

# **Escape into Nature: the Ideology of Pacific Spirit Regional Park**

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation investigates the ideology of Pacific Spirit Regional Park, an urban forest adjacent to the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada. Using the tools of archaeology and anthropology, I analyse the history, landscape, performance, and discourse of the park to understand Pacific Spirit as a culturally-constructed place that embodies an ideology of imperialism. Central in this dynamic is the carefully crafted illusion of Pacific Spirit as a site of “nature,” placed in opposition to “culture,” which naturalizes the values that created and are communicated through the park and thereby neutralizes their politics. They remain, however, very political.

The park as nature erases the history and heritage of the Indigenous peoples of this region, transforming Pacific Spirit into a new *terra nullius*—a site to be discovered and explored, militaristic themes that consistently underlie park programs and propaganda. These cultural tropes connect to produce a nationalistic settler narrative wherein class ideals of nature and community are evoked in the celebration of Canada’s history of colonialism and capitalist expansion—paradoxically, the very processes that have caused the fragmentation of communities and ecosystems.

The park as nature also feeds into the portrayal of this space as having been saved from development and, as such, an environmental triumph. In this context, the park is viewed as escape from the psychological trauma and alienation of city living and is celebrated and revered as a sacred place. This portrayal enables the forgetting of injustice and promotes a collective amnesia through the creation of a fairy-tale version of reality. The result is to disperse emotion and energy that otherwise could be mobilized against capitalism to prevent ongoing global ecological devastation.

The ideology of the Pacific Spirit as nature therefore constitutes social violence by rewriting both the past and present of this land and its peoples, thereby hindering recognition of and rebellion against power. Pacific Spirit is thus a hegemonic space that reproduces colonial relationships and naturalizes capitalism. Exposing the park as a cultural place and illuminating the ideology that it perpetuates may be a crucial first step towards disrupting power through the creation of counter-narratives.

## **PREFACE**

This dissertation is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Marina La Salle. The author is solely responsible for any errors and/or omissions in this document. This document has been prepared and presented without prejudice to issues of Aboriginal Rights or Title and does not attempt to define or limit Title and/or Rights of any Aboriginal community within or without the study area, nor does it represent the views or opinions of the Musqueam Indian Band, nor any individual therein. This research was approved by the UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board, Certificate Number H10-00341-001(Principal Investigator: Dr. Susan Rowley). It was also approved by the Musqueam Indian Band under Permit Number MIB-12-117-MB. The off-trail portion of the landscape survey conducted in Pacific Spirit Regional Park was approved under Metro Vancouver Regional Parks Research Permit MLS-PAC-2011 and MLS-PAC-2012.

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To you all, I deeply give my thanks.

## **DEDICATION**

To Rich, and our three rules.

## CHAPTER 1: WHY PACIFIC SPIRIT?

Pacific Spirit Regional Park (hereafter called Pacific Spirit, or “the park”) is an area of preserved urban forest adjacent to the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, British Columbia (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Lauded by cyclists, dog-walkers, and environmentalists for its natural beauty and peaceful solitude, the park is also asserted by the Musqueam Indian Band (MIB) as ancestral and unceded territory—a place of heritage and memory that has been forgotten in public consciousness.

The park has been the subject of tension between the Musqueam community and the colonial government since before its creation in 1989, a tension that intensified in 2007/8 over a transfer of park lands to Musqueam Indian Band in a legal settlement. This land transfer sparked protest from residents, local government, and environmentalists who were concerned that MIB would mar this “pristine wilderness” with commercial development. While many local residents expressed sympathy for the Musqueam people, they also suggested that, as a public place, the land and its *natural* heritage should belong to everyone. It was the media coverage of this land transfer that sparked my interest in the park as a place of both social tension and community cohesion, and as an ideological landscape of power.

Situated in colonial history and contemporary capitalism, I discuss Pacific Spirit as a culturally-constructed place of “nature,” emphasizing how this trope operates as ideology in the context of modern urbanism. Using the tools of anthropology and archaeology, the “place” that is Pacific Spirit and the roles it plays in urban society are illuminated through an investigation of its history, representations, landscape, performance, and discourse. Central in this research are the concepts of ritual, memory, and forgetting; before summarizing the analysis that I build through this dissertation, however, the process by which I came to undertake this research in the first place is critical to understand, for this has inherently shaped what issues I have privileged and why.

Towards this, I provide in this introductory chapter the rationale for why I pursued this investigation of the park, explaining in a personal narrative the sequence of events that inspired my interest in the topic. I then discuss how I have approached this research methodologically and theoretically in the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology. I introduce larger themes that have emerged from park studies locally and elsewhere, and then situate myself in this research, highlighting the perspectives that have profoundly shaped the opinions I offer in this dissertation. A summary of the argument that I build throughout the dissertation is then provided, followed by an outline of the chapters and topics addressed in each.

## Archaeology and Colonialism

I began my undergraduate degree at the University of Toronto and completed it in the Department of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. The former institution provided a solid foundation in anthropology, while the latter complimented this in its focus on scientific archaeology. Throughout my undergraduate days, I became increasingly concerned about ethics, human rights, social justice, and anti-colonial practice in archaeology. My experiences with the Indigenous communities connected to the archaeological sites where I worked had opened my eyes to the harmful role that archaeology has played and continues to play in these colonized communities (La Salle 2010).

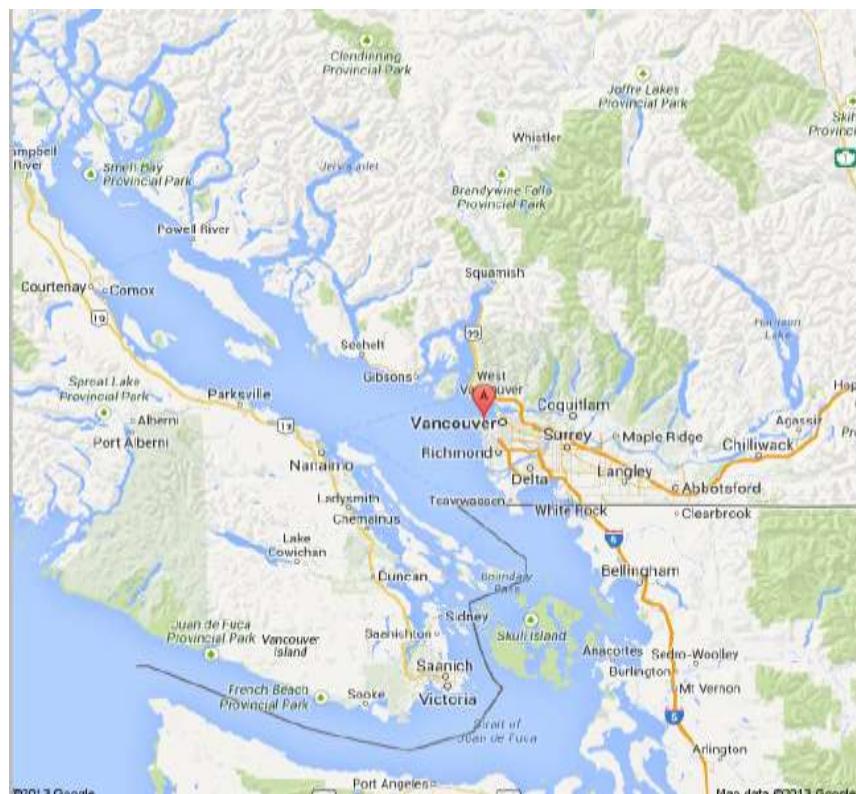


Figure 1.1. The Salish Sea basin showing the location of Point Grey, marked “A.” Top of image is north (Image source GoogleMaps.ca).

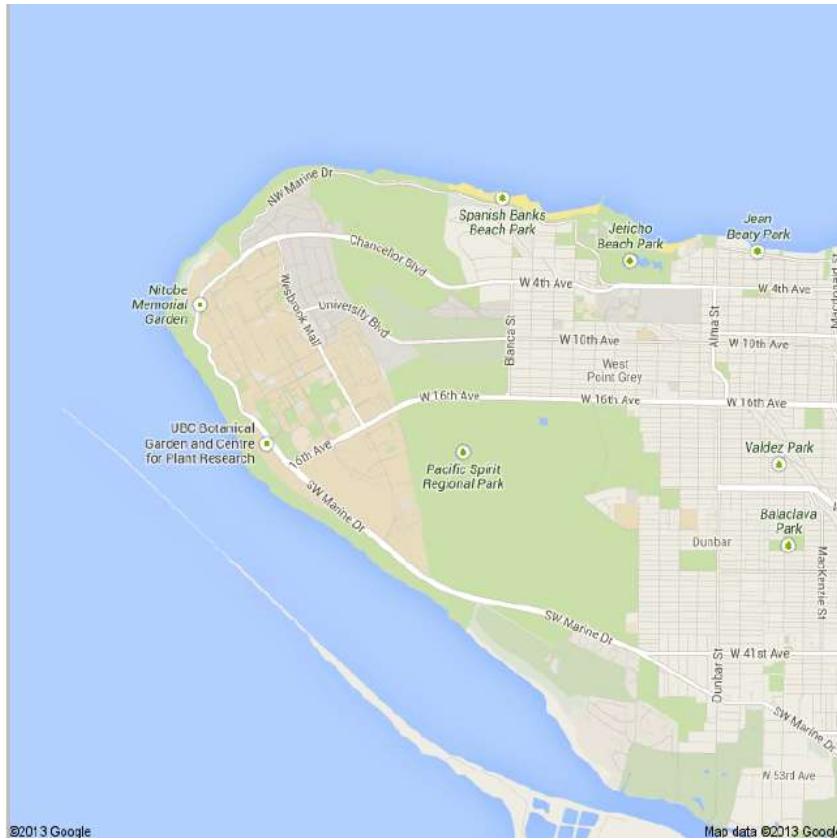


Figure 1.2. The location of Pacific Spirit Regional Park in the Point Grey area. Top of image is north (Image source GoogleMaps.ca).

From its beginnings, archaeology has “furthered colonialist agendas in settler countries” (McNiven and Russell 2005:vii). The practice and discipline grew in tandem with European imperialism and global resource exploitation as a means to both create a new origin story for an increasingly secular society and to explain the existence and diversity of the previously unknown cultures that were encountered and eventually colonized (McNiven and Russell 2005; Trigger 2006). In this endeavour, research has been used as a tool of oppression, “not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions” (Smith 1999:5). Wrapped up in these motivating ideologies, the research of anthropologists and archaeologists in particular has often resulted in perpetuating harmful stereotypes of Indigenous peoples, and been used to justify occupation of their lands (Deloria 1997:112).

With the social justice and civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s, Indigenous peoples worldwide strove towards self-determination, self-representation, and sovereignty (Deloria 1969; 1997); in North America, this involved actively protesting the practice of archaeology. Decades later, some in the archaeological community are striving to re-envision the discipline in the larger context of “decolonizing” research (Smith 1999; Smith and Wobst 2005), particularly towards Indigenous (Atalay 2012), and

internalist archaeologies (Yellowhorn 2002). This shift in perspective is tied to recognizing the ongoing connection between archaeological sites and descendant communities, and viewing such places as named, meaningful sites of memory and heritage, integral to the foundation of cultural identity today.

With these burgeoning understandings fresh in mind, I undertook graduate research at the University of British Columbia (UBC), grappling with how cultural identity may be understood through archaeology and the responsibility of archaeologists to descendant communities. It was during my Master's degree research that I first learned about the Musqueam people and their lands today called Pacific Spirit Regional Park.

### **The Musqueam-UBC Archaeological Field School**

As a student in the Department of Anthropology at UBC, and having taken courses regarding the past and present of the First Nations<sup>1</sup> in this province, I was broadly aware that the university was situated in Coast Salish territory. This was reaffirmed in Department events, which were often opened by a representative from the Musqueam Indian Band. However, it was not until a Musqueam-UBC Archaeological Field School was announced in 2007 that I developed any real understanding of the proximity of the Musqueam Indian Reserve to the university and of the history of this relationship. This came about because I was employed as a Teaching Assistant for the field school that year, and again in 2008 and 2009. As I will discuss in Chapter 2, this initial lack of awareness of both the past and present connections between this place and Indigenous heritage is widespread and a pervasive theme in this thesis.

The 2007 field school project was conceived of as a collaboration between MIB and the university with goals including teaching students the skills of archaeology, analysing previously-collected cultural materials, introducing students to local history and strengthening bonds between the Musqueam community and the university. As a project concerning Musqueam heritage, the field school was so described in the syllabus (MIB/UBC 2007): “It will provide students with archaeological experience and instruction while working in consultation with First Nation officials, elders, and community members. The research will focus on Musqueam history with research conducted on Musqueam territory.”

It was during these months as part of the field school that I came to be aware of the students’ ignorance regarding the Musqueam community. Many of the 12-15 students taught annually had never heard of Musqueam, most did not know there was a reserve right next to campus, and fewer still had ever been there prior to the field school. I, too, was initially unfamiliar with Musqueam history and the field school structure—as a collaborative venture with elders and community members teaching and interacting

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this dissertation, I capitalize the terms First Nation, Aboriginal, and Indigenous. In cases where I am quoting text written by others that does not capitalize these terms, I have left it unchanged.

with myself and the students—was truly illuminating.

It was the 2007 field school that introduced me to Pacific Spirit, when a long-time local archaeologist who works for the Musqueam Indian Band, Leonard Ham, brought us on a tour of part of the park near the Reserve. Designed as an introduction to the landscape and history of the area, his tour showed students what are believed to be culturally-constructed pits that were likely semi-subterranean structures, a still-used spiritual bathing pool and culturally modified trees. Early on in the field school, I was shocked to hear students referring to the park as old growth forest and as untouched, and hoped that the tour and coming weeks of field work would dispel these illusions for them.

Separate conversations after the tour with Leona Sparrow, who is the Director of Treaty, Lands and Resources for Musqueam Indian Band, and previous-Chief Delbert Guerin, reinforced the park as a politically contentious place. Some Band members told stories of the park authorities coming to the Musqueam community to ask where their important cultural and spiritual places were so that they could be avoided, only to have public trails placed directly alongside or through these areas. I quickly figured out that the relationship between MIB and the park was one of conflict and, through ensuing conversations on the topic, came to see ways in which the Band had been actively alienated from this space. A comment made by one Band member wondering about the archaeological history of the park prompted my decision to pursue this topic for my doctoral research.

### **Indigenous Title in British Columbia**

The Musqueam Indian Band's alienation from the park lands is a central theme in this dissertation, and must be considered within the larger issue of Aboriginal Rights and Title. My introduction to the concept of Indigenous land rights came years before the Musqueam-UBC field school, with an anti-colonial art contest held at SFU (murphy 2008). The series of speakers, roundtables and workshops held as part of that event provided context and grounding for some of the concerns and half-formed thoughts that had resulted from my first archaeological field experience in the province. Situated in a rural and relatively remote area of the northern Northwest Coast, that archaeological project raised questions for me about the goals of archaeologists and the ethics of research with(out) First Nations' involvement, and revealed to me a profound ignorance of the historical and social context in which I was operating. Yet, despite my new understanding of how Indigenous history is often intentionally forgotten and places are remade through colonization, I associated this process with remote and undeveloped areas of the province and remained blind to its existence in urban settings. The 2007 field school prompted me to pursue an

understanding of Aboriginal Rights and Title<sup>2</sup> and the B.C. Treaty Process in order to situate archaeology politically in broader contemporary society.

People have lived in the area called Greater Vancouver for thousands of years, creating places, meanings, stories and expressions on the landscape that persist to this day. These histories, however, have been systematically silenced, minimised and/or misrepresented by the media, publications and policies of dominant society in colonial Canada. They continue to be underrepresented or downplayed, particularly by the provincial government, whose interests are served by the negation of Indigenous rights. The negation of history, erasure of place names, oppression of cultural expression, expulsion to confined reserves, re-education in residential schools, appropriation of cultural heritage, and reconceptualization of the landscape all represent the tools of genocide, and remain part of the colonial culture of British Columbia today (e.g., Furniss 1999; Guernsey 2008; Harris 1997; Regan 2010; Roy 2007; West 1995).

In this province, assertions of Aboriginal Rights and Title infringements tried in court represent one route pursued by First Nations to seek recognition and recompense for theft of land, resources, and way of life (Culhane 1998). This political context frames the past and present of Pacific Spirit as a contested space within the traditional unceded territory of the Musqueam people. This territory is asserted by MIB through the B.C. Treaty Process, which has stalled because of inadequate funding and government refusal to negotiate. Indigenous land rights remain a contentious issue for colonial authorities and government, as well as for property owners more broadly.

As a contested place, the park landscape is necessarily couched within the context of Indigenous rights and the lasting legacies of colonialism. This may be observed in what history is told and *when* history is even said to begin, which are central to historical and contemporary views of the park, as I will discuss in Chapter 2. As I learned following that first Musqueam-UBC field school, assertions of Aboriginal Title and resulting political conflict are almost sure to cause a media frenzy.

### **The 2007/8 Land Transfer and Backlash**

Public interest in conflicts concerning Aboriginal issues became evident from reactions to the repatriation of park lands to the Musqueam Indian Band. In November of 2007, then-B.C. Premier Gordon Campbell announced that title to two portions of Pacific Spirit and the UBC golf course would be transferred to the Band in settlement of three court cases initiated by the MIB (BC 2007). As I will discuss in Chapter 3, this move prompted public opposition from local park societies, municipal governments, university students, environmentalists, and residents, who argued against the removal of any land from the park,

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<sup>2</sup> Throughout this dissertation, I capitalize Aboriginal Rights and Title to highlight their unique status in Canadian law (McDonald and Ellingson 2005:1).

fearing the transfer would result in forest destruction and development.

Sentiments regarding the land transfer received significant media attention, which continues to this day. The “loss” of park lands was a key issue for candidates in the local election, and continues to be portrayed as having set a dangerous precedent. “Save the Park” became the mantra for a park protest complete with speeches and songs. A few months later, the agreement was finalized and parts of what had been Pacific Spirit Regional Park were repatriated to the Musqueam Indian Band.

As a student at UBC and a resident in Point Grey, I was aware of the land transfer and had encountered some media on the topic. I had also been present for a local political candidates’ meeting where the park was one issue on the table for discussion. However, not until the transfer had been completed did I come to understand how it articulated with larger ongoing issues about land ownership and control in British Columbia. It was my presence on the archaeological field school of 2008 that brought these issues home for me.

### **Archaeology in the Triangle Lands**

After the land transfer was completed in 2008, I again had the privilege of acting as a Teaching Assistant for the Musqueam-UBC Archaeological Field School. This year, however, was different. My fellow Teaching Assistant, Richard Hutchings, and I led students in a survey and mapping project in the Triangle Lands—an area adjacent to the Musqueam Indian Reserve lands and Shaughnessy Golf Course that was part of the land transfer. We were advised that remnants of a Chinese market garden and a logging camp were in the area, and our goal was to relocate and assess the condition of these sites, and look for new ones, as the Musqueam community had not had much access to the area while it was park land.

Although this was our goal, our very presence in the Triangle Lands had a more profound impact on employees of the local golf course and nearby residents. Daily, we parked the officially-labelled UBC van on the street next to the forest and often walked along the edge of the golf course facilities parking lot to reach our destination, saving us the time and energy of wading through the woods. We spoke with the golf course workers and explained that we were conducting research in the woods in collaboration with UBC and MIB, and came to exchange pleasantries on a daily basis. Rich and I discussed with the students the symbolism of our presence in the Triangle Lands, explaining the land transfer controversy and how the Musqueam people, and us in our collaboration with them, were in a sense taking back this space.

The on-the-ground reality of this notion, however, only became apparent when one morning, as we parked the van and collected our gear, a local resident approached the van. He was agitated, angry, and demanded to know who we were, what we were doing, and who gave us permission to be there. He was upset because we had been parking on the street in front of his house, which he informed us was

Musqueam property, Musqueam land. However, after we explained that we were there with the Musqueam Indian Band's permission, his story changed. He then said it was a private road, that he pays for the road—that he leases this land, then, that he *owns* this land, that this land was his land and he pays for it. In the end, we were able to calm him down and provided contact information for Leona Sparrow at the Band office and Andrew Martindale, our UBC field director. This resident even became curious to know about the ancient history of the woods, about which he had not previously ever thought.

This brief encounter highlighted for me, and for our students as we discussed it afterwards, how explosive the issue of Indigenous land rights can be for settlers—in this case, for someone who is benefitting from a land lease arranged by the government for MIB, but who has a limited relationship with the Musqueam community itself. It was this incident that reminded me that colonialism is both structural and very personal, but that it is perhaps on the personal level that change can be most readily affected.

Since the land transfer, with increased development nearby by UBC and the rezoning of some park lands now owned by MIB, the public debate about how the park should be managed, and by whom, has continued. The nature, history, and expression of this debate represent the focus of my research.

### **Investigating Parks: A How-To Guide**

My dissertation research investigates the historical context surrounding the creation and contestation of Pacific Spirit, assessing how the park was and is conceived of by its authorities and users, and how these values are communicated through the material landscape in the features, monuments, and place names that characterize the area. This exploration requires understanding how people create and give meaning to places through their memories, their views of what heritage is and how it should be governed, and their sense of identity, belonging, and community. I therefore take a broad anthropological approach to this research, incorporating the methods of archaeology and cultural anthropology to provide for a multifaceted view of the various ways that these intangible meanings are constituted in daily life.

In particular, I situate this research within larger studies of landscape anthropology and archaeology (e.g., Basso 1996; Bender 1999; David and Thomas 2008; Gordillo 2004; Mitchell 1994; Rubertone 2008; Smith 2008; Spirn 1998), foregrounding the concept of the cultural landscape as the product of cultural agency (Sauer 1963) and, dialectically, also its producer (Lefebvre 1991[1974]). This sits well with an archaeological view wherein “material culture can be perceived both as a sedimentation of structure and as an active manipulation of structure” (Wilkie and Bartoy 2000:750). In this way, cultural landscapes “do not represent memory; they *are* memory” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2008:66)—but, critically, they are *selective* memory (e.g., Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

The result is that “cultural landscapes are inseparable from their political and economic contexts” (Hall 2006:204)—in the case of Pacific Spirit, inseparable from colonialism and capitalism. These processes are two sides of the same coin (e.g., Hobsbawm 1968; Wolf 1982), and are premised on growth, exploitation, and oppression, producing inequality and class struggle (Marx and Engels 1967[1888]; Robbins). These values produce the park as an inherently cultural place and are reproduced through interactions with (Smith and Waterton 2009:53), or ritual performance of (Burkert 1982), this place. Such habitual daily practice serves to normalize and naturalize these values and meanings until power is no longer easily identified (Bourdieu 1977), although it remains very much activated in this place.

My central research focus therefore concerns ideology—“meaning in the service of power” (Thompson 1990:7; see also Wolf 1999). This involves foregrounding “the givens of everyday life, unnoticed, taken for granted, and activated and reproduced in use” (Leone *et al.* 1987:284) and their material expressions, viewed as “the nondiscursive, the nontextual,” social values embodied in physical form (Lucas 2004:115). Archaeology, with its focus “on the interaction between material culture and human behavior, regardless of time or space” (Rathje 1981:52), is singularly in a position to access “how these taken-for-granteds function as ideology, how they reproduce the imaginary relations of everyday life and mask class structure and power differentials in present-day society” (Handsman and Leone 1989:119). The investigation of ideology in cultural landscapes is especially critical, for the “‘monumentalization’ of landscape enables repression to be redescribed as celebration” (Hall 2006:205); therefore, “identifying such contradictions is an effective way of digging down beneath the surface of the illusion” to expose the counter-narratives being oppressed.

I place this research within the broader field of “archaeology of the contemporary” (Holtorf and Piccini 2009; Gould and Schiffer 1981; Graves-Brown *et al.* 2013; Rathje and Murphy 1992), described as “a field at the interface of several disciplines including archaeology, history, anthropology and material culture studies” (Holtorf and Piccini 2009:19). Shifting the lens away from an imagined history towards a constructed present likewise enables a focus on the “everyday realities that we are usually expert at ignoring” (Holtorf 2009:16). As such, I consider this research to be a form of applied archaeology (Shackel and Chambers 2004), with the goal of moving beyond theoretical understanding to apply research towards contemporary social concerns. This is founded on critical theory (Shanks and Tilley 1987:114), which “aims to explain meanings and ideologies by disclosing the social conditions, social relations, interests and structures from which they arise.”

Such awareness of how “ideology serves to reproduce society intact” (Leone *et al.* 1987:284) prompts in my research a philosophy of activism to disrupt dominant narratives (e.g., Atalay *et al.* 2014; Stottman 2010). Research is inherently political, for “all aspects of practice are imbued with power and politics” (Hall 2013:356); confronting this is critical to break existing patterns of domination (Bender

1999:171). As such, I follow Shawn Wilson's (2008:37) characterization of an activist approach as both critical and constructivist, wherein "knowledge in itself is not seen as the ultimate goal, rather the goal is the change that this knowledge may help to bring about." In colonized contexts, these orientations and goals have been framed in terms of decolonization (e.g., Fanon 1963; Smith 1999; Smith and Wobst 2005), but I suggest striving for an anti-colonial activism instead (Hutchings and La Salle 2014), recognizing that decolonization is not intended to be metaphorical (Tuck and Yang 2012). My research as activism is further situated below.

As both the product of a settler society and a central place linking several disparate communities, Pacific Spirit is a site of inter-community interaction, a landscape imbued with different cultural interests and values, and thus a platform to showcase and confront social conflict. The construction of Pacific Spirit as a place represents "a way of constructing history itself, of inventing it, of fashioning novel versions of 'what happened here'" (Basso 1996:6). The story that is told therefore draws on a particular notion of heritage—the elements of the past that are employed to suit the needs of today (Ashworth *et al.* 2007)—in "an intangible process in which social and cultural values are identified, negotiated, rejected or affirmed" (Smith and Waterton 2009:44). As a deliberately constructed site, the cultural landscape of Pacific Spirit both communicates ideology and contributes to it. Juxtaposition of the material landscape with the park's historical creation, contemporary social performance, representations in media, and direct observations of its users reveals the strength of coherence in park narratives, and the counter-narratives that are struggling to be heard (Bell 2010).

In colonial contexts such as Pacific Spirit, there is an ongoing power struggle for control over the meanings and places that make up landscapes. Control over places—literally, to affect change in a physical space or figuratively, through representations—is likewise control over people, their views of themselves and how others view them, and their legitimacy as a people. My hope is that this research into the meanings the park holds for people, and how these values are expressed through the landscape, will generate awareness of the injustice that continues to be perpetuated by structures of dominance and similarly inspire others to challenge the ideological narratives that inhibit meaningful change.

### ***Research Design***

What does Pacific Spirit Regional Park means to people? How is this communicated on the landscape? How it is controlled by various communities? These were my initial questions that aided in the development of a research design to investigate the social role of the park and how it functions as ideology. Drawing on John Thompson's (1990:7) characterization of ideology, this required that I

- “investigate the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds, from everyday linguistic utterances to complex images and texts”;
- “investigate the social contexts within which symbolic forms are employed and deployed”; and,
- “ask whether the meaning constructed serves to maintain systematically asymmetrical relations of power.”

Meeting these goals involved juxtaposing the views people verbally articulate and how they engage with the park, with the values communicated in media and the symbols, official and vernacular, embedded in the material landscape itself. Put more simply, I have attempted to discern the culture of the park by looking at (1) the physical landscape, (2) media and archival materials, (3) how people behave in the park, and (4) what they say about it. This thesis presents the results of my attempt.

I view the production of the park as a recursive process between material things and intangible concepts, whereby social values are fixed in the landscape, which then reflects these meanings back to society. Central in this process is the issue of representation, for the values encoded in landscape are symbols that stand for how people conceive of the park; these images, words and phrases, and materials are analogies, connected to other ideas consciously or not that, together, create a constellation of meaning (Hofstadter 2001). Towards encompassing this complex recursivity, my guiding questions were expanded to include:

- How do people conceive of and value Pacific Spirit;
- How are these and other values and concepts conveyed materially;
- How are they performed through people’s daily interaction with the park;
- What role does the park play in the cultural landscape of Point Grey;
- How is this landscape controlled by different communities; and
- What role does the concept of heritage play in this process?

This project draws from the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology, with attendant methods and approaches, providing a complimentary suite of data by which to understand the meaning of landscapes (e.g., Low *et al.* 2005). This represents a form of “hybrid practice” (Rubertone 2008:26, citing Meskell 2005) wherein “documentary, ethnographic, and archaeological approaches” are pursued to understand the park as a place. The descriptions below provide a broad overview of these approaches and methods pursued, which are further discussed in the respective chapters that follow:

## 1. Documentary research

To document the representation of the park lands and surrounding area over time, I sought out media including government and institutional archives, newspaper archives, websites, and published print materials.

There has been little written in relation to the history of the University Endowment Lands and Pacific Spirit Regional Park. As such, in crafting my historical overviews of Point Grey and Pacific Spirit, I particularly drew upon archival materials available at the University of British Columbia, Metro Vancouver, the City of Vancouver, the British Columbia Provincial Archives, legal cases, as well as minutes of the British Columbia Legislature. I sought library books, theses, and scholarly materials published in relation to the University Endowment Lands and Pacific Spirit, and also included web-based media, especially covering more recent events.

In examining park representations, I specifically sought materials that are publicly available and relied heavily on web-based sources including websites and news media, in addition to archives as discussed above. I also included here park representations as encountered in Pacific Spirit, such as signage. These materials were chosen because of my emphasis on understanding how people encounter the park, literally or virtually, and how the park is portrayed both by its user-community and official park authorities. Further details on my methods and rationale are provided in each of Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

## 2. Archaeological survey

Using the methods of archaeology, I undertook a survey of the material landscape of the park in order to analyse this space as a product of contemporary values. I specifically sought to assess the extent to which narratives identified through archival research into the history and representations of Pacific Spirit are similarly, or differently, communicated in the park itself.

This aspect of my research included on-trail GPS-based surveys in order to document the frequency and kinds of artifacts and features that comprise the park's material landscape. This survey was designed to gauge the areas of the park that people would be engaging with and thereby characterize what "messages" they would be receiving through the landscape.

I also completed several off-trail surveys in order to determine whether different activities were taking place in the areas not frequently encountered and thus what counter-narratives may exist. These data were compiled and analysed in terms of how material culture may be intended to communicate or to remain silent, mirroring what stories are told and which are suppressed. Further details on my methods and rationale are provided in Chapter 5.

## 3. Ethnographic study

In order to establish current values about the park and understand its role in people's lives, I undertook participant observation of the park and its community over a period of four years while resident in the area and after moving away. This included participating in community events held

in the park as well as day-to-day visits, in order to assess the formal and informal performances of Pacific Spirit and how practice recursively creates this place.

I also strove to speak with those who have influence over park management, local government, and nearby institutions, local historians, and involved residents. I specifically sought to interview Musqueam community members, particularly those who have been involved in issues concerning Musqueam heritage. Some of these interactions were informal conversations, while others were semi-structured interviews.

Finally, I conducted a web-based questionnaire targeting a broad park-user public that addressed park use, history and heritage, and management. Questions were framed to identify how people feel about the park and the role it plays in their lives, what they know about the park's history—in particular, Indigenous history—and how they think the park should be managed, as well as by whom. Further details on my methods and rationale are provided in Chapters 6 and 7.

Information gathered through each avenue was analysed to identify trends, themes, and outliers, revealing both communally shared values and sites of social conflict. My goal was to identify dominant narratives and create counter-narratives, revealing the roots of social tensions while acknowledging shared values and perspectives about this inherently complicated cultural place.

### *Situating My Research as Activism*

Ethical considerations in archaeological practice have increasingly come to the fore in disciplinary debate; my personal experiences in archaeology have reinforced to me why this debate is so needed. I had decided to pursue a Ph.D. degree in anthropology because I was dissatisfied with the archaeology I had learned in books and seen in action first-hand. My education in archaeology had taught me to effectively rewrite the history of other peoples, and to think that this was not only okay, but somehow necessary. Seeing the hurt this practice has caused, I have spent years unlearning and challenging these values, and sought ways that archaeology can instead become a tool for empowerment and social justice, to inspire empathy and action rather than divide and conquer. This doctoral research has been my way of figuring out what such an archaeology might look like, and whether it can be done ethically in the way I need it to be, if I am to call myself an archaeologist.

In recent decades, there has been an increased effort by archaeologists to engage with and involve local and descendant communities in research to varying degrees, to bring traditionally marginalized voices to the fore and ensure that those who are most closely affected by research have some control over it (Smith 1999; Smith and Wobst 2005). Foregrounding the untold history of oppressed peoples is one

avenue now more frequently pursued in North American archaeological practice. Perhaps less common is to directly study dominant settler society using the tools of archaeology and anthropology, to bring common ideologies under scrutiny (Dabulkis-Hunter 2002; Mullins 2008; Holtorf and Piccini 2009). It is in this vein that the following project was initiated.

At the outset of this project, I envisioned an activist role for myself and my research. I also felt ethically compelled to focus my study on a topic that was seen as important by the rightful “owners” or stewards of the land, the Indigenous peoples who continue to resist ongoing colonial oppression. Pacific Spirit had been identified to me by several Musqueam people as an important place, and the media attention paid to this place over the last few years regarding issues that are often summarized as “land claims” signalled to me the potential of pursuing an anti-colonial research project in this place (Hutchings and La Salle 2014)—a place where “unsettling the settler within” could be critical (Regan 2010). I was well-placed as a resident of Point Grey and member of settler society to conduct research within and about my community, to generate awareness of past and present social injustice and, in so doing, try to inspire attendant change. Pacific Spirit Regional Park, a seemingly innocuous public place of natural beauty, proved to be a contentious landscape where colonialist and capitalist agendas continue to play out. It was the perfect site to situate my research.

I therefore framed this research as applied research with a critical and reflexive approach, operating within the broader goals of anti-oppressive practice (Brown and Strega 2005:9), which aims to “move beyond a critical social science to establish a position of resistance” to social injustice. For me, this began with an understanding of Pacific Spirit as a place of meaning, with accompanying stories and histories, and as a site of contestation, with competing values and power struggles played out on the landscape. My focus on ideology here was critical, as Jeanette Armstrong’s (in Regan 2010:235) comments illustrate:

Imagine how you as writers from the dominant society might turn over some of the rocks in your own garden for examination. Imagine...courageously questioning and examining the values that allow the de-humanizing of peoples through domination...Imagine writing in honesty, free from the romantic bias about the courageous “pioneering spirit” of colonialist practise and imperialist process. Imagine interpreting for us your own people’s thinking towards us, instead of interpreting for us, our thinking, our lives, our stories.

Recognizing that it is not the First Nations who need to be educated on matters of colonial oppression (Regan 2010:31), I sought to understand how dominant narratives in settler society are constructed, internalized, and thereby made personal. In order to understand these dynamics, I must recognize my part in them; as Foucault (1980[1977]:64) insisted, “if one is interested in doing historical work that has political meaning, utility and effectiveness, then this is possible only if one has some kind of involvement

with the struggles taking place in the area in question.” As a third-generation Canadian of European heritage, I aimed to confront my own privilege and position in settler society. This entails a firm commitment on my part to social justice and political action in order “to devise strategies that disrupt patterns of domination” (Dabulkis-Hunter 2002:54). It also requires being “present” in my research and writing, overtly in personal narratives and more subtly through the topics I engage with and the language I use.

In working towards these goals, I recognize that there is no objective or singular past or present (Krieger 2006:106), but instead “there are multiple pasts produced actively in accordance with ethnic, cultural, social and political views, orientations and beliefs” (Shanks and Tilley 1987:245). My interest therefore has been in what particular version of history is told and how this articulates with larger patterns of domination in the colonial context of British Columbia—“to become aware of historical roots and present-day manifestations of contemporary social justice issues” (Little and Shackel 2007:1-2). I therefore aim in this dissertation to identify dominant narratives and construct counter narratives (Bell 2010). As a result, I express strong political views and make no claim to objectivity or neutrality, neither of which are tenable, nor do they have a role in anti-colonial scholarship and activism; it is because of my politics that I chose to undertake this research, not in spite of them.

My family raised me with a strong anti-capitalist and anti-oppressive ethos, and instilled in me a strong environmentalist love of what my father used to call “Mother Nature.” Because of the *perceived* tensions foregrounded in the 2007 protest of the land transfer between supporting Indigenous rights and seeking to protect park land as the last vestige of nature, I felt well-situated to study these issues and saw that I, personally, could learn a lot from this research experience. Throughout this research, I also sought to consult people representing various communities with an interest in the park, which I feel enabled me as a researcher to address the issues that are considered important to the people involved, which in turn could translate into a more empathetic document. In particular, I sought participation from the Musqueam Indian Band to ensure their interests were privileged, and several meetings with a Band representative helped to guide both my research process and my development as a student. I also connected with the Pacific Spirit Park Society, which plays a central role in park activities and is thus in a position to influence how the park is portrayed and perceived. While my project did not fulfill all of the activist potential that I had initially seen in it, there have been small victories, and I have been grateful for the relationships and conversations that were generated as a result.

I frame my research and writing pursuing understanding and finding places to challenge dominance. Recognizing the exclusionary effect that jargon-heavy and citation-frenzied academic writing can have, I have tried to write my dissertation in a manner that may be more accessible by a wider audience. Part of this involves situating myself in the research process and at times my narrative becomes

a form of autho-ethnography (Meneley and Young 2005). Throughout, I have also attempted to avoid erecting boundaries between what forms of knowledge are considered relevant, using a range of qualitative reflections and quantitative analyses, and have incorporated information gained through diverse sources. I have relied heavily on information in the public realm—specifically, websites and internet-based news, as well as conventional newspapers—to investigate park portrayals and representations, and have liberally used images to illustrate concepts, recognizing that a picture really is worth a thousand words. Finally, I have given the local context primacy over pursuing a broad-scale or global consideration of the history and meaning of parks; this, I feel, is more appropriate given my interest in affecting change on a local scale. Combined, I hope that these approaches will produce a thesis that is directly relevant, of interest, and of use to the people who are connected in their myriad ways to the lands known, to some anyway, as Pacific Spirit Regional Park.

## Parks in Colonial Contexts

While designing this project, I sought to understand how parks, both locally and globally, have been investigated and understood, particularly in colonial contexts. This preliminary research involved an examination of place-related literature, particularly concerning parks in colonial contexts, in addition to readings concerning the social construction of space, place-making and memory, heritage and identity, and power. Building on these interrelated concepts, several themes emerged that have served as useful baselines for me as I pursued the research presented in this dissertation. These themes include parks as places where visions of *nature*, *heritage*, *community*, *democracy*, and *power* play out, both between people and on the landscape itself. These values constitute the ideologies of society—the hidden politics behind the seemingly banal—and are communicated both directly and indirectly, intentionally and unintentionally, through media, landscaping, events, and by encouraging particular behaviours in certain spaces. Here, I review each of these five themes.

### **Nature**

In line with Lefebvre (1991[1974]), I consider space as culturally-constructed and fundamentally reflecting the values and structures of the culture that produced them. Parks, as products of particular epistemologies and ontologies, represent “the fusion of the land itself with cultural perceptions and values” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh *et al* 2008:66). They have shifted in meaning over time with a growing middle-class, from reserved hunting grounds for the elite, to recreational leisure spaces for the affluent, to “the establishment of large public parks with room for everybody” (Huth 1957:68). Such parks became

first a priority in light of rising public concern over environmental degradation, and then a possibility with economic prosperity—the driving forces behind park creation historically in North America (Youds 1978:33,40). Some parks have been lauded as “natural museums” (Mason 2004) and “national heritage” (Ramutsindela 2004). The concept of “the spiritual value of nature to civilization” (Youds 1978:31), espoused by Henry David Thoreau, was also perceived as an integral concept for North Americans as a colonial, settler society to achieve “a cultural status equal to that of Europe” (Nelson and Butler 1974:293).

