievances between JIF members and JNP management stem from out-of-date government policies, ways of thinking about Indigenous people, and a lack of progress being made to address and

correct issues raised by Indigenous communities. Researchers Shultis and Heffner (2016) examined the barriers to incorporating Indigenous perspectives into national parks and protected areas conservation policies and practices. They reasoned that inclusionary management models should be utilized in these areas to increase Indigenous involvement, and suggested that “protected areas should provide surrounding Indigenous communities with, at minimum, significant economic and social benefits and, optimally, increased ownership and meaningful involvement in protected area management” (1228). Understanding what these benefits would look like and how to achieve them varies from one JIF community to the next. Some members go into JIF meetings having done a great deal of research on what is and is not being done in the park and are able to have a full breadth of understanding about the issues they wish to raise with park management (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017). Gall goes into JIF meetings with an understanding that progress by JNP management on certain projects and issues can be slowed by their desire to try to do things respectfully and properly (personal interview, November 15, 2017). He believes that most park staff are genuinely doing the best that they can do with the limited resources they have and within the bureaucracy of Parks Canada. Gall explains that it is easy to be upset with the lack of progress in Jasper, and while park management can be improving approaches, it is important to realize that there are a number of factors at play (personal interview, November 15, 2017). Lack of understanding of Indigenous protocols and histories, inconsistency within JIF membership, the wide variety of issues being brought forward by JIF members, and the long history of poor relations between Indigenous communities and park management are some of the issues that inhibit progress in Jasper. Jasper’s superintendent, Alan Fehr, and the Indigenous Affairs Manager, Mark Young, both attempt to work with the JIF to address their concerns (Gall, personal interview, November 15, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017).

Making positive, lasting changes to Indigenous representation and the relationship between Indigenous communities and park management in JNP is a complex undertaking. There may be a desire among park management to address issues and concerns of Indigenous communities within the park, but there appears to also be a lack of resolve or a lack of understanding of how to make the necessary changes. Twelve years have passed since the establishment of the JIF, however there have only been minor incremental changes made in the park to address Indigenous representation issues (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017). These changes have come primarily through the creation of the Cultural Use Area, JIF working groups, traditional gathering in the park and the open-door park pass system. However, some changes may have extended from changes to past policies:

There was one time where you were able to enter the mountain parks with a status card. The fact that they are now touting an open-door policy for stakeholders in the park, that is actually a step back from what it was in the 1980s. In the 1980s...if you were a First Nations person from Ontario, you could go use the park as long as you have your status card. So, that is something where they have now restricted it to the 26 communities. They could say this is a plus, but it is actually...in relation to what was there before, it is a step back. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Touting various decisions, such as the Open-Door Policy, as successes despite them being a step backwards may be attributed to a changing mindset of park management based on their working relationship with the JIF. There is appreciation for the gathering of Indigenous communities in the JIF, being able to come together to work with park management on various projects and issues that are of importance to JIF communities:

I'm happy [*there are*] talks of change. There're no changes yet. I'm happy that we are able to have a voice. (Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017)

Gathering together in the JIF to share their voices has allowed some communities to strengthen their relationship to one another while reconnecting with their traditional territories. It has also allowed JIF members to work together to fill in some of the experience and knowledge gaps they may have in working with governments or park management.

Some JIF communities have more experience than others when it comes to working with various organizations and governments, giving them unique understandings of how progress in JNP compares to other parks and organizations in Canada. Cardinal has worked with Parks Canada as well as Alberta Environment and Parks. He has seen Alberta provincial parks management be much more accommodating to Indigenous concerns than JNP management. Cardinal believed that with the JIF enabling park management to hear concerns from Indigenous communities on a regular basis it would have hardened their determination to make changes:

All that has happened so far is that First Nations raise concerns, the parks will write it down and then we'll go back in six months or a year and say the same things all over again, and parks will write it down again...so on and so on. With the majority of issues that we raised starting in 2006, 2007, 2008, those concerns are all still there. But I'm not seeing a lot of resolve on the part of parks in Jasper to address them. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

There are many reasons for the limited progress towards increasing Indigenous representation in Jasper and adding Indigenous voices to park management decisions. Working with many Indigenous

communities has a wide variety of challenges for park management and the bureaucracy of government organizations may lessen park managements resolve to make the changes necessary to address Indigenous concerns. Other parks and organizations face similar challenges with varying levels of success. Jasper is seen by some as being very progressive and advanced when it comes to its relationship with Indigenous peoples. Others feel differently:

...if you look in the 11 years from 2006 to now, yet they [*park management*] have progressed slightly. But if you look relative to what the other parks are doing in that same timeframe, or what the provincial parks are doing in the same time frame, you will see that they [*Jasper*] are probably the furthest behind, in terms of addressing our issues, dealing with them, treating them seriously, and finding ways to work with our communities. Right now, they are very reluctant to do so. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

The lack of progress, the reluctance or inability to address Indigenous concerns, the lack of understanding of Indigenous cultures and histories in JNP is part of ineffective government policies and limited cultural awareness among park management and staff. Addressing this gap in knowledge and understanding will require cultural awareness training developed by Indigenous communities for all park staff and management. The histories of the lands in JNP are intrinsically tied to the Indigenous peoples who have lived there since time immemorial. All JNP staff, from management to conservation staff, to front-line staff, must learn about the Indigenous histories in the park (Abraham, S., personal interview, October 17, 2017; Belcourt, personal interview, November 27, 2017; Gladue, personal interview, November 16, 2017; Lampreau, personal interview, November 18, 2017; Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017; Wesley, B., personal interview, October 11, 2017). Having that understanding will allow them to better appreciate the Indigenous connections to Jasper while passing on that knowledge to park visitors. Belcourt stated that if staff do not have that knowledge they cannot pass it on to visitors, nor can management use it to inform their decisions (personal interview, November 27, 2017).

In the spring of 2018 Mark Young, Jasper's Indigenous Affairs Manager, presented Indigenous histories and awareness training for Jasper's interpretation staff. This gave a more detailed history of Indigenous peoples, including their forced removal from the park and contemporary relationship with park management. This training, along with cultural awareness training must be made available for all park staff. Gladue views cultural awareness training for all staff as incredibly important but explained that park management has said that it is too difficult to train all staff as many of them are seasonal (personal interview, November 16, 2017). During its peak season JNP employees

approximately 350 to 400 staff, making it hard to provide all training for all staff (Fehr, personal interview, September 22, 2017). Gladue believes it is a duty of park management to provide that training for their staff and to understand the cultures and histories of the Indigenous peoples who lived in the park (personal interview, November 16, 2017).

At the JIF meetings, cultural awareness training was not a subject that was initially discussed in great detail but remained important to many communities. Increased representation and cultural awareness training for staff will help address the issue of cultural stress that originates from the misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). A Cultural Awareness Working Group off of the larger JIF was established to address the creation of a cultural awareness training program. The challenge is determining who will develop the program. However, it is understood that the training needs to be produced and presented by the Indigenous communities themselves:

It really should be up to the nations to provide that cultural awareness, because it is their history and they would be providing that in a coordinated fashion to JNP staff... (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017)

This type of training can be designed to address many aspects of Indigenous cultures and histories through Indigenous perspectives. Ouellet points out that the Eurocentric systems of sharing and categorizing knowledge, divides and classifies people establishing relationships of winners and losers, as seen when comparing European knowledge to Indigenous knowledge (personal interview, December 3, 2017). He believes that cultural awareness training will help manage that issue in Jasper:

Although our cultures are different, there is a huge lesson for indigenous cultures to teach Canadians. But Canada is reluctant, not everyone, it's getting better, but reluctant to incorporate that into what is Canadian culture. And I think we can do that in Jasper. (Ouellet, personal interview, December 3, 2017)

Educating park staff and management about the histories and cultures of Indigenous peoples from Indigenous perspectives will lead to an increased understanding of the issues raised by JIF members. Being able to see the concerns of the Indigenous nations from Indigenous perspectives while understanding the histories that led to those concerns, will enable park management to appreciate what is at stake for those nations. Addressing those concerns in a respectful and meaningful way will benefit Indigenous communities and their relationships with park management.

Recommendations: Paths to Achieving Inclusive and Respectful Indigenous Representation

There are no simple solutions to resolve the long-standing Indigenous representation issues in Jasper National Park. To achieve inclusive and respectful Indigenous representation in Jasper, park management must make changes in the way they approach the issues being brought forward by Indigenous nations. While efforts have been made by park management to be more inclusive and meet with JIF communities in order to listen to their concerns, progress to move forward with those concerns has been slow. Steps must be taken to incorporate Indigenous histories and cultures into JNPs interpretive content, management decisions, and staff training.

Cultural awareness training developed and facilitated by Indigenous peoples themselves must be built into the larger staff training program for all park staff, particularly park management and front-line staff. This will help to close the knowledge gap between park staff and management and the colonial histories of JNP and Canada that shaped the historic and contemporary relationship between Indigenous peoples and park management. Learning the history of past government and park management actions and policies, especially as they relate to Indigenous peoples, will allow current park management and staff to appreciate the concerns being raised by the JIF communities.

An issue that was examined earlier in this chapter was that of the number of Indigenous communities that are a part of the JIF. Each community has different priorities they would like to see addressed, however JIF meetings generally only occur two times each year. This leaves many issues or concerns left unsaid and unaddressed as there is not enough time to acknowledge them all. To rectify this issue park management must increase the number of JIF meetings each year. As Gall points out, these meetings are done at a great expense to park management who facilitate these meetings in the park. However, the desire for more meetings comes from the large number of communities that need to have their voices heard (personal interview, November 15, 2017). The number of meetings each year does not allow for the inclusion of some important aspects of Indigenous cultures, particularly space and time for Indigenous youth (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). Limited time to meet means that Indigenous communities are not able to fully express their concerns and how they would like to see them addressed. More meetings would lead to greater feedback from JIF communities (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017). There also is reasoning for park management to meet with each Indigenous community or treaty groups separately:

...maybe we will bring in all of Treaty 7 to Jasper, and they have a meeting with Jasper on a whole range of issues. And maybe then it is Treaty 6 that comes in the next week, and Treaty 8 the next week, and the week after the Metis Nation, and maybe the non-status groups all get together with Jasper. Have separate meetings for everybody. (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017)

Having separate meetings for each group would be time consuming and expensive, however; it would also allow for greater, more effective progress to be made:

That is a lot of groups and a lot of meetings, but I think that is probably what it is going to take because Jasper is so big and it's used by many different, diverse groups, not only in Alberta but in BC as well...

I think it would probably be more complicated to setup, but I think they would get more out of it...JNP. I think that would be a better way to deal with the project issues and more of the bigger systemic, longer-term issues that need to be dealt with. Right now, we can barely get through the project issues. (Snow, personal interview, December 1, 2017)

Meeting with each group separately would allow park management to achieve a deeper understanding of the concerns of the individual JIF communities. Cardinal sees the need for a change in the levels of engagement between park management and Indigenous communities (personal interview, November 14, 2017). He describes the levels of engagement in the three Tiers: Tier 1 is when Indigenous communities meet among themselves; Tier 2 is when Indigenous communities meet with the federal government; and, Tier 3 is when Indigenous communities meet with the federal government and industry. He believes that park management should adopt and support this type of multi-levelled engagement:

This is where, at the Indigenous forum, it would be helpful at times to have a Tier 1 discussion amongst the community only, so that we can have our discussions about what our concerns are, and present those as a common concern. This requires a process to allow for a Tier1 discussion, prior to getting into any Tier 2 discussions with Parks Canada. When you listen to some issues, it is important that our people speak with a common voice. A lot of times the discussion would be helped if we were to have an hour or two discussing these issues on our own. Then when it comes time to meet with Parks Canada, we have positions that our communities have come together in common. That is something that the park needs to create. I have seen it done federally in other settings, and it works and it works very well. But it isn't something that Parks Canada does. (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017)

Cardinal explains that for this to be effective park management can present certain topics for discussion to the JIF for their Tier 1 meetings. This will give the communities the time to discuss the

topics together to build a consensus. This will lead to more successful and productive Tier 2 meetings (Cardinal, personal interview, November 14, 2017).