Nature, however, is a *cultural* concept, highly contextual and relational (Gordillo 2004), but this is not problematized in popular park representations. For example, in researching the history of Stanley Park in Vancouver, Jean Barman (2005:161) describes how the Parks Board “sought to improve on nature,” populating the park with animals such as squirrels, deer, ducks, which were “deemed proper park denizens.” A local example of the “radical ‘purification’ of nature” (Cruikshank 2005:75), as I will discuss in Chapters 4 and 5, Pacific Spirit’s signage and imagery echoes these sentiments. Looking at Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming, Nabokov (2004:xi) discusses how the land was reconceived as “a natural Eden of pristine and pre-human existence,” a colonial narrative wherein “literally and figuratively Indians had to be ‘disappeared’”; in Pacific Spirit, there were, until recently, no references to its habitation or use by Indigenous peoples. Thus while *creating* natural places is a deliberate, consciously thought out act, it is also an unconscious, unfolding process of (re)affirming particular social, cultural, economic, and political values (Hermer 2002).

### ***Heritage***

Heritage is comprised of elements of a shared cultural memory that are drawn upon and made meaningful today in the construction and narration of places, histories, and identities. Focusing on the social construction of space, Basso (1996:46, citing Chapman 1979) relates how places are mnemonic devices “that counsel and instruct, that show us who we are by showing us where we have been, that remind us of our connections to what happened here.” Places thus constitute an integral part of cultural *heritage*, and are integral to social identity (Thornton 1991). As Ashworth *et al.* (2007: 3, emphasis added) discuss, “heritage is less about *tangible* material artefacts or other intangible forms of the past than about the *meanings* placed upon them and the representations which are created from them...These meanings further regulate and organise our conduct and practices by helping set rules, norms and conventions.” History, then, “is not just ‘the past’ but the social forces that have produced *the present*” (Gordillo 2004:10).

Both Ramutsindela (2004:7), looking at national parks in South Africa, and Barman (2005:172),

dealing with Stanley Park in Vancouver, describe how state values were enacted by incorporating Indigenous peoples into park zoos as part of *nature*, and so not part of “civilization.” Meskell and Van Damme (2008:138) discuss how Indigenous groups “were forced from Kruger National Park, and their lands, livestock, and chieftaincies were lost in the brutal regimes of racial segregation.” Dislocated from Kruger National Park, today they stress the need for “free access to the park to visit their ancestral sites and landscapes” in order to perform rituals; they also seek to be recognized in and have some control over the content of museum displays about their heritage. As I will relate in Chapter 3, the same is true for Pacific Spirit and the Musqueam people, who have increasingly sought to be involved in park management decisions.

Thus, in colonized nation-states, heritage is being invoked by Indigenous peoples to revitalize culture and seek redress for social injustices; it is also being co-opted by the State in the construction of a national identity in which all citizens participate (Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Zimmerman 2005). Both agendas involve using places that are meaningful for their intangible qualities, which are *performed* by people who act in accordance with perceived values, reified through enactment; both agendas play out in Pacific Spirit.

### ***Community***

Parks as *public* places are popularly viewed as public and thus accessible to all, a view that was emphasized by protesters of the park land transfer to MIB. Yet parks have perhaps always “mirrored not only the division between society and nature, but also that between sections of society as well” (Ramutsindela 2004:10-11). Public places leave “a heterogeneous urban population to work out for itself who really is going to have the right to be there. All spaces are therefore socially regulated in some way” (Massey 2005:52), and so “landscapes are not just differently understood and experienced but are differently *privileged*” (Bender 1999:4). In any given context, economic and political influences over the public/private divide illustrate how public space is socially regulated via “social control and surveillance of who ‘the public’ is (or is not)” (Harvey 2005:21).

While some rural parks such as Kruger National Park in South Africa may quite overtly reflect “an exclusive enclave catering to the cultural and recreational tastes of the white and wealthy” (Meskell and Van Damme 2008:137), urban public parks may be more subtly stamped with hierarchy. For example, Barman (2005:13) describes how Stanley Park “was intended from the beginning to serve one set of interests at the expense of others: its creation was a consummately colonial enterprise.” Similarly, Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1992:7) note that the creation of Central Park, “although clothed in democratic rhetoric, was fundamentally rooted in the interests of New York’s wealthiest citizens.” In

Point Grey's University Endowment Lands (UEL), trails were first established and maintained "by a number of prominent Vancouver businessmen who were avid horsemen and wanted trails to ride" (Klassen and Teversham 1977:22), and to this day they remain in use within Pacific Spirit by equestrians, although only a very small number of residents own or have access to horses.

Thus attempts to control park use may be non-discursive (e.g., Giddens 1984) by associating spaces with social categories, particularly economic classes, to communicate such spatial segregation. This process is accomplished via material indicators on the landscape, which become cues for appropriate social behaviour, and rely on individual, internalized self-regulation for enforcement (Foucault 1977[1975]). Leone (2005:7) found precisely this in his study of Annapolis, where the built environment "put hierarchy in place on the ground, as well as in social life." As I will relate in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, an archaeological landscape survey and ethnographic analysis similarly demonstrated how cultural values are performed and inscribed in Pacific Spirit, reaffirming representations of the park as nature viewed in opposition to culture and thus considered a communal space.

### ***Democracy***

Emphasis on the park as public and democratic reflects "the tendency to romanticise public space as an emptiness which enables free and equal speech [and] does not take on board the need to theorise space and place as the *product* of social relations which are most likely conflicting and unequal" (Massey 2005:152, emphasis added). Thus the narrative of parks as public and hence lending *equality* to their users is one that deserves interrogation, especially given the history of social and racial segregation in Point Grey (Pleshakov 2010). Additionally, Lefebvre (1991[1974]) approaches space as culturally-constructed and thus reflecting the values and structures of the culture that produced them. In this view, parks, as public space structured under Western capitalism, should be inscribed with the class-based conflict of that ideology.

Pacific Spirit is widely discussed in media as a natural place, to be preserved and protected. Likewise, citizens and politicians stressed at the time of its creation that Pacific Spirit was also a public park, a place for *all* people to enjoy. In colonial nation-states, Morrison (1997:285) discusses this projection and perception in relation to Aboriginal claims and protected landscapes:

In North America, parks and protected areas have generally been created in the name of the public interest. Most conservationists fully support this concept...Aboriginal people, however, dispute the inclusiveness of the term "public." In their view, it automatically places the interests of the general society above those of minorities.

Indeed, parks have been central to "the construction of settler identities" in particular (Ramutsindela

2004:29). The management and governance of Pacific Spirit encapsulates these conflicts exactly, highlighted in protests first by Musqueam people in 1989 then by park enthusiasts in 2007.

Rosenzweig and Blackmar's (1992:11) archival research into Central Park in New York showed the difficulty "in creating a democratic public space within a society driven by the private market and divided by class and culture." They ask (Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992:10):

Is a park best understood as a designed natural landscape or as a common space shaped by ordinary parkgoers? Who constitutes the public, and how does the public participate in making decisions about the park's management and use? How should the park accommodate the conflicting expectations of different groups of parkgoers and city residents?

In light of ongoing colonial policies in Canada, these questions resound in Pacific Spirit. The narrative of democracy is precisely what is challenged by the Musqueam claim to cultural heritage in that territory, and, ironically, by the provincial government itself in the transfer of park land in 2008.

The emphasis on public as democratic or "free" space by the government, and the declaration by MIB that the park is their territory, reinforce Harvey's (2005:17) suggestion of "the 'public sphere' as an arena of political deliberation and participation, and therefore as fundamental to democratic governance." In light of ongoing colonial policy in Canada, the question becomes: democracy for whom?

### ***Power***

Places are constructed in ways "to define for others what should be remembered and how it should be remembered" (Rubertone 2008:13). This may reflect "an *official* public memory marked by morphology, monuments, statuary and nomenclature" (Ashworth *et al.* 2007:54, emphasis added), but there is always an unofficial narrative in the landscape because "sites are made, unmade, and remade in their myriad interrelations and through practices and struggles intrinsically tied to remembering" (Gordillo 2004:254). Thus, while the power of material culture to communicate is potent, deciphering between the official and unofficial, and the intended versus unintended is a challenging yet critical part of an archaeological analysis of Pacific Spirit, as I will present in Chapter 5.

While "landscapes are places of remembrance" and thus situated, particular, and local (Cruikshank 2005:11), Ramutsindela (2004:79) discusses how national parks represent "the state's authority over products of nature and to determine the rules by which those products could be accessed." Because parks are commonly regarded as "not materially altered by human exploitation or occupation" and present "nature as pristine landscapes or wildernesses" (Ramutsindela 2004:6, 19), their creation has meant the forced removal, oppression, exclusion, and silencing of communities living on park lands in order to secure these places as natural.

As Bender (1999:25) notes, “landscapes are not passive, not ‘out there,’ because people create their sense of identity—whether self, or group, or nation state—through engaging and re-engaging, appropriating and contesting the sedimented pasts that make up the landscape.” Thus landscapes are activated and called upon in assertions of power, “to legitimate the present, or to mask change by stressing continuity” (Bender 1999:64). Inextricably linked to colonialism, Rubertone (2008:15, 13) discusses how public monuments “echo the logic of assimilation rather than resistance,” reflecting the power of the state “to define for others what should be remembered and how it would be remembered.”

National parks affirm “the state’s authority over products of nature and to determine the rules by which those products could be accessed” (Ramutsindela 2004:7); they also reflect the power of the state to forcibly remove people from their homelands (Meskell and Van Damme 2008:138). In this process of placemaking, “there is no neutral, value-free, or non-political past,” (Wilk 1985:319) and so “it is thus not a matter of whether the material past will be used by society but how it will be used—a means to what end” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007:39). Thus the principle of equality in some cases may prevent the realization of social justice, for what is at stake for Indigenous peoples “is the right to control a sense of their own identity, which in turn can have vital implications in wider negotiations with governments and their bureaucracies over the political and cultural legitimacy of Indigenous interests” (Smith 2004:195). Parks, then, may be considered to be “landscape[s] of power” (Zukin 1993), a topic I will address in Chapter 8.

### **Thesis Statement: Pacific Spirit as a Cultural Landscape**

The central thesis I present in this dissertation is that Pacific Spirit is a culturally-constructed place embedded with the values of imperialism, both product and producer of colonialist and capitalist doctrine. I contend that the narratives communicated through the park’s landscape, performance, and associated media relate this space as nature, placed in opposition to culture and revered as sacred and sacrosanct. In so doing, the cultural values shaping the creation and construction of the park are similarly naturalized, and so their politics become neutralized. They remain, however, very political.

The park as nature, used to imply without people or their impacts, erases the history and heritage of the Indigenous peoples of this region and effectively transforms the park into a new *terra nullius*. The park thus becomes a site to be discovered and explored—militaristic themes that consistently underlie park programs and propaganda, often targeting children. I argue that these cultural tropes connect to produce a nationalistic settler narrative wherein the cultural ideals surrounding nature and community are evoked in the celebration of Canada’s history of colonialism and capitalist expansion—paradoxically, the very processes that cause the destruction of communities and ecosystems.

The park as nature also feeds into the portrayal of this space as having been saved from development and, as such, an environmental triumph. Pacific Spirit is created through its relationship with the surrounding urban concrete landscape and is carefully constructed to *represent* nature. In this context, the park is viewed as escape from the psychological trauma of city living and is celebrated and revered as a sacred place. I discuss how this portrayal enables the forgetting of both past and present injustice, promoting a collective amnesia through the creation of a sanitized version of reality. The result is to disperse emotion and energy that otherwise could be mobilized against capitalism to prevent the global ecological devastation that remains ongoing.

I suggest these cultural projections of the park as nature constitute ideology that obscures the ongoing social violence of capitalism, rewriting both the past and present of this land and its peoples. This ideology serves to hinder recognition of and rebellion against power, transforming Pacific Spirit into a hegemonic space reproducing the doctrine of imperialism. My goal in this research therefore has been to expose the park as a cultural place, illuminate the ideology that it perpetuates, and seek opportunities to construct counter-narratives that challenge the dominant discourse of Pacific Spirit.

## Dissertation Outline

In crafting a record of Pacific Spirit, this dissertation documents the history and contemporary of this place, its community, and the values that it communicates by identifying dominant narratives and forging counter-narratives. Using personal narratives to illustrate broad themes, I have divided this document into three parts. I begin chronologically in Part I with a historical review of Point Grey and how the park came to be, illustrating the myths, histories, and origin stories through which Pacific Spirit has become a place. Thereafter, in Part II, I identify and deconstruct the park image, from the public face or authorized narrative of the park, to the unspoken story that is observed in its landscape, tied together through performance; doctrine and ritual associated with Pacific Spirit affirm its social role as a sacred place. In Part III, I examine how these narratives are reflected in discourse by the park community, and address the role of ritual, memory, and forgetting in constructing a shared worldview for the Pacific Spirit followers. Analysed in totality, I suggest the nature of Pacific Spirit is ideological, operating to alleviate colonial insecurity and widespread anxiety over industrial capitalism.

In Chapter 2, I provide a historical overview of Point Grey since its naming by Captain Vancouver in 1792. I discuss the events and processes that contribute to the character of this neighbourhood with particular emphasis on Indigenous-colonial relations. The central theme developed is that of the settler narrative, structuring social concepts of history, heritage, identity and morality within Canada, Point Grey, and Pacific Spirit. This provides the backdrop for the eventual creation of the park and resulting conflicts.

I relate widely-shared colonial narratives of discovery, development, and progress to the local and particular history of the area surrounding the park, introducing the theme of settler insecurity. The settler narrative as shared history is suggested as the dominant meta-narrative.

In Chapter 3, I continue this historical review, drawing on archival materials, news clippings, websites, and promotional materials to provide a sketch of the making of the park, the key controversies that have arisen since the 1970s, and how these continue to play out in the park today. Building on the previous chapter's discussion of Indigenous-government-settler relations in Point Grey, I discuss the development of the park as a site of ideological and political conflict resulting from this colonial paradigm. Overarching ideological themes raised during the environmental movement are highlighted in the origin story of Pacific Spirit as an example of saving nature from culture, as is the ever-present sense of anxiety concerning its potential loss through capitalist development. This chapter establishes a parallel dominant narrative in capitalism, inextricably intertwined with colonialism.

In Chapter 4, I focus on park representations, including newspapers, websites, and other published materials, to consider the cultural values and stories that recursively create this place today. Terms, phrases and imagery commonly used to describe the park are considered, along with the social, political and economic issues that are repeatedly raised in conjunction with this place, and the locations of the individuals, organizations, and communities that are speaking. Together, I suggest these representations function as propaganda communicating the official or authorized version of the park that holds nature as doctrine. This affirms identified tropes of nature, democracy and escape, while introducing themes of exploration and discovery, militarism and nationalism, community, health and safety, and affluence.

In Chapter 5, I provide a landscape analysis of the park using the methods of archaeology, emphasizing the material world as an expression of intangible ideas and values. The results of several formal surveys and informal park wanderings are provided with preliminary conclusions. I discuss how the doctrine of nature is imprinted in and shapes the construction of the physical environment, which in turn indicates to people how they should perceive the park. Structured by this overarching ecocosmology, the park communicates the authorized version of heritage, preserved as a monument to nature. This memorial, secularized as a museum and spiritualized as a sacred site, conceal the park's cultural reality, past and present. This cultural landscape functions to maintain the park as a hegemonic place reflecting society's ideals while masking the uncomfortable truths that threaten its foundations.

In Chapter 6, I relate my own experiences, perceptions and interpretations of the park as witnessed first-hand over the last few years, drawing on anthropology's most basic methodology—participant observation. The culture of Pacific Spirit is described in detail as observed in a series of formal performances of the park and through my informal, everyday experience of this place. Contrasting the

latter vernacular expressions with official structuring park narratives, I discuss how ideological values are ritually performed to reinforce the park as nature, representing a colonial narrative of *terra nullius* and the park as an environmental victory in the face of capitalist exploitation.

In Chapter 7, I discuss the results of an online questionnaire undertaken in order to assess shared values concerning the meaning, history, and management of Pacific Spirit Regional Park. Responses from the park community highlight the complicated role the park plays in people's daily lives and how it mediates their understanding of contemporary urban society. Rehearsing the same tropes expressed since the 1970s concerning the park as nature, Pacific Spirit is characterized as a reversal of everyday life, underscored in its central role expressed by respondents as escape. Perceptions of the park as threatened by expanding industry and urbanization highlight a pervasive anxiety amongst park users, expressed as fears of losing park lands. Together, these responses narrate a coherent, shared worldview of Pacific Spirit and its role in society.

Building on the analyses presented in previous chapters, in Chapter 8 I confront the ideology of Pacific Spirit. I explain how the park's representation as nature celebrates the settler narrative and simultaneously communicates insecurity concerning the legacy of colonial violence. Similarly, the representation of the park as an environmental triumph provides the illusion of saving nature, yet there remains a persistent anxiety surrounding its status in an industrial capitalist society that necessitates nature's demise. The philosophical paradigm of modernity and dystopic fears are pointed to as underlying core motivations for the creation and sustaining of Pacific Spirit: the park as escape provides relief from this insecurity and anxiety through forgetting. The park thus emerges as a site of contradiction where dialectical oppositions collapse, heightening the need to ritually and religiously reinforce this space as nature. In contrast, I discuss how counter-narratives that recognize Indigenous history and contemporary connections to these lands are being constructed, while other opportunities to destabilize this colonial ideology are also identified. Yet, under the overarching ideological umbrella of imperialism, the lingering question remains whether *official* recognition of Indigenous heritage can escape hegemonic appropriation.

The dominant narratives identified and counter-narratives built through this research are summarized in my concluding thoughts presented in Chapter 9. Therein, I also reflect on the success of this project in achieving my goals and the utility of the methods I employed, and offer suggestions for how to address what I consider to be shortcomings in my research. I conclude by offering my thoughts on archaeology as activism and the role of research in activism more broadly.

## PART I: MYTHS, HISTORIES, AND ORIGIN STORIES

*I am a typical park user. I was born in Vancouver, British Columbia in 1977. My mother is a second-generation Canadian, born to her Irish mother who had immigrated to Ontario in 1922 at the age of four. She arrived with her many sisters, a brother, and her parents. My grandmother's family were typical of the Irish diaspora of the early 1900s—a poor family in search of the “better life” promised by colonial authorities for development of the “New World.” In many ways, hers was a success story, as the family was able to work farmland in rural Ontario and educate their children.*

*My father was French-Canadian, the only son of a farming family from rural Quebec. Along with his three sisters, he was educated in the Catholic school system, eventually attending but not completing university. Soon after, he rejected Catholicism, seeking instead a spiritual connection with Mother Nature. Moving to the West Coast with the “hippy” movement, he emphasized a live-and-let-live policy over convention and conformity. In part due to our distance in Vancouver from Quebec, he chose not to teach me, or my sister, his first language of French, and I know very little about his family history.*

*As a third-generation Canadian of mixed European ancestry, I am far from unique in Canada or British Columbia. Indeed, in many ways, my narrative may be common: vague understandings of a diasporic family lineage that does not reach back further than two generations, with a resulting loss of connections to heritage—to place, language, traditions, mythology, history—in this short timeframe. As a result, I participate in settler society as a “Canadian”—a constructed identity premised on the myths and origin stories of the nation state. My personal family history is overshadowed, even supplanted, by this larger frame of reference. The stories of the nation, the province, and the city have become my stories, informing and reflecting my values and beliefs, and mediating my understanding of the world and my place in it. In this way, there is little difference between the park and myself.*

Just as one could not properly characterize me without considering my personal and family history, Pacific Spirit Regional Park cannot be understood outside of the historical processes that have shaped it. Indeed, as I demonstrate in Part I, my personal story is useful when it comes to examining the larger processes of diaspora, colonialism, and nation-building, which includes the construction of parks. As such, in Part I of this dissertation I provide a review of the events and transformations that enabled the creation of “Pacific Spirit.” Specifically, in Chapter 2, I provide a history of Point Grey, emphasizing its founding colonial myths and histories. This narrative continues in Chapter 3, where I discuss the origin story of Pacific Spirit in the tension produced through urbanization and industrial capitalism. Part I therefore establishes the dominant narratives that structure Pacific Spirit and ultimately operate to conceal power.

## CHAPTER 2: THE SETTLER NARRATIVE

The point at which a storyteller chooses to begin is the first step in the intentional construction of meaning.

Edward Said (1975)

The history of a place is necessarily the history of a people. Each shapes the other, inextricably bound in memories, stories, histories, and narratives, all of which give meaning to places for their inhabitants. In British Columbia, colonization has meant the creation of places invested with history and imbued with meaning for the colonizers. A constructed history, as per Said above, this “settler narrative” begins with the arrival of Europeans and downplays the history of Indigenous peoples; yet interwoven in this history is the relationship that settlers and Aboriginals formed through contact, cooperation, and conflict over places, their uses, and their meanings.

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the history of one such place, known since its “discovery” in 1792 as Point Grey, which sits adjacent to Vancouver’s western border where the present-day University of British Columbia (UBC) is located. My aim is to construct a historical geography of Point Grey from its naming to the late-20<sup>th</sup> century, providing a sketch of the events and processes that contributed to the development and character of this neighbourhood with particular emphasis on Indigenous-colonial relations.

In all histories, perspective and location shape how unfolding events are viewed and portrayed. The settler narrative begins with European exploration and discovery of the area, celebrates the pioneering labour of nation-building and culminates in the achievement of an affluent society. As such, these are the respective section headings through which the making of Point Grey is related in this chapter. However, this story of home-making has a counter-narrative in the experiences of those who already resided here—of invasion, of occupation in the colonial parcelling up of territory and the relegation of Indigenous peoples to Indian Reserves and residential schools, and of exploitation via resource extraction, landscape modification and urban development. This side of the story culminates in resistance by Indigenous peoples in their assertions of Aboriginal Rights and Title, treaty developments, and the contemporary social-political environment.

The settler narrative established in this chapter is the meta-narrative structuring social concepts of heritage, identity and morality in Point Grey. In this way, it provides the backdrop for the eventual creation of the park and resulting conflicts over histories told and neglected. Thus, this is a story not just about a place, but also of the relationships developed between those who have always been here and those who claimed it as home.

## **Exploration and Discovery (Invasion)**

At its most immediate level, the frontier complex is framed by a particular historical epistemology that celebrates the “discovery” of a rich, “empty” land by non-Aboriginal explorers and settlers. These heroic figures tame the wilderness and subdue Aboriginal populations through a process of benevolent conquest, in so doing rendering colonization a natural and desired process of the domination by a superior civilization over primitive, inferior peoples. Vignettes of the encounter, conflict, and conquest of nature and Aboriginal peoples have become the epitomizing events in Canadian national histories and are a continual source of symbols for the creation and re-creation of Canadian national identity.

Elizabeth Furniss (1999:187)

As Furniss notes above, the cultural themes of exploration and discovery run deep in Western society. They are, after all, what produced the places now known as North America, Canada, British Columbia, Vancouver and Point Grey. Each of these names carries with it the historical baggage of European capitalism, military expansion and global domination. Often, these histories become forgotten as the name becomes just a name, disconnected from its own motherland. Yet, just as often, there are events and monuments that revisit this cultural history and return in spirit to these origins. This section aims to do just that by remembering how Point Grey<sup>1</sup> came to be.

### ***Captain Vancouver***

The place specifically called Point Grey originates with Captain Vancouver, who named the area in 1791 after a friend, Captain George Grey (Vancouver 1801:188-189), while visiting the region to stake England’s claim to the territory:

At five in the morning of Wednesday the 13th [June 1792], we again directed our course to the eastern shore, and landed about noon, on the above-mentioned low bluff point. This, as was suspected, formed the south point of a very extensive sound, with a small arm leading to the eastward: the space, which seemed to be its main direction, and appeared very extensive, took a northerly course. The observed latitude here was 49° 19', longitude 237° 6', making this point (which, in compliment to my friend Captain George Grey of the navy, was called POINT GREY) seven leagues from point [sic] Roberts. The intermediate space is occupied by very low land, apparently a swampy flat, that retires several miles, before the country rises to meet the rugged snowy mountains, which we found still continuing in a direction nearly along the coast.

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<sup>1</sup> The area that was first called Point Grey referred to the entire peninsula and extended from its western coastline to as far as Granville Street, boundaries that were maintained until at least 1923 (Hayes 2005:65). Today, the term is loosely used to refer to the area west of Dunbar Street, which has been divided into smaller districts (see Appendix A) including West Point Grey to the north, Dunbar and Southlands to the south, with the University Endowment Lands still not officially part of Vancouver. Because these four named areas have developed in concert and surround Pacific Spirit Regional Park, I have maintained the term “Point Grey” in this dissertation to refer to them collectively, and identify each district separately where that is the appropriate unit of analysis.

Over one hundred years after Vancouver's naming of Point Grey, excerpts from his journal were reprinted in the *Point Grey Gazette* (Beeman 1909). This feature in the local newspaper referred to a then-recently published "Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound," by Edmond S. Meany (1907:2). Meany described Vancouver's voyage as an expedition "designed for the dual object of exploring and of transacting diplomatic work with the Spaniards at Nootka," and also stressed that, in light of the hurried nature of Vancouver's expedition (1907:2),

The observations of the soil, the climate, the trees, flowers, and birds, are surprising when one remembers the newness of it all to the party. Especially valuable and interesting are the recorded observations of the natives. Their houses, canoes, weapons, clothing, food, and language all were commented upon in a way that will always prove of help to the student of these aboriginal peoples.

Vancouver (1801:189) himself described one such encounter with a group of Indigenous people somewhere between Point Grey and Burrard Inlet, which historians suggest may have been at Jericho Beach (Allen 1982:12):

Here we were met by about fifty Indians, in their canoes, who conducted themselves with the greatest decorum and civility, presenting us with several fish cooked, and undressed, of the sort already mentioned as resembling the smelt. These good people, finding we were inclined to make some return for their hospitality, showed much understanding in preferring iron to copper.

Such entries relate an amicable, or at least mutually-respectful, relationship formed from the outset between Vancouver's crew and the Indigenous people of the area, or at least this one group. These encounters were always attended by trade in the form of reciprocal gifting, universally the material gesture of good intentions. Vancouver's purpose in visiting the region, however, was primarily to stake England's claim to the territory, and while his name was chosen to grace the city and his voyage is the most renowned, he was not the first.

In July of 1791, Spanish explorer José María Narváez anchored off what he designated as Isla de Langara, which Vancouver would one year later name Point Grey (Hayes 1999:78). He described passing through water "more sweet than salt," which has been interpreted as the Fraser, and had interaction with Musqueam people although he did not visit the village, instead preferring them to visit his ship via canoe to trade. Narváez named the river Rio de Floridablanca, after the Spanish Prime Minister, Count Florida Blanca (Allen 1982:15). Today, this little known account is hinted at in Point Grey only in the name of Blanca Street, which marks the boundary between the University Endowment Lands and Point Grey. As a result of pressure by historians, the name Langara, initially given to Point Grey, was applied to a small street in this area, as was Narváez to a street in Kerrisdale (Allen 1982:15,123).

On the single day that Vancouver visited the Point Grey area, he encountered Spanish ships already present. Indeed, his meeting with Dionisio Galiano and Cayetano Valdexis renowned as an event in the making of this region's history, and has been enshrined in monuments and plaques locally. While the Spanish awaited Vancouver's visit, some of the crew explored the area by smaller boat and encountered some Aboriginal people in Burrard Inlet, whom they named Sasamat<sup>2</sup>. Had the Spanish won the negotiations and established a colony here, they would have been revered in place of Vancouver in this settler narrative. Instead, Vancouver is the hero of the day, illuminated in Figure 2.1 as the central character surrounded by the Spanish; Aboriginal peoples are nowhere to be seen.



Figure 2.1. *Captain Vancouver Meets Spaniards Off Point Grey, near what would later become Spanish Banks*. Painting by John Innes, ca.1925, commissioned by the Native Sons of British Columbia Post 2 in Vancouver. (Image courtesy of the City of Vancouver Archives, Item No. 80-189.1).

### ***Simon Fraser***

Simon Fraser reached the Point Grey area in 1808 by travelling along what he called the Bad River, which would later be designated as the Fraser River by David Thompson, as a gesture of respect (Hayes 2005:15). In stark contrast to Vancouver's apparently friendly encounter with the local indigenous population, Fraser describes his encounter with the "Musquiame Indians" of the Point Grey area as hostile (Lamb 2007:126-7):

<sup>2</sup> This name, suggested to mean "lazy people" (Walker 1999:110), is now associated with a village in Port Moody and a street in Point Grey; however, Richard Allen (1982:15) suggests that "Sasamat" was not an Indigenous name and is a misnomer, comparable to Cook's use of the word "Nootka" to refer to an Aboriginal people.

At last we came in sight of a gulph or bay of the sea [the Strait of Georgia]; this the Indians called *Pas-hil-roe*. It runs in a S.W. & N.E. direction. In this bay are several high and rocky islands whose summits are covered with snow. On the right shore we noticed a village called by the Natives *Misquame* [Musqueam]; we directed our course towards it...

Here we landed, and found but a few old men and women; the others fled into the woods upon our approach. The fort is 1500 feet in length and 90 feet in breadth. The houses, which are constructed as those mentioned in other places, are in rows; besides some that are detached. One of the natives conducted us through all the apartments, and then desired us to go away, as otherwise the Indians would attack us...

We found the tide had ebbed, and left our canoe on dry land. We had, therefore to drag it out to the water some distance. The natives no doubt seeing our difficulty, assumed courage, and began to make their appearance from every direction, in their coats of mail, howling like so many wolves, and brandishing their war clubs. At last we got into deep water, and embarked.

Several explanations for the Musqueam community's response to Fraser's have been provided in various sources. One suggestion is that Fraser was travelling in a stolen canoe, which prompted the hostility; indeed, whether or not he had permission to take it from the up-river Chief is unclear in his own journals (Lamb 2007:96), and it has been suggested the reason for the village's hostility towards Fraser lies in his theft of this canoe. Given the years between Vancouver's arrival and Fraser's, it is also possible that the Musqueam population had been reduced during this time by disease such as smallpox (Boyd 1990:137), which could in part explain their reticence to engage with Fraser. Whatever the case, Fraser's journal entry highlights that Indigenous-colonial relationships in the area during these early times of European exploration were complicated and not straightforward for anyone involved.

### ***The Musqueam People***

Prior to Vancouver's "discovery" of Point Grey, this land had a history stretching thousands of years and countless generations of people had witnessed it. This sentiment is articulated in a two-part video entitled "Musqueam Through Time" that produced with the Musqueam community for the Vancouver Olympics of 2010, and is publicly available on YouTube<sup>3</sup> (Gryphon 2010). It begins: "We have always lived here since the beginning of time. We are the Musqueam, people of the rivergrass." The late Delbert Guerin, who was on the Musqueam Indian Band (MIB) Council from 1964 and elected Chief from 1973 to 1981, explained this idea further (pers. comm.. June 2, 2013):

This ended up being called Musqueam reserve because when the surveyors were here outlining the original reserve, the surveyors asked them who they were through their interpreters, and they

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FiekdmBRhoo>

said they were the people of the *məθkʷəy'*, which is the grass. Interestingly, they say that when the grass flourished, our population bloomed, and when the grass started dwindling, epidemics would hit and population would drop down. In 1900, our population was about 90 people. When I got on council in 1964, we were 294 people. And now we're almost 1,400 people. So that's how the name Musqueam was established because the *məθkʷəy'* grass was used to establish who we were.

“Musqueam Through Time” describes the hunting-fishing-gathering lifestyle of the Musqueam people who lived at the rich delta mouth of what is today called the Fraser River; the site of their Indian Reserve #2 was one of several major villages in the area. A central focus is the story of keeping watch for people arriving in the area to discern whether they were friend or foe. Towards this, the narrator describes the community’s encounter with Europeans: “...in 1808, a new kind of visitor arrived. Fur trader Simon Fraser was the first to come overland and down our river. Previous experiences with European explorers, Captain Vancouver and Galiano, had taught us to be wary of these strangers. So when Fraser arrived, we attacked.” Wayne Point, a member of MIB involved in the Musqueam-UBC archaeological field school, is shown describing the many-thousand-year-old sites in the area, as well as the artistic works and artifacts found there.

In their publication titled *xʷməθkʷəyəm Musqueam: A Living Culture* (Musqueam 2006), the Musqueam Indian Band discusses their history in the area and connections to the landscape. The book describes the “devastating impact on Musqueam people’s lives” that contact with outside cultures had (Musqueam 2006:11): “First recorded contact with non-native visitors occurred in 1791 and settlement began in the later 1800s. Choice lots were pre-empted by settlers and lands were surveyed, with no regard to Musqueam title nor our interests. Eventually, Musqueam people were relegated to a small parcel of reserve land—a fraction of our traditional territory.”

Delbert Guerin described this relationship in a personal way (pers. comm.. June 2, 2013):

Our people, before the white man came, used the forests of Pacific Spirit Park as a source of their medicines and everything else. They went to all the various areas in the park and everything else, getting different plants to make various medicines. My grandmother had three shelves loaded with bottles of medicines that she had made. My dad’s father died in 1949, and I believe that my grandmother died two years later because she stopped taking those medicines after he died.

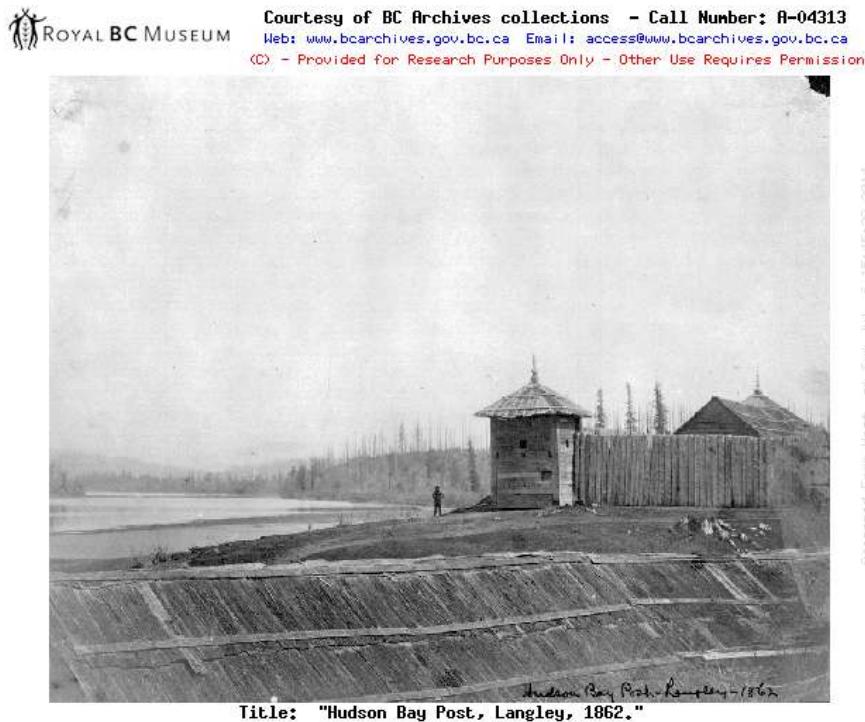
In a sense, then, health, both physical and cultural, is directly tied to the Musqueam people’s relationship with their lands; as Thornton (2008:192) suggests, “the health of places and the health of people are integrally related.” However, during the European struggle to claim land, first for their European sovereigns and then for themselves, the rights and interests of Indigenous peoples simply did not factor in. They were not part of this conversation, and theirs is a history left untold in the settler narrative.

## Building a Nation (Occupation)

From their earliest encounters, Europeans had begun to remake this territory in their own terms: mapping it, renaming it, claiming possession of it, bringing it within reach of the European imagination. They created a cartographic and conceptual outline of what, for them, was a new land, placing its coast and principal rivers on their maps, identifying the land as wilderness and its peoples as savages. These abstractions were agents of European colonialism.

Cole Harris (1997:161)

After these initial visits and place-naming of Point Grey, references concerning the developing relationship between Europeans and the Indigenous peoples of Point Grey are absent from historical records. During the early to mid-1800s, Europeans were not settling in the area, and instead contact with Point Grey was largely directed through Fort Langley in the form of commerce and trade (Figure 2.2).



Title: "Hudson Bay Post - Langley - 1862."

Released From Hold - on Sun Jul 6 151629 2014

Figure 2.2. An illustration of the Hudson's Bay Post, Fort Langley, produced in 1862. (Image courtesy of Royal BC Museum, BC Archives, Call No. A-04313, Catalogue No. HP011005).

Fort Langley, established in 1827 about fifty kilometres up the Fraser River, became a central place for trade with Indigenous groups throughout the southern mainland, Vancouver Island, and interior. Populated by a diverse mix of people, the fort was also a centre for “culture clash.” Morag MacLachlan (1991:17) stresses that the “lack of understanding [by traders] of Coast Salish social structure must have created considerable strain between the cultures”; yet despite individual skirmishes between Fort traders and Indigenous traders, the language of trade prevailed.

From their villages in Point Grey, Musqueam people frequently attended the fort either explicitly or in passing. These visits are recorded in the Fort Langley journals in some detail, allowing a glimpse into the relationships established between these Indigenous peoples and the newcomers, and thus how the area of Point Grey was perceived. Some of these transactions were cordial, exchanging goods and news, and even warnings of invaders (MacLachlan 1998:56,62):

Tuesday 11th [March 1828]. Incessant rain all day. Shienten a Masquiam [Musqueam] Chief paid us a visit from Vancouver's Island, with a Canoe load of Shell fish. Nothing Strange from that quarter. He Says the Chief of the Clalams [Clallams] Saved one of Mr. McK.'s party, and Sent him off to Vancouver. He also Says the Yeukeltas are Coming to See us soon.

Friday 9th [May 1828]. The weather very warm. Several families of the Whooms who were encamped opposite, removed downwards—Musqueams about the Fort all day, Striving to keep up the price of their Sturgeon, which they Could easily do, but for the Supply we had from Vancouver not being out yet. The last affair with Yeukeltas keeps them in Continual alarm.

Other encounters describe how some Musqueam men “tricked” men from the fort, claiming one of their men was at risk then pillaging the fort when its guards departed in rescue (MacLachlan 1998: 48); the retrieval of these goods from the Musqueam camp is described the next day in an almost easy and lazy way. Although this event was quickly moved past, it was not forgotten, as the 11th August 1828 entry describes later hostility between the Fort men and Musqueam men (MacLachlan 1998:71):

Monday 11th [August 1828]...The Musquaims are always rather impudent when they come to the Fort—One of them asked for some of the deer to eat in a very rough way—No notice was taken of [him] for Some time, until he became troublesome. At last Mr. Annance asked him what he had to give for a piece. “Nothing,” says he, “but I have a Cock,” putting his hand on it. “Perhaps you want it.” No Sooner Said than he got Such a kick on the very Spot, which Settled his talk—and [a] Couple more Sent him down the hill.

The days of Fort Langley represented a different kind of relationship that would follow; here, the values of trade prevailed, a continuation of the first relationships generally established between Indigenous peoples and European explorers. Indeed, Vancouver's journal entries emphasize the importance of reciprocal gifting in solidifying good relations. The Fort Langley journals capture a generalized sentiment of economic interest as the basis for Indigenous-colonial relationships in the region, an arrangement that enabled business as usual despite personal and oftentimes petty grievances. It is critical, of course, to note that, at this time, European interest primarily lay in trade and less in land or settlement; thus Point Grey remained Indigenous space, and its people sovereign as they had always been.

### ***Reorganizing the Landscape***

Over the next 50 years, many changes would transpire in these relationships, shifts that would ultimately be written into the landscape. Indigenous population decline and exponential increases in the settler population during and after the Fraser River gold rush of the 1850s shifted interests from getting a good deal for the Fort administrators to gaining full control of the area and its resources for the colonial government (Kew 1990).

Such control was achieved, here as elsewhere, through cartography. Just as the explorers mapped the coastline and gave the landforms familiar names to make them accessible and familiar to Europeans, so the survey became an instrument of imperialism, used to demarcate the landscape into land use areas with fixed boundaries, and likewise organize its inhabitants (Anderson 1991:163).

In 1859, Point Grey was recommended by Captain George H. Richards and Daniel Pender of the *H.M. Plumper* to be set aside for defence purposes against potential American or Russian aggression (Moogk 1978:22). A public notice in the *Government Gazette* (January 17, 1863) reserved land in Point Grey within one mile from the mouth of the Fraser River, around Point Grey, to the Naval Reserve in English Bay; however, Colonel Moody, then Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, removed this order in 1863, excluding the Point Grey government reserve (*Government Gazette* October 17, 1863). Thereafter, the land was surveyed and opened for pre-emption, with some restrictions that inevitably enabled the local elite prior access to waterfront properties (Kahrer 1991:14).

While the initial military reserve in Point Grey was revoked, national defence has remained a priority in government planning for Point Grey. During World War II, the promontory was identified as a geographic location of strategic importance in a larger defence plan for the city. Thus, on the site where UBC's Museum of Anthropology and the Anthropology and Sociology buildings now stand, Point Grey Fort was constructed, with three 6-inch guns atop the cliff, and searchlight towers on the beaches below. Also in the area was the Jericho air force base and, just across the road, a military base.

Point Grey as a central place for settler society took some time to be established. Indeed, bearing in mind that New Westminster was the hub of civic activity and originally slated to be the provincial capital, the importance of Point Grey lay first and foremost in the resources it abounded with: trees.

### ***Land Clearance***

Logging—or forestry, as it is now more commonly called today—is the foundation of British Columbia's economy and central to the pioneering character created for the province, embodied in the motto: “Constructing a Province, Clear-Cutting a Nation” (Duffield 2001:112). The geographical proximity of

Point Grey next to the ocean, combined with its enormous Douglas Fir trees, sought after to construct ship's masts, meant that this area was one of the first to be deforested (Figures 2.3 and 2.4).



Figure 2.3. Oblique view of University Endowment Lands and University of British Columbia campus, taken between 1929 and 1936, photographer Western Canada Airways. View is facing north. (Image courtesy of the City of Vancouver Archives, Item no. BuP706.4, Private Record No. Add.MSS.54, University Endowment Lands, B.C.).

The forests of Point Grey represented a significant resource base for Stamp's Mill, or Hastings Mill, constructed in 1867 in downtown Vancouver. Colonel R.C. Moody, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, and the director of the Vancouver Island Spar, Lumber and Saw Mill Co. Ltd., was granted an extensive 21-year timber lease, parts of which covered Point Grey. Hastings Mill contracted Jeremiah Rogers, who had a camp at Jerry's Cove, later called Jericho Beach (Kahrer 1991:23). Rogers logged the north slope of Point Grey, focusing on Douglas fir for masts and spars (Kahrer 1991:23), and remained one of the largest suppliers for the mill after it was taken over by Dickson, de Wolf and Co. of San Francisco in 1869 (Klassen and Teversham 1977:16).

Rogers' operation relied upon both springboard manual felling and skid roads employing a steam engine (instead of oxen), at times unsuccessfully (Klassen and Teversham 1977:17). Meanwhile, Furrey and Dagget logged on the Point Grey Government Reserve during the 1880s, with chutes to transport logs down to the water at Wreck Beach, and cables to hoist materials to the tip of Point Grey where a logging camp was located (Flynn 1942).



Figure 2.4. Logging west of MacDonald Street on Point Grey Road, taken 1895, photographer unknown. (Image courtesy of the City of Vancouver Archives, Item no. Log P7, Private Record no. Add.MSS.54, Vancouver, B.C.).

In 1880, the south slope near the Musqueam Reserve was logged by Daggett and Furrey under contract for the Hastings Mill (Kahrer 1991:23). Logistics of transporting the timber out of the area required that they create a chute, digging a ditch and diverting a stream into it, after which the logs were floated down the river (Klassen and Teversham 1977:18). They also had a major skid road running from 16th Avenue down to the Fraser at the west boundary of the Musqueam Reserve.

By 1884, most of the land was logged of its best timber, but a new lease was granted for the southern slope; the northern slope was already cleared. These leases expired in 1891, and Daggett and Furry ceased operations (Klassen and Teversham 1977:19). Thereafter, small camps of 10 to 12 men continued to work in the remaining patches of timber; however, in 1907, the Provincial Government sold the land and gave these “squatters,” who were mostly Japanese shingle bolt cutters, a 30-day eviction notice (*The Province* May 22, 1907). The land was meant to be cleared and subdivided for city lots, although Kahrer (1991:30) notes that at least 200 campers still remained in parts of the woods. Young, Scott and Company, which bought the timber licence, immediately experienced financial difficulty and were bankrupt by 1916 (Kahrer 1991:33).

From 1912 to 1923, 65 timber sale licenses were issued in Point Grey, most of which were short-term and small-scale operations, and profits were marginal as the quality of timber decreased with every sale (Kahrer 1991:36). The threat of fires resulting from logging debris was ongoing, and on July 13, 1919, one such fire burned 200 hectares around what is now 29th Avenue at Imperial Road (Kahrer 1991:38); remnants of the fire’s impacts remain in the park today (Figure 2.5).

## Historical Disturbances in Pacific Spirit Park (1985)

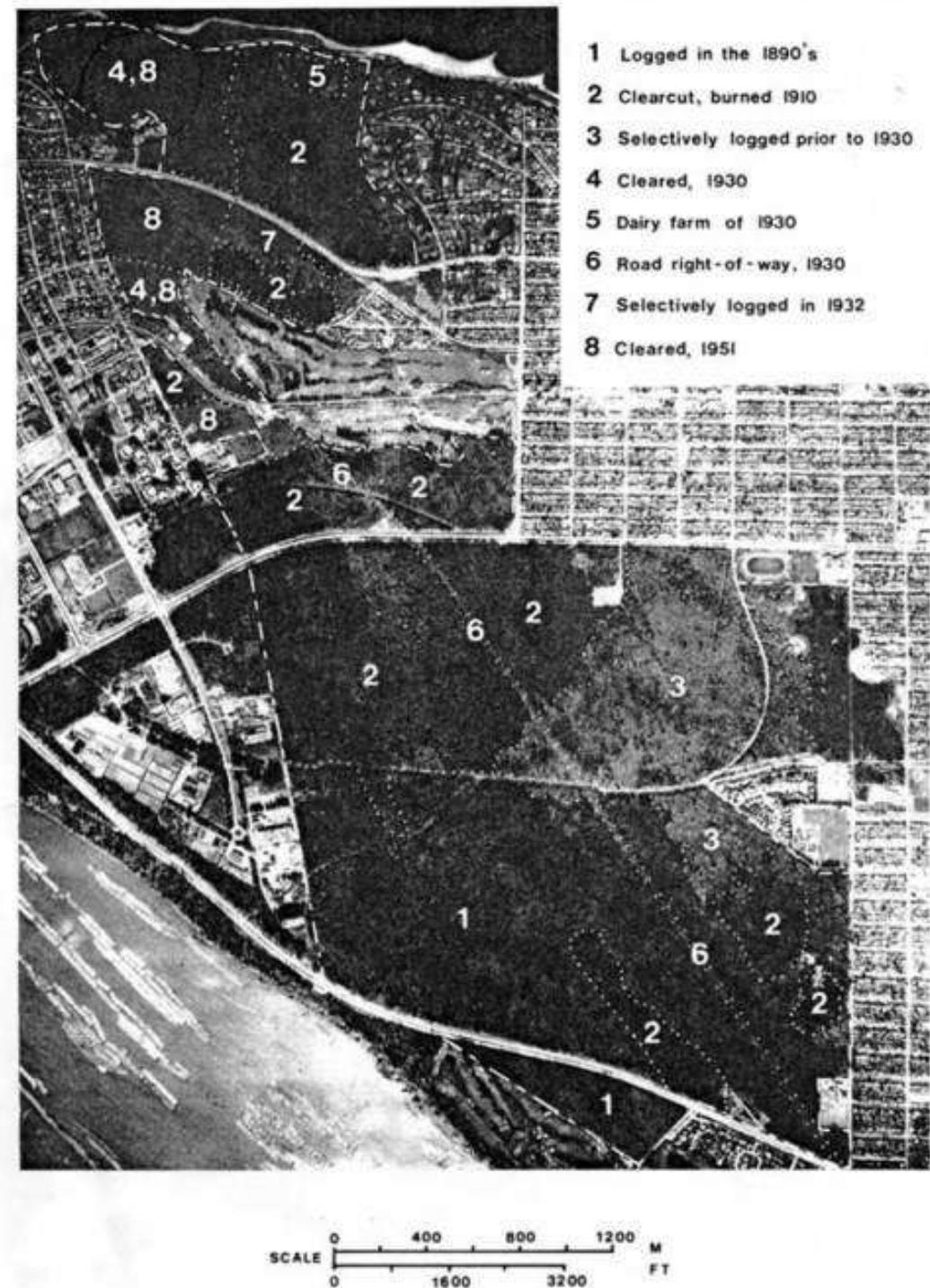


Figure 2.5. Historical Disturbances in the Endowment Lands. Top is north. (Thompson 1985:11.)

The last logging camp in the Endowment Lands was near 34th Avenue and Wallace, powered by a steam engine, in the early 1920s (Klassen and Teversham 1977:19). After the land was endowed to the university, public timber licenses were halted, although the university continued to fell trees and cut cordwood; a plan in 1935 included maintaining the forest as a laboratory, a windbreak, and to harvest marketable timber (Allen 1935:17). This practice continued later as part of a make-work program during the Great Depression of the 1930s, and a firewood shortage in the 1940s resulted in individuals obtaining permits to cut cordwood from deciduous trees in the area, the last of which expired in 1945 (Klassen and Teversham 1977:19).

The timber licenses granted during the Depression were met with complaints from local horseback riders, who felt that further logging compromised the aesthetics of the forest; indeed, horses were an important part of the lives of the settlers in the immediate area. In 1927, Charlie Clinton built the stables for the Point Grey Riding Club at 33rd Avenue just west of Crown Road, and a 21-year lease near 16th Avenue “was obtained by a number of prominent businessmen who were avid horsemen and wanted trails to ride” (Klassen and Teversham 1977:10). The cutting of timber apparently interfered with the riding trails (Kahrer 1991:48). Several of the old logging skid trails were maintained as bridle paths, which are still in use today within the park by horseback riders from Southlands. These same businessmen were likely involved in the annual horse shows, which received much publicity and forum discussion in *The Point Grey Gazette* newspapers during the early 1900s (Paton 1909:2).

The forests of Point Grey were not clear-cut but, rather, logging of different areas was staggered. As a result, the forests were afforded the opportunity to replenish themselves to varying degrees depending on the drainage, slope, wind and other ongoing alterations. Present-day deciduous forests in drier areas are testimony to more recent logging, as are dry Douglas fir coniferous forest; wetter, selectively-logged areas are home to cedar, spruce, and hemlock forest, while mixed areas reflect the transition from deciduous to coniferous forest resulting from very early logging (Klassen and Teversham 1977:30-31). This regrowth is what allowed Pacific Spirit’s creation decades later.

### ***The Creation of Indian Reserves***

The surveys during the mid- to late-1800s that resulted in the division of the land into government and private property ultimately marked the beginning of a government-administered relationship between the First Nations and settlers. This relationship was mediated spatially through the creation of Indian Reserves (Figure 2.6). With survey and the division of land for use-specific purposes began the colonial creation of the “Indian problem.” The implementation of regulations that would culminate together under

the *Indian Act*<sup>4</sup> of 1876 fixed Indigenous peoples in space, alienating them from both their own places and thus their history and way of life; meanwhile, settler society created Point Grey history, legitimized by the government through legislation.

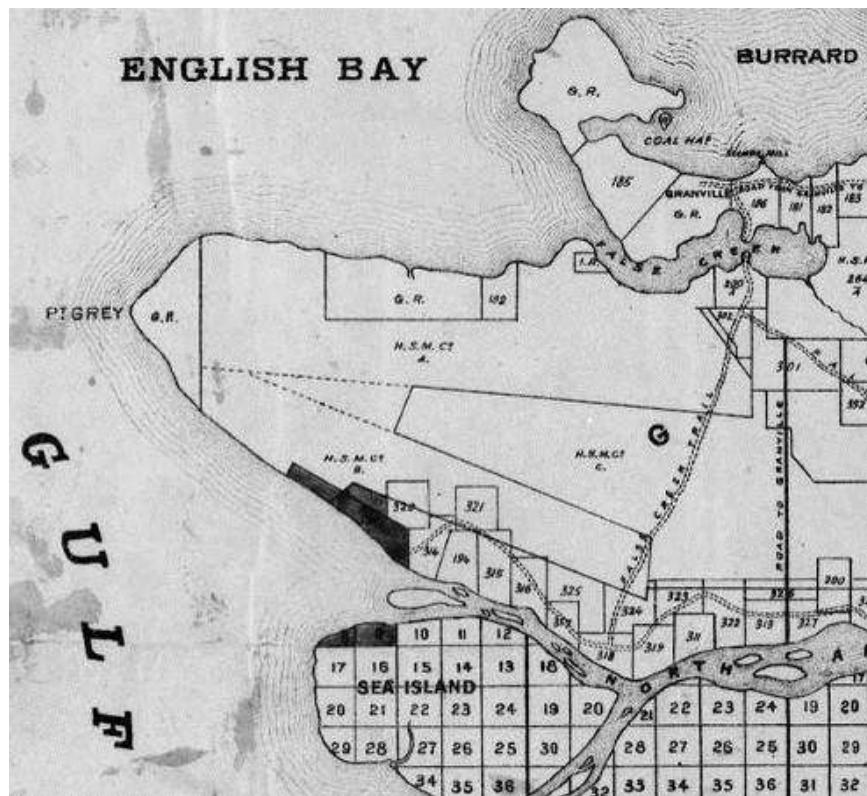


Figure 2.6. “Muskweam” Indian Reserve No. 2, produced in 1880; the Reserve areas are shaded. (Image courtesy of the Library and Archives Canada. Accession No. 78903/45, Item No. 79, Record No. 446).

As Susan Roy (1999:10) relates, “by the early 1860s, the colonial government began to establish small Indian reserves for the Musqueam, leaving much of their traditional territory to be preempted, crown-granted, or purchased by non-Native newcomers.” Paul Tennant (1990:31) writes that, “in allocating reserves [Premier James] Douglas’s general approach was to lay them out before white settlers arrived in a locality and to allocate sufficient land to each local Indian community for village sites, for agricultural purposes, and for the protection of specific sites such as burial grounds.” The purpose of these reserves was allegedly to prevent conflict between Aboriginal peoples and settlers and to “protect” First Nations while inculcating them into new ways of life, with the eventual goal of abandoning reserves and seamlessly transitioning into settler society (Tennant 1990:28-31). However, as Keith Carlson (2001:94) notes, the creation of reserves served to open up all lands beyond them to settlers, and acted as an

<sup>4</sup> *The Indian Act*. R.S.C., 1985, c. I-5.

administrative and bureaucratic tactic of extinguishing Aboriginal Title.

While Douglas' policies are lauded by historians and often described as "generous" (Tennant 1990:32), his successor Joseph Trutch is vilified and said to be "the first official to assert explicitly that British Columbia Indians had never owned the land" (Tennant 1990:39). As Tennant (1990:41) explains, "this myth legitimized the denial of aboriginal title and sanctified the new white doctrine that all land in the colony was not only under British sovereignty but also directly owned by the crown." In such a view, reserves became not a right but "merely a gift from the generous monarch," a perspective setting the stage for all future relations (Tennant 1990:42):

Douglas had treated Indians as immigrants in their own land but also as British subjects with equal rights, and he had favoured mixing of the two races and assimilation of the Indians. Under the Trutch regime, Indians became a residual category with fewer rights than aliens. Segregation and inequality would now be the hallmarks of British Columbia provincial Indian policy.

*The Indian Act*, introduced in 1876 and reformed in 1951, is a piece of Canadian federal law that governs all matters relating to Indian status, bands and reserves. It was "designed to protect Indians until they acquired the trappings of white civilization" (Lemert 1954:26)—until they assimilated into settler society—and, in this sense, it relegates Indigenous peoples to the position of children, legal wards of the state, which is tasked to regulate and administer their affairs and daily-life. Part of this responsibility of the state towards First Nations is to govern their land base, both in the creation of reserves and in leasing these lands, a point that would later become critical in Point Grey.

A 1880 map of the Musqueam Indian Reservation #2 (Figure 2.7), established in 1876, shows the division of Point Grey lands between the Reserve, pre-emption claims, and government property. The map notes the location of "Indian houses" along the waterfront, and later photographs depict these at the village identified therein as Malé, which existed prior to contact but by this time had incorporated European architectural features alongside more traditional ones.

Some decades after the reserve was mapped out and survey posts staked into the ground, the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission of 1913-1916 reported that Indian Agents visited the Musqueam Reserve in Point Grey on June 24, 1913. The Reserve was 168.68 hectares (416.82 acres), and buildings noted include a Roman Catholic Church, and a Council Hall. Its value was assessed at \$246,000, and the reserve was described as a "village site on suburban tract on the right bank of the North Arm of the Fraser River, at its mouth and contiguous to Vancouver City; Especially suitable for intensive farming or industrial sites."

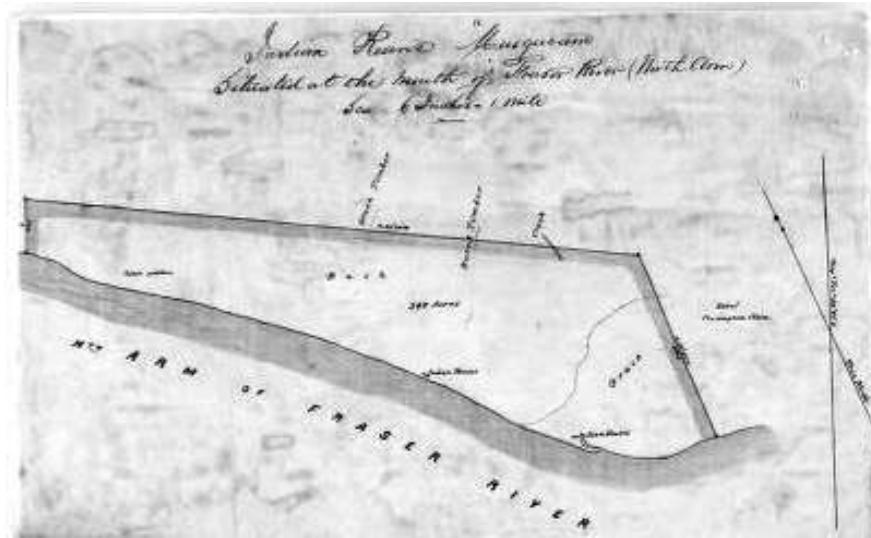


Figure 2.7. Indian Reserve “Musqueam” situated at the mouth of the Fraser River (North Arm), produced in 1880. (Image courtesy of the Library and Archives Canada. Accession No. 78903/45, Item No. 77, Record No. 445).

Around this time, Harris (1997:91) relates a story told to the commission by a Musqueam Chief (probably Chief Johnny x<sup>w</sup>ex<sup>w</sup>ay'eleq [Roy 2010:75]): “Since these posts were put down by Sir James Douglas for the Indians, the land has been lessened twice. The Indians were not notified or consulted...and after that three persons came here to Musqueam and told some of the Indians that the posts...meant nothing at all.” Indeed, a 1916 map of the reserve shown in Figure 2.8 is testimony to the shrinking of reserves subsequent to their initial creation (Roy 1999:20). The inadequate size of Musqueam’s IR#2 in Point Grey has been a critical issue since its creation, and was foregrounded during the later creation of Pacific Spirit and subsequent land repatriation.

By the mid-1800s, disease, missionaries and the gold rush changed the way of life for Musqueam people, yet they continued to pursue their cultural and spiritual practices (Gryphon 2010). Reserves further inhibited cultural and subsistence practices as populations that had been at least seasonally mobile became spatially restricted, losing access to even local resources (Harris 2002). As Erasmus and Sanders (2002:8) state, reflecting on the situation of reserves in Canada more broadly:

During the first sixty years of the twentieth century, our people were in the most despicable, colonizing, racist situation imaginable. Under the control of Indian agents, they could not leave their reserves without passes. They were not legally in charge of a single thing that happened on their land.

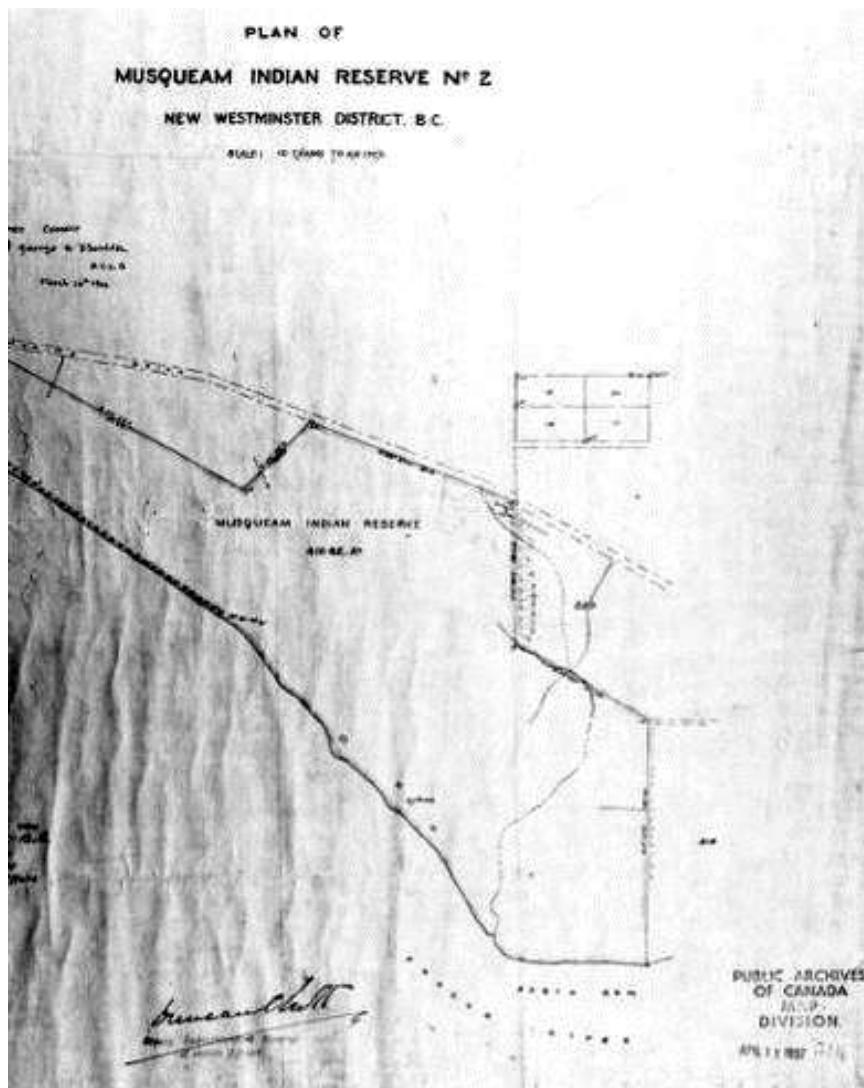


Figure 2.8. Plan of Musqueam Indian Reserve No. 2, New Westminster District, B.C., created by George S. Boulton, B.C.L.S. March 16th, 1916. (Image courtesy of the Library and Archives Canada, Microfiche No. 5959, Record No. 1439).

Similarly, Harris (1997:271) discusses reserves as a racialized space mediating relations between Indigenous peoples and settlers:

For most British Columbians, Native people stood in the way of progress and development. The reserve was the solution, another place apart required by a white discourse of otherness. There the indigenous other would be tucked away, given as little land as possible, marginalized in its own territory. For most of the majority, this was entirely appropriate, not only because of the *realpolitik* of power, but because they were civilized and Natives were not. The civilized knew how to use land effectively.

This constructed dichotomy between Europeans as “civilized” and Indigenous peoples as “primitive” or

“savage” (Williams 2012) underlies the perceived inability of Indigenous peoples to self-govern. This dichotomy is central to the settler-narrative, and continues to underscore tensions concerning the University Endowment Lands (UEL), discussed further in Chapter 3. The colonial “civilizing” mechanism was in re-education, assigned by the state as purview of the church.

### ***Residential Schools and (Re)Education***

One of the most profound influences on Indigenous populations locally and across the globe was the introduction of Christianity. Religious instruction was integral to government administration, perceived as the means by which Indigenous populations would be civilized, adopt a proper moral attitude, and ultimately assimilate to fit in with the colonial society (Regan 2010). In tandem with state-imposed administration therefore was religious instruction, creating moral citizens. In 1897, a Census survey notes that of 99 Musqueam residents, 8 were Protestant, and 91 were Roman Catholic (Dawson 1897:430), although it is certain that traditional spiritual practices continued to some degree throughout this period of religious conversion.

In addition to on-reserve religious institutions, the residential school system guaranteed access to the next generation of Indigenous peoples as a means to ensure assimilation into Canadian society (Fournier 1997; Milloy 1999). Locally, this meant that Indigenous children living on the Musqueam Reserve in Point Grey were relocated to schools further afield, including St. Mary’s in Mission and the Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack (Figure 2.9), as well as others on Vancouver Island.

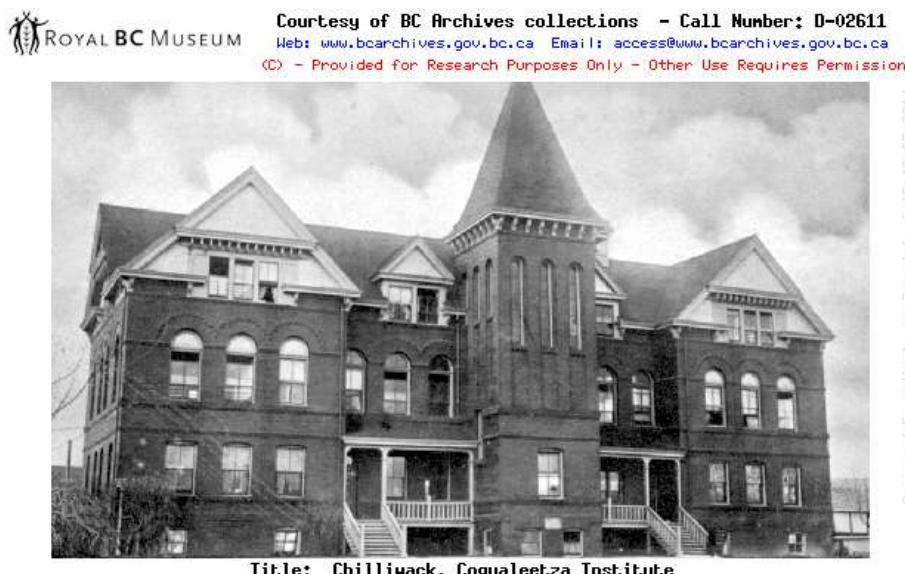


Figure 2.9. Chilliwack, Coqualeetza Institute. (Image courtesy of the Royal BC Museum, BC Archives, Accession No. 193501-001, ca. 1920s, Call No. D-02611, Catalogue no.HP06333).

The institutional role of the church, and the legitimacy given to it by the colonial government, convey the paternalism of the colonial-Indigenous relationship and the violence that was committed against Indigenous peoples. The history of these schools has more recently been brought to light as part of the Truth and Reconciliation process that resulted from a successful court case against the government (TRC 2013). The impact of residential schools on Indigenous families and communities was profound, and the effects will resound for generations to come (TRC 2012).

The removal of Musqueam children from home to be relocated in rural areas is significant in the development of Point Grey as a neighbourhood. The relationships maintained between children, extended family near the schools, and their parents and grandparents back at home, may have meant that the Reserve was felt to be both home and distant, emotionally and physically. Yet when children returned home, the place was different: trees logged, roads put in, houses built, and different people living in them, newcomers. In a publication by the Musqueam Indian Band (2006:11), the impacts of these policies are described as “devastating”:

When our Musqueam children were forced into residential schools, they were separated from their own families and communities, as well as their cultural heritage. Large numbers of children died while in the care of the residential schooling system—estimates as high as 25-69%. Of those who survived—prohibited from speaking their own native language and kept for long periods of time from their own families—many lost a significant piece of their cultural identity. This travesty wrenched families apart by taking away their ability to communicate with one another and to share cultural knowledge.

Thus, the establishment of reserves combined with the act of physically removing Musqueam people from their homeland translated into an intentional dislocation of people from their history, from their places, from daily practices, as part of the larger colonial regime of assimilation and genocide (United Nations 1948; Bolen 2013). This literal and figurative disconnection and alienation lies at the heart of the ongoing tension between settler society and the area’s First Peoples in Point Grey and in Canada more broadly.

### ***The Musqueam Community***

While colonial administration of Point Grey shifted some things quite radically, in other ways, the everyday continued, if not unchanged then seamlessly into another form still familiar. For a coastal and river people like the Musqueam, fishing was so ingrained in their social, political, and economic lifeway that the sudden settler interest in Fraser River salmon, resulting in the construction of canneries wherever one could be built, was an economic opportunity that could easily be capitalized on (Musqueam 1984:41) (Figure 2.10).

Indeed, the Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report for 1896 written by S.E. Dawson (1897:xxxv) discusses the mainstays of Aboriginal people in British Columbia, namely that they “place but little dependence upon agriculture; still, some are displaying a most commendable spirit in endeavouring greatly to increase the areas under cultivation. In this the department is seconding their efforts as much as within its power lies. The main dependence is upon fish; but fur, the lumbering industry, and the canneries in certain localities, afford a means of earning a livelihood.”



Figure 2.10. Salmon fishing in the Fraser River, ca. 1900, photographer unknown. (Used with permission of the City of Vancouver Archives, Item No. Out P805.3, Private Record no. Add.MSS.54, Vancouver, B.C.).

The activities of the Indigenous peoples in this region were broadly reported to include “farming, stockraising, fishing, hunting and trapping for furs, logging, working at canneries and sawmills, discharging cargoes and loading ships, drying fish, making baskets, nets and fishing nets, etc.” (Dawson 1897:74). An over-abundance of labour due to immigration is also noted (Dawson 1897:xxxv): “It is found that, owing to Chinese labour, many channels, heretofore open to the Indian, are now closed. This must necessarily drive him to rely more and more upon the cultivation of the soil.” Thus, in the schools, attention was shifted since “the future of the Indian youth must necessarily, in the main, be dependent on farming and stock-raising” (Dawson 1897:xxxviii).

Fishing was, and continues to be, one of the main resources used both on an industrial scale, and by settlers as food. Writing on Vancouver’s old streams, Harris (1978:5) notes that

when pioneers try to tell us about the wealth of salmon and trout that used to be here, they don’t really expect us to believe. The contrast is too great for those of us who know Vancouver as an asphalt grid. We cannot really imagine the City as a stand of giant hemlock mixed with Douglas fir and with cedar in the low places, interrupted with numerous expanses of swamp on the heights and by the shore, and laced with dozens of streams.

In what became the Endowment Lands, which extended to Spanish Banks, streams used to be replete with pink and chum salmon, as well as cutthroat trout. However, many of these fish-producing streams were filled in with city garbage during the 1920s (Harris 1978:8), while the swamps were filled in to become golf courses and parks (Harris 1978:5). Recent efforts to replenish the salmon stocks in Point Grey's streams have met with variable results.

While fishing and forest harvesting provided the necessities of life for First Nations, the scale of these activities was radically different than the industries established under colonial rule. A photograph (Figure 2.11) dated 1958 depicts the result of logging at the Musqueam Reserve, while Figures 2.7 and 2.8 above show forestry in the larger Point Grey area. A huge transformation to the landscape resulted from this unsustainable harvesting with ecological impacts affecting all facets of Indigenous life.

Thereafter, farming became of central importance as a direct result of government involvement. In this sense, as Harris (1997:226) suggests, “as ideology, agrarianism was closely allied to the idea of progress, material and moral. It was associated with social control.” Harris (1997:92) reports that in 1877, “some twenty-two acres were cultivated, a third in potatoes, vegetables, oats, and fruit trees, the rest in meadow and pasture. There were nine horses, thirty-one head of cattle, and some poultry.” Farming was only considered as supplemental to the usual dried salmon stores, shellfish, and cranberries, all available locally (Harris 1997:92).



Figure 2.11. Musqueam Indian Reserve on Fraser River with children playing on logs, taken in 1958 and shown in *The Province* newspaper. (Image courtesy of the Vancouver Public Library, VPL Accession No.1998, Vancouver, B.C.).

Increasingly, however, the decline in Fraser River fish and a new licensing system that favoured non-Indigenous fishermen and did not allow Musqueam people to fish other than for food (versus trade) meant that, during the early 1900s, the economic well-being of the Musqueam community was in peril (Musqueam 1984:42). Delbert Guerin, reflecting on the influx of disease and its impact on Indigenous peoples, related the loss of traditional foods to larger colonial policies (pers. comm.. June 2, 2013):

My grandmother told me stories that came from her parents and what not, they described it as a cloud coming over the mountain when those diseases hit our people. There were many ways that those European diseases were shipped across the country. Basically intentionally to try to knock our people out. Which is not much different than a little skit I saw last week, they were talking about the American tribes and, not wanting to get in big trouble, rather than killing off the people they just killed off the buffalo, which caused the people to lose their source of food and sort of just died from those kinds of losses.

Farms on the Musqueam Reserve, such as that depicted in Figure 2.12, were managed by Chinese families who settled on Musqueam lands in this very area during the early 1900s (Ling 2012), having obtained leases to Reserve land through the government, for which the Musqueam Indian Band received nothing (Grant and Roy 2007). Delbert Guerin (Musqueam 1977:10) explains:

In the early days, approximately the turn of the century, the Department set up a program really unknown to the members of the Band. They approached Chinese people and brought them onto the reserve. They actually did the negotiations on behalf of the Chinese people to have them come onto the reserve, set up farms and teach our people how to be farmers. Now the Band at that time, I believe, was around 150 people. 416 acres would never have been sufficient to set up farms on this reserve that would adequately provide for the people living here. But, nevertheless this was the aim of the Department of Indian Affairs in their bungling way of trying to assist Indian People.

Chinese farmers would travel with their vegetables both to downtown Vancouver and door-to-door through the residential areas of Mount Pleasant to sell their wares (Schwesinger 1962). As discussed by Musqueam elder Larry Grant, the two communities became linked through marriage and some Musqueam residents trace their lineage back along both lines, considering their combined histories now collectively as heritage (Chinese Community Stories UBC 2012).



Figure 2.12. Panoramic view of the fields, waterfront and buildings on the Musqueam Reserve in Point Grey. Photo taken during a Vancouver Natural History Society in 1936 by Philip Timms. (Image courtesy of the Vancouver Public Library, VPL Accession No. 19487, CD No. 115, Vancouver, B.C.).

Massive transformations to the landscape of Point Grey and its spatial organization were mirrored in relationships between Indigenous peoples and settler society (Musqueam 2006:11):

In the latter part of the 19th century, it became increasingly difficult for Musqueam people to continue our traditional ways of life. Access to our resources was blocked by fences placed around land appropriated for farming and settlement. In addition, various resources on which we depended for both food and ceremonial practices were being rapidly depleted. Fish populations were drastically reduced by a developing commercial fishery and destruction of habitats, while large tracts of forest were logged to clear the way for farms. In 1913, construction of the railway line caused a devastating riverbank slide in the Fraser River Canyon that almost destroyed the sockeye runs. While resources dwindled, competition between our people and non-native fishers and hunters grew and restrictions were placed on the Musqueam peoples' access to our own resources.

These relations were variable, and the shift to wage labour meant that economic class sometimes outweighed race-based differentiation in broader society. Men and women of many ethnicities worked alongside each other; however, as Ross (2010) notes for cannery camps, internal divisions were maintained domestically. In the settler origin stories told for Point Grey, the work camp labourers are invisible, neither recognized nor lauded as instrumental in any way to the creation of this affluent neighbourhood.

## Achieving Affluence (Exploitation)

There is a direct relationship between the expansion of knowledge, the expansion of trade and the expansion of empire. That relationship continues, although in the reframed discourse of globalization it is referred to as the relationship between the expansion of technology/information, the expansion of economic opportunities and the expansion of “the market.”

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999:88)

By the early 1900s, Point Grey was considered by its local residents to be an up-and-coming neighbourhood. Indeed, several of the early *Point Grey Gazette* articles feature pieces that advertise the area to new settlers, promoting a population increase, and even suggesting that, when Vancouver needed space for its overflowing population, Point Grey would be ready to serve.

After the pre-emption law passed in 1860 allowing new settlers to acquire property in Point Grey, its goal of encouraging “permanent settlement and agriculture in the colony” (Kahrer 1991:14) appeared on its way to being fulfilled. Within several weeks, four claims were filed that encompassed the entire area. These applications were not immediately approved, and the land instead went through several decades of logging before being opened up for residential development (Kahrer 1991:14).

In the January 30, 1909, issue of the *Point Grey Gazette*, an advertisement for property was run by The Eburne Exchange, owned by J.W. Fairhall and M.R. Wells:

Beautiful home on Fraser River, eight minutes' walk from Eburne Station, fronting on main road with sidewalk, 8 acres cleared and fenced, first class soil, 150 fruit trees bearing, eight-room modern house, good barn, apple house, chicken houses, etc.; driving horse, harness, buggy, implements, incubators, 50 hens. Price, \$9,000. Terms, \$2,000 cash, balance 1, 2, and 3 years at 7 per cent.

Concern felt by homesteaders holding property similar to the above was discussed in the local newspaper, as these lands began to be purchased, subdivided, and sold at much greater value. The question of taxing the remaining farmers was hotly debated, and tied in with this was the idea of modernizing Point Grey (*The Point Grey Gazette*, March 6, 1909):

At this day we do not look on the old homestead with the same feeling as we perhaps should as to do so would retard progress and advancement, and no matter who he be he should feel just as proudly towards the advancement of the city of Vancouver, and Point Grey as some day, and that day not exceptionally far off, will be in the city of Vancouver.

A 1911 article on Point Grey, published in the *British Columbia Magazine* (Paton 1911:734), describes its early history:

the whole territory was a mass of fallen burnt timber and second growth. The task of making it into a place of habitation was one that would make many a man quit; but you can't phase one with that western optimistic spirit. He brooks no defeat, and in the dictionaries of the west, defeat is generally left out.

Paton (1911:734) describes this “western optimistic spirit” of the so-called Hundred Thousand Club, whose slogan that “In 1910 Vancouver then will have 100,000 men,” was realized much sooner than they had anticipated. They had forgotten to provide room for this great increase in settlement,” and Point Grey prepared to meet the housing demand (Paton 1911:735): “Clearing operations were started on their land, and the result was Shaughnessy Heights. In two years over a thousand acres were reclaimed by them from the bush, made modern, and largely settled on.” In such visions, a generic sense of the “pioneering spirit” was maintained, while the actual pioneer labourers are removed from the scene.

Point Grey was considered to be making “rapid strides along the lines of civilization” (Paton 1911:735). In 1911, the *Point Grey Gazette* ran a headline about the Canadian Census, stating that the population of British Columbia increased over 100% over the last decade. That year, the population for Point Grey was 4,319; for Vancouver, 100,333 (*Point Grey Gazette* October 21, 1911). The assessment of property value of Point Grey in 1910 was \$14.6 million, but only one year later, it was at \$20.0 million following the building of permanent roads, sewage lines, a water system, and park development in the area (Paton 1911:736). While infrastructure was probably mostly responsible for the increase in property values, it is significant that parks were at least perceived as contributing to this affluence as well.