As covered in detail above, the Haida totem pole in Jasper has been and continues to be a source of contention between many members of the JIF and park management as it serves to continuously misrepresent the local Indigenous cultures and histories. The totem pole is one of many ongoing issues in Jasper that continue to marginalize, generalize, and stereotype Indigenous peoples. Some park management and JIF communities believe the totem pole will not be removed as it is a symbol that has been in Jasper since the creation of the park and it is something Jasper residents believe is a part of the park. It is also a draw for tourism. The eventual creation of the Indigenous Exhibit structure is meant to offset the negative impacts of the totem pole. However, there remains no explanation on the totem pole's interpretive signage that outlines the pole's true origin and lack of connection to Indigenous cultures and histories in or around Jasper. The addition to the signage of an explanation of how the totem pole came to be in Jasper and whose culture it truly belongs to would allow visitors to begin to understand that local Indigenous cultures are distinct from the stereotypical symbols that are often used to represent Indigenous peoples across the country. It would be a step forward by park management to show their respect and understanding for the actual Indigenous histories and cultures of the park.

The requests by some JIF members for signs at park entrances that acknowledge traditional Indigenous territories in the park have been met with resistance by park management which has exacerbated the issues around misrepresentation in the park. A simple, straight forward recommendation to achieve more inclusive and respectful Indigenous representation in Jasper is the erection of those types of signs at the entrances to the park that can acknowledge the traditional territories that the park is located on. This has been a request of many JIF members since the formation of the forum. The belief that some JIF members have is that park management will not openly recognize their territory in the form of the requested sign as it would diminish park management's authority over decisions made in the park and call into question the colonial narratives around Euro-Canadian histories of Jasper. Many within the Parks Canada Agency considered these celebrations a success in that they presented the evolution of the nation over the past 150 years. However, others viewed it as a missed opportunity to shine a light on some of the darker histories of the nation. Lampreau wondered if reconciliation would have been such a large theme in national parks in 2017 if it was not for Canada 150 celebrations and the government patting itself on the back for the good work they do for Indigenous people (personal interview, November 18, 2017). Failing to

acknowledge the colonial histories of repression in Canada and its national parks, only serves to deny the nation's past and delay progress on the path to reconciliation. Historian John Sandlos explains:

These places have been wound up in a sense of Canadian nationalism and identity. They are trotted out as symbols of Canada. Some of them talk about being jewels in the crown of Canada, and yet they have this history that tells about another side of Canada – a history of colonialism and dispossession. (Hamilton, 2017)

To erect an acknowledgement sign would demonstrate that park management is not afraid to embrace these histories of repression in the park and the colonial past that robbed Indigenous peoples of their lands, resources and cultures. This recognition may seem simple, but it would strengthen the relationship between the JIF and park management through exhibiting a commitment to own the past, including these aspects of colonial repression and violence, as well as a willingness to work with Indigenous communities towards a shared future through reconciliation. The above recommendations are summarized in the table below:

Recommendations	
Cultural Awareness Training for JNP Staff and Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural awareness training should be developed and facilitated by the Indigenous peoples who have traditional connections to JNP lands. • This training should be presented for all JNP staff and management. • It will help close the knowledge gap between JNP staff and management about local Indigenous histories and cultures.
<p>Increased JIF/JNP Management Meetings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Multi-leveled engagement: <i>Tier 1 Meetings (Indigenous communities meet only amongst themselves)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bi-annual JIF/JNP management meetings does not provide enough time to discuss and develop solutions for the many issues and concerns brought up by JIF communities. • Increasing the number of meetings allows for each community to fully express their concerns. • Tier 1 meetings, facilitated by JNP management, will allow JIF communities to discuss their issues and concerns, then present them to

	JNP management with one common voice.
<p style="text-align: center;">Haida Totem Pole</p> <p>○ <i>Removing or Adding Context</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The totem pole without context and explanation for its presence and without acknowledgement of Indigenous groups with traditional connections to JNP continues to misrepresent local Indigenous cultures and histories. • Short of removing the totem pole, there must be context added to the interpretive panels around the pole to clarify the lack of cultural significance it has to local Indigenous groups. • This will allow visitors to better understand that local Indigenous cultures are distinct from stereotypical symbols used to represent Indigenous peoples across Canada.
<p style="text-align: center;">Traditional Acknowledgement Sign</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The erection of a sign at all of the entrances to JNP acknowledging the traditional territories of local Indigenous groups will create a more inclusive and respectful representation of Indigenous peoples and their histories. • This will help dispel the myths of JNP being an empty wilderness, untouched by humans, prior to the its formation. • Erecting this sign will signal a commitment that JNP management acknowledges the colonial history of JNP and is willing to work with Indigenous communities towards a shared future through reconciliation.

Table 3.1 Recommendations

Conclusion

Incorporating Indigenous histories and cultures into Jasper's interpretive content, training and management decisions will serve to strengthen the relationship between park management and the JIF. It will lead to a greater understanding by park management and visitors to Jasper of the diversity of cultures and histories that make Jasper unique. Hesitation and inability to enact meaningful changes in Indigenous representation in Jasper National Park is reminiscent of the colonial policies that Jasper was founded on. While there appears to be no uncertainty that JIF members want better representation in Jasper, there is a deep lack of understanding by park management of the negative impacts that misrepresentation continues to have on Indigenous communities. Acknowledging Indigenous histories and rights tied to the land that is now Jasper would help to address those negative impacts. Park management may be anxious that acknowledgement might limit their complete authority over management decisions on park lands. Government policies have led to the loss of Indigenous lands, rights, lives, languages and cultures. These losses have had, and continue to have, devastating impacts on Indigenous peoples, contributing to their lack of connection to traditional lands, knowledge, histories and cultural practices. While Indigenous representation in Jasper is only one aspect of addressing those impacts, it is significant. As a government agency and an organization who was responsible for forcibly removing Indigenous peoples from their traditional territories, it is the responsibility of park management to work with Indigenous communities to address and resolve their concerns in an appropriate time frame which must be agreed upon by all parties involved.