### ***The University and its Endowment Lands***

In the early 1900s (*The Point Grey Gazette*, October 30th, 1909), the discussion of annexing Point Grey to the city of Vancouver was on the table for discussion at council meetings, a move that at that time received unanimous support from the Point Grey council. Central to this decision was the question of linking the two areas by tram and roads. While this was a very practical and everyday concern, many of the features in *The Point Grey Gazette* testify to a desire for Point Grey to be on the national stage.

The promise of a university did much to propel this notion, which land brokers of the time capitalized on (F.N. Trites & Co. 695 Granville St. *The Point Grey Gazette*, October 1st, 1910):

Point Grey in itself should be sufficient to make one think of the millions to be made in this beautiful district in the next few years. In addition to this thought remember the University, which is an assured fact. This will take several hundred acres of land. Imagine the amount of money required to put this land into shape. Then again, the hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of dollars required for the buildings. Then, and only then, can one appreciate the importance and value of this great public institution to this district. The announcement alone of the chosen site for the University, while Vancouver is in the limelight, will make Point Grey a household word all

over Canada and even further.

A plan for a provincial university was on paper as early as 1890, but it was not until 1907 that the McBride government established the legal and financial framework for what would become the University of British Columbia (Kahrer 1991:39). The site of Point Grey was chosen in 1910, and the promise of a University was central to conceptualizing the character of this area (Paton 1911:736):

Just what the future has in store for Point Grey no one knows; but it has several things that will certainly help, and not the least of these is the University. The site of the Provincial University has been definitely decided upon. It has been located at the extreme point of the municipality, a most admirable location for this seat of learning.

In 1923, the *University Loan Act* was revised and 1,214 hectares (3,000 acres) of land in Point Grey was set aside in the University Endowment Lands, the purpose of which was to provide the university with “a source of independent income from the sale and lease of property for upper-income housing” (Klassen and Teversham 1977:9). Yet the value of the UEL was also in question. The UBC Board of Governors in 1924 expressed concern about ongoing logging operations in the Endowment Lands, suggesting that “the woods are very valuable to the university and to the public.” Another problem emerged when people began dumping refuse in the UEL (Kahrer 1991:48), a practice that continues to this day.

In the 1920s, plans to develop University Hill were produced by the provincial government’s Department of Lands. The document begins as follows (Department of Lands n.d.:2):

Creating a Residential Community worthy of Greater Vancouver involves heavy responsibility; it must surpass in beauty, advantages, and services what has gone before it: this has been accomplished in the University Endowment Lands, where a further tract, which in natural beauty, topography, and location cannot be excelled, has been developed. Natural advantages have here been combined with engineering skill to make the area a group of home-sites of which Vancouver may well be proud. This magnificent tract with its winding roadways, spacious building-sites, and charming vistas of Howe Sound and distant mountains is now placed before the public for selection.

The direct association between wealth and access to “nature” (Crompton 2001) was thus firmly established early on in Point Grey.

The plan (Figure 2.13) describes infrastructure and services that will be built in 1928 on this already-cleared land, and suggests that this residential neighbourhood “is ideally suited to the person who would establish a permanent home in an environment of beauty and refinement, free from the city’s smoke and noise and far removed from the manufacturing district” (Department of Lands n.d.:3). The view from these properties at the time is shown in Figure 2.14. The plan further explains of “safeguards...incorporated in the agreement of sale, which ensures every owner of a home-site in the area

against neighbouring buildings of undesirable character" (Dept. of Lands n.d.:3). Towards this, regulations for house location, plans and value of no less than \$6,000 were enforced.

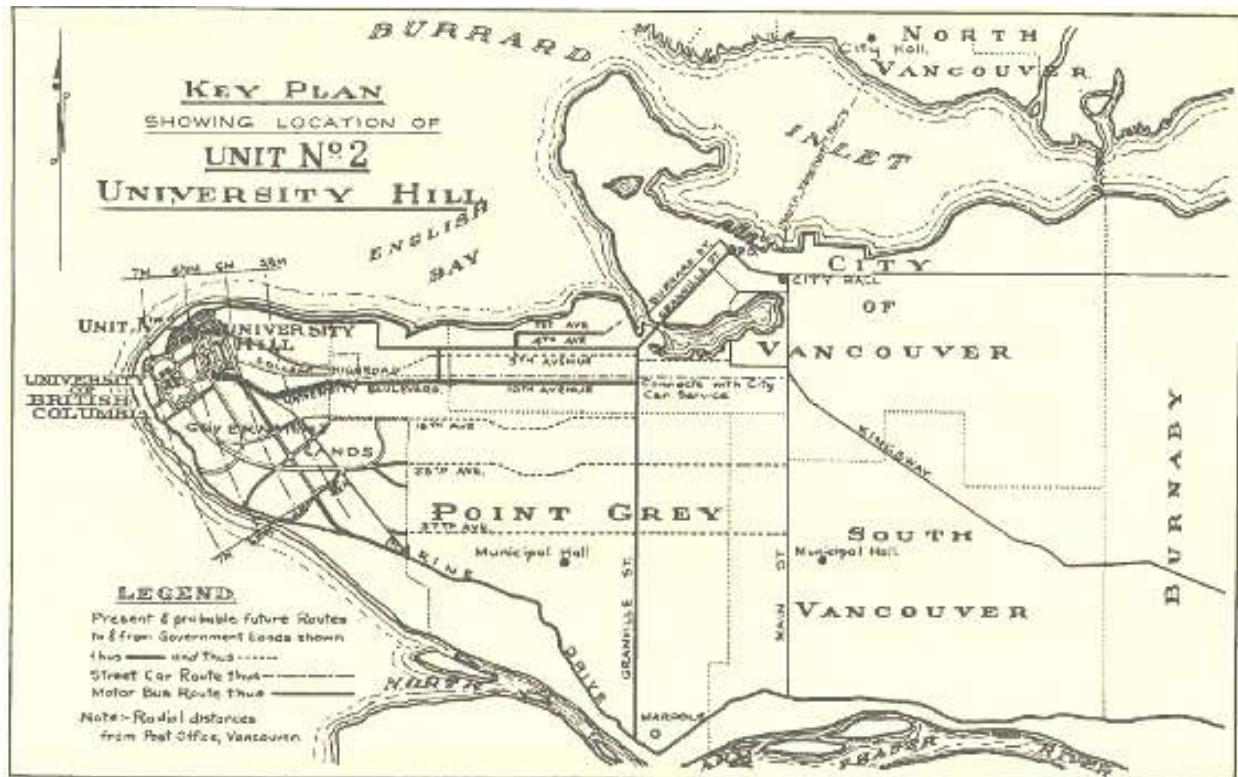


Figure 2.13. Key Plan for University Hill. (Department of Lands n.d.:14).



Figure 2.14. View of Howe Sound and mountains from the property. (Department of Lands n.d.:8-9)

Continuing the narrative promoting Vancouver as a growing new city, a plan map was produced for publicity purposes of the area and particularly Point Grey in 1925 (Hayes 2005:121) (Figure 2.15). By this time, the University of British Columbia (originally called McGill University College of British Columbia) was already a plan in the works, although it would be some years before it came to fruition; the university area was then just an idea, and Kerrisdale non-existent, still being farmland.

Instead of providing a then-accurate representation of the city, this map aims to advertise what Vancouver has to offer. Thus, highlighted are three golf clubs (Point Grey, Shaughnessy, Jericho), clearly targeting a wealthy demographic. The message: Vancouver is ready for the wealthy, and Point Grey is a future home for the upper echelon of society. Early houses in the area reflect this influx of affluence and a great deal of the city's energy went into preparing the surrounding area to suit elite interests.

In the December 1926 (Vol.V No. 6) issue of *Town Planning*, the Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada, a 17-page feature is provided lauding the design of the University Endowment Lands. Introducing the UEL plans, Alfred Buckley (1926:2) describes the scientific humanism and fiscal motivations behind the UEL plans:

The idea of town planning was in the air and suddenly it took root in the minds of the legislators. Why not plan the whole area concerned surrounding the university site on modern, scientific lines, under one control, and under the guidance of scientific men, and make it so attractive that people would want to settle there because order and beauty had made the place desirable? Urban settlement multiplies land values. Why not make urban settlement desirable by the creation of civilized amenities and then reap the earned increment of land values—instead of giving it away as unearned increment to speculators—to finance the university project, which meant the provision of university education for the boys and girls of British Columbia?

Beyond these ideals, Buckley (1926:4) also notes that this is “a real estate scheme” and “prices of lots run pretty high, but the cost of development is also high and the standards of public service and amenities are also high. It is in no sense a housing scheme for the low paid wage earner.” Buckley (1926:2) further viewed the construction of houses in the UEL as linked with progress and nation-building: “He will see the wilderness and the solitary place blossoming with the roses of great social ideas.” The project’s engineer and agent, H.L. McPherson (1926:18), then described details of the project planning. He similarly felt that “out of the raw state a magnificent asset is being created.”

While the University Hill neighbourhood slowly proceeded, the depression of the 1930s, followed by World War II, and the distance of the UEL from Vancouver’s business district downtown hindered further plans for development; “instead of being a source of income for the University of British Columbia the area has been, instead, a drain on the revenue of the Province” (Bartholomew and Associates 1945:1). In 1945, Bartholomew and Associates (1945:1) prepared another plan for the Department of Lands to develop the UEL, described as “undoubtedly the finest area for a large residential development remaining in the Vancouver Metropolitan area. Probably no other city on the North American Continent has within or near it an area containing such extraordinary natural advantages for the development of a truly fine residential area.”

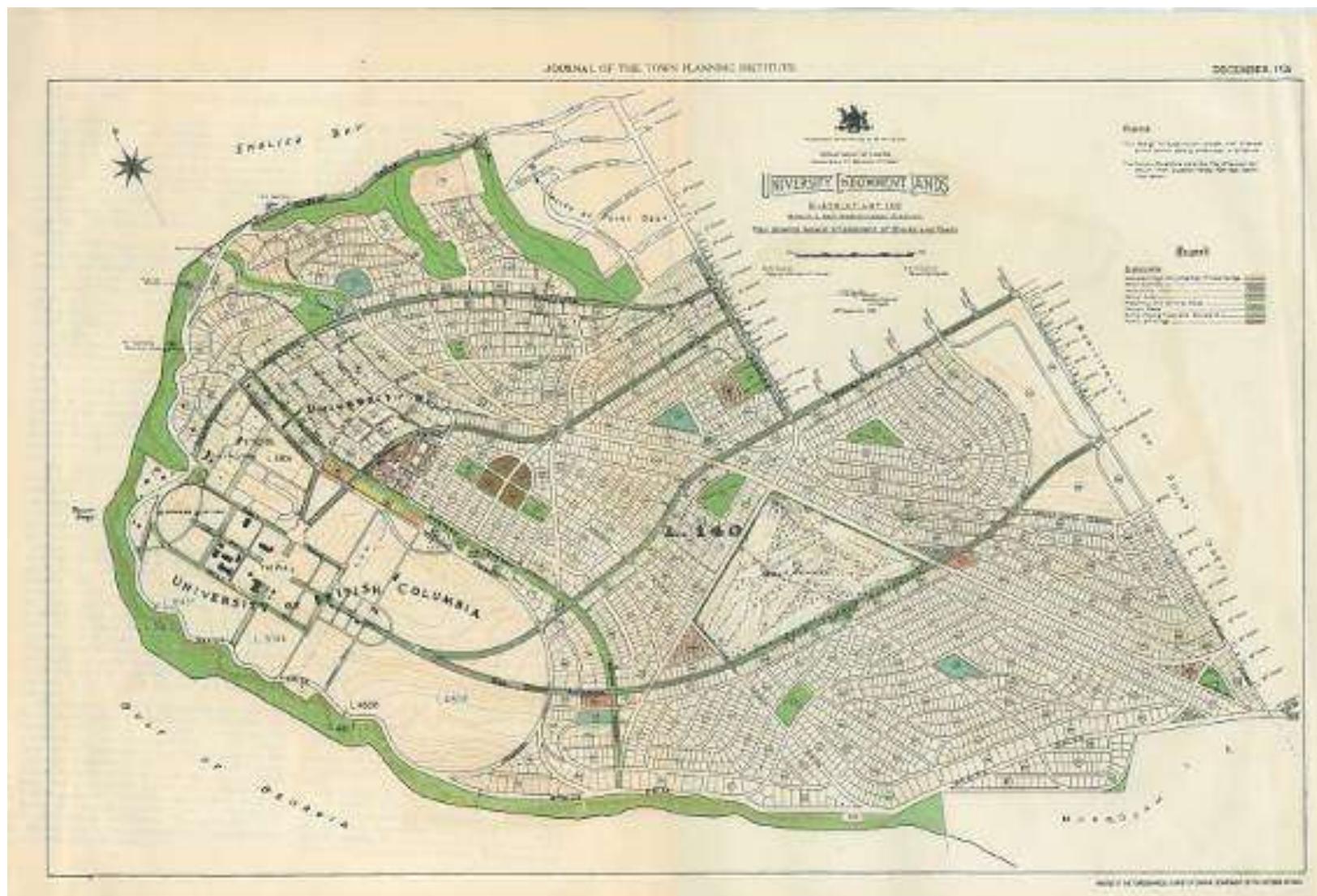


Figure 2.15. One of several plan maps for developing the University Endowment Lands (McPherson 1926).

Figure 2.16 shows the general plan conceived by these city planners. Identified as “A”, these plans include a “proposed large park” at what is Crown Street and SW Marine Drive, along with the Triangle Lands. Oddly, identified as “B,” the plan shows the Musqueam Reserve also labelled “recommended for large future park,” confirmed in the accompanying document: “In addition to the large park of 270 acres, the town plan for Vancouver contemplates the eventual use of the Musqueam Indian Reserve as a large public park” (Bartholomew and Associates 1945:15). Where exactly the Musqueam community was meant to go is unclear.

The plan recommended a system of bridle paths (Bartholomew and Associates 1945:6-16), reserving a permanent site for a golf course as well as an airport site, predicting that “there will eventually be a considerable number of persons in the Vancouver area who will own and use small private planes” (Bartholomew and Assoc. 1945:7). The city planners are clear, however that the airport should be for private not commercial use only and liken it to a country club. Clearly, the UEL residential neighbourhood was being designed for the upper echelon of society; however, these plans also failed to come to fruition.

In 1956, another plan was prepared by C.B. Turner for the Department of Lands. Turner (1956:2) began by reflecting on the history of planning the UEL in relation to rapidly increasing population in the Vancouver area:

By way of contrast to this bright picture and future for the University, a summary of the status of the University Endowment Lands emphasizes that regression, rather than progression, has all but blighted the objective of obtaining endowment for the University from the 3500 acres of choice lands original set aside for that purpose.

In 1956, Turner (1956:24) wrote that “the U.E.L. is one of the wealthiest areas in Greater Vancouver. The average annual family income is \$7,220, which is considerably higher than the average in Vancouver City (\$3,700).” With a population of 2,248, residents were mostly employed as professionals and managers; “as compared with other lower mainland areas, there are few manufacturing and mechanical workers, construction workers, transportation and communication workers and labourers” (Turner 1956:24). The goal of residential development was noted by Turner (1956:28) as “to provide housing and density of population to complement the land values and cost of utilities, preserve the spirit and dignity of the university atmosphere, and harmonize with the beautiful environment of a site probably unmatched in Canada. This outlook is a fundamental one which is chosen to ensure steady appreciation in values, thus leading to perpetual and increasing endowment.”



Figure 2.16. Plan to develop the University Endowment Lands (Bartholomew and Assoc. 1945). “A” denotes lands proposed for a large park, while “B” indicates the Musqueam Reserve lands “recommended for large future park.”

Towards this, the plan identified one central goal of residential development as “to develop the University Endowment Lands in such fashion that the inherent beauty of the site and the prestige and dignity of the university environment be maintained, and enhanced if possible” (Turner 1956:4). Turner recommends changing the name of the UEL to the University Endowment Estates (Turner 1956:5), to be built into “what may well be the loveliest homesite community in Canada” (Turner 1956:19): “Climate, the fresh clean ocean air, elevation above sea level, the marine and river views, the native trees, the cultural atmosphere of the adjoining U.B.C. campus and the absence of heavy industry all combine to make possible a suburban district of beauty and charm.”

Under the heading of Ownership Characteristics, Turner describes blocks of land variously leased in the short and long-term to the Society of Jesus, the Vancouver Parks Board, B.C. Electric and Telephone, the Westward Ho University Golf Course<sup>5</sup> and the Point Grey Riding Club, among others. It also notes two leases “granted to Canada for the erection of historical monuments, to mark the point where Simon Fraser reached the sea and to commemorate the meeting between Captain Vancouver and the Spaniards off Spanish Bank.”

While today a stone cairn on SW Marine Drive stands monument to Fraser’s exploration, the monument to Simon Fraser proposed was actually a cultural centre covering about 7 hectares (18 acres) of land with facilities such as music, painting and drama schools, theatres and art galleries suggested (Turner 1956:67). The plan was also comprehensive enough to include a “List of Small Trees Suitable for Boulevard Planting,” and it detailed problems such as the Camosun peat bog and how to reclaim this land through draining.

In 1961, a Technical Report was prepared for the province, echoing and building on Turner’s recommendations. This plan lauds the geographical choice of the university (Hancock 1961:5):

No more natural decision could have been reached, in that here was presented an opportunity not only to develop a university on a symbolically and visually expressive focal point of land, but also to create the finest of urban conditions in a well designed community for the enhancement of the whole.

In line with all previous UEL development plans, this one identifies “attractive high cost residential areas of compatible character” with “the magnificent site of Point Grey...the Province’s seat of highest learning” (Hancock 1961:5) as the central goal.

Ultimately, attempts to clear land and build houses to act as income have been repeatedly flummoxed, and the value of the UEL to support the university has been “a story of grandiose development schemes that never came to pass” (Dodd 1973:4). Although land was repeatedly cleared in

<sup>5</sup> Westward Ho was the original name of what is now the University Golf Club. The original name has been incorporated into a restaurant on site, called the Westward Ho! Public House & Grill Room.

preparation for these dreams, construction never proceeded (Klassen and Teversham 1977:9; Kahrer 1991:52), until recently.

While the majority of the UEL was not developed and was instead made into park land—related in the next chapter—the property values in the Point Grey area have steadily increased and UBC is today building its resource base on the remains of the university’s property. Turner (1956:67) suggested that, “as the Vancouver metropolitan area grows, and the amount of available land diminishes, the need for an area of this potential will be felt to an ever increasing degree,” referring specifically to the “commanding view and beautiful setting” of the promontory. He saw that this area would in future meet “the outdoor demands of a rapidly growing metropolitan population,” suggesting of the promontory’s beaches that “it takes little imagination to visualize the proper destiny of this area as a recreational mecca embracing all of the Point Grey coastline and its adjacent cliffsides” (Turner 1956:119).

The story of Point Grey, then, is one of “onwards and upwards” towards growth, development and increasing affluence. This settler narrative is celebratory, romanticizing the exploration, discovery and colonization of the area, and glossing over the environmental and social destruction caused in the process of clearing the landscape for progress. Although Musqueam community members “were very much present” in Point Grey, they remained “disconnected from the communities around them” (Pleshakov 2010:27). They were not part of the up-and-coming social community, nor were they factored into plans for the future. The location of MIB’s IR#2 at the edge of Point Grey thus reflects the marginalized status of its people, who witnessed drastic changes to their lifeway and the landscape around them.

### *On the Edge of “Progress”*

Residents of the local Musqueam village were caught in somewhat of a marginal zone, between the city of Vancouver proper, and the up-and-coming neighbourhood of Point Grey. While newcomers and Indigenous people continued to form bonds, in socio-economic terms they remained marginalized by the dominant, elite, and mostly white settlers (McDonald 1996:235). The limitations of these relationships were also predetermined by the colonial administration, acting as a mediator in many cases with disastrous results for local communities (Pleshakov 2003). The category of “Aboriginal” came with many presumed roles, and the Musqueam people struggled to retain a place in Point Grey society. Yet, there was space for resistance, as demonstrated in Delbert Guerin’s recollection of a local school (pers. comm.. June 2, 2013):

My cousins were amongst the first ones to enrol at the Southlands School, and oh my god, discrimination, they were just terrible. When we moved out here in 1953, my younger sister and brother were put in there, and my mother, she went up there and raised holy hell, and ended up

being president of the PTA. She was quite a disturber.

The Musqueam community was unique in having an Indian Reserve right in the middle of a growing urban city, and in what was fast becoming a notably wealthy neighbourhood. Despite being adjacent to UBC, the “industrious” Fraser River, and the wealthy neighbourhoods of Point Grey, Southlands and Dunbar, Musqueam residents were still excluded from “society” in many ways (Pleshakov 2003:27; Shofield 2007:18). Delbert Guerin described the Musqueam village of these early years (pers. comm.. June 2, 2013):

There was no electricity or running water in this reserve until 1949. When it came in here, the Department of Indian Affairs sold the remaining reserve we had, IR#1 beside the Pautello Bridge, for the funds to put in electricity and water here. There were no phones or anything before that. My dad had dug a well and, when they first built the house in 1929, they could use the water for drinking and washing laundry. Then after houses started going up on the hills, by 1938, the well became polluted. The area was getting pretty crowded.

Guerin further explained the impact of surrounding development on Musqueam food harvesting:

The jetty from the treatment centre to the mouth of the river was not there until 1923. So my dad would go out and pick shellfish, in the sandbar that ran from here to the point. All kinds of shellfish were available throughout the whole area, and when I was a child they were still on the north side of Point Grey. On that north side, the shellfish disappeared when they brought in the artificial sand to extend the banks out, probably from some contamination.

Although, in Guerin’s view, the Musqueam Reserve “was made as small as it is on the basis that we’d always have full access to any products of the ocean,” drastic landscape modification such as the jetty described above had disastrous consequences for seafood harvesting, as did the Iona Island Wastewater Treatment Plant installed through the Reserve in 1963. Guerin explained (pers. comm.. June 2, 2013):

When they put the Vancouver “Outhouse” out there, the closed that channel and before that eulachons were plentiful in the north arm. After that, they didn’t put any tunnels through it so it blocked their route. Eulachons disappeared out of the north arm and only go up the main river now, very little try the north arm. I found that out from George Roberts, our late elder, when I made a trap with a meshed net weighted down and wasn’t getting too many eulachons. He said eulachons after the Outhouse was put in pretty much disappeared from the north arm. They call them improvements and developments, that have taken place. It’s just amazing.

The environmental effects from decades of logging, building and industry were significant and, as Guerin notes, the immediate impact on Musqueam people was felt in the loss of traditional foods.

In a chronology of MIB’s interactions with the government (Reynolds 2008:1.1.6), there is

reference to an editorial from 1941 in *The Province* that suggested Indian Reserves should be moved outside of the city: “It is not good for the Indians to be domiciled on undeveloped tracts in the center or on the outskirts of a big city and it is certainly not good for the City to have them there.” Perhaps this was in part behind the suggestion made in 1945 to eventually transform the Band’s IR#2 into park land. These suggestions were not acted upon but the legacy of the motivations behind them remains.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Musqueam community members were living in poverty (Reynolds 2008:1.1.6):

*The Vancouver Sun* of Feb. 21, 1961 reports on squalid conditions at the Reserve: no running water, dirt roads, no electricity, no municipal services, no inside toilets or bathrooms. Only 10 out of 250 members have regular employment and they earn about \$2,000 per year—much less than the average wage. Band members start to consider leasing out reserve land to raise some money.

Delbert Guerin (Musqueam 1977:11) explained the disparity felt by Musqueam community members living adjacent to wealthy Point Grey:

We’d see people out there receiving one thing and us not, us suffering because of the lack of it inside of the reserve boundaries. We felt, because we are the indigenous people to this area, that it was a real injustice that we were suffering while the people next door to us were really in effect enjoying themselves.

Similarly, Musqueam member Andrew Charles (Musqueam 1977:12) recalled that “they referred to our particular reserve in the 1950s as the jungle. They came down and took pictures of the worst houses on the reserve and said, ‘Look! This is Musqueam, a ghetto.’”

The changing landscape and increasing urbanization “interfered with the ability of the Musqueam to pursue their traditional use of the land” (Musqueam 1984:43). Musqueam people had to pursue other avenues to bring income to their community. Towards this, a deal was worked out on behalf of the Band by the government that brought settler society right to the Musqueam community’s doorstep.

### ***The Guerin Case***

In 1956, the federal government recognized that the Musqueam IR#2 represented “the most potentially valuable 400 acres in Vancouver today” (*Guerin v. The Queen*, [1984] 2.s.c.r.335, cited in Hamilton 2009:54). As such, in the 1960s, the federal government negotiated a series of land leases in order for mostly white settlers to build homes on Indian Reserve land, as well as to create two golf courses.

Delbert Guerin described how *Guerin v. The Queen*<sup>6</sup> came about as a result of MIB’s desire to

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6 *Guerin v. The Queen*, 1984 CanLII 25 (SCC), [1984] 2 SCR 335

renegotiate the lease after the initial fifteen year period (pers. comm.. June 2, 2013). After consulting the lease that had been agreed upon, Guerin consulted with the Band Councillors who had signed the agreement, and found that the document did not include the conditions that everyone had understood they were agreeing to, including the ability “to negotiate at market value after the first fifteen years.” Although the statute of limitations should have precluded the possibility of challenging the document, its late delivery to the Musqueam Band shifted the timeline and Guerin had the writ filed.

As would come out in court, the leases negotiated for the Band by the government were not beneficial to the Musqueam community. In the case of the Shaughnessy Golf and Country Club, the annual rents were fixed at figures below assessed land value, and the legal agreement was not the same as that presented by the government to the Musqueam Indian Band (Reynolds 2005). The case went to trial and, in a precedent-setting decision, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in favour of the Musqueam, affirming the government’s fiduciary responsibility towards First Nations.<sup>7</sup> The Band was awarded \$10 million dollars, still less than had been sought to cover lost value, and the Shaughnessy club will remain on reserve land until the end of their lease in 2032.

Another agreement negotiated for MIB by the government involved the residential neighbourhoods known as Musqueam Park. Because of restrictions in the *Indian Act*, the federal government negotiated this lease with a private company for the Band. Although it was the government’s responsibility to get a good deal for the Musqueam people, as affirmed in the *Guerin* case, the Band saw little profits from the deal despite escalating land values in the area (Hamilton 2009:55). As discussed in more detail below, these leases specified that, in 1995, the method for calculating annual rents would change, to become 6% of the current land value (Hamilton 2009:47). The case went to the Supreme Court of Canada<sup>8</sup>, which ruled that reserve land was worth less than fee simple land.

These negotiated leases remain the source of considerable conflict between Musqueam people and their leaseholders, a relationship initiated by and mediated through the federal government. While the Musqueam Band has suffered financially, socially and politically for these leases, Point Grey residents and leaseholders have largely benefited. Not surprisingly, this disparity has had an impact on how the Musqueam and leased-land communities interact.

Musqueam archaeologist Wayne Point remarked that there is little interaction between the leased-land residents and the Musqueam community today (pers. comm.. April 11, 2013). Delbert Guerin provided some historical context for this relationship (pers. comm.. June 2, 2013):

In the leased lands on the Musqueam Reserve, there isn’t really much interaction between them

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<sup>7</sup> Delbert Guerin said that, according to the lawyer representing Musqueam, Marvin Storrow, “the *Guerin* case has been cited in 608 cases worldwide as a precedent.”

<sup>8</sup> *Musqueam Indian Band v. Glass*, [2000] 2 S.C.R. 633

and Musqueam people. The houses that are in the section from Stautlo down to 51st Avenue, we deliberately put them together as smaller houses and smaller lots to sort of have it sold to people that didn't mind being right adjacent to our people's houses. Then the people behind that get bigger lots. Some of those houses are pretty exclusive buildings. I keep going up there once in a while to look at the area where my old house was, and think if I ever win the big jackpot, I'll go make offers for that house. It was beautiful. I'd get up in the morning and get ready for work, and my wife was cooking breakfast, and I'd go to the front window and look out and I could see Nanaimo and the whole gulf all the way down as far as my eyes could see.

Guerin's description highlights the sense of loss that some Musqueam residents feel about the leased housing area. It also reveals an important social and economic distinction reinforced between the two neighbourhoods in his remark that the lots immediately adjacent to the Reserve were smaller and cheaper, while larger lots were further away from Musqueam residents —the implication being that wealthier residents would not want to be so close to the Reserve. It struck me when Guerin made this comment because it did not seem extraordinary, yet it illustrates deeply-rooted conflict and boundaries. Separation between Musqueam people and Point Grey socially, economically, and culturally is thus profound.

### **In Search of Justice (Resistance)**

Imagine someone knocks at your door one day, and asks to come in. You don't know the person, but despite your suspicions you are curious and it is cold outside, so you let him in. He speaks a strange language, but seems to be asking to stay a little while. You have lots of space, and you see his need, so you let him in.

The next day another person comes along, a friend of your first guest. This one also wants to stay, and you still have lots of room, so you agree. The strangers start unpacking, and make themselves at home in your living room. You visit occasionally, but more often you stay back in another part of the house, and leave the strangers to their own devices.

One day you walk into the living room, and ten more people are there. The first and second stranger somehow communicate to you that these are their family members. They ask for more room, so you show them the bedroom. Soon they have moved in their stuff, and you find them tearing down walls and redecorating. You confront them but they become belligerent, and keep taking over more of your house, as more friends and family arrive. They don't even ask anymore. Desperate, you stake out a corner in the basement, but they decide they want that too.

Finally, you've had enough. You tell the strangers they either have to move off your property, or pay you for the house they've taken over. The strangers act surprised. "This is not your house. It was empty, so anyone can claim it. Besides, you weren't using the house to its full potential." In their opinion, you aren't entitled to it.

You are left with a difficult challenge: How do you deal with the strangers who have taken over your house, and now believe it is theirs?

Lorraine Land and Roger Townshend (2002:53-54)

Land and Townshend's narrative above succinctly illustrates the paradox faced by Indigenous peoples in colonial Canada. In the settler narrative, history begins with the arrival of Europeans, who found that the land lay fallow, and what few Native people there were, did not need all that space anyway. In this narrative, the takeover of Indigenous territory by a colonial government was a peaceful one, a *natural* transferral of authority, and inevitable by all laws of nature. In this narrative, Indigenous peoples are barely present, erased from the landscape in the creation of *terra nullius*—the myth of empty land—which cleared the landscape of any prior claim. In this way, “already inhabited nations were simply legally *deemed to be uninhabited* if the people were not Christian, not agricultural, not commercial, not ‘sufficiently evolved’ or simply in the way” (Culhane 1998:48). These tropes were “embodied in textbooks, codified in law, and reproduced in popular discourse” (McNiven and Russell 2005:vii).

Yet, despite this myth of emptiness, the fact of prior occupation was not unknown by the early residents of Point Grey. Indeed, surveyors continually encountered material indications of long-term Indigenous relationships with places on the landscape; the “Great Marpole Midden” is physical testimony to the ancient connection between Indigenous peoples and this landscape (Roy 2010). But the simple knowledge that there were people here prior to the settlers was not enough. Population decline, being confined to small parcels of land, and government policies that restricted Aboriginals from engaging in the settler economy all contributed to relegating the concept of “Indigenous” to mean historical, of the past. Indeed, anthropological work of the early 1900s sought to document “dying cultures,” which naturally included the First Nations of British Columbia, removing heritage objects to museums around the globe. The result was a disconnection between present-day Aboriginal peoples and the cultures of the distant past.

With the Indigenous social justice movements of the 1960s and growing recognition in the courts of unextinguished Aboriginal Rights and Title, this situation is changing. Aboriginal peoples now publicly declare their interests and history, and talk about the injustices done to them by colonial government, both in the past and ongoing. In this vein, in 1976, MIB (1976a) wrote a “Declaration of Aboriginal Rights,” asserting unextinguished Aboriginal Title and intent to self-govern “as distinct and independent people in our own land.”

While there is some support for Indigenous rights by the wider public, racism remains rampant in Canada, today in more covert expressions than historically overt media (Amin 2006:151). Ironically, settler society seems to harbour a deep-seated insecurity or crisis of legitimacy, to fear a loss of land and resources due to what is often framed in terms of “land claims.” In what follows, I discuss the land claims situation as it relates locally to the Musqueam Indian Band and Point Grey, and consider the social and legal contexts for this new expression of colonial relationships, shaping the contestation over Pacific Spirit in the decades that followed.

### ***Musqueam and the University Endowment Lands***

While the settler narrative creates *terra nullius* in order to write a new history, there are stories, maps, and records that betray this myth of emptiness, stories of named places, each with their own history, genealogy, and heritage. They tell how this was a lived-in place long before Europeans arrived in the area. This connection to places runs deeper than maps can convey for the Musqueam people (Musqueam 2006:9, emphasis added): “our people do not simply belong to the land, the river, the living creatures here; we *are* those places and beings.”

Produced one year after their Declaration, Musqueam published a document entitled “XwMuzkWi’um: Musqueam Aboriginal Rights to the University Endowment Lands,” a narrative history told by Musqueam elders about their connection to these lands (Musqueam 1977:preface):

This is the traditional home of the Musqueam Indian people. But the lands of the Musqueam people were stolen, their economy destroyed, their culture denied. They have never signed a treaty surrendering their Aboriginal Rights. They have never been compensated for what has been taken. They were treated as a dying race but they have survived. This booklet describes the reality of the Musqueam Land Claims—A struggle for the survival of a people.

It further summarizes the Band’s position regarding the UEL as follows (Musqueam 1977:preface):

The Endowment Lands are one of the few remaining undeveloped areas in the traditional territories of the Musquam people. They are part of the lands claimed today by the Musqueam Band. They border the Musqueam village site. The Musqueam people want to preserve part of these lands in a state as close as possible to their original condition. But the Musqueam people also need land for housing and Band development.

This document would become significant both for those who wanted a UEL park and those who later wanted to prevent the transfer of park lands to the Musqueam Indian Band. These groups focused on the suggestion of housing and development, rather than the Band’s express wish “to preserve part of these lands.” Further, they ignored the more substantial part of this document that explains Musqueam’s deep historical connections to the park and their reliance on this place for their lifeway. As Delbert Guerin explains (Musqueam 1977:2), “prior to the settlement of non-Indian people in this area, our people enjoyed all the comforts of this area, the deer that roamed this area, that bear that roamed this area, the fish that came into the creek and still run through this reserve. All of these things were a means of providing for our people in the early days.”

The document describes the drastic differences to the Musqueam community’s way of life that arrived with the “white man,” including Christianity, prohibition of cultural expressions, environmental destruction and devastation of local wildlife, and the social reconstruction of the community. Arnold

Guerin also explains that even the name “Musqueam” was originally related to one village, but has become the word for “all of us” (Musqueam 1977:3).

Thus in the face of colonization, the survival of Musqueam as a people is tied to control over their lands; as Delbert Guerin explains (Musqueam 1977:16-17):

From my point of view, as a Musqueam Indian, I have to say as I look around this whole province, this whole country of Canada, I can only realize that the white man, in order to provide these great cities, provide these great transportation systems, has developed and in many cases deteriorated this land, in order to provide himself with the comforts that he enjoys...

When you take a culture, attempt to take a culture and take our language away you destroy a large part of those people and it takes a while to build that back up. Our people have to realize who they are.

This is why we are more than justified in claiming the University Endowment Lands.

As far as the land base is concerned I don't feel that the land base or the culture can be denied us. It's something we had, it's something that was our forefathers, it's something that should have been passed on to us but for the interference that has happened, it wasn't. And I don't feel it's right for you people to deprive us of the opportunity to once again know who we are and be proud of who we are.

### ***The Musqueam Comprehensive Land Claim***

In June 1984, MIB prepared a “Preliminary Report on Musqueam Land Use and Occupancy,” which was presented to the federal Office of Native Claims by the Musqueam Band Council. The document presents Musqueam’s case for land title recognition, and outlines the legal basis of the Musqueam land claim, the “prehistoric” period, land use and occupancy both past and present. It notes that much of the land under claim “is totally unoccupied and unalienated Crown land” (Musqueam 1984:8)—including the University Endowment Lands. While emphasizing continuity in their traditional lifestyle, the Band also notes the constraints inherent in living in an increasingly urbanized area:

Many Musqueam continue to use the land in traditional ways, including fishing, hunting, gathering, and artistic uses. The Musqueam people are no different from aboriginal people elsewhere who have had to seek employment in the non-Indian wage-earning economy but who have retained as much of their traditional use of the land as circumstances would permit.

Personal accounts of using the UEL for picking berries, gathering medicinal plants and harvesting cedar for basket-making are provided, as well as discussion of spiritual use of the area (Musqueam 1984:58):

It is estimated that more than 200 Musqueam individuals utilize the University Endowment Lands on a regular basis for purposes of meditation, bathing, and sacred thought and celebration of a private nature. This constant and consistent use of lands by a significant proportion of the present

Musqueam population, an activity carried on from generation to generation of Musqueam bighouse participants, is respected by all members of the Musqueam community and recognized as one of the most important uses of, and as a prime need for, land.

One person described the difficulty of using this public space to practice private rituals (Musqueam 1984:59):

A lot of the park area is used by the dancers but they can't stay there because as soon as daylight comes, they have to get out of there because there are so many people, so many people walk around there, walking their dogs and everything and we have had incidents where people try to take pictures and we don't allow pictures in our traditional ceremonies that take place.

Overall, MIB's approach in this document was that of negotiation over litigation. As articulated in the Band's Preliminary Report (Musqueam 1984:10),

Vancouver will not go away, and unique accommodations will have to be negotiated with respect to questions of land and compensation. The government should similarly bear in mind that the Musqueam people will not go away either, and negotiation of their claim is therefore the best means of achieving a just and lasting settlement.

### ***Aboriginal Rights and Title and Treaties***

The Musqueam Indian Band has been instrumental in gaining legal recognition of these rights through various court cases. During the same year that the Band submitted their Comprehensive Claim report, the 1984 Supreme Court *Guerin* ruling confirmed that the federal government must protect the interests of Aboriginal people and recognized that their rights preceded the creation of Canada as a country. Six years later, the 1990 *Sparrow*<sup>9</sup> decision ruled that Section 35 of the *Constitution Act 1982* provides a “strong measure of protection” for Aboriginal Rights, and emphasized that these rights evolve over time and so must be interpreted liberally.

More broadly in British Columbia, the *Calder*<sup>10</sup> case affirmed that Aboriginal Title had existed; *Delgamuukw*<sup>11</sup> outlined three criteria for affirming title; and the recent *Tsilhqot'in*<sup>12</sup> decision reinforced that Aboriginal Title remains and can be proven, although this case is currently with the Supreme Court of Canada. Erasmus and Sanders (2002:8) discuss what the continued existence of Aboriginal Title means:

It means that where there are no treaties, the land belongs to the First Nations, and no Canadian

<sup>9</sup> *R. v. Sparrow*, [1990] 1 S.C.R. 1075

<sup>10</sup> *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia*, [1973] S.C.R. 313

<sup>11</sup> *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, [1997] 3 S.C.R. 1010

<sup>12</sup> *Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia*, 2007 BCSC 1700

government—whether provincial or federal—should be developing our resources and extracting royalties and taxes from them. On such lands, there should be Indigenous governments and institutions for Aboriginal people.

This means that the majority of land in British Columbia, including Point Grey and Pacific Spirit Regional Park, is legally held in Aboriginal Title, irrespective of any private property transactions that have transpired illegally under Canadian law (Gibson 2009:61):

Aboriginal title cannot be extinguished and is not extinguished by provincial grant of fee simple title. This is political dynamite, as ordinary British Columbians hold their properties in exactly such fee simple. If their title is not good, or is lawfully burdened by aboriginal title, there will be either a solution to that problem or a crisis.

Such a crisis came about in the *Glass v. Musqueam Indian Band* case regarding property values and leases in the subdivision of Musqueam Park, as mentioned previously. In 1995, MIB sued some of its tenants in an attempt to collect outstanding rents from leaseholders (Hamilton 2009:47):

Because of the (originally) advantageous lease terms, desirable location, and booming Vancouver housing market, land rents in Musqueam Park were set to increase by more than five thousand percent in 1995, jumping from \$400 to approximately \$36,000 per year. Panicked leaseholders argued that these increases would displace them from their homes and lead them to financial ruin. The Band countered that despite leaseholder claims to the contrary, the increases were legitimate, not only reflective of property values in the area, but also supported by common law real estate practice.

As Hamilton (2009:70) discusses, MIB “articulated their claim in the legal idiom of Canadian capitalism, attempting to maximize profit on an investment through the application of common law real estate practice.” In essence, they were appealing to the legal and constitutional premise of equality that is central to Canadian national identity. It is ironic, then, and hypocritical that “leaseholders responded to potential dislocation by using deeply racialized rhetoric, analogizing their situation to colonialism, apartheid, and ethnic cleansing” (Hamilton 2009:69). It further betrays the myth of equality that the various courts “evoked an oppositional discourse of difference” in order “to focus on the ability, and indeed desirability, of indigenous peoples to conduct business in Canada” (Hamilton 2009:57).

While leaseholders appropriated the language of oppression “to mediate between the seemingly irreconcilable representations of the Musqueam Band as landlords and the Musqueam Band as ‘Indians,’” in 2000, the Supreme Court of Canada simply ruled that “‘Indian land’ was significantly less valuable than other privately-held forms of property and discounted leasehold rents owed to the Band by 50 percent” (Hamilton 2009:45-6). Chief Stewart Phillip, president of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, felt this decision shows that “systemic racism runs deep and is firmly entrenched in the parliamentary and judicial system of Canada” (Taillon 2000:3). Musqueam Chief Ernie Campbell felt simply that “it’s a sad

day for this country” (Taillon 2000:3).

In the public consciousness, the ongoing treaty process in this province is entwined and implied in the larger concept of land claims, often used synonymously with treaties and colloquially to imply the general issue of Aboriginal Rights and Title. The stated goal of the treaty process is articulated as “a concerted effort to recognize the place of indigenous people on the land; acknowledge our collective history; and reconcile often very different perspectives” (BC Treaty Commission 2010:1). By 2010, MIB was no longer negotiating a treaty but was instead “exploring the potential for a stand-alone self government agreement” (BC Treaty Commission 2010:33). The late past-Chief Joe Becker of the Musqueam Indian Band cited two reasons for this (BC Leg. Sess. 1996): inadequate funding and government policy on negotiation.

The very concept of land claims implies that the onus is on First Nations to prove they were here, and is aligned with the concept of *terra nullius* promoted by colonial authorities to dispel the idea of Indigenous Title (Miller 2003). Thus, rather than enshrining Aboriginal Rights and Title, treaties are considered by many to be more about *extinguishing* these claims (UBCIC 1998b; Manuel 2013). This clause that requires the “extinguishment of Indigenous sovereignty” appears non-negotiable for the government (Coast 2012; see also Venne 2002), but for First Nations, “the prospect of surrendering sovereignty, or ‘Aboriginal title,’ would constitute a betrayal of what they believe is their sacred covenant with the Creator to be stewards of the lands” (Culhane 1998:355), a connection that cannot really be severed (UBCIC 1998a, 1998b; Erasmus and Sanders 2002:6-7; Regan 2010:91,95). Most First Nations also end up in overwhelming debt from the legal process (Canadian Press 2012).

The treaty process in British Columbia also forces First Nations to draw hard lines around individual communities that may have coexisted, intermarried, and shared settlements. The Point Grey area falls within the area asserted by several First Nations including Musqueam, Squamish, Tsliel-Waututh, and the Stó:lō Xwexwilmexw Treaty Association, the latter comprised of seven First Nations (Appendix B). Demanding that any potential disputes be resolved before a treaty can be made (BCTC 2010:8) represents yet another form of colonial divide and conquer, the result of which has been exacerbated tensions between the various cultures today. Musqueam community member Victor Guerin remarked on this division of relations (pers. comm.. March 17, 2013):

The fact that we’re all separate legal entities is not our own choice. That’s the Crown’s doing. And this is one of the things that I’ve been talking to people about for a lot of years now, that is, a lot of times when we’re at political gatherings, the leaders will get up and they’ll say, we have to work together. When we’re fighting with each other then the Crown gets away with so many things because we’re so busy fighting with each other that we’re not paying attention to them.

...We’re only separate legal entities because of the Crown and we need to take back our unity. We’ll be much stronger when we take back our unity. We should not be fighting over scraps of

our ancestral resources, our ancestral lands. We should be working together. It's to our own benefit.

Despite being “a very dysfunctional way of achieving reconciliation or dispute resolution” (Gibson 2009:67), treaties remain the colonial governments’ solution to the ongoing problem of Aboriginal Title and land claims. The unsettled status of Musqueam’s treaty contributes to the air of uncertainty concerning the future of the University Endowment Lands and now Pacific Spirit, and continues to shape the public consciousness concerning how these particular lands should be versus could be managed. This ultimately reinforces the structured relationship between settler society and Indigenous peoples as one necessarily mediated through the government.

### **Discussion: Inscribing the Settler Narrative**

In order for the settlers to make a place their home, they must destroy and disappear the Indigenous peoples that live there. Indigenous peoples are those who have creation stories, not colonization stories, about how we/they came to be in a particular place—indeed how we/they came to *be a place*...Indigenous peoples must be erased, must be made into ghosts.

Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang (2012:6)

The settler narrative of Point Grey highlights a disparity between history as it is told and as it was experienced. It is, as Tuck and Yang suggest, a migration story focused on the experience of the people who came to these lands and how they made a home for themselves; Furniss (1999:187) notes that this story is fundamentally racist, for it erases consciousness of Indigenous history through the subjugation of these populations and the remaking of their places. In this process of “ghosting” Aboriginal peoples and places, the settler narrative is a lie by omission (Williams 2013).

Although the settler narrative is one of celebration, the need to transform the landscape into something familiar (Rubertone 2008:85) simultaneously signals a deep-seated colonial insecurity. In the face of fear, domesticating the “wild Indian” was necessary for the creation of a Canadian nation-state and, by extension, a Canadian identity and origin story for all its immigrants to share in. The twin-side of this process was the domestication of “natural” or “wild” places, an important theme in the creation of parks that I will return to in the chapters to come.

The historical trajectory from exploration and discovery, to industry and nation-building, and culminating in an affluent society, parallels government approaches to the assimilation of First Nations. Armitage (1995:196) describes this process, beginning with early institutionalized contact (pre-1860), two phases of paternalism (protection, 1860-1920, then assimilation, 1920-1960), integration (from 1960) and pluralism (from 1975), the latter two of which continue to this day. This historical trajectory is one of

increasing colonial administration of and authority over Indigenous peoples, of policies that struggle to insert Aboriginals into Canada one way or another.

Benedict Anderson (1991:163-164) describes these mechanisms of state control as “the census, the map, and the museum; together, they profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion—the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry” (Anderson 1991:163-4). These three features essential to state authority may also be imagined as having control over the identity, places, and memory of a people—control over the elements that comprise heritage. Anderson suggests that, together, these three institutions produced “a totalizing classificatory grid, which could be applied with endless flexibility to anything under the state’s real or contemplated control: people, regions, religions, languages, products, monuments, and so forth. The effect of the grid was always to be able to say of anything that it was this, not that; it belonged, here not there” (Anderson 1991:184)—to be able to control history.

In Point Grey, as elsewhere throughout colonial Canada, such attempts are evident in both the nationalistic settler history that is celebrated and in the various mechanisms described in this chapter to control the Indigenous population: confined to Indian Reserves, shipped off to residential schools, exposed to religious conversion, pushed into the wage-labour economy, with imposed government reorganization, altered social relations through Reserve nuclear-family housing, a loss of language, the suppression of cultural and religious practices, and even being redesignated as “Musqueam” by colonial administrators, severing ties with neighbouring families and groups. The nation-state’s authority was secured in a way that “was political at such a deep level that almost everyone...was unconscious of the fact. It had all become normal and everyday” (Anderson 1991:183), and the history that was taught and learned also confirmed the rightness of this narrative.

However, the long history of Indigenous peoples in the area could not be kept silent. Several early surveys were undertaken by geologists on behalf of the government, which noted the cultural aspect of the ancient landscape, exposing the material remnants of peoples living in the area thousands of years ago. The so-called father of archaeology in British Columbia, Charles Borden, was a UBC professor and Point Grey resident himself and conducted numerous excavations in the area and on the Musqueam Reserve during the 1950s and 1960s. Archaeological interest in the Point Grey area flourished with Borden, who worked around the UBC campus and on the Musqueam Reserve for decades (e.g., Borden 1947), establishing archaeology as a profession (West 1995). Archaeology goes hand-in-hand with development (La Salle and Hutchings 2012; Hutchings and La Salle 2014), and many of the most famous sites known today were uncovered in the process of road-building; many were excavated by Borden, including Locarno Beach, the Point Grey site, and the famous Marpole midden.

Rather than challenging the settler narrative, however, such evidence was used to further alienate

Indigenous peoples not just from their lands but from their heritage and history itself (Roy 2010). The archaeological narrative produced by archaeologists was one of discontinuity between the Musqueam community and the people who created the Marpole midden (e.g., Borden 1951; Carlson 1990:108). Even the Marpole Midden heritage cairn in the area today does not acknowledge the Musqueam specifically, instead referring simply to the site's "inhabitants" and "later Northwest Coast cultures." In this way, and despite clear evidence of pre-European occupation, Musqueam history was diminished and dislocated, while Musqueam people were disenfranchised.

Throughout this history of exploitation, the landscape was radically altered as a result of early logging followed by residential and university building developments—in short, as a result of capitalism. For settler society, development was progress—social, cultural, moral and financial—and the affluence generated through resource exploitation enabled the establishment of Point Grey's wealthy elite. The impact of these activities on the local ecology was significant, with the loss of healthy salmon creeks often pointed to as evidence. Thus, while Point Grey settlers benefited from development, for the Musqueam community, this degraded ecological health threatened the lifeway that their people had practised for hundreds or thousands of years. As discussed in Chapter 3, their concerns about the environment became the concerns of the many by the late 1960s, resulting in a movement that would radically alter the trajectory of development long-planned for the University Endowment Lands.

While Indigenous peoples bore the brunt of British Columbia's colonial domestication of both the landscape and its peoples, "it was not just indigenous populations who had to be subjugated" (Smith 1999:23). Immigrants flocking to Canada were by and large fleeing a life of poverty in their homelands, and the colonial project in part necessitated restricting the economic and social advancement of the working class. There is a strong irony in the observation that the labour of the working class enabled the wealth observed in Point Grey who draws upon the heritage of logging and building as nostalgia, yet there is no formal recognition of the nameless, faceless workers who, in this project, are largely forgotten. They, too, are ghosted in this landscape, faded into the background of the settler narrative.

Ultimately, the settler narrative is fiction, a selective remembrance that foregrounds only the stories that have been deemed acceptable, lauded as central to a Canadian identity. In celebrating the "victories" of exploration and discovery, nation building and achieving an affluent society, this story is both ideological and reveals what it is designed to conceal: the insecurity at the heart of the colonial project. Thus while the settler narrative provides an escape from uncomfortable truths about the foundations of settler society, the stories that have been ghosted continue to haunt, prompting ever more need to assuage the anxiety that is never far from the surface in colonial contexts.

## Summary

[I remember] a dance I learned as a young tyke in elementary school. It was called the Cha-cha. And after all these years I can still hear Miss Sensible Shoes saying, “Remember children, it’s three steps forward, three steps back; three steps forward, three steps back.” Sure it was a boring little dance, especially for those of us who could count past three. But it was a good dance for children to learn because it was easy and once you found your rhythm you didn’t have to think about it anymore. The problem with dancing the Cha-cha was that once the music stopped and after all the steps were performed the fact remained we had gone nowhere. If we timed our steps just right we would be in the same spot as when the music started. This pattern is fine for neophyte dancers, but it is one to avoid for a dialogue to be meaningful.

Eldon Yellowhorn (2000:163)

In this chapter, I outlined the historical trajectory of Point Grey since its naming by Captain Vancouver, contrasting the growth of settler society with the experiences of the Musqueam community. Since initial contact with European explorers, the sovereignty of the Musqueam people has been systematically eroded, accompanied by loss of lands, language, and staple resources. Freed up for exploitation, settler society in Point Grey has become extremely affluent, while Musqueam people continue to struggle to have their Aboriginal Rights and Title recognized by colonial government. This history of invasion, occupation, exploitation, and resistance sets the historical stage for the creation of Pacific Spirit Regional Park, and for the tensions that continue to unfold.

The settler narrative represents Canada’s history and heritage and is widely and regularly celebrated. In this story, development is progress, and Point Grey’s residents today are the beneficiaries of the pioneering spirit and optimism that laboured through difficult early days. In this history, there is no room for contestation, for this is a story about insecurity. Was the land really empty? Was the land takeover really peaceful? Was the relegation of Indigenous peoples to reserves and residential schools really justified? Was this really progress? Rather than tackle these difficult questions head-on, the settler narrative hides from them, with the result that Indigenous peoples that made the area of Point Grey their home are ghosted—literally, as they were forced onto reserves that segregate them from settler society, and figuratively, as their history is transformed into prehistory, the material remnants of their lives excavated, put on display and subjected to scientific scrutiny. These feats of colonialism are testimony to the ongoing justification of manifest destiny—colonization was not only natural and inevitable, but there was a moral obligation to actively ensure its success.

Today, the language of colonialism—“savages,” “civilization” and “progress”—has shifted and there are stories that confront this settler narrative and challenge its authority. Even so, many of the students involved on the UBC archaeological field school that I assisted with for three years had never

heard of the Musqueam before we drove onto the Reserve. Many of the local residents we encountered, some leasing land from the Band, were shocked to hear that we were doing archaeology in the area, unaware of the ancient history of Point Grey. There remains a pervasive collective amnesia (Mapes 2009) despite political gestures towards recognition and remembering. Indeed, it seems disingenuous when on one hand, the government holds ceremonies to apologize for residential schools and to honour Aboriginal communities, while on the other it continues to fight against Indigenous peoples, denying Aboriginal Rights and Title and spending millions in court to do so.

The result of this conflicted action is to slow change; as Yellowhorn describes above, it can feel like three steps forward and three steps back. Thus, the settler narrative, complete in its denial of Aboriginal heritage and sovereignty, remains status quo. As discussed in Chapter 3, the local expression of this denial is felt in public sentiment regarding the creation of Pacific Spirit and the later land transfer, which met with protest from those who feared the loss of wilderness to urban development. The settler narrative is insidious, multi-faceted, and shifty; it continues, as this research demonstrates, written not only in history books, but into the social landscape, and ultimately into the earth itself.

## CHAPTER 3: INVENTING PACIFIC SPIRIT

As Canadians, we are indeed fortunate that, soon after becoming a nation, there were people with the foresight to appreciate and conserve some of the most beautiful and environmentally fragile land in the country.

Laurie Glenn Norris (2011)

The area referred to as Pacific Spirit Regional Park has only been officially so-designated since April 23, 1989; however, the land was used as an ad hoc park for decades before this. One hundred years earlier, the area was used principally as logging ground supplying Vancouver's Hastings Mill (Klassen and Teversham 1977:18). Technology of the day hindered full clear-cut logging of Point Grey such that this selective and temporally staggered logging resulted ultimately in a relatively healthy and self-replenishing stand of forest. On the contemporary landscape, the most heavily impacted areas, where tracts of purely deciduous forest stand, are the result of the University of British Columbia's (UBC) efforts to fulfil the promise of the University Endowment Lands (UEL) as a source of revenue for the university (Kahrer 1991:52). The land was cleared for residential development, and these plans may have been fulfilled in the late 1920s and then again in the 1950s were it not for the economic slumps that prevented investment.

Conversely to Glenn Norris' description above for Canadian national parks, Pacific Spirit was not the product of foresight towards conservation. Indeed, although public groups had lobbied for the park and the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) had "tried for years to convince Victoria to declare the land a park" (Lee 1988), it was, at least in part, UBC that hindered this, as these Endowment Lands still represented potential revenue for the university. Since the fallout of their last development plans, the land remained largely undisturbed as the forest replenished itself, with the continued aid of local green-thumbed residents. The park became a priority with rising public concern in the 1970s over environmental degradation due to industrial capitalism, and was only a possibility because of the broad economic affluence of the 1980s in Canada—the two driving forces behind park establishment seen generally in North America (Youds 1978:33,40).

In this chapter, I draw on archival materials, news clippings and promotional materials to provide a sketch of the making of the park, the key controversies that have arisen since the 1970s and how these continue to play out in the park today. The story begins with the first real gestures towards securing the UEL as park land in the 1970s, culminating in 1976 with The University Endowment Lands Study, which was an extensive public consultation process resulting in hundreds of pages of opinion and discussion regarding the possible designation of the UEL as a park. This archived study includes letters from individuals and organizations, as well as notes made by the Study Team researchers from telephone conversations. As such, it provides a detailed picture of how the potential-park was perceived and valued by people at the time, establishing a baseline to juxtapose contemporary park perspectives.

Formally establishing the park would not happen until more than a decade later in 1989. In my discussion of these events, news media and transcripts from the British Columbia Legislature establish the park as a site of focused conflict over Aboriginal Rights and Title, culminating in a protest held by the Musqueam on the day of the park's opening. After this flurry of activity, the day-to-day use and management of the park form a lull in any media coverage of Pacific Spirit, until 2007 with the suggestion of transferring park lands to the Musqueam Indian Band (MIB). Here again, media and minutes from the legislature identify the central social and political issues at stake, further illuminated in a protest that was held by "save the park" supporters in advance of the transfer.

Building on the previous chapter's discussion of Indigenous-government-settler relations in Point Grey, I discuss the development of the park as a site of political conflict resulting from its colonial and capitalist paradigm. While growing concern about ecological health and urban sprawl largely propelled the need to "save nature from culture," the events of 2007/8 regarding the land transfer demonstrate that there remains an anxiety about the park's status as saved. In this dynamic, the park as a *public* place of nature comes to represent the heritage of all humanity, at risk and under perpetual threat of capitalist development. While the park's status as threatened seeks to neutralize its political volatility, the park remains very much a political and politicized space.

### **Changing Views**

In a province where forests seem inexhaustible, and where a single-minded growth mentality still prevails, a piece of forest near a large urban centre is all too often viewed in terms of development potential. There is however, a growing awareness of the significance in close, city-forest associations.

Art Klassen (1976:1)

Since at least the 1920s, local residents and particularly horseback riders were using the UEL as a *de facto* park. Logging roads were kept cleared through continual use and, by the 1970s, the undeveloped areas of the UEL were already widely considered to be a park by the dog-walkers, horseback riders, motorcyclists and others who frequented the forest.

The Southlands Riding and Polo Club Ltd. (1976:1) highlighted their role in this process in a letter supporting the UEL park. While indicating "how important these trails are becoming to anyone who loves to get away from pavements and gasoline smells to enjoy a few hours in the quiet of a beautiful forest or in the woods and ravines" (Southlands 1976:1), they noted that the number of visitors in the UEL had increased, such that "one is constantly exchanging a 'Good Morning' with joggers, hikers, or whole families out to enjoy the quiet and beauty of Nature" (Southlands 1976:2).

In 1973, the Dunbar-West Point Grey Endowment Lands Committee requested that the whole

undeveloped area of UEL be set aside as a natural park (1973:3,7), linking the need for park reserves to increasing population and urban expansion:

It is by no means clear how much growth the majority of Vancouver citizens consider desirable. Trends indicate that many citizens are rejecting problems brought on by over-density of population and the resulting lowering of quality of life. Indeed, citizens of major work cities are forced to spend their money and energy in resolving the problems of over-density. Are we now in danger of creating these problems only to have to resolve them later? Why should we blunder on now only to be forced later to desperate efforts to restore a better living environment?

The UEL park, then, was already established in the minds and daily practices of the surrounding communities. By using it as a park, these communities helped to make it into one: practice created perception which, in turn, spurred on practice. The official and legal designation of Pacific Spirit Regional Park as such, however, would take more than another 15 years before becoming a reality.

In tandem with the social justice movements of the 1960s and largely propelled by the same communities, an awareness of ecology and environmentalist ethic gained momentum in the 1970s (e.g., Carson 1962). Proponents of the environmental movement voiced concerns about increasing urbanization as concrete jungles and the detrimental health effects produced by this industrial lifestyle (Bunyard 1970:36). The UEL, as a forested area within an expanding city geographically constrained by ocean and mountains, was effectively a microcosm for this global trend of industrialization and the backlash against its capitalist origins. While previous decades were characterized by “a single-minded growth mentality,” as Klassen notes above, and were intimately connected with cultural concepts linking social with technological progress, the 1970s marked a change in the course that the UEL had been on since its establishment.

### ***UBC's Endowment***

In 1971, a survey of the UEL's use by professors and students at UBC for research highlighted its importance for natural sciences such as forestry, zoology and botany (Norris 1971:9). The survey's author noted that “there are only two forested areas left of any size: Stanley Park and the U.B.C. Endowment Lands” (Norris 1971:16), and suggested that the former is not compatible with research uses, leaving the UEL as the best and closest option for continued research and educational use by the university. The report also suggested that a “lack of effective supervision and control of the undeveloped areas is such that serious deterioration in their condition is taking place” (Norris 1971:12). While the cause of this deterioration was not specified, a letter sent to the UBC Ad Hoc committee by the Dunbar-West Point Grey group (1973:3-4) noted a variety of sources including dumping, litter, vandalism, motorcycle use

and haphazard trailblazing.

The first mention by UBC of *not* developing the UEL is noted in the UBC President's Ad Hoc Committee Report (1973:1), which was created in 1972 "to gather information from students and faculty about the educational, recreational and financial potential of the University Endowment Lands and the possible development and use of them in the future." The committee held five meetings and received written statements from 79 individuals: 54% of people wanted a park, 17% wanted to use the UEL for education, and 12% wanted housing development (1973:5). While future development was not dismissed—it was even suggested that the land would be worth more in future (UBC President's Ad Hoc Committee 1973:4, 6)—those who were consulted felt that "the use of the UEL as an undeveloped area is the overwhelming favourite and provision for educational purposes which to a considerable extent is compatible with this use is second in preference." As such, the conclusion of the UBC President's Ad Hoc Committee (1973:3) was that "the non-monetary endowment is likely to be more important to U.B.C. than the monetary one," and recommended an undeveloped area for educational purposes. It was expressed then, as well as three years later (UBC 1976:2), "that the university have a strong and continuing representation in helping to decide what happens to the lands in the future."

### ***The Need for Escape***

In 1976, Art Klassen completed a thesis in UBC's Department of Forestry that studied the recreational uses of the UEL, which he referred to as "an urban-oriented forest" (ii). His study involved a visitor questionnaire of mostly local residents, and found that the UEL was "the most important forested recreation area in the lower mainland for 80 percent of the present user population" (iv). Klassen (1) described the value of the UEL:

Small forests, located near centres of population, may attain a far greater value to society than the larger, more distant forests. This value is seldom measurable in monetary terms. The ability of trees to clean the air and moderate temperature has been known a long time. The urban forest may also serve as a filter to sooth the irritating urban pollutants which bombard the senses. As urban centres continue to grow and become more congested, the need for escape and revitalization will also grow.

Klassen (1976:1, citing Edlin 1963) suggested that a forest provides "the amenities" of the five senses, as well as the "'sense of individual movement,' or the freedom to wander." In his view (Klassen 1976:2), "a forest located near an urban center could serve a very important function both as a site for leisure activities and as a place of rejuvenation from the pressures of daily life."

Regarding the reason for their visit, recreation was the most common reason cited by Klassen's

survey respondents (n=729, 69%, of 1051), along with recreation and health (n=166), recreation and education (n=37), and recreation, health and education (n=38) as the top four reasons, accounting for 90% of responses (Klassen 1971:105). The most important reasons for using the UEL (Klassen 1971:108) were natural beauty (21%, n=202), relatively unspoiled area (14%, n=140) and exercise (14%, n=128); other reasons included relaxation and meditation, lack of crowding and accessibility. Aspects of the UEL that people disliked include motorbikes, garbage and vandalism, poor trail conditions, the looming threat of development, and various other inter-user conflicts (Klassen 1971:110).

Klassen's results regarding the uses and *valuing* of the UEL in 1976 directly map onto the responses provided to my online questionnaire of park use and meanings, discussed in Chapter 7 and detailed in Appendices C and D. Klassen's (1976:112) survey demonstrated "a definite rejection of changes [to the UEL] which might alter the overall character of the forest" while changes that were considered "more in keeping with the maintenance of a natural forest condition, received a strong affirmative response." Klassen (1976:115) noted that the over-riding message in comments "was the need to preserve the U.E.L. as a largely untouched, wilderness park. Visitors generally felt that the natural beauty and opportunity for peaceful relaxation which the present forest condition allowed them to enjoy, was the area's most important asset. Many visitors stated that the Endowment Lands must not become 'another Stanley Park.'"<sup>1</sup>

The UEL as nature, an escape from the city, and ultimately a place for "relaxation and revitalization from the emotional strains which often plague the urban dweller" (Klassen 1976:116) were all values well-established by the mid-1970s and remain the core perceptions of Pacific Spirit today. Forecasting these continued needs and values, Klassen (1976:v) concludes:

In the future, development sprawl will alienate an increasing part of the urban population from nature. Now, while large tracts of forest land can still be found within growing centers of population, may well be the best time to prepare to make the urban environment more hospitable for the citizens of tomorrow's cities. The University Endowment Lands represents one of the more outstanding of such opportunities.

### ***The Dr. Frank Buck Memorial Park***

In 1974, *The Province* (15 May 1974) reported then-Resources Minister Robert Williams as stating that the UEL's future would "almost certainly be a mixture of medium-density housing and large open spaces and parks." Although the plan was for construction to begin within a year, plans were, yet again, stalled.

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout my research, Pacific Spirit was often framed by park-users in contrast to Stanley Park, the latter described as an "urban" park and the former as a "wilderness" park. This distinction is discussed further in Chapter 7.

In December of 1975, Williams announced in a press release (1975:2) the creation of a park in the UEL, noted as “probably the most valuable tract of urban real estate in Canada today” at 688 hectares (1,700 acres) worth about \$200M. A block of 430 hectares (1,066 acre), considered “most representative of the varied land forms and species in the Endowment Lands” and complete with ready-made trails, was named after Dr. Frank Buck.<sup>2</sup> Buck was a professor of horticulture at UBC from 1920 to 1942, responsible for much of the campus design and development, and involved in Vancouver town planning generally, as well as being “a pioneer socialist in this province” (Williams 1975:3-4).

The Dr. Frank Buck Memorial Park was thus created as a wilderness park, to provide a space for recreation “in this age of change and increased technology” (Williams 1975:1). Within the park, a 97-hectare (240-acre) ecological reserve was set aside due to the “magnificence” of the Douglas Fir trees therein, as well as associated flora; this area would be restricted “to observational use only as an outdoor classroom” for use by UBC’s zoology, forestry, soils, botany, meteorology and hydrology programs (Williams 1975:4-5).

It was in this press release that Williams (1975:5) announced the creation of a committee “comprised of representatives from all groups from all parts of Greater Vancouver interested in [the park’s] development around the wilderness theme. This committee would take a strong role in determining how the area would be developed, and possibly co-ordinate volunteer efforts in some of the construction, as well as in the clean-up of debris.” Towards this, the University Endowment Lands Study Team was established to investigate the possible future for the University Endowment Lands.

### **The University Endowment Lands Study**

The preservation of the evolving forest, the cliffs and ravines, the bogs, and the streams on the western edge of the city is a gift beyond value to future residents of the Vancouver region, to UBC, and to the people of this province. Nowhere, will there be found this special combination of forest, shoreline, a major University, and a contiguous urban population. Nowhere, will there be found this unique blend of solitude, variety in nature, major sightseeing attractions and educational resources—all available to more than one-half million citizens by public transportation alone.

UEL (1977b:43)

Between August and December 1976, the team conducted a program of extensive and comprehensive public consultations involving public meetings, questionnaires, interviews and workshops. The result was a published summary report with appendices (UEL 1977a and 1977b) including photocopies of letters, public notices and maps submitted during the consultation, along with a few hundred pages of interview

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<sup>2</sup> This area is currently designated an Ecological Reserve within Pacific Spirit Regional Park.

summaries, letters and supplemental material held in UBC's archives within the UEL Collection. Together, these materials provide a detailed picture of values and perspective held in relation to the park lands during the mid-1970s, and therefore represent a baseline from which to compare attitudes surveyed during the course of my own research some forty years later.

In planning this project, the team noted in their final report (UEL 1977b:B.1) that “the recent history of controversy and confrontation, as well as the complex relationships of the lands to the University of British Columbia, the UEL community and the City of Vancouver made it imperative to include all points of view in the planning.” The Study Team compiled a long list of groups to contact in relation to this study, including community, environmental, medical, political, recreation, and religious groups; various ministries, departments, and boards with the federal, provincial, regional, and municipal governments, schools and the university, and businesses located within the UEL. Over 400 groups had been included by the end of the study (UEL 1977a:17), 1,400 people had attended three public forums (20), 750 people visited the UEL Study Team’s office, and over one hundred pieces of mail were received (1977b:B28).

The UEL final report (1977a:21) concluded that “support for preservation of the majority of the undeveloped lands for park purposes came from a broad spectrum of local governments, public groups and private organizations, and seems to have steadily gathered momentum since 1973.” Responses from public workshops and questionnaires were 90-95% in favour of keeping most UEL lands as park (UEL 1977a:23).

Several groups and individuals also suggested limited housing, specifically “of medium density family-oriented dwellings” (1977a:23). Comments expressed concern about for whom new housing would be built (1977b:B45), such as “a privileged few,” “rich students” or a mixed community. Granting more land to UBC for either development or research purposes received unfavourable reactions from the majority of respondents (1977a:24-26). Administration by provincial or municipal governments were just about tied in preference at 38% and 32% respectively (UEL 1977a:28).

Regarding what kind of park was appropriate, “there was a consistent division of opinion among groups and individuals who wanted what they described as a ‘wilderness’ park and those who wanted to see some portion of the park devoted to intensive recreation uses and sports facilities” (1977b:27). Responses were just about equally split between total wilderness or some wilderness and some recreation areas.

### ***Preserving Nature’s Wilderness***

As part of the public opinion gathering undertaken to determine the future of the park lands, The UEL

Tenants Society submitted a letter in June 1976 regarding the potential demolishing of housing already extant in the UEL. They questioned “whether or not land should be treated as a commodity to be bought and sold like any other commodity on the ‘open market,’” given that this practice increases land value and thus housing costs, putting tremendous strain on residents (UEL Tenants 1976:5). They further argued (UEL Tenants 1976:6) that

high-density living destroys community—the feelings of “belonging that bind people together.” It does this by violating the delicate balance between a person’s need for privacy and a person’s need for human relationships. People cope with the pressure of living with large numbers of people in small areas by turning an impersonal and anonymous face to others.

The UEL Regional Park Committee (1976:3) similarly wrote that “attitudes toward the total urban environment are changing radically. We have seen too many ill efforts of the obsessive growth of cities, without heed to the alienation of people from the rest of nature.” Thus, increasing development and alienation, and the resulting need for escape from such urban living to seek rejuvenation and a sense of community in the park, were cited as primary reasons why people visited the undeveloped UEL forest (Klassen 1976). These same reasons were primary motivators for those communities, organizations and individuals who voted in favour of making most of the UEL a park; these reasons still hold true today.

Several individuals and organizations compared the UEL’s potential future as a park to Stanley Park. All of these references stressed that Stanley Park will soon be not enough park for the increasing number of people living in the Vancouver area. In October 1976, the Citizens Council on Civic Development (CCCD) wrote a letter to the UEL Study Team making precisely this point (1976:1): “Stanley Park will not serve indefinitely the needs of a growing population. Further major parks are going to be required in the future. We need a long range vision that gave us Stanley Park. With more leisure time and fewer working hours open space will be our most urgent need.” Similarly, the Southlands Riding Club (1976:2) felt that “the increase in [UEL park user] traffic is strikingly apparent each year as the population increases and other areas such as Stanley Park become more and more overburdened.”

Although the CCCD (1976:2) articulated that they favour “the major part of the area being kept in its natural state with parts developed as recreational parkland,” most other individuals and organizations emphasized the UEL should not become urbanized like Stanley Park because, unlike the latter, the UEL has “intact forest area with a much closer approximation of true wilderness” (UELRPC 1976:2).

Similarly, in a letter dated September 1976, John Dennison, Faculty of Education at UBC, described his vision of a wilderness park as “an area of land where there is minimal development, other than trails and bridges; where trees, shrubs and wildflowers are allowed to grow in their natural state; where the cycle of nature may be observed and appreciated” (UEL 1977b:F69). A report submitted to the UEL Team from UBC’s Alma Mater Society (1976:5) outlined how they conceived of wilderness:

To leave the park in its present state is both futile and a waste of prime forest land. To call this area a “wilderness” park is a misnomer. The U.E.L. is not wilderness and to represent it as such is starting off on the wrong foot. The park has long since passed the wilderness stage of a forest. The only resemblance it has to wilderness is that they are both managed with low intensity. The policy we advocate is to try to retain the park in as close to natural condition as possible, but at the same time realize the practical limitations.

They then explained their view of managing the park as a space “similar to a natural forest” (1976:3):

The most rational proposals involve maintaining the area in its present state. Some intrusion by man is expected, but hopes of controlling it through fencing and roping off areas seems to create a zoo type of atmosphere of “look but do not touch.” This might be a final resort for the Heronry or the Bog where intrusion has proved devastating but would be unnecessary in other areas.

Limited management, then, was viewed as one of the key features of a wilderness park. Another was that the park be difficult to access or remote from large populations: as Dennison suggested, challenges to accessibility would ultimately ensure the park’s conservation (UEL 1977b:F69).

While the UEL Study Team noted the division between those who wanted 100% wilderness park and those who wanted wilderness park and recreation area, what everyone agreed upon was that the park was a space that should be valued for its natural or wild-like state, and that this space would be increasingly needed as the city grew. In this sense, people intrinsically viewed the growth of cities as the death of nature. As I discuss further in this and later chapters, this is central to the vision of parks in general and Pacific Spirit Regional Park in particular.

### ***Musqueam’s “Land Claim”***

All these people have been talking all these years about what to do with the land, but they haven’t taken Musqueam seriously...And Musqueam owns the land.

Leona Sparrow (Glavin 1989)

The UEL Study Team’s final report (1977a:A1) begins by providing some historical background for the UEL. It moves quickly from noting that, “historically, Indians have resided in the area with known settlements near the water,” to discussing European explorers and logging of the forests in the next sentence. Dates for further logging activities, land leases and clearing for development, and failed real estate plans were provided in this succinct encapsulation of the settler narrative for Point Grey. As Sparrow’s comment above reflects, the erasure of Indigenous presence in such historical narratives is mirrored in discussions of land use in Point Grey that have excluded Musqueam participation.

In July 1976, MIB wrote a letter to Alan Williams, Minister of Labour for the B.C. provincial government (1976b), relating to the Musqueam Declaration (1976a) of the same year. In their letter, they

raised the issue of expanding their reserve lands (Musqueam 1976b:1):

a just statement of the land claim must involve an increase in our land base. In 1874 Mr. I.W. Powell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, asked that the Musqueam Band be given 1,197 additional acres of land. But no action was taken. We are, of course, in a difficult position because our home reserve is almost surrounded by the City of Vancouver. Within our traditional lands there are two blocks of land which have not been committed to some, more or less permanent use: the University Endowment Lands and the Jericho Site.

The letter specified that the area encompassed by the Dr. Frank Buck Memorial Park “is important to us in cultural and religious ways and is in fact used by our people for religious purposes” (Musqueam 1976b:2). As such, the Band considered this area to be “the most desirable lands which could be designated for the use of our band.” While noting that they “cannot expect any general land freeze to be imposed by the provincial government over our traditional lands” (Musqueam 1976b:3), they requested that a portion of the UEL be held by the province until the land claim is settled, and give the Band 90 days’ notice before committing this area to any use.

In September 1976, members of the UEL Study Team and Delbert Guerin, Musqueam Chief at the time, Band Councillor Joe Becker, and Band Secretary Fran Guerin discussed some of the Band’s concerns. Notes made from this interview (UEL Project 1976:A.1.3, 1) identified the UEL as the “historic, aboriginal homelands of the Musqueam people.” The use of the land by others was suggested as one cause of conflict because the area was “used for religious purposes” by Musqueam community members. It was also articulated that “Musqueam wants new lands additional place for their people to live” and that they were “not prepared to jump in unless deck is loaded our way” (UEL Project 1976:2).

In discussing Musqueam history, the UEL Study Team notes included reference that “Musqueam was without water until 1948-49 when septic tanks on the slopes above made their water wells unsanitary,” and that “they had no electricity until 1952” (UEL Project 1976:2). They also mentioned that the Musqueam population had dwindled “from many thousands” but was growing: 293 in 1964, 450 in 1976, and estimated at that time to reach 1,200 by 1980 (UEL Project 1976:2). They further commented that “Guerin’s working very hard to stave off extinction of their culture by recording, documenting elders of the Musqueam Community” (UEL Project 1976:1).

At the October 1976 public forum, attended by more than 500 people, the UEL team stated (1977b:B21), “the lands now called the UEL are historically the homelands of the Musqueam Band. At the present time a number of Band members are making an extended effort to revitalize their cultural heritage. A part of this movement is their claim.” Overall, the importance of the Musqueam claim was recognized and there was some support to resolve the claim before making further decisions on the use of the UEL (1977b:B14). Workshop group comments summarized by the Study Team (1977b:B41) emphasize the will to make the lands into a park, and leave the land claim issue to the government: “It’s a

legal and federal matter—not ours.” Questions were also asked about what the Band would do with the land if it was resolved in their favour.

At the second forum held in January 1977, MIB made a presentation “on their claim to ownership of the UEL” (UEL 1977b:20). Over 700 people attended this event (B18). Included for discussion at that workshop was the question of management, which included “representatives of the Provincial Government, GVRD, Vancouver, UEL Community, UBC and the Musqueam Band” (1977b:B28). Significantly, this was the first reference I found suggesting that the Musqueam administration should be included in the park’s administration.

A third public workshop and forum was scheduled due to time constraints for February 1977. Workshop group comments concerning the Musqueam claim from this workshop summarized by the Study Team (1977b:B50) emphasize an interest to protect the land as a park until the claim was settled. In addition, three comments concerning development noted specifically “housing for Musqueam.”

In questionnaires received at this forum, comments concerning the Musqueam land claim were summarized by the Study Team (1977b:B48):

1. Majority of expressed comments included “important to settle,” “no actions until resolved,” “protect lands for now, but settle early”;
2. Other comments included “keep UEL park for all,” “it’s a legal question,” “it’s Musqueam land” and “no comment.”

In the report’s summary, the Musqueam “claim to aboriginal ownership of the UEL,” specifically “of all the undeveloped portions of the UEL,” is mentioned (UEL 1977a:28, emphasis in original), and the Team notes that opinions expressed at various public forums on the matter varied “from making no decision on the UEL until the claim is settled to suggesting that the matter was properly a Federal one,” to “undertake no development until claim is settled, to protect park until claim is resolved, to give the land to the Musqueam Band.”

Given that over 90% of responses to the public consultation favoured preserving the UEL as either a total or near total wilderness park, it is unsurprising that the preference regarding the Musqueam land claim was one of no development in general, and specifically until after the claim is settled. Indeed, one of the workshop groups concluded that they had the “same objectives as Musqueam—keep [the UEL land] as it is for now” (1977b:B49). This represents a tentative aligning by environmentalists with what are perceived to be Indigenous interests, a topic I will return to.

This alignment was reinforced by a suggestion made to have an “Indian Museum” (1977b:B53). It was not Musqueam people who raised this interest, but instead the B.C. Wildlife Federation and the UEL Nature Centre Study Group, both organizations interested in the *natural* environment. This raises

another aspect of the environmentalist-Indigenous dynamic, specifically that of the category of “Indigenous” as part of nature—another topic I discuss more fully later in this dissertation.