Jasper receives millions of visitors each year, many of whom rely on national parks interpretive content to explain Canada's history, both natural and cultural. Presenting only Eurocentric versions of Indigenous histories in Jasper serves to perpetuate and validate stereotypes that many visitors may already have about Indigenous peoples. With Indigenous peoples presenting their own histories and cultures with their own voices, park management will increase their own knowledge and that of park visitors. Progress in this has thus far has been slow. Park management sees their progress as on par or above that of other parks in Canada. Some JIF members agree, while others disagree. Improving Indigenous representation in Jasper today is measured through comparing it to past progress. The issue that arises from that comparison is that there was little to no Indigenous representation for the first one-hundred-year history of JNP so any progress made today, by comparison, is seen as a great victory. Success must not be continually measured by such troubling standards.

JIF members know what they want and need with regards to representation. They have a deep understanding of the issues that have stemmed from their forced removal from their traditional lands, their loss of connection to and knowledge of JNP lands, and the continual misrepresentation of their histories and cultures through the park's interpretive content. Park management working with the JIF are generally willing to listen to the concerns brought forward, but they are hesitant to enact changes that will not provide direct benefits to the park. They may also be hesitant to make changes that may potentially lessen their comprehensive authority over park management decisions. Through measuring success based on Eurocentric points of views, park management continues to undervalue the issues faced by Indigenous peoples as well as their ability to develop their own solutions. The JIF is seeking to reconcile the cultural loss that was facilitated by the policies that the federal government and its agencies, including Parks Canada, enacted and enforced. They are not seeking handouts or special treatment. They want fair access to the resources in the land that was taken from them, as well as the ability and support to present their own histories and cultures with their own voices.

The lands in JNP have a rich and varied Indigenous history. Through not sharing that history, park management is also denying visitors of the opportunity to gain knowledge that may deconstruct mistruths about Indigenous connections to the land. Increasing demands for Indigenous tourism throughout Canada has led to the incorporation of Indigenous content in other parks and in other organizations. Tourism demands should not be the determining factor as to whether Indigenous content is implemented into Jasper's interpretive programming and signage. Incorporating Indigenous histories and cultures must be done as they are intrinsically connected to the landscapes of Jasper. Only through acknowledging the rights of Indigenous peoples to present their histories and cultures in Jasper can park management truly claim to be working towards reconciliation. There must be greater emphasis to incorporate traditional knowledge into park management decisions, employee training, and interpretive content. While it may be difficult to present histories of Jasper that includes a strong Indigenous presence as it contradicts the colonial imaginary of a vast, "untouched" wilderness, park management has a duty to present Indigenous histories and cultures guided by local voices of Indigenous communities.

PART THREE

CHAPTER 4. Moving Forward: Understanding the Implications of Indigenous Misrepresentation and Bridging the Knowledge Gaps

Eurocentric perspectives serve to trivialize many significant aspects of Indigenous histories and perpetuate stereotypes that Indigenous peoples are the same all across Canada. These perspectives do not acknowledge the vast diversity of Canada's Indigenous peoples but seek instead to homogenize their histories into one, easy to disseminate pan-Indigenous experience. This has further reaching impacts than JNP management may realize. It sends the message to Indigenous nations that their cultures and histories are not important enough to share. This impacts the working relationships between park management and local Indigenous nations. It indicates that park management is more interested in catering to park visitor expectations and desires than sharing Indigenous histories. It negatively impacts how some Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous youth, view themselves as their cultures are undervalued and misrepresented. This perpetuates the idea that Europeans were superior and established the park to manage lands that Indigenous peoples could not.

This research explored the progress being made to address the lack of Indigenous representation and cultural awareness among JNP management and staff in Jasper. In recent years, steps have been taken to incorporate Indigenous voices in the park to build a working relationship based on mutual respect, understanding and trust. This is seen through the establishment of the Jasper Indigenous Forum which allows Indigenous nations to work directly with park management on a variety of issues. Despite the formation of this forum over a decade ago, it remains unofficial and agreements made between park management and forum members are done on "good faith". However, it provides a direct line of communication to discuss issues and concerns and to work on various projects. There remains a communication barrier between JNP management and the JIF communities. Park management must balance their decisions between meeting the park's mandate to work with Indigenous peoples while fulfilling their desire to retain full authority over park lands and cater to visitor expectations. Erecting a traditional territory acknowledgement sign at the entrances of the park or making the JIF an official advisory or partner group would potentially lead to Indigenous nations being able to legally challenge park managements authority over park lands. Making the JIF official would also require the creation of official criteria for being a JIF member, which

will lead to challenges for park management and Indigenous nations over the legitimacy of some nations' claims to Jasper as part of their traditional territory. Park management would prefer that the JIF remains unofficial and open to avoid a potential legitimacy of claims discussion.

Insight into the progress around the issue of Indigenous representation was provided through this research. Progress in Jasper is slow. Park management must deal with the complexities of working with numerous Indigenous nations, diverse priorities and inconsistencies with JIF membership while making their way through the bureaucracy of a government agency. Steps forward in their working relationship with local Indigenous nations, such as the establishment of the Cultural Use Area, the formation of the JIF, the Simpcw traditional hunt and JNPs Open-Door Policy are touted by JNP management as achievements. Any progress is seen as significant when comparing to the past where no relationship with Indigenous peoples existed. While these are assuredly important stepping stones on the path to reconciliation, they are only small pieces to the larger puzzle. What remains is a lack of any notable, visible acknowledgement of Jasper's rich Indigenous history. Delays in making necessary changes to Indigenous representation are compared to lack of progress in the past. One could assume that because Indigenous nations have waited a century to see change in Jasper, waiting several more years is acceptable. However, this notion of acceptable delays, fails to demonstrate a central understanding of the issues that are compounded by the continuation of cultural and historical misrepresentation.