Conversely, the second most common response was that the claim was not “our” problem—“we” defined by respondents as settler society—but that it was a government, legal, or political issue, not affecting the residents. This is the ultimate expression of the colonial relationship established between Indigenous peoples and settler society: it is one mediated *through* the colonial government, not a one-to-one relationship. Interestingly, the Vancouver Natural History Society and the Federation of B.C. Naturalists made precisely this argument, suggesting that, as the UEL Team summarized, “Indian Land Claims should not interfere with a decision on uses of the UEL. The significance of the land claim does not warrant a long delay” (UEL 1976:A.2.3,3).

Together, these perspectives highlight the tendency of settler society to side with perceived Indigenous interests when they appear to align with one’s own, and to refrain from taking a position when these interests are considered to have no bearing on one’s own existence. Where Indigenous interests actually *conflict* with settler values, the latter retreat behind the government, appealing to this authority for support. This was evident in Vancouver Park Commissioner Bowie Keefer’s comment, noted by the UEL Team: “The land belongs to everyone—The Musqueam Band does not have special rights for the land” (UEL Project 1976:2). The dynamic of this interaction is a key issue that became critical during the more recent land transfer and protests that accompanied it.

### ***UEL Study Recommendations***

The UEL Study Team report (1977a:vi) made recommendations that resulted in the current boundaries of Pacific Spirit Regional Park, minus the university golf course. They emphasized the unique ecology of the area, the “outdoor and nature education potential,” and that any development “be compatible with a natural theme” (UEL 1977a:vii). They further recommended that further housing projects be incremental not large scale and “of a type which increases the diversity of accommodation available” (UEL 1977a:vii). The Study concluded: “The best endowment, supported by consensus, is a major natural area” (UEL 1977b:33). No official recommendation concerning The Musqueam land claim was made.

In the years that followed, the question of the park died down. The lands were already being used as a park by many local residents, and the Band had other immediate concerns, such as the *Guerin* case in relation to the nearby Shaughnessy Golf and Country Club leased lands. In 1980, the GVRD published a report called *A Regional Park for the Endowment Lands*, intended to be an executive summary for the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing and based on the UEL study Team’s results. Therein, the GVRD’s view of “the forest park as first and foremost a nature park” (1980:5) is stated clearly, and Musqueam

interests are not mentioned. The *ad hoc* park continued to be maintained by local groups until Bill Vander Zalm became Premier in 1986.

### **“Without Prejudice”**

I am pleased to rise and begin debate on second reading of this bill. It allows for the transfer of land within the University Endowment Lands from the Crown to the Greater Vancouver Regional District.

This land is being transferred to enable the creation of a new greater Vancouver regional park, which will be for the use and enjoyment of all British Columbians. This new regional park comprises some 2,000 acres. It will be the largest urban park in Canada, and one of the largest in the world. By comparison, Mr. Speaker, Stanley Park in Vancouver is 1,000 acres, Central Park in New York is 840 acres, and that famous Hyde Park in London is 615 acres. So this is truly a large urban park.

Howard Dirks, Social Credit (BC Legislative Session 1989a:6184)

Thus spoke Dirks in his description of the University Endowment Land Park Act being debated in Victoria. With a government promise to have the UEL “dedicated as a park in time for Stanley Park’s 100th anniversary” (Lee 1988), and in the face of mounting public concern during the 1980s over environmental degradation, in December 1988, Premier Bill Vander Zalm announced the establishment of a Point Grey University Endowment Lands regional park. As reported in *The Vancouver Sun*, however, the Premier went “to extreme lengths to keep the contents of the announcement secret, refusing to indicate even to its invited guests the subject of the announcement” (Lee 1988). Whilst such secrecy is not directly speculated on, the fact that the government was due to hold a by-election in Point Grey is alluded to in this article as political motivation for the timing of this announcement.

In the short few months between this announcement and the park’s official creation on April 23, 1989, a flurry of activity occurred concerning the proposal and, in particular, the Musqueam Indian Band’s land claim submitted to the government over a decade earlier. The issue was debated in the British Columbia Legislature and newspapers, all the way up to the park’s opening in April.

### ***The Political Debate***

During the University Endowment Land Park Act’s debate in the B.C. Legislature, a summary was provided of UEL history that began with the designation of the area in 1907, traces the developments of impeded construction, park proposals and public surveys, and names the many people who played instrumental roles towards establishing the area as a park. Howard Dirks lauded the park’s “tremendous inherent natural and recreational potential” and suggested the area is unique in British Columbia

(1989a:6185). He also remarked on “the special attachment and relationship that the people of Vancouver have with this natural area...Its natural beauty and tranquility have provided an oasis within a rapidly expanding urban area” (1989a:6185).

For the Musqueam, the transfer of land from the Crown to the GVRD and creation of a UEL park posed the threat of alienating their claim to the land, submitted to the government in 1977. As discussed in Chapter 2, that same year the Musqueam Indian Band published a pamphlet entitled, “XwMuzkWi’um: Musqueam Aboriginal Rights to the University Endowment Lands,” wherein the history of the Musqueam people, and their alienation from their territory into residential schools and reserves, is narrated by community elders. It articulated the need for more housing to cope with the rising Musqueam population, and the issue of developing the Endowment Lands was discussed by Delbert Guerin (Musqueam 1977:17):

We realize that there are a large number of people who want to see the Endowment Lands preserved as a forested area, as an area that has no development at all...

We, as a people, want to be self-sufficient. In order to be self-sufficient we have to be able to have something to develop in order to provide our people with the services they require.

The issue of development, however, was not the Band’s concern at the time of the park’s creation a decade later. Instead, they wanted to ensure that the transfer was done without prejudice to their land claim. Towards this, they filed for an injunction against any interference in the UEL lands in 1987, which was rejected.

Dirks concluded his introduction to the UEL Park Act (BC Leg. Sess. 1989a:6185) by emphasizing that the park’s creation was “for the benefit and enjoyment of all people of the province,” for “all British Columbians.” In response to Dirks’ speech, however, Gordon Hanson, New Democratic Party (NDP) immediately raised a critical issue (1989a:6186):

There was one group of people not mentioned in [Dirks’] prepared text. There were people, there were dates that he alluded to in 1860, colonial admiralties, dates of 1912 and so on, but the people that have been left out—it is a concern that we wish to acknowledge on the floor of this House—are the Salish people, the Musqueam people, who have lived in that region, as they describe in their own words, since time immemorial.

Hanson noted that recent court cases “indicate that the aboriginal people of our country, of our province, do have rights. They have rights that have not been extinguished in common law practice, by treaty and by compensation” (1989:6186). He then acknowledged that Musqueam Band Councillors were present and remarked (1989a:6186):

The Musqueam people have a claim they are advancing through to the Supreme Court of Canada that their rights have not been extinguished by treaty, nor has compensation been paid. There is some alarm that the ceding—the patenting—of lands to third parties could jeopardize their claim. The Musqueam people and their ancestors exercised jurisdiction and control over those lands and resources of the lower Fraser River delta for thousands of years prior to European contact. That is a well-acknowledged fact in all jurisdictions of Canada outside British Columbia. The University Endowment Lands have been and still are an integral part of Musqueam's culture and land use. Musqueam has never sold or been compensated for its interest in the land and resources within Musqueam traditional territory. No government has entered into a treaty with Musqueam.

Musqueam has been attempting to have its rights and title recognized for 100 years. All they are asking is that they have their day in the Supreme Court of Canada for a decision to be made, unencumbered by a decision made today on the floor of this House which may adversely affect that process.

Hanson further articulated that “B.C. is the only province in Canada which does not recognize aboriginal rights” (1989:6186) and that “B.C. is openly and adamantly opposing many legal cases brought to the courts by native people” (1989a:6187). In relation to the condition set by Musqueam (*Musqueam v. B.C.* [1989] B.C.J. 648), Hanson concluded by appealing to the House (1989:6187): “All they are asking is an amendment that nothing in this bill would prejudice any future aboriginal title claim on that land, something that would not discriminate either way.”

Following Gordon Hanson, Tom Perry, NDP and second MLA for Vancouver-Point Grey, speculated (1989a:6187) that this was “the first occasion on which the aboriginal land claim issue has been seriously dealt with in the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia.” While supporting the initiative to conserve park lands, he also accused the bill as, “in its present unamended form, an assault upon the legitimate aboriginal rights of the native people of British Columbia” (1989a:6188). Perry situated this case in the longer history of racism in Canada, and suggested that “the people of British Columbia” also want justice (1989a:6188):

They do not want to see a repetition of the historical injustice committed in Canada to the Japanese-Canadians, to the Chinese-Canadians, throughout our history to the native Indians, to the Indo-Canadians and to many other ethnic groups who did not have the virtue of being born with a white skin.

Perry further noted that, in February 1989, Justice Hutcheon of the Court of Appeal of British Columbia wrote in his judgement (1989a:6188) that

the legal problem that lurks behind the conveyance of the University Endowment Lands from the Crown to the GVRD is that once the conveyance is granted, section 23 of the Land Title Act may preclude any remedy of the plaintiffs to obtain their claim to aboriginal title. That possibility, in my mind, approaches irreparable harm, and for that reason, I think the appropriate order is to direct that there be an order restraining the implementation of the conveyance as proposed.

However, during the parliamentary hearings, Premier Bill Vander Zalm, Social Credit, spoke against the proposed bill revision that would ensure the transfer did not prejudice Musqueam's claim. Regarding the larger issue of land claims, Vander Zalm simply stated, "I don't argue that process. If people wish to proceed with a claim, there's a mechanism available" (1989a:6191)—implying that land claims were outside of or separate from the park issue. Instead, Vander Zalm said his concern was that the opposition were merely trying to stall the park's creation any way they could.

Vander Zalm stressed that "this is a park for which all people, regardless of their heritage, regardless of where they're from or of what they're doing today" (1989a:6192). Drawing on this "special rights" discourse of inclusivity, Vander Zalm elaborated (1989a:6192):

I want to see this park for our people. I want to see this park for all of the people. It's not just for Point Grey, and it's not just for a few people in Point Grey. It's not just for some people who belong to a very distinguished and respected group in Point Grey or anywhere else. This is for all of the people in the whole of the province, and we on this side will not see a further delay in the establishment of this park...No amendment will delay the establishment of the greatest park in British Columbia.

The Premier repeatedly reduced the argument to one of simply being either for or against the park, with the latter referring to any attempt to negotiate the *Park Act* in light of Musqueam concerns.

### ***Losing Control***

Central in the debate over creating the park and the without prejudice clause was a fear of losing control—over lands, resources and people. This concern at the heart of resistance to the proposed amendment was articulated by Jack Weisgerber, Social Credit (BC Leg. Sess. 1989a:6202): "If we were to accept this amendment, it would then be a hindrance on the absolute preservation of that land as a park. It would provide an opening that could, at some point down the road, overturn the use of this land as a park." The result of this loss of control was articulated by Russell Fraser, Social Credit (1989a:6195):

The issue is: what do you want on that site? Do you want a park, or do you want a problem? That party over there wants to compromise the park. They say: "If we can just put this one little clause in on behalf of somebody, we might be able to transfer the title out of park and into the band." What's the band going to do if the title is acknowledged, for example? Would they build housing? Maybe they would. Would the band log the park? Maybe they would. The real answer is that if you want a park, leave the act the way it is. If you want to compromise the park, then go ahead with that hoist motion and the plan that group wants.

Like Vander Zalm, Grace McCarthy, Social Credit, articulated this concern in terms of equality, as an opposition between Musqueam people and the interests of all (1989b:6214):

I am going to vote against this amendment. I am going to vote for the preservation of the University Endowment Lands for the use of people for all time—for all of the people who will visit, for all of the people in the lower mainland and for all of the people of British Columbia. I will be voting against this amendment, because that is the promise that has been given to the people of British Columbia. It is a very fair and good promise.

Similarly, as part of the equality discourse, James Rabbitt, Social Credit, suggested that “the people of British Columbia own that land and they share it, whether they are white or whether they are native” (1989b:6225). He dismissed that the land would be important to any claim, proposing that, “if there is a claim here, the claim is not against land. The claim will be for compensation” (1989b:6225).

In an effort to challenge the perceived threat of the Musqueam claim, Larry Guno, NDP, read into the record a statement signed by Delbert Guerin (1989b:6215):

if anybody had bothered to ask Musqueam, it would have been found that it was in Musqueam’s best interests to keep the area in its natural preserved state, and the general public should have no fear that the land claim would represent a threat to their desire to have the lands preserved as they are. The extent that there is a threat comes from the obstinate persistence of the government in its refusal to negotiate a comprehensive settlement with the Musqueam band.

Thus, the issue was not that people were either for or against the park, but rather to ensure that the transfer from the Crown would not prevent Musqueam’s land claim to the area. However, Elwood Veitch, Social Credit, identified the core concern that loomed in the background of this simple recognition that Musqueam *have a claim to the area*: he suggested (1989b:6215) that the amendment “in effect serves to throw into question all land deals throughout the province of British Columbia. That is the precedent we are looking at today. It goes far beyond the NDP playing politics with an issue...It throws into question the right to own property.”

Together, these statements communicate a fear of loss—of losing control over land, losing natural areas to development, losing a sense of equality to “special rights.” They echo comments voiced by the public during the UEL Study and foreshadow opinions communicated in 2007/8 over the land transfer. Significantly, they also underscored some of the more critical issues raised in the *Delgamuukw* case that was ongoing at that time, which remain understated but unresolved in British Columbia today: namely, that Aboriginal Title precludes private property and thus declares null and void all land transactions in the history of the province. This remains downplayed, disguised, and framed simply as “uncertainty” that continues to loom large in Pacific Spirit.

The discourse of loss motivates both the movement towards Aboriginal land claims and resistance to it. In the Legislature on April 18th, 1989, Vancouver-Point Grey MLA Marzari related a bedtime story that she told to her six-year-old daughter the night before (1989a:6192-6194) (Appendix E). She thanked Leona Sparrow for the idea for this story, which related the injustice of having the onus be on Indigenous

peoples to prove their claim to the land, and the paradox of demonstrating Title while it is simultaneously being transferred by a colonial government (such as was feared would be the case in the creation of the park). It also highlights that what makes this possible is the lack of widespread knowledge of Aboriginal history, and the reverence held for nature and desire to preserve this through government controls.

This story about the park encapsulates some of the central points of conflict that continue to smoulder in Pacific Spirit. This tension is usually framed as a struggle between the preservation of nature versus the pursuit of development; indeed, saving nature was by 1989 so roundly supported by the public that the question of whether or not to create a park was not really a question at all—it was a given. Yet this portrayed struggle between competing interests is a distraction that masks what is in fact the core issue: outstanding Aboriginal Title and its denial by government.

As I read through the legislature transcripts cited above, I was initially amazed at how bluntly the reality of Aboriginal Title was discussed. Of course, it became clear that it was members of the opposition who were in support of Musqueam's request for a “without prejudice” clause. In a sense, it was safe for them to articulate these views because they lacked the power to act on them. For the Social Credit party, however, recognition of existing Aboriginal Title was dangerous. Vander Zalm (1989b:6226, emphasis added) identified this threat hidden in the UEL Park Act amendment:

Justice will be done, and there is a means to get justice. It's available to all of us, including our native people; it's available to them. There is a system for justice, but it's not justice to try and have these caveats as part of every agreement between levels of government, people or corporations in this province. For people who have long held their land or their home to see the potential for such caveats if their area is subject to a land claim is not justice. The whole province is covered by land claims. As a matter of fact, 125 percent of the province is covered by land claims, because some claims overlap. Given that, I think it's very frightening for a lot of people to see the socialists take this approach simply, I would suggest, to make Brownie points with a particular group and to risk a lot more—*the future of this province*.

### ***An Affidavit***

On April 20th, 1989, the proposed amendment—stating that nothing therein “shall be construed as to prejudice the claim of Aboriginal Title of the Musqueam Indian Band to the University Endowment Lands”—was defeated, and legislation passed making the UEL a regional park (Baldrey 1989:A11). The final motion passed with only two of forty-eight opposing: Larry Guno and Gordon Hanson, both NDP.

New Democrat Party leader Mike Harcourt had referred on the previous day (BC Leg. Sess. 1989b:6218) to this as “an opportunity to take six seconds to do the right thing for the Musqueam people,” and accused the government: “You blew it.” The following day, as reported in *The Vancouver Sun* (Baldrey 1989), Harcourt told the house (BC Leg. Sess. 1989c:6259) that “the issue is not about a

park, for the park is not threatened...The Musqueam want it; the people of Point Grey want it; we want it. The shame is that this government has intentionally decided to deny the Musqueam the right to negotiate their aboriginal claim, even though it poses no threat to the park." As NDP's Tom Perry concluded (BC Leg. Sess. 1989a:6190), "I think what we're seeing in this bill is the further forestalling of the inevitable process of granting the same justice to the native people of this province that we expect for ourselves."

The Musqueam Band's concern at the time of the park's creation was to ensure that the transfer was done without prejudice to their land claim—meaning the park's designation would not take these lands "off the table" for negotiation. While the amendment proposed to the bill was defeated, the GVRD swore an affidavit in the B.C. Court of Appeal accepting the transfer without prejudice to the Aboriginal Rights and Title asserted by Musqueam in their lawsuit (Doyal 2008:18). This effectively bypassed the provincial government and became a critical legal document in determining the outcome of later events in 2007.

Metro Vancouver Parks Director Mitch Sokalski described the affidavit as "acknowledgement and recognizing that Musqueam have claimed Aboriginal Title to the properties and that that transfer of ownership would in no way be used as an argument in future years against the Musqueam's claim" (pers. comm. January 10, 2013). It also meant that "Metro Vancouver continued to manage it as a park for all citizens" while "protecting the Musqueam interests in the management of the park. So it was with those conditions that the court, still against Musqueam wishes, the court proceeded and said no, transfer of title can take place."

## Unveiling Pacific Spirit

Vancouver and all of British Columbia is special. The park's new name reflects this. It is not ordinary or mediocre, nor is it merely a label. Instead, PACIFIC SPIRIT carries a message, evokes feelings, and stimulates the imagination.

In particular, the message concerns the aura of sacredness inherent in our treasured West Coast natural beauty. This in turn generates feelings of awe, respect, and wonder. PACIFIC SPIRIT lifts our spirits by stimulating in us everything artistic, creative, and romantic. One short phrase communicates all of that.

Sherry Sakamoto of Richmond chose PACIFIC SPIRIT PARK because, in her words, "It is the Gateway to the Pacific and a Spiritual ground to becoming one with nature."

Increasingly our environment is more artificial, man-made, and technological. Concrete, glass, steel, and the relentless drive for efficiency need to be balanced by greenspace, fresh air and solitude. PACIFIC SPIRIT PARK, as its name implies, will provide that balance.

PACIFIC SPIRIT PARK draws us back to the earth, the seasons, and the strength of natural processes of which we are all a part.

Nick Loenen, MLA Richmond (1989)

In 1977, the UEL Study Team noted (1977b:B23) that “there seems to be little public knowledge of the name of the UEL park or of the historic relationship of Dr. Frank Buck to the UEL area.” As such, the team asked at public forums and workshops for opinions, suggesting the name could “be changed to reflect a more historic relationship, such as a Native Canadian or pioneer name.”

The very public nature of this new park was communicated from day one, perhaps beginning with the “Name the Park” contest inviting citizens to send in their suggestions—specifically, to “Put Your Mark on the Park” (Reed 1989:1). The winner, Richmond resident Sherry Sakamoto (Figure 3.1), explained the name “Pacific Spirit” as “inspired by the First Nations belief in the Great Creator and their connection to Mother Earth...It is the gateway to the Pacific and a spiritual ground to becoming one with nature” (History of Metro Vancouver 1989). As the contest winner, Sakamoto was also honoured by having a park trail named after her. Loenen’s description of Pacific Spirit above bestows the virtues of “nature” in spiritual and reverent terms, encapsulating a vision for the park that resonates to this day. In this section, I discuss the unveiling of Pacific Spirit Regional Park, the conflict and protest reported on at this time and the initial conceptions and representations of Pacific Spirit governing its management.



Figure 3.1. Sherry Sakamoto, flanked by Regional Development Minister Elwood Veitch (left) and B.C. Premier Bill Vander Zalm (right), at the opening of Pacific Spirit Park, 1989. (History of Metropolitan Vancouver 2009).

### **Celebration and Protest**

The creation of Pacific Spirit was cause for much celebration. Under the caption “A Park is Born” (Figure 3.2) *The Province* (Eberts 1989:76) outlines the line-up of events to mark the park’s official two-day

opening, which included “children’s theatre, roving street entertainers, guided tours of the woodlands and boglands,” as well as information booths, storytelling and live music.

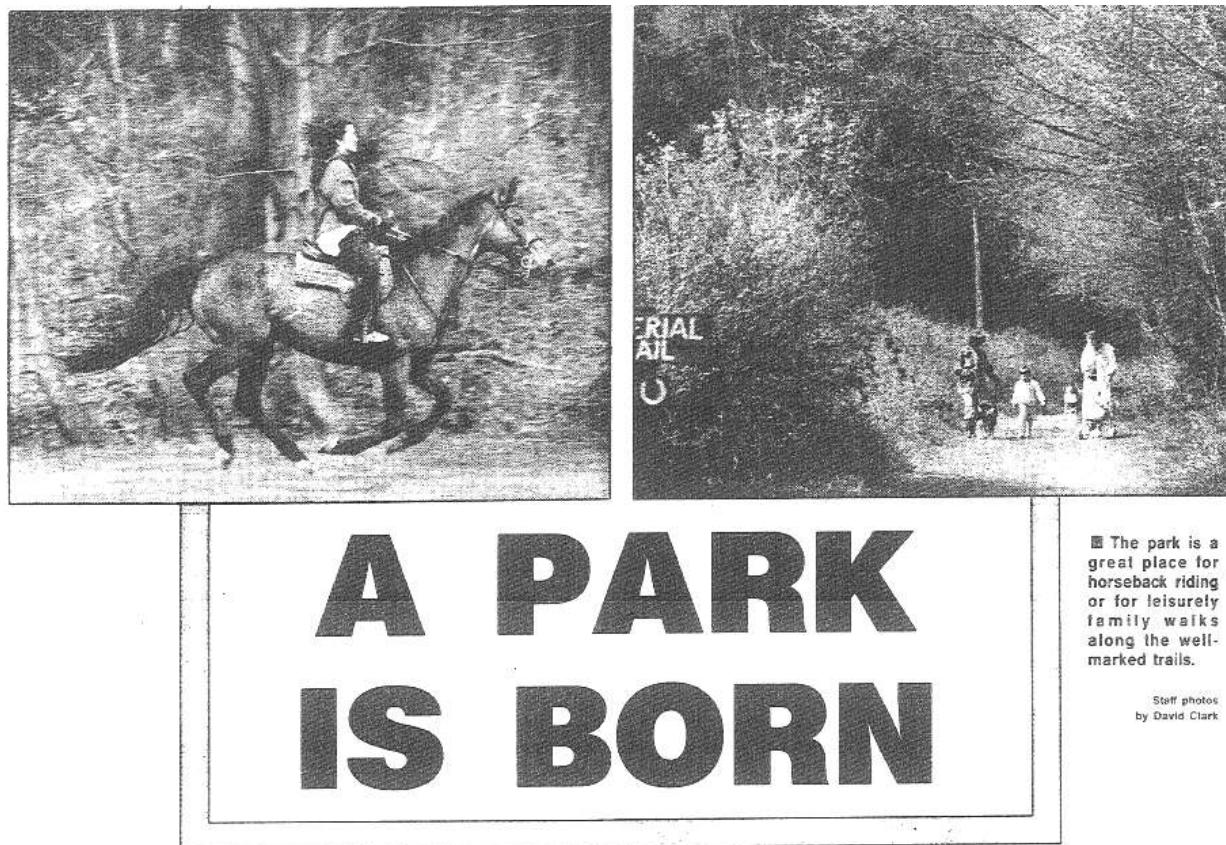


Figure 3.2. Imagery for the opening of Pacific Spirit Regional Park, depicting a woman riding a horse and a family walking through the woods (Eberts 1989).

Opening ceremonies were attended by then-Vancouver Mayor Gordon Campbell, Premier Vander Zalm and various other Social Credit politicians including Elwood Veitch and Howard Dirks, who had spoken in the legislative in favour of the park (GVRD and Prov. of BC 1989:3). It was at this event that the name of the park was revealed; however, prior to this, *The Province* editor (Eberts 1989:76) alluded to the Musqueam Band’s position on the park, speculating whether it might be given

a plain and obvious name like Point Grey or University park or something more controversial reflecting its history. Would officialdom dare honor the area’s earliest known residents—the Musqueam Indian Band—or would that be digging into the sensitive issue of aboriginal land claims?

Indeed, *The Vancouver Sun* reported that MIB was calling for “a public boycott of weekend events to

celebrate the opening of Vancouver's newest park," and asking supporters to join their protest of a government that has refused to negotiate Aboriginal claims (Hume 1989:A10).

This article was based on a leaflet published by the Band just days before the opening entitled, "UEL Park and Musqueam Band: The Real Story" (Musqueam 1989). The pamphlet provides a summary of the Musqueam community, their historical use of the UEL, the land claims and UEL chronology. It affirms they "never stopped using the UEL land and resources for sustenance, and for cultural and religious purposes" (1989:1); that the park "is already adversely impacting Musqueam traditional use of the UEL" (1989:1); and, significantly, that the park "already has a name: MUSQUEAM. It belongs to the Musqueam people" (1989:2).

In her own recollection, Sherry Sakamoto recalled a tense moment during the official naming ceremony (History of Metro Vancouver 1989):

As we neared the staging area, we were met by members of the First Nations Musqueam band. They were there to protest the government and bring attention to their issue of land claims. I felt nervous at their presence but didn't think they were there to protest against me. All contest entries were to be accompanied with a reason as to how one came up with their park name suggestion and mine was, "It was the gateway to the Pacific and a spiritual ground to becoming one with nature." It was the First Nations and their connection to the Earth that had inspired my entry. So I figured in a worst case scenario, if all hell broke loose with this protest, I could wave my hands and say, "I'm on your side!"

*The Province* (1989) sported a large front-page photograph of what the caption described as "Angry Musqueam Indians" protesting the park (Figure 3.3), wearing ceremonial dress and holding signs such as "no apartheid in Canada" and "Musqueam title is alive + well in UEL" (24 April 1989:cover). Perhaps significantly, this photo is immediately adjacent to a large-font headline, "BACK WITH HATE" which, although unrelated, gives the impression of being connected to the protest photograph.

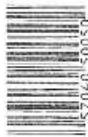
The article inside related to the Musqueam protest similarly sent a mixed message: the photograph caption read, "In yesterday's bright sunshine, a stroller in Pacific Spirit Park chats to two RCMP officers patrolling trails on bicycles." Yet this apparently peaceful encounter is inconsistent with the adjacent heading "UNJUSTLY TAKEN" and the accompanying photograph depicting late Musqueam elder Norma Rose Point as a large police officer on a bicycle leans over her (Figure 3.4).

In the article, Fournier (1989:6) described how "500 natives banged drums and booed" while Premier Vander Zalm remarked on this "great day in the history of B.C. I realize not everyone agrees with establishing the largest urban park in the world. But 50 years from now, our children and our children's children will realize, as we do for Stanley Park today, that it was the best decision ever made."

# The Province

50 cents

60 cents minimum  
outside  
Lower Mainland



## BACK WITH HATE

B.C. skinheads fired up  
after U.S. Nazi camp

**Page 3**



Bruins  
humble  
Habs 3-2  
•  
Flyers  
4-1 over  
Penguins

**Pages 21-24**

### FITNESS FILE

Walking into  
the fast lane

**Pages 35-36**

### SHORT LIFE OF A DOPE DEALER

**Page 5**



### PARK PROTEST

Angry Musqueam Indians protest yesterday's official opening of Pacific Spirit Park in the old University Endowment Lands.

**Page 6**

Figure 3.3. Cover of *The Province* (April 24, 1989), depicting the Musqueam protest of the opening of Pacific Spirit Regional Park.



Staff photo by David Clark

In yesterday's bright sunshine, a stroller in Pacific Spirit Park chats to two RCMP officers patrolling trails on bicycles.

## 'UNJUSTLY TAKEN'

By SUZANNE FOURNIER  
Staff Reporter

The official opening of the Pacific Spirit Park drew a spirited response from angry Musqueam Indians wearing black armbands.

About 500 natives banged drums and boozed speakers yesterday at the park's opening ceremonies — and they saved their loudest abuse for Premier Bill Vander Zalm.

The old University Endowment Lands were handed over to the GVRD last week and renamed Pacific Spirit Park in a move the Mus-

queam say undermines their claim to the 820 hectares of forest.

"This is a great day in the history of B.C.," Vander Zalm bellowed over the boos. "I realize not everyone agrees with establishing the largest urban park in the world."

"But 50 years from now, our children and our children's children will realize, as we do for Stanley Park today, that it was the best decision ever made."

An angry Musqueam chief Ernest Campbell said: "The lands we've claimed since 1840 have been unjustly taken without negotiation with the Musqueam."

The Musqueam band has applied for a court injunction to gain ownership of the land.

The Greater Vancouver Regional District, which operates the park, has asked the court to set aside the injunction. Neither case has been decided.

Of the protest, Vander Zalm said later: "I didn't expect it. Obviously it did put a bit of a damper on the opening ceremonies. But if the Musqueams have a claim, obviously they will deal with it through the courts."

The name Pacific Spirit Park, chosen from 3,200 entries, was submitted by Sherry Sakamoto of Richmond.

Figure 3.4. Image from *The Province* (Fournier 1989) depicting two police officers on bicycle standing over late Musqueam elder Norma Rose Point (identified by her son, Wayne Point, pers. comm. November 18, 2013).

Later, Vander Zalm referred to the Musqueam protest as putting "a damper" on the festivities, and

suggested that “if the Musqueams have a claim, obviously they will deal with it through the courts” (Fournier 1989:6).

*The Vancouver Sun* focused on the competing interests surrounding the park’s creation (Hunter and Bula 1989:A2):

For many, [the establishment of the park] marked the end to worries that the provincial government would attempt to develop land that has been used as a park for years. For the Musqueam band and its supporters, the transfer marked a deliberate attempt to ignore, and perhaps legally extinguish, the band’s longstanding land claim to the area.

The Saturday edition before the protest highlighted the complicated nature of the park land claim, concluding that while “the land’s ownership may be in question: what is not is the environmental and recreational significance of the park” (Lee 1989:A10). In this way, nature was seen as common ground.

In contrast to the polarized conflict on Pacific Spirit’s opening day described in *The Province* between “Angry Musqueam Indians” and the rest of the public, *The Vancouver Sun* notes a more heterogeneous crowd wherein non-native sympathizers stood alongside the Musqueam protesters (Hunter and Bula 1989:A2). Wearing black armbands, the protestors were described as a crowd of 150 to 200 Musqueam people and their supporters (Isaac 1989). One article notes that the politicians “sometimes nearly had to shriek to make themselves heard above the chants and drums,” and that their speeches did not mention Musqueam when they talked about the history of the UEL (Hunter and Bula 1989:A2).

In a separate article, Chief Ernest Campbell explained what he saw as the government’s motivations for making the park (Isaac 1989):

The only reason they did this was to get 30 to 40 acres out of our hands and to alienate our lands in a third party interest. Therefore our claim would be superseded by law and we wouldn’t be able to use that in court. To put it into third party interest hands, this would take it out of our hands. Then it must either go through negotiations with Comprehensive Land Claims or through the courts. I think that is their intent.

Before the protest on opening day, *The Vancouver Sun* reported on a meeting arranged by MIB to voice concerns to Governor-General Jeanne Sauve and ask for the park bill to be disallowed (Hunter and Bula 1989:A2). *The Province* (Appelbe 1989) reported that then-Minister of State for Indian Affairs and previous MLA for Vancouver-Point Grey, Kim Campbell, viewed the petition given to the Governor-General as “a ‘symbolic gesture’ [that] will not be acted upon.” In the days that followed, the Musqueam petition was described simply as political posturing (Armstrong 1989:A11): “there is a history of petitioning to the Crown about land claims. The strategy has been successful in the past. You do it as a form of protest knowing the power will not be used.” The legitimacy of Musqueam’s claim to the land was thus roundly dismissed.

## **A Management Plan**

After the opening of the park and this initial flurry of activity, media coverage of related events settled down. In its place, the park became the subject of local newspaper clips on getting away from the city, advertising the recreation and relaxation of park trails for runners, cyclists and dog-walkers alike (e.g., Connelly 1997; Lin 2002; Christie 2004).

The GVRD's Pacific Spirit Regional Park Management Plan (1991), based largely on their 1980 vision of *A Regional Park for the Endowment Lands*, discusses the park as multiple-purpose, supporting "a wide variety of recreation activities and user groups with its diverse landscape" (GVRD Parks 1991:1). Stated therein, "the management intent is to preserve the Park's significant natural features, and to conserve the Park's natural resources for the public's enjoyment, by promoting use of the park in harmony with the natural environment" (GVRD 1991:1). This plan was composed following "park visitor surveys, questionnaires at open houses and public meetings" (GVRD 1991:1).

In relation to the Musqueam land claim, the GVRD's plan is brief, noting the "land claim against all of the parkland," the affidavit regarding without prejudice, and that the "GVRD keeps the Musqueam Band informed of all Park development" (1991:18). Beyond noting the historic logging, the GVRD's 1991 plan—still governing park management today—deals strictly with "Natural Resource Management" and recreation; there is no discussion of cultural heritage.

In the leaflet published by Musqueam prior to the celebration of the park, this issue is highlighted in the assertion that "neither the GVRD nor the BC Governments have done a heritage resource impact assessment of the UEL. Musqueam has shown that there are archaeological sites in UEL" (Musqueam 1989). This study was completed by Leonard Ham in 1988; however, as far back as 1969, official reports on file with the Archaeology Branch in Victoria mention sites in the larger Point Grey area, including the foreshore (e.g., Percy 1972; Cranny and Bunyan 1975; Kenny 1975). Of course, as discussed in Chapter 2, archaeological investigation of Point Grey extends back into the early days of archaeology in the province (Roy 2010; West 1995). At least as of 1960, archaeological reports on file with the Archaeology Branch were almost certainly available to GVRD at the time that the Pacific Spirit Regional Park Management Plan was written.

Specifically in relation to the park lands, Leonard Ham submitted a report in 1979 that was also sent to the Vancouver Parks Board, outlining a series of archaeological sites along the foreshore of the park that required monitoring (Ham 1979:12). In the UEL study of 1976, the Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation (1976:2) suggested an education centre under possible land uses in the UEL and included "archaeology sites" as one of four topics to be considered (the other three involved nature and ecology). However, archaeological sites are not mentioned in the 1991 management plan. By way of explanation,

Mitch Sokalski advised that the low level of development intended for the park has not required any extensive heritage management plan beyond what is required by the British Columbia Archaeology Branch (pers. comm. January 10, 2013).

Instead, official print media about the park nearly all discuss it as a place of nature, foregrounding animal, plant and tree species and their ecology—in particular the Great Blue Heronry and Camosun Bog—as well as ongoing coastal cliff erosion, of particular interest to the Wreck Beach Preservation Society. This representation of the park reflects its official mandate as preserving nature, conveyed by GVRD and Pacific Spirit Park Society (PSPS), the latter of which is part of the Regional Park Partners Program and acts as a “public steward of the Park” (PSPS website 2012). These representations of Pacific Spirit are the subject of Chapter 4.

Although the media had a field day with the protests, the end result was that the land was made into a park. While the issue of land claims arises often in news media, present-day park literature remains silent to the Musqueam struggle.

### ***Foreshadowing***

In July 1995, the issue of Pacific Spirit’s creation despite the Musqueam protest was raised again in the legislature in relation to another park bill called the Lower Mainland Nature Legacy. Then-Premier Mike Harcourt described (BC Leg. Sess. 1995a:16670) that, in 1989, the government

was attempting in a very conscious and dishonourable way to take away the aboriginal rights of the Musqueam people by transferring Pacific Spirit Park to a third party and extinguishing aboriginal claims.

I have made it very clear that there is a totally different situation now, because we have a treaty process, to sit down and address these questions which the previous...refused to do for decades.

Harcourt affirmed that parks as Crown land are “part of the treaty process,” remarking “parks are put aside for all people in British Columbia, aboriginal and non-aboriginal, and if the aboriginal people want to bring that as an item to the treaty table, they are certainly prepared to do so” (1995a:16670).

Thus, Harcourt both upheld the rhetoric of inclusivity—that parks are for all people—and the legitimacy of the treaty process as *the* mechanism to deal with Aboriginal claims. His comments echoed those who, in 1989, opposed the without prejudice clause, as well as statements made by then-Premier Vander Zalm that, if Musqueam have a claim, it would be dealt with by the courts. Allen Warnke, Liberal, remarked on this “softening” of Harcourt’s tone and read part of a letter from Musqueam addressed to the government (BC Leg. Sess. 1995b:16718):

The Musqueam Indian Band expresses our concern and disappointment regarding your government's recently announced intentions to create more parks within our traditional territory. Not only did your government make this decision without the consent of the Musqueam band, you never consulted us and, indeed, never gave us advance notice of your proposal.

Such reversals in politics and views on social justice are revealing, and disheartening, demonstrating how self-interest trumps social justice. Thus, it may be as Asch (2008:396) suggested: "there is only so far we can go within a system that is absurd and colonial."

### **The Land Transfer**

Musqueam's lands have been diminished over the last hundred years, often without consultation or approval. There is now little, if any, land available in our traditional territory. Any available lands that may compensate for historical loss and provide for future growth of first nations should be managed with care until they can be negotiated in the B.C. treaty process.

Joe Becker, former Chief of Musqueam Indian Band (BC Leg. Sess. 1996)

Nearly two decades passed without serious contestation reported in the media, although former Musqueam Chief Joe Becker's comments above illustrate that conflict over park lands had not disappeared. Various other studies were undertaken in Pacific Spirit, looking at bog ecology (Westmough and Pearson 1990), trail management (Erickson 1998), forest health (Moore 1995), cliff erosion (GVRD 2000b) and recreational uses (Driscoll 1996). Recreational use of the park continued.

Then, in November, 2007, Premier Gordon Campbell announced that two portions of Pacific Spirit, and the UBC golf course, would be transferred in title to the Musqueam Indian Band (along with other compensations) in settlement of three court cases initiated by the Band (Pablo 2007). This move prompted immediate opposition from the Pacific Spirit Park Society, the GVRD, other local municipal governments, university students and local residents.

### ***The Golf Course Court Case***

In 2003, the provincial government negotiated a deal to sell the UBC golf course, which had previously been leased, to the university for \$10 million dollars. Shortly thereafter, the Musqueam Indian Band initiated a court case against both the government and UBC. In the judgement of *Musqueam v. British Columbia*<sup>3</sup>, the case is described as a petition by Musqueam to quash the agreement between the province

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<sup>3</sup> *Musqueam v. British Columbia (Minister of Sustainable Resource Management)*, 2004 BCSC 506. 16 April 2004, Docket L030877.

and UBC for the sale of the University Golf Course. The Band argued that the sale was “in violation of the Province’s fiduciary and Constitutional duties to consult and seek accommodation of Musqueam’s interests” (paragraph 2). They also argued that “the Province is precluded from disposing of lands that are subject to treaty negotiations” (paragraph 2), which was the central concern (paragraphs 3-4):

Musqueam submits that these proceedings are fundamental to its continuing efforts to repatriate a portion of the Band’s traditional territory for the Band’s present and future needs...The Golf Course Lands are situated in the heart of Musqueam territory and are referenced in Musqueam’s comprehensive land claim which was filed in 1984 and accepted by Canada for negotiation in 1991. Musqueam says that if these traditional lands are sold, it will suffer irreparable harm incapable of economic compensation. It says that the Crown has not agreed to “bank” in a land protection program existing Crown-held land which is subject to the land claim. Accordingly, Musqueam says it may face a landless treaty if claimed lands are not protected from further alienation pending a final resolution of the claim.

After a series of communications, proposals and studies, the province contended that any Aboriginal interests in the land should be settled with financial compensation only because “any infringement of Musqueam’s *prima facie* claims had occurred long before the year 2000” (paragraphs 5, 19). Thus, in their view, any Aboriginal rights to the area “had been expropriated long ago” due to the transformation of the land into a golf course (paragraph 42).

The final decision was that the province breached its duty to consult with MIB and seek accommodation (paragraph 68); however, the Justice suggested that “Musqueam interests in the land” were outside of the purview of this court (paragraph 76), and in sum rejected their request to “quash” the sale (paragraph 80), instead urging further consultation between all parties (paragraph 90)—effectively declaring that the land claims issue was outside of this legal process.

In the B.C. Court of Appeal, the judgement (4[15]22) stated:

As part of its treaty discussions, Musqueam has repeatedly asked both the federal and provincial governments to preserve Crown-held lands for treaty settlement purposes. However, both governments have a policy of not holding land for treaty settlement until the affected First Nation has signed a Framework Agreement. The federal government will only sign a Framework Agreement on the basis of its policy that it will not include compensation as a negotiable item. In other words, the federal Crown will not negotiate compensation for loss of land or infringement of any other aboriginal right. This has also been the policy of the provincial Crown.

Describing the relationship of the golf course lands to the Band, it also noted that the Musqueam Reserve is small and “not adequate for Musqueam’s present or future needs in providing housing to its members, nor do these reserve lands provide a sustainable land base for the Musqueam people” (4[15]12).

The judgement identified a failure on the part of the province to accommodate Musqueam

(4[24]), relying on then-recent court decisions<sup>4</sup> for definitions and descriptions of the Crown's duty to consult and accommodate First Nations. Ultimately, the appeal was granted, the sale was suspended for two years, and the question of what would happen to the UBC golf course was again on the table.

### ***Save the Course***

As a result of the legal case against the province by the Musqueam Band over the golf course, a group called Save The Course (STC) was set up, described as “an informal grass roots organization” who believed that “there are far better ways to satisfy the Musqueam claim than to lose this precious community asset.” (SaveTheCourse 2008). STC’s history tells that the golf course was built in 1929 on land leased from the provincial government. In 2003, the province agreed to sell the land to UBC:

Recognizing its unique community value, the Province stipulated that the property was to be preserved as a public golf course in perpetuity. The University could never develop the land but could benefit from its revenues and from the amenity of having such an attractive resource on its doorstep. The golf course was safe for ever.

However, in this history timeline, a “First Nation Intervenes,” and, after a 2005 court ruling, the province was legally required “to consult and negotiate further with Musqueam.” STC suggested this means that “the Court did not require the Province to gift the golf course land to the Musqueam, simply to consult. In fact the Court did not even require the Province to gift any land to the Musqueam.” STC then proposed that Pacific Spirit Regional Park be used towards whatever compensation is offered by the province.

In STC’s Frequently Asked Questions section of their website (2008, emphasis added), they offered the following view of the future if the golf course were transferred to Musqueam: “Chief Ernie Campbell has confirmed the Musqueam intention to maintain the lands as a golf course until at least 2033. After that point the Musqueam would be free to build band housing, market high rises, shopping centres, *casinos or billboards* on the property—whatever they wish.” Through such media, a perceived threat of developing greenspaces was both manufactured and racialized, associating unpopular forms of development with First Nations as though this would be the inevitable outcome of a land transfer. Part of a larger anti-casino movement (Cramer 2006), such accusations serve to draw upon latent racism and colonial tensions, furthering a divide between settler and Indigenous communities.

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<sup>4</sup> *Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests)*. 2004 SCC 73, [2004] 3 S.C.R. 511. 7 March 2005, Docket CA031826. *Taku River Tlingit First Nation v. British Columbia (Project Assessment Director)*, 2004 SCC 74, [2004] 3 S.C.R. 550. 18 November 2004, Docket 29146 .

## **Save the Park**

The suggestion made by Save The Course to use park lands as compensation was the catalyst for the Save The Park movement in 2007. In an interview with the *Vancouver Courier* (Thomas 2007:1), then-Premier Gordon Campbell remarked on the initial golf course sale:

In 2002, 2003, when we were going to transfer the golf course to the university, it was tried in court and it was said very directly that we must move forward and that we have a duty to the Musqueam...The court said we must recognize the importance of their land, the importance of their tradition and the importance of their culture.

Recalling the creation of the park, Thomas (2007:1) noted that

Campbell was mayor of Vancouver when he attended the ceremony at Pacific Spirit Park in 1990 declaring the land a nature reserve. He notes the Musqueam were concerned at the time because the park had been part of their ancestral home for centuries. He adds the provincial government of the day ignored that fact by declaring it protected land without any discussion with the band. “The Musqueam were not celebrating on that day,” says Campbell. “That land was a critical part of their traditional territory.”

Much of the Save the Park activity became centred around a group called Friends of Pacific Spirit Park<sup>5</sup> (2007), which came together in response to the threat of losing park-designated lands to Musqueam. They posted a flyer (Figure 3.5) encouraging local citizens to write to the government in protest of the plan to “expropriate land from the Park.” Their position was stated as follows: “We believe that ALL of Pacific Spirit Regional Park MUST be preserved in its natural state for this and future generations, as was envisioned when the Park was created in 1989 and designated ‘*a regional park, an ecological reserve in perpetuity for the benefit of all British Columbians.*’”

Local residents and environmentalists were concerned about the loss of public green space. Comments made in newspapers and online forums ranged from environmental concern about habitat destruction to suggestions that the issue was also about preventing “casinos, billboards, and other blights they were sure the Musqueam would inflict on their neighbourhood” (Hon 2008, emphasis added)—again drawing on racialized discourse. This fear of development had prompted residents to lobby for the park in the first place, and it was a fear assuaged by the government’s promise that the park would be public and development-free in perpetuity. Just as people feared how Musqueam control might alter the landscape, faith in their own government was lost and the myth of public space as publicly-owned shattered.

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<sup>5</sup> This group was intimately involved with the Pacific Spirit Park Society (PSPS), a volunteer-based community group that today acts as a partner organization with Metro Vancouver to organize various events and activities in the park. Indeed, I heard it casually remarked that the “Friends” revitalized PSPS, and the same people were involved in both organizations; they appear to have also been affiliated with the Dunbar Residents’ Association and were local residents. PSPS is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

## **Urgent! We Could Lose Part of Pacific Spirit Park**

**The Provincial Government could expropriate land from the Park –  
Act NOW to protect our cherished urban forest!**

### **History**

- ♦ In 2003, the Provincial Government sold the University Golf Course (UGC) to UBC; the Musqueam Indian Band challenged the sale in court.
- ♦ In 2005, the BC Court of Appeals ruled that the Province breached its constitutional duty in selling the UGC land and gave the Province two years to engage with the Musqueam in a "meaningful consultation process in order that avenues of accommodation could be explored."
- ♦ In 2007, the public became aware of the Province's plan to transfer the UGC to the Musqueam with the commitment that the land be maintained as a golf course until 2033.
- ♦ In response, the Save the Course (STC) group was formed by Vancouver Park Commissioner Marty Zlotnik who began lobbying the Province to retain the UGC and instead transfer 120 acres of Pacific Spirit Park to the Musqueam for immediate development.

### **Current Concerns**

- ♦ At a meeting in his Constituency office (Sept. 14/07), Premier Campbell reportedly confirmed his plan to transfer the UGC to the Musqueam and also apparently confirmed that this transfer is NOT part of a Land Claims Treaty.
- ♦ As reported in the Tri-City News (Sept. 14/07), Marty Zlotnik claims that "Metro Vancouver (GVRD) has already agreed to give up 35 acres of the park to the Musqueam." If this claim is correct, are the 35 acres from the Park in addition to the UGC and also not part of a Land Claims Treaty?
- ♦ Marty Zlotnik & STC continue to pressure the government to adopt their proposal to cede 120 acres of Pacific Spirit Park to the Musqueam instead of the UGC, claiming that the majority of citizens in the region favour this option.

**We believe that ALL of Pacific Spirit Regional Park MUST be preserved in its natural state  
for this and future generations, as was envisioned when the Park was created in 1989 and designated  
'a regional park, an ecological reserve in perpetuity for the benefit of all British Columbians.'**

### **What You Can Do\***

If you agree that Pacific Spirit Park must be preserved in its entirety, **please e-mail/FAX the following politicians NOW.**  
Make it clear that the undeveloped beauty of ALL of this forested park is a legacy too precious to be sacrificed.

Premier Gordon Campbell	e-mail: <a href="mailto:premier@gov.bc.ca">premier@gov.bc.ca</a>	FAX: 250-387-0087
Mike de Jong, BC Minister of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation	e-mail: <a href="mailto:mike.dejong.mla@leg.bc.ca">mike.dejong.mla@leg.bc.ca</a>	FAX: 250-953-4856
Colin Hansen, MLA Vancouver-Quilchena & Minister of Economic Development	e-mail: <a href="mailto:colin.hansen.mla@leg.bc.ca">colin.hansen.mla@leg.bc.ca</a>	FAX: 250-356-6376
Carole James, MLA Victoria-Beacon Hill & Leader of the Opposition	e-mail: <a href="mailto:carole.james.mla@leg.bc.ca">carole.james.mla@leg.bc.ca</a>	FAX: 250-387-4680
Councillor Gayle Martin, Chair, Metro Vancouver (GVRD) Parks Committee	e-mail: <a href="mailto:gmartin@langleycity.ca">gmartin@langleycity.ca</a>	FAX: 604-539-0194



*Photo from Pacific Spirit Park Society website*

**\*JOIN THE 'FRIENDS OF PACIFIC SPIRIT PARK' E-MAIL LIST**  
so that we can keep you informed. Send a message to:  
[shelagh.dodd@telus.net](mailto:shelagh.dodd@telus.net) asking to be added to the Friends list.

For more information, please contact Shelagh: [shelagh.dodd@telus.net](mailto:shelagh.dodd@telus.net)  
(T) 604-228-0811 or Cheryl: [sookee@shaw.ca](mailto:sookee@shaw.ca) (T) 604-266-3387.

To review recent articles in the media about this issue, visit the Dunbar Residents' Association website: [www.dunbar-vancouver.org/dra-golfcourse.htm](http://www.dunbar-vancouver.org/dra-golfcourse.htm)

Figure 3.5. "Save the Park" flyer issued by the Friends of Pacific Spirit Park (2007).

Yet the rhetoric of equality touted by various politicians was prevalent, expressed in sentiments that the park, as "a permanent refuge from the onslaught of development," was there "for everybody" (Pablo 2007). Advocates of the park became its self-proclaimed guardians (Lin 2007): "We must be the

voice for the wildlife in the Pacific Spirit Regional Park, the truly native...No one, not even the Musqueam Nation, has the right to claim this land and its native wildlife.” Nature, therefore, in opposition to culture, is viewed as the purview of all humanity; Musqueam history and heritage in this area are in this way dismissed as special interests. The narrative of the park as a public space and thus equal and belonging to all remains regularly drawn upon, and often used to justify public stewardship of the park.

### A Public Forum

On October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2007, a public forum was held at St. James’ Hall in the Kitsilano area of Vancouver concerning Pacific Spirit Park and the UBC Golf Course. The event was video-recorded and later posted in several clips on YouTube, from which the following comments were transcribed.

At the event, several people who had recently been involved in the Pacific Spirit Park Society’s Board spoke out on behalf of the save the park movement. Dave Forsyth commented on behalf of PSPS concerning their official stance on the park and the Musqueam land claims (Tan 2007a)<sup>6</sup>:

As a society, we are completely opposed to the removal of any land from the park. We feel, as many of you do, that this beautiful forested area must be protected in its entirety. One question that keeps coming up and has seemingly clouded the issue is one of Aboriginal land claims. When the park was created, it was done so without prejudice to future land claims. What this means is the Musqueam were free to pursue their land claims even though this area was made into a park. Now, we are certainly not saying that the Musqueam should not receive compensation for the loss of this land, but what is happening here now is completely outside any land claims negotiation and this fact has been confirmed by the Premier himself. And this is an important issue.

Because the land transfer was outside of land claims, Forsyth suggested that “the transference of the golf course, which likely will go ahead anyway, and any transference of park land by the government, is effectively a *gift*.” He emphasized that the park, as “a wilderness area” in an urban neighbourhood, is “a jewel,” and that “with population increases and densification, greenspace is even more important to a livable city. We cannot afford to give up park land for any reason.” Forsyth concluded that the park “must be protected in its entirety in perpetuity for the use and enjoyment of all British Columbians, both native and non-native, for now and for generations to come.”

Advocating for the stewardship of nature, Shelagh Dodd (Tan 2007b)<sup>7</sup> commented that “the Save The Course group were defending their interests, the Musqueam theirs, and the provincial government was certainly defending their interests. Who was going to defend Pacific Spirit Park?” Dodd identified the message of Friends as “simple and clear: the park must be preserved in its entirety. To remove any part of

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CPUvVI8q0o>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=crL-L75ZUL>

the park—120 acres or 35 acres—it sets a dangerous precedent for future land transfers in this and other parks throughout the province.” She further described the special role of the park for its visitors:

People have a profound passion for the park. This special place offers so much to so many—a cooling effect in the summer, some shelter during winter’s rains, fresh, clean air throughout the year, a place to escape the noise and the hubbub of the city, a place to exercise, a natural environment to walk our dogs, a place to be alone with our thoughts, a place to share exchanges with and be touched by strangers, and a place to explore and learn more about the wonders of nature. It doesn’t matter what draws us to the park in the first place, but we always leave the park feeling better for having been there.

Dodd concluded by noting the importance of preserving natural environments, again for the benefit of all:

Pacific Spirit Park and all other natural environments like our park contribute so much to the welfare of the residents of the lower mainland. Globally we are learning the hard way the high cost we pay for the neglect and destruction of natural environments. We may not have much control over what happens in other parts of the world, but we can speak up to determine the fates of the natural environments in the lower mainland and other parts of BC and Canada. We must fight to preserve our cherished park in its entirety, in perpetuity, and for the benefit of our all British Columbians.

Similarly, Loretta Woodcock, then-Vancouver Parks Board Commissioner and presently involved in the Pacific Parklands Foundation, which provides funding for the park, spoke about the confusing legal status of the golf course as private and/or Crown land and the park as public land. In her view, “this idea about advancing our public regional park space that we cherish for the Crown/private land is totally unacceptable” (Tan 2007c)<sup>8</sup>.

Overall, information available at the time of this public forum seemed sketchy. Very little official information from the provincial government had been received, given that the consultation process between them and the Musqueam Indian Band was a legal process and confidential. Thus, as Gary Gibson, then-Director of Electoral Area A which includes the UEL and Pacific Spirit, noted, most information was coming from the media. For his part, Gary stated that the “Metro Vancouver Board of Directors has so far taken no stand on this matter of ceding park land to the Musqueam but it would be very unsupportive of such an idea if and when it comes to the board and, to this point in time, it has not” (Tan 2007d)<sup>9</sup>. Meanwhile, Shane Simpson, then-MLA of Vancouver (Hastings-Sunrise), stated he heard directly from Mike de Jong, the Minister of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, that the provincial government was not considering the transfer of park lands.

Maria Harris, then involved on the UEL Citizen’s Advisory Council and later replacing Gary Gibson for Electoral Area A, provided the following synopsis based on a meeting with the Premier (Tan

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/user/TheActivistNetwork#p/u/12/wjMkuBATqEM>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/user/TheActivistNetwork#p/u/9/bxIPO69BvZE>

2007e)<sup>10</sup>: “The best we have been able to determine is that the government believes that it has to ‘accommodate’ the Musqueam by giving the golf course to them and likely providing them with some land in Pacific Spirit Park.” This, she suggested, is a “mix up” by the province as the land transfer would not be related to treaty obligation. She concluded, like Dave Forsyth before her, that

this is not accommodation, this is a gift. Arguably it might be beyond our role to comment on the province’s wish to do this, to make this gift, but by confusing accommodation with gifting, we feel that we have an obligation to assist the public in understanding that, by the government confusing this issue innocently or not, this will likely lead to conflict in future about changes in land use, and that’s what we’re concerned about.

Therefore, Harris insinuated that a change in ownership was not the core issue, but rather what the Musqueam community would do with the land was the concern.

### The Protest

Two months after that public forum, a “Save Pacific Spirit Park” rally was held. The video for this rally was subsequently uploaded to YouTube in several instalments, and recordings posted on a blog (Menzies 2007a). Both sources were used to transcribe the following comments.

Held on Sunday, December 9th, 2007, over 500 people attended the rally that was organized by the Friends of Pacific Spirit Park. Donation boxes were circulated along with petitions, and at the end of the rally, the crowd walked to the Block F piece of land to hammer a “Save this Parkland” sign into the ground (Figure 3.6). Most speakers at the protest lauded the park’s environmental assets, the community feeling of the park, and its role as escape from the city and a source of rejuvenation. The spiritual nature of the park was drawn on by several people, and the perception of the park as a pawn in a legal or political struggle was repeatedly mentioned.

At the protest, a song referred to as the rallying cry for Pacific Spirit Park, entitled “Save the Triangle, Save Block F,” was sung by Ben Seghers, a retired UBC zoology instructor and song-writer. With only one line of twenty-three dedicated to First Nations—asking “them” to “join us”—the song presents a strong environmentalist message with provincial politics woven in. The appeal is for everyone to band together to protect the park from a perceived threat that is left unspoken: if the park land is transferred, the result will inevitably be ecological destruction via urban industrial development.

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/user/TheActivistNetwork#p/u/11/0Bpj2k3fmh8>



Figure 3.6. Protest held at Pacific Spirit Regional Park against the Musqueam land transfer (Jacek S. 2007).

Speaking on behalf of the Metro Vancouver Board, Councillor Gayle Martin read a resolution that the board had unanimously passed in November 2007, both expressing “support for provincial efforts to achieve reconciliation with all BC First Nations and reconciling through the treaty process” and rejecting “the appropriation of local government assets, in this case Pacific Spirit Regional Park, to achieve the settlement of Aboriginal claims.” Marin further stressed that “public opinion today is overwhelming opposed to the sacrifice of park lands as a way of solving provincial issues with First Nations.” In this sense, Aboriginal land claims were determined, again, to be outside of local jurisdiction and were instead a provincial issue.

The Director for Electoral Area A, Gary Gibson, also spoke at the rally. He emphasized that this land transfer would set a precedent, recalling the affidavit signed by Metro Vancouver in 1989 concerning the park’s creation as without prejudice to the Musqueam claim:

Pacific Spirit Park has a clause on it which says it’s always susceptible to land claims, and let’s not forget that because, just because we’ve given up, or probably be giving up, two portions now, it doesn’t mean there won’t be other claims in the future. And that’s legitimate, it’s been ordered by the courts in 1989 that that clause exist, and we continue to be at the mercy of that clause that’s in the park law. So be aware that, in the future, there could be other claims on our precious park and we need to be aware of that.

Gibson emphasized that Metro Vancouver had not played any part in negotiations with the provincial government or with the Musqueam Band concerning the land transfer, somewhat wryly offering the observation that “Metro Vancouver owns the park, yet we don’t own the park.”

Bowie Keefer, a former physicist and engineer at UBC and involved in the creation of the park in the 1970s and 1980s, discussed what he called a “collision” between the invention of agriculture, towns and cities, urban sprawl, and development, and wilderness, of which Pacific Spirit is a “remnant.” He emphasized the spiritual nature of the park as “a bridge.

It’s a bridge to the spiritual connection that the people that lived here for 10,000 years had with the wilderness and that we, all of us have rediscovered the spiritual connection that most of the population of British Columbia lives here and beyond the next lifetime, the next 100 years, the next 1000 years, it’s going to be more difficult to leave the city, these remnants of forest need to be kept as a bridge between people and nature.

Keefer’s speech received many cheers from the crowd of protesters, particularly following his final words about Pacific Spirit: “It should be a bridge between the present and the past, going back 10,000 years; it needs to be a bridge between the present and the future going forward 10,000 years.”

Representing the Wreck Beach Preservation Society, of which she is a founding member, Judy Williams spoke of “the delicate balance of life in Pacific Spirit Park” and the need for even more park land “to preserve wellness in our urban environments.” She, too, emphasized the spirituality of the park:

Treading the sun-dappled path between giant firs, cedar and even noble firs is often more spiritual than sitting in any church man might ever build. Sacred bathing pools along Musqueam Creek, culturally modified trees on the cliff edge below old Southwest Marine Drive, middens gracing the foot of Booming Ground Creek, remind us of a time when man respected the land as a living entity, something we tend to divorce ourselves from in this modern age of glass, steel and concrete.

Williams made several mentions of Musqueam connections to the park lands, while also implying that “Musqueam development” was inevitable: “Surveyor’s stakes mutely reminded me that this will soon be no more.” She concluded: “In the words of Chief Seattle, man did not create the web of life, he is but one strand of it, and what we do to the birds and the beasts, we do to one another.”<sup>11</sup>

Sahri Ulrich, a Juno Award singer, referred to nature as “what keeps us whole and sane and created and inspired and connected to everything that is important about being human...It’s a primal *need*” (Read 2007b)<sup>12</sup>. For her and others, the park transfer represented “shady dealings” and a betrayal of the people by the government: “we can’t even trust now the stewardship of our park land which I always foolishly assumed was sacrosanct and it’s devastating and frightening.”

Erica Frank, a professor at UBC studying biophilia—the psychological need that humans have to experience nature—emphasized that the park is not a commodity and should not be used to settle any

<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, it has been suggested that these and other quotes from Chief Seattle were never spoken by him, rather he became a “noble savage” icon for the environmentalist movement (see Boxberger 2002).

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qePOJMxBx5g>

court cases. Drawing on the community of “neighbours, faculty members, staff and students” at UBC who signed a petition, Frank suggested “that the Musqueam restitution is of course important but there must be alternative sources of money than park land.”

Other speakers included Cynthia Crampton, the President of Nature Vancouver; Eric Lorenz, the Vancouver Chair for the Sierra Club of Canada; Angie Ramey, a UBC student and Camosun Bog volunteer; and Richard Hankin, who had worked for GVRD Parks before retiring. Hankin (Read 2007c)<sup>13</sup> explicitly addressed the battling values that protesters had expressed: “I think all of us want to see Musqueam claims fairly dealt with even if there will be some impacts on the community, as seems certain. We also want to see parkland treated as a sacred trust and want all citizens consulted and the work of those that worked so hard in the past, really respected.” Hankin noted that “people want and do support resolution of First Nations claims, however messy, however diverse the ideas of fairness may ultimately be.” Back in 1989, Hankin was quoted as saying, “There is an awful lot of common ground between Indians and non-Indians on preserving this area” (Glavin 1989). In 2007, Hankin reflected on the secrecy of the government’s actions, and asked, “Have these actions in any way built any sense of trust or understanding of that need and how it’s going to be resolved? I suggest not.”

Charles Menzies, an anthropologist at UBC studying the golf course land transfer, attended the rally and provided these thoughts on his blog (2007b):

I had an opportunity to listen to speakers at a Rally against the Musqueam land deal in Pacific Spirit Park today (Dec. 9, 2007). The rally was organized by the Friends of Pacific Spirit Park. About 250 to 300 people attend the rally. A range of speakers addressed concerns about “giving” away “our precious park.” Speakers emphasized that they had no problem with settling aboriginal claims; but not with “their” park. After the speeches a few protesters made their way over to one of the blocks being returned to Musqueam to stake a claim on the land with signs saying save the park.

Menzies noted that the residents’ emotional attachment to the land and their outrage at having not been consulted paralleled the Indigenous experience of colonialism. Although this parallel could have become a medium for understanding and empathizing with Aboriginal land claims, Menzies concluded that the residents instead showed “a serious lack of understanding of the basis of government-to-government talks that are at the core of all aboriginal-government relations today.” Aboriginal Title was for them abstract—a matter for government and the courts to address—rather than of relevance to all of settler society.

### ***“Reconciliation”***

In 2008, Bill 12, the 2008 Musqueam Reconciliation, Settlement and Benefits Agreement Implementation

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<sup>13</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6eVjK2TLs9g>

Act was implemented, transferring the UBC Golf Course Lands, Blocks F and K to Musqueam Indian Band's authority (Figure 3.7). On March 11th, 2008, the Bill was read in the legislature for the first time. It was described by Mike de Jong, Liberal, as putting "the province and the Musqueam people on a new path of reconciliation and will provide the Musqueam people with a solid foundation upon which to develop their community" (BC Leg. Sess. 2008a:10431). In particular, he emphasized the "new economic opportunities" that will enable the Musqueam people to "fully engage in the lower mainland's mainstream economy." The following day, de Jong specified that 22.3 hectares of Pacific Spirit Regional Park would be transferred, of which park land near the golf course and an additional 1.2 hectares would remain undeveloped (2008b:10489).

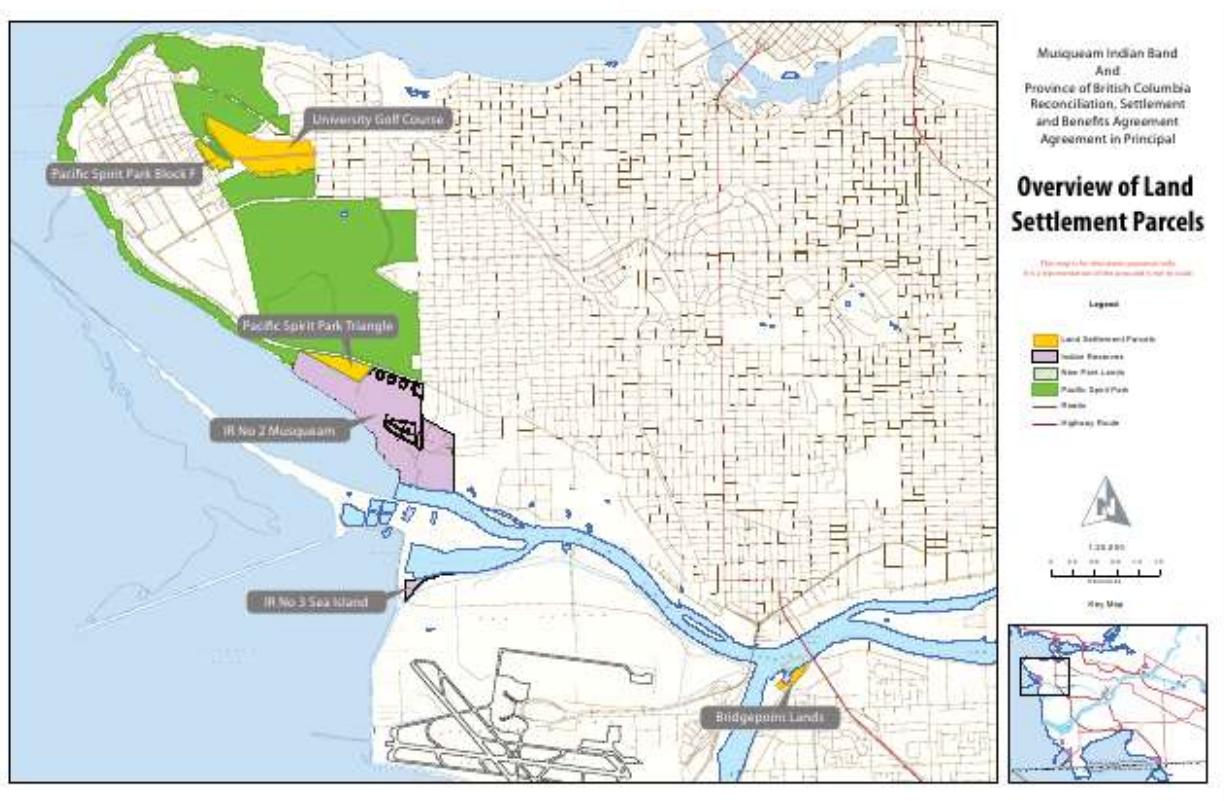


Figure 3.7. Overview of Land Settlement Parcels (Musqueam and BC:2008), including portions of Pacific Spirit Regional Park, that were transferred to the Musqueam Indian Band.

Reflecting on this historic event, de Jong referenced the affidavit signed by the GVRD (2008b:10490), noting that, "when the park was created in the first place, it was done in full contemplation of the fact that the Musqueam had an interest in the area that was yet to be defined, that was yet to be resolved." This land transfer, he later suggested (2008c:10543), is a chapter in the ongoing saga created by the establishing of Pacific Spirit in 1989.

Scott Fraser (BC Leg. Sess. 2008b:10490) reflected on the complicated issue of land in Canada:

In part, at least, the heart of this issue is about land. Of course, the bulk of the traditional territory of the Musqueam people has been appropriated in the past, and land is integral to first nations reconciliation. I understand that this is with some controversy. The nature and use of the land are important to all. With that in mind, we also must be mindful and respect the millennia of known past history of the Musqueam people on these lands.

Building on this, de Jong situated the Bill within the larger context of Indigenous-government relations (2008b:10490):

Reconciliation is not an event. It is a series of events, a series of interactions. It is about a relationship. It is about building trust. It is about establishing good faith. It is about a feeling that exists between us as people that has been absent for too long. We are beginning to see real signs that it is becoming a reality and is why, when we talk of a new relationship, we do so with a sense of hope and with a sense of confidence, because there is much to point to, to demonstrate that it is becoming a reality.

However, Scott Fraser, NDP, questioned the term “reconciliation” when the Bill was, in fact, *imposed* by the courts on the government as the result of litigation (2008b:10491):

If this is indeed the new era of reconciliation, at least a piece of this involves the very worst part of the old relationship—being forced to negotiate; being forced to accommodate; being forced to consult by the courts; and worse, having a first nation have to go through that process to get government to come to the table and develop Bill 12.

Indeed, land repatriation to First Nations is recognized by the 2007 *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Articles 26, 28), however Canada initially voted against this declaration, only endorsing it in 2010 following public criticism. Even then, it was with the proviso that it was merely “an aspirational document” (Canada 2010a). The federal and thus provincial governments’ dedication to “reconciliation” therefore cannot be assumed.

### ***Epilogue***

Metro Vancouver opposed the transfer of park lands from their control. For the local government, the issue was whether the province had the right to expropriate land under the jurisdiction of regional governments to settle Aboriginal land claims, which they considered to be a provincial or even federal matter (*The Vancouver Sun*, 25 April 2008). In *The Georgia Straight* (Pablo 2007), one article also noted opposition to the transfer from Metro Vancouver’s park committee; vice chair and Surrey councillor Barbara Steele stated, “it’s important to have as much park land preserved as we can. It belongs to the people of B.C.”

In December 2007, Musqueam past-Chief Ernest Campbell published the following statement:

The Musqueam Indian Band notes with regret the recent decision of the Board of the GVRD to oppose the transfer to the Band of two parcels of land in what is known as Pacific Spirit Park as part of a reconciliation agreement with the Province of BC...

The Band hopes that Board members will heed the consistent advice of the courts for the parties to reach such reconciliation agreements as an alternative to costly, adversarial litigation and, in the future, support such agreements which seek to balance all relevant interests.

However, the GVRD pursued a legal battle concerning the land transfer that lasted three years. In August 2011, the B.C. Court of Appeal refused their petition regarding the province's failure to consult with the local government. The court declared that there is no "legally enforceable obligation" for the province to consult the district (Pablo 2011).

While the land transfer represented a falling out between the province and Metro Vancouver, the impact of this legal action on relationships between officials at Metro Vancouver and MIB is still unfolding seven years later. Metro Vancouver's actions are at odds with the GVRD's affidavit of 1989, which acknowledges the primacy of the Musqueam claim to this territory. For the Parks Department staff, Mitch Sokalski explained, the land transfer was a more personal issue (pers. comm. January 10, 2013):

I think at the staff level, yeah, as a staff person, you get pissed off, right. Because we value parks and so we don't want park land developed. Like, now Block F will be developed and Block K, which is the other parcel—it'll be developed at some time as well. That's their right, Musqueam's right to do that. But from our perspective, it's like, well we lost 55 acres of land that could have been park. We could have enhanced it and it would have been good habitat, you know, for a west coast ecosystem forever. But now that'll be lost. So I think on that level, we were frustrated...

Sokalski described how the department tried to stay focused on the day-to-day activities and not involve themselves with the broader issues of Indigenous land claims, deemed to be "a separate process."

Meanwhile, at a 2007 public meeting of candidates running in the UEL election that I attended, the park land transfer was criticized by most of the five candidates, the exception being Charles Menzies, UBC professor and member of the University Neighbourhoods Association. Menzies emphasized that accommodations are necessary to redress the errors of the past. One audience member asked the candidates what they would do towards relationship-building between UEL and the Musqueam community. In response, two candidates said they are already in good standing with the community, while another said: "The first thing I'll do is go down to Musqueam and show up with a handful of tobacco."

Menzies noted that there must be a government-to-government relationship based on the premise that the area is unceded territory, and suggested pursuing a direct relationship between people in the UEL and at Musqueam to "work where it counts." Maria Harris, who had also spoken at the 2007 public forum on behalf of the UEL Citizen's Advisory Council, lamented the transfer and lack of public consultation,

while expressing sympathy for Musqueam. She said of the UEL and Musqueam that “we are all members of an enormously diverse community,” and suggested that a relationship of reciprocation between the groups should be pursued. Harris won that election.

### **Discussion: Reconfiguring Colonial Tensions**

Like other parts of the city, Pacific Spirit Park emerges in a context of contestation wherein a series of groups make opposing claims to urban space in attempts to reclaim, preserve, gentrify, and develop.

Jennifer Hamilton (2006:95)

The creation of Pacific Spirit Regional Park can be viewed as a culmination of conflict between Indigenous and settler societies, embodying the contestation Hamilton describes above that is inherent in public places. European colonization was pursued in an effort to secure and exploit resources for profit; this enterprise has resulted in the degradation of ecology, both human and environmental. By the 1970s, a shift in social consciousness translated into valuing of nature above development and associated ideas of progress and civilization.

Roderick Nash (1990a:107) describes this shift as a reversion: where the narrative was once about taming the wilderness to build civilization, the new urban industrialized environment became associated with decay and the immorality of capitalism (Nash 1990a:108), and wilderness became nostalgic as “the good ol’ days” of pioneering and nation-building (Nash 1990a:109). Resulting in the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s, this reversal elevated the natural environment to sacred status, producing what Nash (1990b:187) describes as “gospel of ecology.” This (re)invention of wilderness was not only cultural “but also *class-specific*,” naturalizing particular values through ideological practices (Sandilands 2002:147). In affluent Point Grey, the result was Pacific Spirit, which satisfied the burgeoning environmental morality while ensuring that property values would only increase, a correlation widely demonstrated elsewhere (e.g., Crompton 2001).

Simultaneously, the portrayal of Indigenous peoples by settler society had reversed from stereotypes of Aboriginal cultures backwards or uncivilized, to lauding Aboriginal spirituality and their inherent connection with nature. Indeed, just as “white settlers defined wilderness as the place where civilization, as they knew it, was absent,” so too “Native Americans were viewed as part of the wilderness, because they were separated from ‘civilized’ white society” (Mason 2004:3). The latter has been discussed as the “Ecological Indian” effect (Krech 1999), observable in the appropriation by environmentalists of a generic view of Aboriginal values to support their interests. However, as this foray into the history of Pacific Spirit has shown, when *real* Aboriginal people are encountered, complete with their own interests, needs and priorities—land rights, community well-being, economic prosperity—the

responses are quite different and alliances dissolve.

The media coverage and protests concerning Pacific Spirit, both in 1989 and in 2007/8, highlight several facets of the settler narrative and ongoing Indigenous-settler conflicts. Emphasis was repeatedly made, in media and even the legislature, on the public nature of the park, stressing that it should be for all the people of British Columbia and not one interest group. Concerns over Musqueam plans—real or imagined—for the lands transferred to them, and particularly the ever-looming threat of capitalist development, translated into questions of how much control the Musqueam Band should have, whether public consultation was required, if they had to adhere to existing local community plans. Maria Mies (1993:153) describes this dynamic as “blaming the victim”:

The emergence of landscape planning and environmental protection is related to the destruction of the environment and nature by capitalist-industrial processes. Protection of the environment, landscape planning and so on serve as cosmetics to conceal the identity of those responsible for the destruction in the first place, while the victims of this destruction are themselves identified as perpetrators, the guilty.

At times, these concerns almost seemed to be questioning whether Musqueam people are *capable* of acting “responsibly,” simultaneously affirming class-based conceptions of “appropriate” development.

The Indigenous-settler dynamic is a colonial relationship wherein settlers rely on the state to act as mediator between them and Indigenous groups. While colonial in structure, this is also the primary mechanism by which the state’s authority is affirmed and enforced more broadly, and is fundamentally a paternalistic dynamic. Where settler society has accepted this role of state power—this is, after all, their government representing their communities and interests—First Nations by and large have not.

Likewise, the Musqueam claim to the land was most often decreed as not relevant to the question of whether or not the land should be made into, or maintained as, a park—it was a federal matter, a provincial matter, a legal matter. However, when the land transfer was proposed as a legal settlement, the public response was to *in principle* support First Nations’ land rights while dismissing this settlement as unrelated to treaties and therefore simply “a gift.” This same language was used by colonial authorities to alienate Indigenous peoples from their land while affirming the benevolence of authorities by “gifting” Indian Reserves to these groups, as discussed in Chapter 2. Gibson (2009:159 emphasis added) describes the public sentiment over land claims and treaties as unconcerned,

unless matters of principle are stirred up *or the settlements include particularly treasured public lands*. Examples of principle would be the constriction of the idea that “all Canadians are equal” posed by the Nisga’a Treaty or the treaty to agricultural land by the Tsawwassen treaty. As to public lands, in Vancouver a claim to the University golf course has caused tensions and Stanley Park (for which a good claim exists) would bring real trouble. In general though, the public has vague feelings of guilt it would like to have assuaged and, if treaties help this, good.

It is evident from views expressed in opposition to the land transfer that while the *historical* legitimacy of Aboriginal Title may be acknowledged, the need to redress ongoing injustices is more contentious, particularly when it comes to land repatriation. In this dynamic, the authority of the state to act in the public interest overrides any special interests in what is perceived to be a fair and democratic process.

The discourse of equality and special rights results in part from this dynamic, and plays a central role in the narrative of Pacific Spirit as a public place owned by all. In this sense, parks are commonly considered to be a sort of commons. While some (e.g., Hardin 1968) have suggested that the inevitable result is the diminishing of this resource, it is more widely held that parks are inherently democratic spaces. Therein, the “preferential treatment for special interests in the management and use” of parks is considered “a menacing form of privatizing” (Wade 2005). This perspective, prominent in discourse surrounding Pacific Spirit Regional Park, precludes the possibility of paying increased deference to Indigenous wishes for parks.

In a poignant example, Duffield (2001:118) explains that the provincial government’s Protected Areas Strategy (BC 1993) includes “respecting treaty rights and other Aboriginal rights and interests, involving Natives in protected-areas planning, and ensuring that the participation of Aboriginal people in land and resource use planning will not limit subsequent treaty negotiations. However, the strategy proves self-contradictory, for it states that protected areas are inalienable (the land and resources cannot be sold) and thus are fully alienated” from Indigenous peoples. The alienation of lands from Indigenous peoples through the construction of parks relies on their status as wilderness *qua terra nullius* (Guernsey 2008:113): “The evolution of First Nations land claims issues in the province is based on conflicting contestations over the lands and the ideology of the land as wilderness. Was it or was it not owned and managed by First Nations?”