This research exposes the differences in how JNP management and JIF members view issues around Indigenous representation in Jasper and how they measure the progress to improve and increase these representations. It also highlights a lack of understanding on the part of park management of how these issues have negatively impacted Indigenous communities since their forced removal from the park and how not addressing them continues to marginalize and alienate Indigenous peoples. A deeper appreciation for issues faced by Indigenous peoples due to stereotypes and misrepresentation is necessary before park management is able to address the concerns of the Indigenous nations with traditional ties to the lands in Jasper.

Increasing the knowledge about and appreciation for Indigenous histories and cultures, can be seen as an obligation of JNP staff and for JNP management as representatives of a federal government agency – Parks Canada. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada called on governments, educational and religious institutions, civil society groups and all Canadians to take action on the 94 Calls to Action it identified (Government of Canada, 2018). Calls to Action 43 and 44 dealt specifically with reconciliation and called upon all levels of Canadian governments to “fully adopt

and implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) as the framework for reconciliation” and to “develop a national action plan, strategies, and other concrete measures to achieve the goals of UNDRIP” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action, 2015: 4). In November of 2017 the federal Canadian government announced its support for Bill C-262 which is an Act that is meant to ensure that Canadian laws are in harmony with the UNDRIP (CLAHR, 2018). UNDRIP is a guideline to “establish a universal framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the Indigenous peoples of the world” (United Nations, 2018). Dignity and well-being of Indigenous peoples encompasses many aspects, one of which is the proper and respectful representation and acknowledgement of their cultures and histories. As made clear throughout my research, JNP management has failed to adequately address many of the representation issues in Jasper that continue to perpetuate harmful stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. As government agency employees, JNP management must develop concrete measures to ensure that the Indigenous peoples with traditional connections to the lands in and around JNP are treated with dignity. Working with JIF communities to enact meaningful change and respectfully address their concerns will make that possible. The recommendations to improve Indigenous representation and address some of concerns shared by JIF participants are outlined in Chapter 3 and can be used a guide towards realizing some of the UNRIP goals.

This study relied heavily on the input from research participants to fill the gaps in knowledge around the issues being faced in JNP and to address the lack of scholarly work on this issue. Applying Indigenous methodologies encouraged me to consider a variety of perspectives from a diverse range of participants. Participant perspectives are reflected in the overall direction of this work as their input not only highlighted the complicated nature of the relationships between Indigenous nations and park management, but it also shaped the final recommendations, suggesting possible ways to address the highlighted issues. Guided by Indigenous methodologies, the primary research methods, in the form of semi-structured interviews, allowed participants to retain greater control over what information is being shared and how it is being shared. All participants were provided with opportunities to add, remove or clarify any information before it was used, alleviating concerns around me misinterpreting what was communicated. Secondary literature research yielded overarching information concerning the history of the establishments of national parks in Canada, including Jasper, and the government justifications for the forced removals of Indigenous peoples from these parks. It also exposed a gap in knowledge surrounding the impacts of the forced removals on Indigenous peoples and a lack of research into the Indigenous histories of the lands that are now JNP.

Ongoing research should compare Indigenous representation in JNP to other national parks and protected areas in Canada to determine how JNP measures up to other parks working with Indigenous nations. Greater involvement from the JIF in future research would provide a wider array of perspectives, recommendations, observations and insights into the issues faced by Indigenous communities as they relate to the misrepresentation of their histories and cultures in Jasper. The level of understanding of Parks Canada policies and bureaucratic systems by JIF members will shape their perspectives on how representation issues are handled or could be handled by park management. Representatives from long-standing JIF nations likely possess a greater understanding and appreciation of the complex issues park management faces, allowing them to focus their requests, collaborations and recommendations in a manner that park management can potentially work with. Park management on the other hand must increase their own understanding of Indigenous issues and ways of gathering and sharing knowledge in order to successfully work with Indigenous nations to address their concerns in a meaningful way.

Although minimal changes have occurred, recognition must be given to park management for the progress that has been made with regards to Indigenous representation and involvement in the park in recent years. They have demonstrated a desire to work with Indigenous nations on some projects, but maintain a reluctance to enact many changes those nations have requested. Recognition of park management for thinking about making changes or wanting to make changes is a different story. It must be acknowledged that much of the progress with regards to Indigenous representation in Jasper was due directly to the pressure put on park management by Indigenous peoples themselves. Local Indigenous nations have been tireless in their pursuit to reconnect with their traditional territories in the park and achieve respectful, meaningful representation of their histories and cultures – stories told by their own peoples and voices. They are motivated by the Eurocentric perspectives that continue to shape how park visitors view Indigenous peoples. There may be a genuine desire by park management to increase Indigenous representation and work towards reconciliation in Jasper, but until that has been achieved to the satisfaction of the local Indigenous nations that have been misrepresented for far too long, reconciliation will simply remain an unfulfilled goal. Best intentions will not suffice for a justification of why this critical window of opportunity was passed by or missed entirely.

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Appendix 2: Regional Map of Alberta – National Park Locations



Government of Canada. (2017). *Map of Alberta – Jasper National Park*. [image]. Retrieved from <https://www.pc.gc.ca/en/pn-np/ab/jasper/visit/depliants-brochures/alberta>

Appendix 3: Jasper Indigenous Forum Partners

JIF Partners as of May 2018	
Alexis Nakota Sioux First Nation	Aseniwuche Winewak Nation
Asini Wachi (<i>Mountain Cree</i>)	Bearspaw First Nation
Bighorn Chiniki Stoney (<i>Nakoda</i>) Nation	Enoch Cree Nation
Ermineskin Cree Nation	Foothills Ojibway First Nation
Horse Lake First Nation	Kelly Lake Cree Nation
Kelly Lake Métis Settlement Society	Lac Ste. Anne Métis (<i>Gunn Métis Local #55</i>)
Louis Bull Tribe	Métis Nation of British Columbia
Métis Nation of Alberta	Montana First Nation
Mountain Métis (<i>Grande Cache Local #1994</i>)	Nakcowinewak Nation of Canada
O'Chiese First Nation	Mountain Cree (<i>Smallboys</i>)
Samson Cree Nation	Sucker Creek First Nation
Sunchild First Nation	Swan River First Nation
Upper Athabasca Valley Elders Council	Wesley First Nation

Appendix 4: Interview Questions for Jasper National Park Management

1.) What is your position within the park?
2.) How long have you worked for the park? Worked for other parks?
3.) <i>FOR INDIGENOUS EMPLOYEES</i> – What is your Indigenous cultural background?
4.) Does Jasper have connections to any Indigenous groups? If so, how many? Which ones? Where are they located?
5.) Does Jasper hold any cultural significance to any Indigenous groups? If yes, what is the significance? If no, how do you know?
6.) Do you think incorporating Indigenous knowledge and histories is important in Jasper? Why or why not?
7.) Does Jasper incorporate any Indigenous knowledge and histories into its interpretive programming/signage? If yes, how does it do this?
8.) Does Jasper work with any Indigenous communities to collect and present this information according to their traditional cultural protocols?
9.) Does Jasper have a duty to approach Indigenous communities when creating interpretive programs and signage that present aspects of their culture? Why or why not? a. How well does Jasper do this?
10.) Do you think Jasper has been effective at reaching out to Indigenous communities? Why or why not?
11.) Does Jasper provide staff training to increase staff awareness of Indigenous projects, histories and concerns within the park?
12.) Why is there a Haida totem pole in Jasper instead of something that represents the Indigenous communities with traditional ties in these areas?

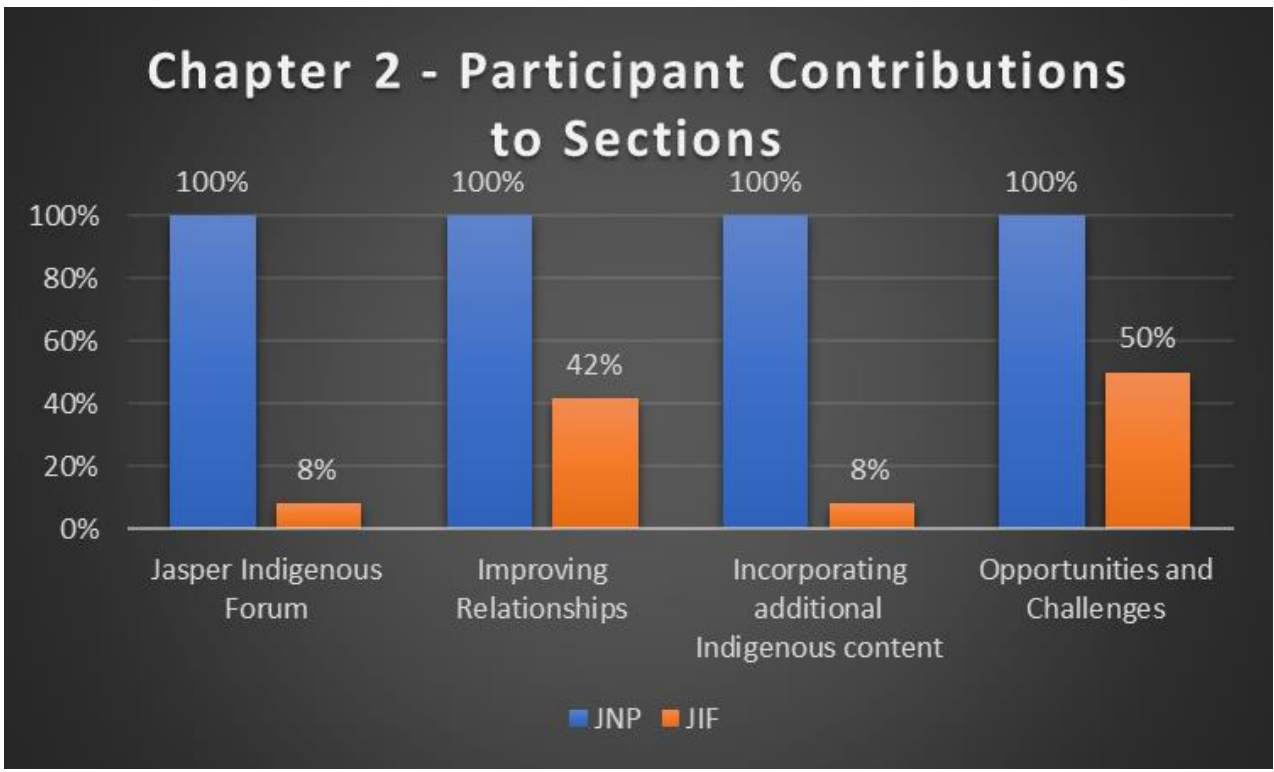
Appendix 5: Interview Questions for Jasper Indigenous Forum Members

1.) What community are you from? What is your Nation?
2.) How important is being part of Jasper National Park to you?
3.) Have you attended a cultural-themed interpretive program in the park? Which one(s)? 4. Does the park incorporate Indigenous knowledge and history? How?
5.) How important is it that the park incorporates Indigenous knowledge and history? Why?
6.) How well do you feel your culture is represented within the park? In interpretive programs and signage?
7.) Cultural representation is often controlled by dominant colonial powers, Jasper National Park in this case, which allows Jasper to control how Indigenous cultures are presented to visitors to the park. What negative impacts does cultural misrepresentation have on Indigenous cultures?
8.) Have you, or anyone you know, been approached by park staff to add Indigenous knowledge and history to parks programming/signage? a. If not, would you be willing to work with parks staff to add Indigenous knowledge and histories to parks programming/signage? Why or why not?
9.) Do you think it is important to incorporate Indigenous knowledge and histories into park programming/signage? Why? Why not?
10.) How can the park incorporate the knowledge and histories of so many Indigenous communities into its programming/signage?
11.) What changes would you like the park to make with regards to Indigenous representation? How should they go about making these changes?
12.) How do you feel about having a Haida totem pole in your traditional territory? How do you think it impacts how tourists view Jasper?

Appendix 6: Chapter 2 Theme Development

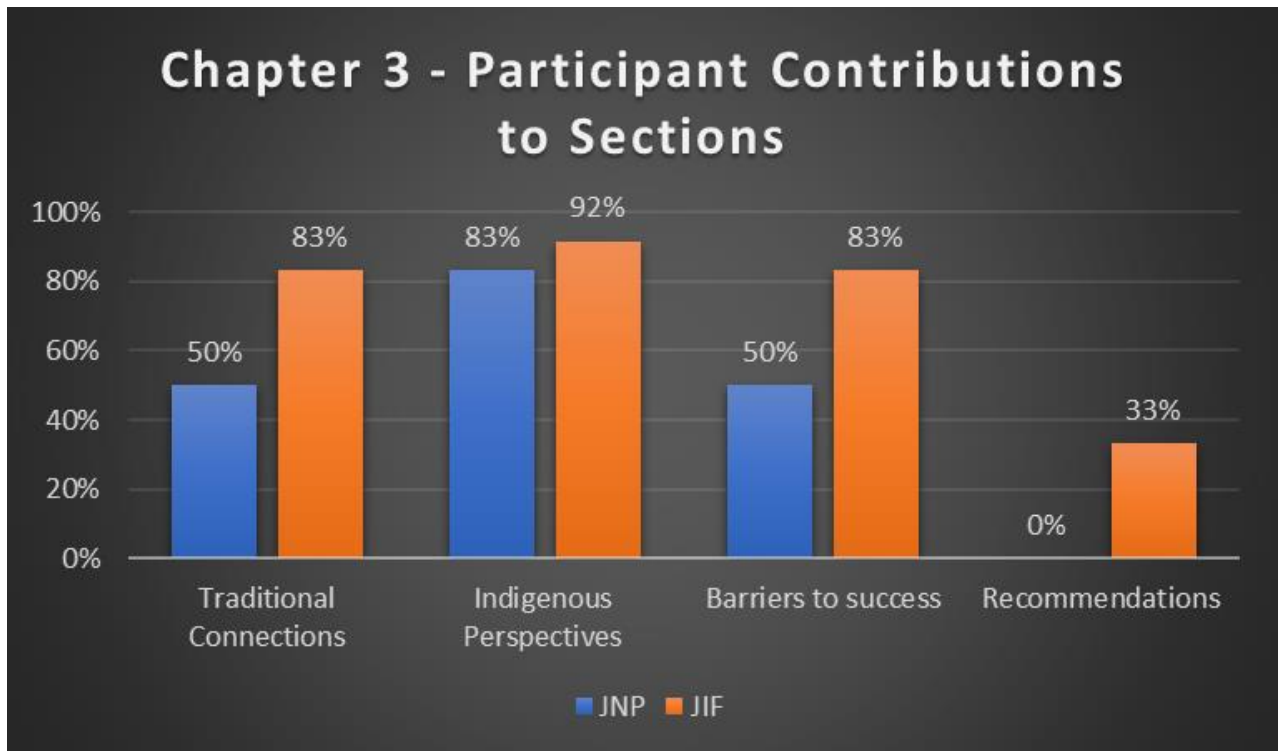
Chapter 2 Theme Development – Rethinking Representation: Shifting from A Eurocentric Lens to Indigenous Ways of Sharing Knowledge	
Chapter Sections	Themes
The Jasper Indigenous Forum: Indigenous Participation in Park Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of the JIF • Open-Door Policy • Unofficial JIF • Many JIF Communities • Forced Removals • Loss of Indigenous Connections to JNP • Lack of Knowledge of Indigenous Histories
Improving Relationships: Park Management and Local Indigenous Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation and Relationship Building • Desire for more authentic interpretive content • Indigenous Interpretative Content • Eurocentric Perspectives • Historic relationship between JNP management and Indigenous peoples • Lack of Cultural Awareness Training • Bi-annual JIF/JNP meetings • Haida Totem Pole • Cultural Use Area • Simpcw First Nation Traditional Hunt
Incorporating Additional Indigenous Interpretive Content in Jasper National Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eurocentric Interpretive Content; Signage and programming • Traditional Indigenous Knowledge • Indigenous Interpreters • Lack of resources for Indigenous Interpretation • Current Interpretation methods may not mesh with Indigenous ways of sharing knowledge • Indigenous Tourism
Opportunities and Challenges: Working with Multiple Indigenous Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • JIF communities each have their own priorities, histories and traditional knowledge • Inconsistent representation from some JIF communities • Time-constraints • Government Bureaucracy • JIF Working Groups; Indigenous Exhibit, Cultural Use Area, Indigenous Interpretation, Cultural Awareness Training • Reshaping Interpretation

Appendix 7: Participant Contributions to Chapter 2



Appendix 8: Chapter 3 Theme Development

Chapter 3 Theme Development – Jasper Indigenous Forum	
Chapter Sections	Themes
Traditional Connection: Indigenous Ties to the Land in Jasper National Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of the JIF • Cultural Connections to Jasper • Traditional lands and Treaty lands • Forced Removals • Connections Maintained through hunting and harvesting
Indigenous Perspectives: Incorporating Indigenous Knowledge and Histories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporating Indigenous Knowledge • Impacts of Misrepresentation • Indigenous Youth • Slow to add Indigenous knowledge • Indigenous Acknowledging sign • Incorporate Indigenous Languages • Incorporate Indigenous History • JIF Working groups • Indigenous Exhibit • Haida Totem Pole • Cultural Use Area
Barriers to Success: Finding a Balance between Jasper National Park Management and JIF Objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • JNP Management has a duty to add Indigenous content • JNP Management maintaining authority • Indigenous Research in Jasper • Timelines • Many JIF members • Inexperienced JIF Members • JIF offers opportunities to learn about Indigenous cultures and histories • Need more Indigenous communities on JIF • Inclusive Indigenous representation good for JNP Business • Relationship between JNP Management and JIF • Progress towards better representation in Jasper • Cultural Awareness Training
Recommendations: Paths to Achieving Inclusive and Respectful Indigenous Representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Levels of Engagement • Indigenous Acknowledgement Signs • Cultural Awareness Training • Haida Totem Pole

Appendix 9: Participant Contributions to Chapter 3

Endnotes

ⁱ The term pan-Indianism or pan-Indigenous is used throughout this document to refer to a common stereotype that all Indigenous peoples share the same cultures, language, and histories. This idea limits the understanding by non-Indigenous peoples about the vast diversity of Indigenous groups. It must also be acknowledged that at times Indigenous communities and leaders have strategically applied pan-Indigenous approaches in their relations with non-Indigenous governments and institutions in order to collectively forward a unified voice.

ⁱⁱ Iroquois peoples working for the North West Company came west from their home lands, in Eastern Ontario and Western Quebec, in significant numbers at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Many intermarried with Euro-Canadian fur trading families over generations and some began to define themselves as Métis. They were travelers and fur traders ranging far through the Rocky Mountains. Iroquois-Métis in the area soon emerged as Iroquois-Shuswap-Sekani-French Canadian-Métis. The irregular occupation and use of local trading posts in the area encouraged the Iroquois-Métis to subsist solely on the land. They moved further down the Athabasca and Smoky Rivers to Entrance and Grande Cache in Alberta when Jasper National Park was formed (Elliot, 2009). Red River Métis refers to the Métis from the Red River Settlement in Manitoba.

ⁱⁱⁱ Canada 150 refers to the 150th anniversary of Canada's Confederation. According to the Government of Canada's website Canada 150 "year was filled with activities that focused on engaging and inspiring youth; celebrating our diversity and encouraging inclusion; establishing a spirit of reconciliation with Indigenous peoples; and discovering Canada's natural beauty and strengthening environmental awareness. Canadians and visitors from all around the world were invited to participate, celebrate and explore their country. Canadians and visitors alike responded with enthusiasm and got involved in ways there were meaningful to them." The website goes on to say that more than 150 partners (federal, provincial, municipal, non-governmental, philanthropic and private sectors) contributed to Canada 150 celebrations. (Canada 150, 2018)

^{iv} The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was a Royal Commission established by Order in Council on August 26, 1991 in the aftermath of the Oka Crisis. The Commission produced a report, in 1996, that came from extensive research and community consultation. It provided a broad overview of the historical and contemporary relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Several recommendations came from the report, however the majority of them were not fully implemented. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 2016)

^v The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) is a component of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. Its mandate is to inform all Canadians about what happened in Indian Residential Schools (IRS). The Commission documents the stories of survivors, families, communities and anyone personally affected by the IRS experience. The TRC hopes to guide and inspire Indigenous peoples and Canadians in a process of reconciliation and renewed relationships that are based on mutual understanding and respect. (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2018)

^{vi} Members of Simpcw First Nation took part in a hunt on their traditional territory in Jasper National Park from October 6-9, 2017. Jasper National Park management closed a small area of the park near Snaring River to facilitate this hunt. The hunt yielded six animals harvested, which had no impact on the overall health or sustainability of the parks wildlife populations. (Mathews, 2017)

vii The Two Brothers Totem Pole that stands in the Jasper townsite was raised On July 16th, 2011 as a part of Parks Day and Parks Canada Centennial Celebrations. The Parks Canada website for Jasper National Park detailed the raising as a fusing of “West Coast Haida culture with regional Aboriginal Traditions and included two pipe ceremonies, a traditional Haida totem pole blessing and carvers dance, a totem pole transfer ceremony, a friendship ceremony, a traditional feast and round dance.” The website also explains that 15 different regional Aboriginal communities joined together for the totem pole raising, but did not provide details as to which communities they were. (The Two Brothers Totem Pole, 2017)

viii The 2010 Jasper National Park (*JNP*) Management Plan included the voices of “Aboriginal people, stakeholders, community residents, park visitors and the general public” who contributed to influencing the development of the plan (Jasper National Park of Canada Management Plan, 2010: 9). Through the Jasper Indigenous Forum (*JIF*), local Indigenous communities with traditional connections to Jasper and JNP management have identified 6 main areas of “common interest” in the management plan: 1) Opportunities to influence park management and decision making; 2) Traditional Knowledge; 3) Access to and reconnection with the park; 4) Cultural programs; 5) Resource and conservation activities; 6) Economic and employment opportunities.

Parks Canada’s mandate has 3 fundamental aspects – “education, experience and protection” (123). The JNP management plan includes 7 key strategies to achieve the mandate, one of which is Strengthening Aboriginal Relationships. The management plan explains that “Parks Canada is committed to building strong and mutually beneficial working relationships with Aboriginal people” (11). The Strengthening Aboriginal Relationships strategy focused on:

- Fostering strong and mutually-beneficial working relationships with Aboriginal communities that have documented historic associations with JNP.
- Encouraging and strengthening interest-based participation by Aboriginal people in the management and benefits of JNP.
- Fostering reconciliation and reconnection with JNP.
- Improving the visitor experience by facilitation opportunities for Aboriginal people to present their culture, history and perspectives to park visitors.