When rumours that the Musqueam community would develop the area became known, settler society’s reaction was to protest their ownership of the land as it was a protected area—using the rhetoric of nature as humanity’s heritage as a trump card to any specific cultural interests. The park as “endangered” both domesticates any residual wildness in this place as nature and neutralizes its political dimensions, deemed to be less important than *saving* the park (*sensu* May 2009:77; Guernsey 2008:115). Overwhelmingly, this was the sentiment expressed in the 1970s, 1980s, and again in 2007. The continuity of the park as endangered nature in need of saving over this forty-year period reflects a persistent anxiety over the loss of wilderness in the name of progress (Nash 1990a:107).

Yet history demonstrates how the park, rather than being saved, can be viewed as having been lost by the Indigenous communities who were forced to evacuate traditional lands, reassigned to reserves and residential schools, often with the attendant designation of these cleared lands as parks (Guernsey 2008).

Jean Barman (2005) describes this process in Vancouver's Stanley Park, where both the Indigenous inhabitants of the area and the immigrant families were removed by court order in the early 1900s. In their quest for justice, First Nations are stymied by a worldview that holds endangered nature as the heritage of all humanity. They are also hindered by a public who does not understand the historical justification for treaties and affiliated claims, as past-Chief Joe Becker explained (BC Leg. Sess. 2006):

Treaty negotiations are not a matter of race, but a legal and moral obligation to deal with fundamental issues which result from the fact that we did not surrender or cede aboriginal title or collective rights to our traditional territory. Treaties will level the playing field, removing the restrictions of the Indian Act and returning to aboriginal people the control over our own lives.

Thus, the wilderness trope, combined with the “radical ‘purification’ of nature” (Cruikshank 2005:75), has direct legal implications for Aboriginal Rights and Title, where *terra nullius* has reigned supreme and denied everything from Indigenous property conceptions to Indigenous presence itself (Culhane 1998:48).

## **Summary**

Was it morally right to steal land from the Musqueam? For it was stolen—appropriated by Euro-Canadians contrary to the laws of the land that required that treaties be made with Indians, contrary to the unwritten principle of property rights held by both Indians and whites from ancestral times, and contrary to the moral teachings of the Judeo-Christian tradition that was brought by the whites.

All citizens, not just the premier and members of the legislature, need to ask: is it morally right to deny restoration of stolen property?

Michael Kew (1989)

In this chapter, I have reviewed the history by which the provincial government came to create a park against the Musqueam Indian Band's explicitly stated wishes. Nearly 20 years later and after several court cases developing the legal notion of Aboriginal Title, the provincial government pursued this policy until legally ordered to make a deal with the Band. This resulted in the repatriation of part of Pacific Spirit Regional Park to the Band—a return of stolen property, in Kew's vision. While outside of treaty negotiations, this deal set a precedent and it remains to be seen whether other First Nations will be able to similarly benefit by recovering stolen lands that have not yet been environmentally destroyed through industry and urban expansion—natural areas that are highly valued by settlers and First Nations alike.

The creation of Pacific Spirit Park in 1989 prompted a call by the Musqueam community for public protest at the park opening ceremonies, in support of their ignored history in the area and their need to ensure that the park would not hinder future land claims. Ironically, a similar call to protest in the park was issued when the threat arose whereby part of the park would be returned to the Band nearly

twenty years later. Played out in the media, what was highlighted was the “natural beauty” and “preserved wilderness” of Pacific Spirit Regional Park. Although in principle many in the settler society stood by and supported Indigenous rights and land claims, when it came to “giving away” land in Point Grey, ranks were drawn and positions were divided. No one considered the evidence of recent human activity, nor the assertions by Musqueam people of archaeological and traditional use sites in those lands.

Clearly, the relationship between the colonial government and Indigenous peoples, and “the public” and Indigenous peoples, are not parallel, nor are they uncomplicated. Many non-Indigenous protesters stood in sympathy holding placards with the Musqueam Band members and there was both empathy and will to understand the struggle by Indigenous peoples for social justice. However, to this day, there remains a strong “not in my backyard” sentiment alongside the caveat that Indigenous wishes should be met so long as they remain environmentally-focused. There is also the less-discussed issue of the park’s influence on property values and the affluence of Point Grey, addressed in Chapter 4.

Where once the clearance and development of these lands signified “progress,” the endangerment of nature prompted a reversal in public attitudes towards conservation. The park, conceived of in this environmental ethos as a place of nature, became a public place, belonging to all, irrespective of its history or legal status—nature became the *heritage* of all humanity, taking on sacred and spiritual qualities, reflected in the name “Pacific Spirit.” As this chapter highlights, this stance facilitates the adoption of a self-appointed stewardship role by settler society, a role with roots in Christianity (Leiss 1990:89). This prevented the park’s appropriation by “interest groups,” such as Indigenous peoples. The “gospel of ecology” is sacrosanct; meanwhile, the cultural heritage and history of the park is silenced.

It is significant that a public contest was held to name a piece of land that was already inhabited, and it is significant that the colonial society continues to declare itself as steward and protector of the natural environment. It is also significant that Musqueam heritage of the land now known as Pacific Spirit remains widely unknown, twenty years after the park’s creation was protested. These things are significant, because they are familiar: this is colonialism, concealed through ideology. Thus, the establishment of Pacific Spirit, as a manifestation of social ideals, reinforces the settler narrative of empty land or *terra nullius*. Simultaneously, it contributes to an environmentalist narrative of saving nature from expanding capitalist development. Critically, in park discourse, the term “capitalism” is never used but instead is hidden in statements concerning fears of development, dislike for increased urbanization, and the correlation between Pacific Spirit in generating affluence in Point Grey. This narrative is thus in some ways more elusive than the colonialism of the settler narrative, embedded in which is the capitalist drive towards growth, development, and progress. Central in both dynamics is the social construction of “nature.” Exactly how this representation operates to create the park and Point Grey society more generally is the subject of the next chapter.

## PART II: DOCTRINE AND THE PERFORMANCE OF SPACE

*I am a typical park user. Four out of the five apartments where I have lived while in Vancouver have been basements. Inherently, these are spaces restricting light and visual access to outside greenery and sunshine. Not just darker, but they are colder and, on the Northwest Coast, damp. They are beneath other tenants or the property's landowners, which means they are also noisy. In most cases, the heat is controlled by upstairs residents, who also receive and distribute the mail. These basement apartments are invisible from the front exterior of the house—the public face of the building—and are thus concealed, although many houses have such apartments. In Point Grey, they are mostly occupied by students; these basement dwellers often provide necessary supporting funds for the landowners to own and maintain such exclusive residences. For all of these reasons, my partner, Rich, began calling us and those like us “the people under the stairs.”*

*It was in this context—living in a dark basement apartment in rainy Point Grey—that we began to “escape” into Pacific Spirit Regional Park, only four blocks away. The many signs we encountered throughout the park conveyed to us the “nature” of Pacific Spirit, and we began to quickly could see how the landscape was being manipulated and manicured to “enhance” our park experience. Yet, compared to the concrete structures that defined our daily lives, the park truly was nature—green, quiet, fresh, clean. We walked sometimes daily, for a couple of hours at a time, through the forest trails, becoming increasingly familiar to find those that were less populated, had larger trees, had dirt paths instead of gravel that detracted from the quiet and peace that we sought. We favoured pedestrian trails to those with cyclists (although we, ourselves, sometimes cycled), and we said hello to the many, many dogs and sometimes even acknowledged their owners. We especially frequented the trails that led down to the beaches, where we would sit and rest, watching the waves, smelling the ocean air, and playing in the sand with our fingers. When finally we left for the day, the only record of our presence was often just a small collection of shells and rocks left in a pile on the sand or a log—a small reminder that we, that someone, had been there. Conversely, we sometimes came home with those same tokens of “nature,” to be added to our ever-expanding private collection.*

*Returning from this daily ritual, the basement seemed a little brighter, a little warmer—but I knew that warmth had returned home with us from the park, like the seashells and pinecones, and I knew we would soon need to again return in order to rekindle our spirits...all in the name of mental health.*

The park is fundamentally about nature, as borne out in my personal experiences with it. Created in opposition to the city, Pacific Spirit is an outlet for urbanites who, like myself, have little engagement with greenspace in their daily lives. In this dynamic, the colonial restructuring of Musqueam territory into

Point Grey is “forgotten,” as are the globalizing forces that brought about that transformation. In Part II, I discuss how such cultural stories are obscured by a focus on nature. Towards this, I consider park representations, looking at the role of media in Chapter 4, the material landscape in Chapter 5, and the performance of the park in Chapter 6. The tropes established in Part I are in this way mutually reinforcing and sedimented into a worldview; however, insecurity concerning what has been “forgotten” in this narrative is exposed, despite all gestures towards its concealment.

## CHAPTER 4: MYTHS, HISTORY, AND PROPAGANDA

Space is transformed into place through traditions, memories, myths and narratives and its uniqueness confirmed and legitimated in terms of their relationship to particular representations of the past.

Gregory Ashworth *et al.* (2007:54)

Places are, among other things, collections of stories (Massey 2005:130), transforming the landscape into meaning, as Ashworth *et al.* describe. In creating Pacific Spirit Regional Park as a place in the cultural landscape of Point Grey, certain stories were repeatedly articulated both during the 1970s when a park was being investigated and in the 1980s when the park was officially so designated. The values expressed between the two decades, and twenty years later in relation to the land transfer, so closely resembled each other as to be considered tropes. These include the park as:

- a “natural” place, valued entirely for its environment and ecology;
- a necessary escape for a growing urban population;
- under threat from development and thus needing protection; and
- a public place belonging to everyone.

Representations of the park continue to draw on these cultural stories. These stock stories (Bell 2010:23), expressed in everyday forms, are a central way that views and values of Pacific Spirit are both communicated and constructed, thereby informing how this place is practiced (Giddens 1984). The discourse surrounding the park both influences its physical construction, as discussed in Chapter 5, and critically informs the performance of the park, discussed further in Chapter 6.

In this chapter, I survey park representations as a means by which to evaluate the cultural narratives that are associated with this place. In this investigation, I focus on published sources including newspapers, websites, pamphlets and public archives to consider the phrases and imagery commonly used to describe the park. In particular, the social, political and economic issues and the location and demographics of the individuals, organizations, and communities that are speaking are considered.

Building on the themes presented in the previous chapters, I discuss how park representations establish this as a place of nature, drawing on a constructed heritage that celebrates the settler narrative. Considered as part of the larger Point Grey area, this narrative conveys success in the culmination of wealthy communities founded on capitalism; Pacific Spirit has become a brand. The park’s creation itself is also considered a success story by environmentalists who laud the preservation of this vast urban greenspace. Yet, problematically, this story is the exception, not the rule, of ecological health in the province more broadly.

Situated in park narratives provincially and nationally, the tropes at play in Pacific Spirit draw on

cultural stories of militarism and nation-building derived from the settler narrative. The social construction of nature serves to naturalize particular class values while neutralizing imperialist ideologies, with significant social and environmental implications. I suggest that park representations act as propaganda, crafting selective stories that narrate a particular worldview. The park as nature is thus not only integral to the ideology of Pacific Spirit, but may likewise be viewed as a form of doctrine.

### **Authorizing Pacific Spirit**

The power of place derives not only from the values we associate with it, but from the emotional power of the experiences it represents and facilitates in creating.

Laurajane Smith (2006:306)

While the themes articulated above reflect a vernacular understanding of the park, they have intricately shaped, and been shaped by, more official representations of Pacific Spirit. As a public space, the park is actually the property of the state; it is also the state who manages the park, controlling the image of this place that is officially presented. In this sense, there is an authorized version of this place produced, which affects how all other organizations and individuals conceive of it and, as Smith notes above, how they feel about it. Here, I discuss how the authorized narrative of Pacific Spirit is crafted by the official groups with authority in the park.

#### ***Metro Vancouver<sup>1</sup>***

As the governmental body responsible for park management and infrastructure, Metro Vancouver is in a powerful position to communicate the values and behaviours that are appropriate for the park. The Metro Vancouver Parks website<sup>2</sup> (2011a, 2012) for Pacific Spirit is a likely point-of-contact for people looking for information on the park. It provides a park and trail map (Figure 4.1) and information on park features (water, food, information, swimming, beaches, transit accessible). It advertises 73 km of pedestrian/hiking trails, 50 km of cycling trails and 50 km of horseback riding trails.

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<sup>1</sup> The Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD), while still the “official” name, has largely been replaced in common usage with the term Metro Vancouver, which specifically refers to the urban and suburban areas. The technical differences between GVRD and Metro Vancouver are not largely known, and the earlier term has been replaced by the latter, for example on signage in Pacific Spirit. Here, I use the term GVRD or Metro Vancouver when each is noted specifically as the author of a document, though the two include the same government body.

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.metrvancouver.org/services/parks\\_lscregionalparks/Pages/PacificSpirit.aspx](http://www.metrvancouver.org/services/parks_lscregionalparks/Pages/PacificSpirit.aspx)

## PACIFIC SPIRIT REGIONAL PARK

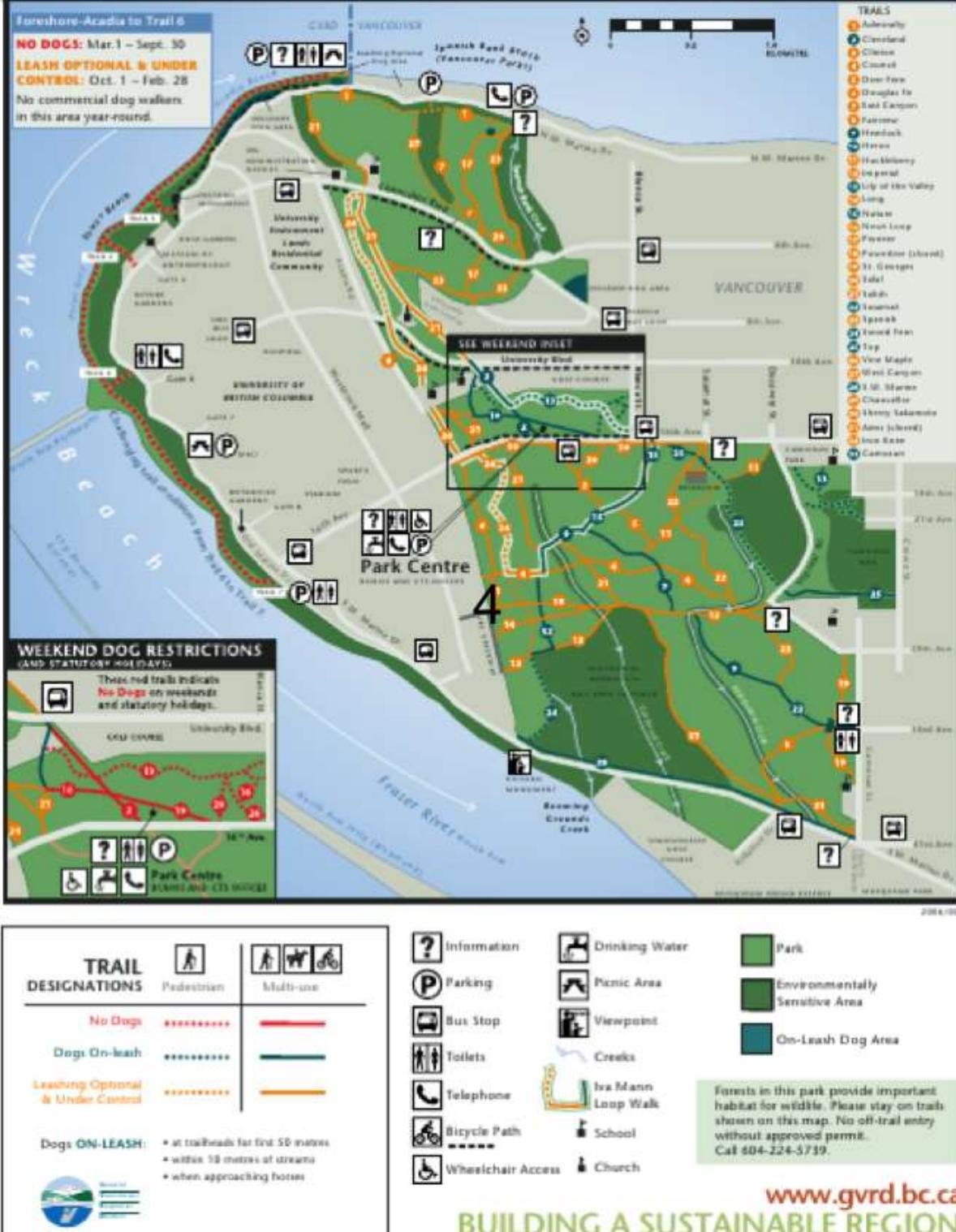


Figure 4.1: Metro Vancouver's official map for the park.

The website for Pacific Spirit features a narrated video (Metro Vancouver 2012) showing images of outdoor recreation (e.g., cycling, hiking), forest trails, “nature shots” such as moss on trees and leaves under sunlight, and an image of a park-user picking up a discarded cup and placing it into a garbage can. The narrator, a young woman, is depicted sitting on the beach and walking through the forest as she relates various points about the park, noting it as “one of the busiest parks in Metro Vancouver” with “some of the last standing old growth trees” and as part of Musqueam territory.

Two other videos are available on the website as pop-up clips. One for Camosun Bog discusses the restoration program with clips of volunteers in the midst of efforts to “restore the natural habitat,” highlighting the role of Metro Vancouver in making the project possible; Musqueam is also acknowledged as contributing. The other video advertises NightQuest, an annual event designed to be “a celebration of the park’s birthday as well a little bit of Spring Equinox and a celebration of the biodiversity found within the park at night.” Meant to inspire “awe and wonder” in visitors, the event takes place at night and volunteers dress in animal costumes to enact some of the nocturnal creatures in the park. The event is organized in large part by the Pacific Spirit Park Society, described by Board member Brian Woodcock: “We represent all the park users and all the volunteers in this park.” Girl Guides run a concession stand and Scouts brand pieces of wood with nocturnal creatures for visitors. The narrator concludes that the event is “magical,” leaves one full of “mystery” and feeling “safe” in the woods at night.

The image presented of the park on Metro Vancouver’s website is thus not only of nature and recreation but also of community, with children and youth programs and events emphasizing the exploration and discovery of nature. These themes are reinforced through other park representations, perhaps most directly through the use of signs in the park.

At each information board adjacent to park trailheads, a park map is provided along with trail rules, a map of the lower mainland and the park’s location, a list of park features and activities, and current information and notices (Figure 4.2). The park map details trail etiquette and emphasizes “Recreation in harmony with nature!” as the park’s mandate.

In April 2009, the following posters were observed (Figure 4.3): PSPS event Take Another Look, a Facebook running group, Health and Wellness Programs, and Fresh Air Hikes. In this way, the park as a place of health is a central message communicated, as well as in the colours consistently chosen for signs and notices: green especially, and blue.

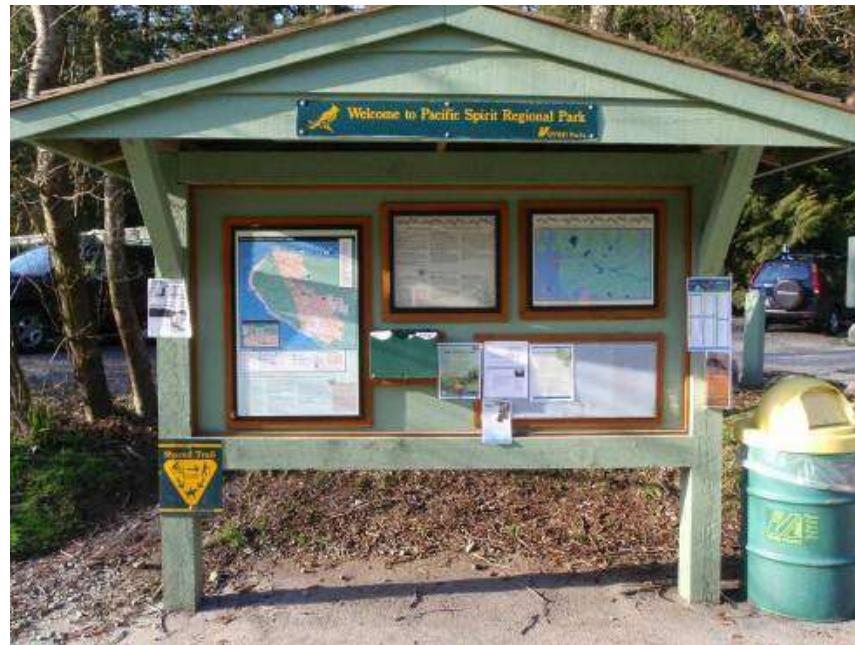


Figure 4.2. Typical park information board found at major trail heads.



Figure 4.3. Notices posted on the information board emphasizing health and safety programs, fresh air hikes and other park events.

A series of signs in the park provide information on local plants and wildlife as part of the “Forest Discovery Trail” (Figure 4.4) which reads:

Inhale the moist, fresh air, tune in to a symphony of sounds and peer through curtains of brilliant green to discover the diversity of life next door to the city.

Follow the Pacific Spirit Forest Discovery Trail through the many habitats of this mixed second growth forest. Interpretive stops reveal connections between different parts and life stages of the forest and the creatures who call this forest home.



Figure 4.4. Interpretive sign for the “Forest Discovery Trail” route in the park.

Cartoon and stylized drawings of plants, birds and butterflies decorate the edges of this sign, and green is everywhere. Others in the series include “Wild at Heart” (Figure 4.5), featuring a woodpecker and illustrating different bird houses; “Natural Recyclers” (Figure 4.6), showing how insects and small animals assist in breaking down old logs; and “Pioneers of the Forest” (Figure 4.7), which discusses bee habitat.

All of the signs include tips for creating a garden at home with these plant species and present stylized animals in a lush green forest. Together, they convey an environmentalist ethos promoting the stewardship of nature in the park.



Figure 4.5. Interpretive sign for “Wild at Heart” plants and animals of the park.



Figure 4.6. Forest Discovery Trail interpretive sign for “Natural Recyclers.”



Figure 4.7. “Pioneers of the Forest” interpretive sign, part of the Forest Discovery Trail.

Various other signs throughout the park indicate activities that are prohibited—including mushroom and fiddlehead picking, dogs in creeks, walking off trails, and, recently, no smoking—and behaviours that are encouraged, including picking up after dogs: “Paddy’s Guide to Canine Etiquette” (Figure 4.8) provides seven different rules for dog-walkers to follow, a necessary consideration given that the park “welcomes an average of 360,000 dog visits per year” (Metro Vancouver 2012). A dog obedience course was also initiated in Pacific Spirit during the summer of 2011, signalling the elevated importance of dogs to this park’s community.



Figure 4.8. Canine Etiquette advertised in Pacific Spirit.

Overall, Metro Vancouver's in-park presentation of Pacific Spirit emphasizes the site as nature, the subject of wonder, exploration and discovery; it particularly caters to children and a family audience. It highlights particularly the park's flora, recreation opportunities, the peace and quiet this place affords, and its role in creating community. These represent the standard tropes of Pacific Spirit; they are also foundational for parks in general.

As a means to situate Pacific Spirit within the broader geography and park administration, I reviewed Metro Vancouver's (2011b) Regional Parks Plan. Its purposes is described predominantly in terms of health (Metro Vancouver 2011b:1, emphasis added):

The Regional Parks Plan focuses on strategies to protect the *natural environment*, maintain a *healthy* park system, and act as *stewards* of a valuable resource while promoting the health and well being of residents by providing access to a wide range of outdoor *recreation* services and amenities close to home...

Regional parks contribute to a *healthy, sustainable* region by conserving the natural assets of the region and promoting a healthy society. They enhance the quality of life of residents and visitors by providing outdoor recreation facilities and opportunities to experience *nature* while

simultaneously protecting regionally important natural landscapes and ecological health. The Regional parks program fosters environmental *stewardship* through *community* development and promotes a sense of responsibility and connection to the place that we live. Metro Vancouver's vision is:

Healthy parks—healthy people.

These themes are stated more explicitly as goals for regional parks (Metro Vancouver 2011b:4-6), including “Protecting the Natural Environment... from the impacts of urban development which can threaten their ability to function.” This is no small task, as “in the next 30 years, Metro Vancouver will have a million more residents. So parks are important. They also contribute to ‘a healthy, sustainable region’” (Ferry 2011). Thus, health is portrayed as the goal, encouraging people “to connect with nature.”

The Plan details the “Roles and Responsibilities” of various levels of government, BC Parks, Crown corporations, Translink, NGOs and regional park partners. Last on this list are First Nations, about which Metro Vancouver (2011b:8) states: “First Nations have constitutional rights which are taken into account in park planning processes.” This perfunctory inclusion of Indigenous peoples in their official Regional Park Plan is at odds with the Greater Vancouver Regional District’s (GVRD 2005) “First Nations Strategy,” which explicitly states “developing better relationships with First Nations” as its mandate. While these relationships may be improving on-the-ground, as Parks Director Mitch Sokalski indicated for Pacific Spirit (pers. comm.. January 10, 2013), it is unclear whether this is also increasing the official role and influence of First Nations in park governance. The acknowledgement of Musqueam several times during the online video profiling Pacific Spirit demonstrates that the relationship is *represented* as amicable, cooperative and productive.

### ***The Pacific Spirit Park Society***

As one of the key park organizations along with Metro Vancouver, the Pacific Spirit Park Society (PSPS) is most involved in offering park-related events and activities. As such, I spent considerable time researching their past and present day activities and participated in a number of events personally both as a visitor and a volunteer. These experiences are related further in Chapter 6; here, I focus specifically on PSPS-generated media as encountered in the park and on the organization’s website<sup>3</sup>.

A community-based volunteer organization, PSPS is part of the Regional Park Partners Program; it “act[s] as the public steward of the park,” and “hold a vision of an urban forest and foreshore park protected and cared for in perpetuity for the benefit of all” (PSPS 2012). The organization dates back to a 1996 community meeting with Metro Vancouver held at the Dunbar Community Centre, with the result as

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.pacificspiritparksociety.org/>

the Pacific Spirit Partnership Society, comprised of 17 people, later to become Pacific Spirit Park Society. Many of these same people were involved in the “Friends of Pacific Spirit Park” group that organized the 2007 protest against the land transfer. Other groups with PSPS include:

- Wreck Beach Preservation Society;
- Nature Vancouver;
- Dunbar Residents’ Association;
- Spanish Bank Streamkeepers;
- University Endowment Lands (UEL) Trail Riders;
- Catching the Spirit; and,
- BC Mobilities Opportunities Society.

Thus, PSPS represents a nexus for nature-minded residents and community-building.

This is communicated visually through their website (Figure 4.9), which is characterized by the colour green: photographs of green trees with winding trails, green text, and green backgrounds. Most photographs depict plants, flowers, berries and trees, some with trails and often groups of people, mostly families, and birds. Pages include information about the society and the park; “Nature Nuggets” featuring stories on birds and various plants complete with photograph and birdcall digital audio; volunteering with the Camosun Bog Restoration Group, the Holly Haulers and Ivy League invasive species removal groups; the PSPS Youth Committee and Trail Troupers program; events in the park; and a collection of contributed stories and photo essays covering recent events and issues such as “Turning Kids on to Nature” and the “Secret Lives” of birds.

On their website under the section “About the Park,” PSPS attempts to characterize the park in a way that everyone can relate to:

There is much to say about this park; we will not attempt to put it on one page! One could say it is a region, or a geographical location. One could say it is a composite of the ecosystems and the species that move through several of these ecosystems. One could say it is a memory of experiences that any one visitor has lived. One could go back in time and see it as a history of changes. One could consider the long term relationship with the Musqueam Band who claim aboriginal title to this land. It is all of this, but there is something else—the spirit of the place itself. It inspires a resonance with the spirit of its human visitors. We grow in harmony with what we sense and what we do in this park. In some sense it is us, and we are it.



Figure 4.9. The Pacific Spirit Park Society (2012) website.

Since 2009, safety has become a concern for park-goers after the murder of Wendy Beaudry-Ladner in the park. Subsequently, PSPS implemented a Companion Walk program. Pille Bunnell (2009), then-President of PSPS, wrote her own reflections on the murder and her feelings about the park in a short piece called “A Sense of Safety,” posted online. Bunnell wrote about the feeling of being violated by this tragedy

because we come to the park as a place of refuge, as a place to restore our well-being physically, or psychically, or both. Compared to a busy downtown street, the park is also place of relative intimacy, of community. In the park we greet people. In the city we are lost in an anonymous crowd.

We feel that a trust of community, of intimacy has been broken. We would not feel a breach of trust if there had not been trust to begin with. This is what truly hurts...

Images accompanying the piece show Bunnell with her dog, Cindy; sunlight on trees; children playing in the forest; a BC Mobilities Opportunities Society group with a TrailRider; tall trees, ferns and moss; a

close-up of a flower; a tent in the woods; and the sunlight coming through a misty forest. Through these images, people are reminded of what the park is about—nature, community, peace—and faith is restored.

Trail Troupers is the initiative of the PSPS Youth Committee, “a network of young Vancouver students involved in the protection, conservation, and promotion of Pacific Spirit Park.” They hold monthly outdoor learning events for children 2-12 years and their families, emphasizing the exploration and discovery of nature. Posters advertising such events are often encountered in the park; these are created in collaboration with Metro Vancouver. Marketed towards children and families, the posters draw on both fantasy and greenery. For example, the 2011 Stories Along the Trail poster (Figure 4.10) featured a tree-dragon figure apparently breathing out a story with a stylized photograph of trees faded as the background, while the Trail Troupers poster (Figure 4.11) was more simple, emphasizing the stock colours of green and blue.

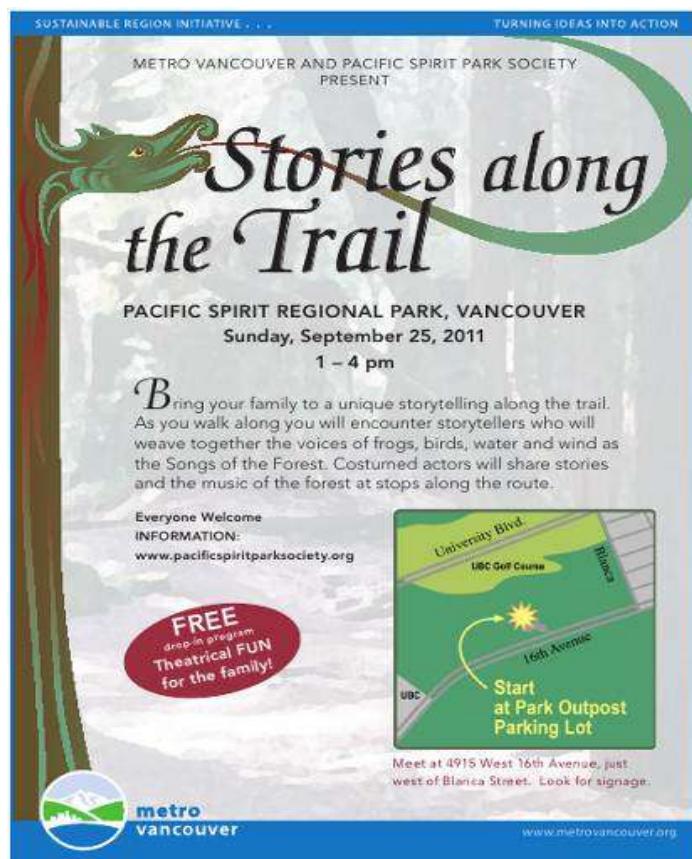


Figure 4.10. 2011 Stories Along the Trail PSPS event advertising poster.

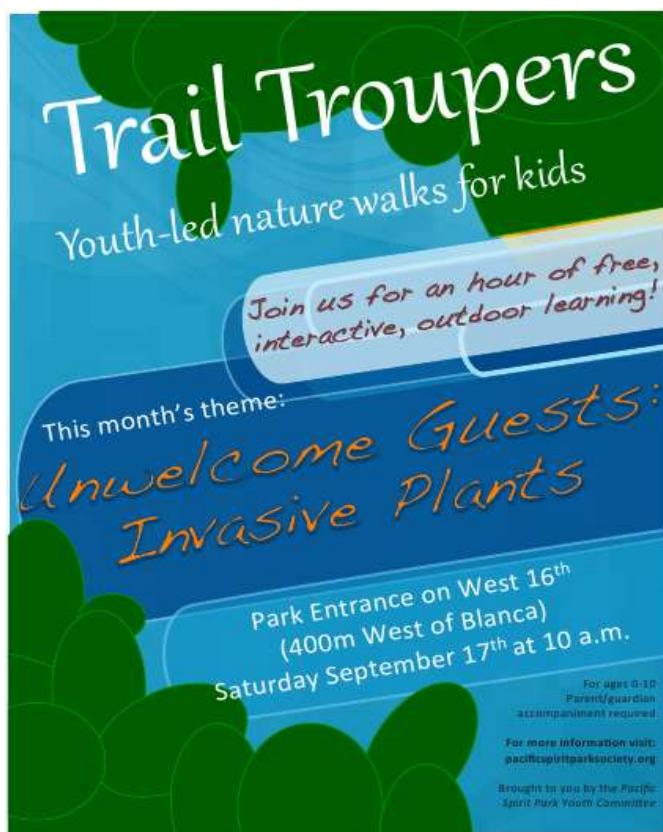


Figure 4.11. Trail Troupers advertising poster.

In sum, PSPS and its affiliated groups are promoting a scientific and hands-on understanding of ecology, an ethic of environmental conservation, and community involvement and stewardship of the park by a broad public. Their interest is in the celebration of the park's nature and educating the public about ecology, to share in their values. Frequently this is framed in terms of exploration and discovery or uncovering mysteries, similar to Metro Vancouver's descriptions. As discussed further in Chapter 6 concerning PSPS events, politics and history—especially the messy and uncomfortable aspects of history—are not subjects of interest for the organization and are therefore largely not addressed in its official representations of Pacific Spirit Regional Park.

#### ***The Wreck Beach Preservation Society***

Although technically the foreshore beaches are part of Pacific Spirit, it is noteworthy that PSPS rarely either hosts events in this area or uses beach and ocean imagery in its posters. Instead, there is a separate entity concerned entirely with Wreck Beach, which comprises a large extent of the park's foreshore. The Wreck Beach Preservation Society (WBPS) has played a central role in advocating for the beach's

clothing-optional status since its creation in 1977. The website<sup>4</sup> (2012) boasts 500,000 annual visitors to Wreck Beach, described as a “wilderness-like beach, which follows a promontory below an emerald-green forested, 200-foot high cliff system magnificently weathered to beauty.” Local wildlife, including eagles, kingfishers, woodpeckers and Great Blue herons are referenced, and vendors selling “exotic” and handcrafted goods are noted. Recreation is emphasized, and some events are held annually, such as Wreck Beach Day, the Bare Buns Run in August, and a Coastal Cleanup in September. The “Naked Truth about Wreck” concludes that, “whatever you need from Wreck Beach—soothing silence to a carnival atmosphere, or replenishment of your soul—is yours for the seeking depending on what section or ‘personality’ of the beach you choose.”

The website tells the history of the organization since its formation in 1977, emphasizing the role of WBPS in preventing various proposed developments in the area that they felt compromised the beach—for example, preventing a sea wall, condominiums, deforestation and a service road. “Current threats” include proposed developments including a restaurant and washrooms that would be visible from the beach. In a study of Wreck Beach Natalie Hemming (2005:4) described how community is created:

Preservation of place is tied to maintaining community and validating belonging with preservation being intrinsic to production, and belonging intrinsic to community. “Preservation” is inherently a struggle to re-produce a place, physically and socially, in a particular image. Further, in the case of Wreck Beach, the people working to preserve understand themselves as comprising a community, sharing a common goal of retaining a site they continue to shape; a place embedded with relationships and ideals—a place where they experience belonging.

The goal of “preservation,” then, both unifies people behind a cause and produces the sense of an eternal struggle against invasions to the place where this community is created. As seen in the previous chapter, the “threat” of the land transfer in Pacific Spirit had the same effect of unifying people, who may be otherwise unconnected, into a “Save the Park” community vested in a place where their shared values were rooted. The difference between general park users and Wreck Beach visitors, WBPS member or not, is that the latter identify themselves as being part of a community, whereas the former largely do not.

### ***Other Organizations***

Given the wide range of activities undertaken in the park, there is a long list of organizations and groups that are in some way associated with Pacific Spirit Regional Park. These include nature-restoration groups, dogwalkers, running clubs, spiritual groups, and geocachers<sup>5</sup>. Park representations for these

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.wreckbeach.org/main2.html>

<sup>5</sup> I was interested to learn that geocaching is a common practice in Pacific Spirit. The British Columbia Geocaching Association (2012) notes that over 33,000 people in the province practice geocaching, which is

groups reflect the image crafted by Metro Vancouver and PSPS above, and promote the following values for Pacific Spirit:

- the park as “nature” and green;
- public park stewardship;
- fostering inclusive community;
- an emphasis on children, youth and family events;
- dogs-as-pets culture;
- nature as a thing to be discovered;
- health and recreation benefits of the forest;
- relaxation and rejuvenation at the beach; and,
- fundraising for health, and children’s health particularly.

Imagery used is similar to that of PSPS and Metro Vancouver: green trees, winding trails, sunny beaches, blue ocean; families and friends sharing a good time; friendly dogs meeting other friendly dogs; children smiling, sometimes on horseback; people getting muddy while working in the bog; picnics, games and sports; and overall, people enjoying themselves while recreating in a variety of ways. Green is the colour of the day. Descriptions of the park are all fairly similar as well, echoing those provided by Metro Vancouver and PSPS.

### **Everyday Reflections**

Knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of the self, to grasping one’s position in the larger scheme of things, include one’s own community, and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person.

Keith Basso (1996:34)

While the official or sanctioned story of the park is easily ascertainable through even a limited investigation of phrases and images used by the various organizations considered above, this story is also reflected and commented on through casual and every-day interactions with this place. Digital age technology means that just about anyone with a camera and internet access can post their own portrayal of Pacific Spirit online for just about anyone to see. These representations of the park can both reflect and reinforce its image, or challenge the authorized narratives to destabilize the place that is Pacific Spirit. Ultimately, such representations may be, as Basso suggests, reflections of the self.

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effectively an ongoing treasure hunt using a GPS by people who largely do not know each other, and who often trade some items in the cache for others. Various geocaches were noted on the Geocaching (2011) website for Pacific Spirit, which was described as “unique” and “an amazing wilderness area.” Appropriately, the international geocaching symbol is an X in a circle—X marks the spot. Thus, resonating with themes established in the settler narrative, geocaching is another form of exploration and discovery in and of the wilderness.

## ***Public Images***

A quick and easy way to assess how the public views the park is by Google-Image searching the internet for related depictions. Google-Image does not analyse the content or file name of images but rather the context, so any image in association with some portion of the search phrase “Pacific Spirit Regional Park” will be returned. Completing just such a search and reviewing the top 300 images, I found that the vast majority of images conform to an iconic portrayal of the park: a sunny beach overlooking the blue ocean, or tall trees and green brush with a winding trail (Figures 4.12a and 4.12b). About a quarter of images include people—pedestrians, cyclists or families—as a feature in the photograph; just as many feature a close-up of flowers, fungi or the pet dog. A similar search of the top 200 Flickr images reveals similar results in terms of “nature shots” and even fewer photographs that include people at all.



Figures 4.12a and 4.12b. A rendering (left) of a trail (VentureVancouver 2012), similar to a photograph I took independently (right).

In a sense, this Google Image search represents a microcosm for the park: primarily, it is about engaging with and celebrating nature and is mostly focused on the forest; secondarily, it is connected with special community-oriented events. This narrative exactly mirrors the messages conveyed in official park documents.

A simple Google search for the same phrase reveals on the first hit—which was for Greater Vancouver Parks (2012)—a series of images that more completely tells the story of the park (Figure 4.13). This story told in photographs depict three separate dog-walkers; park signs; cruise ships passing on the ocean; driftwood on the beach; a plaque in honour of “The Last Spanish Exploration” of 1792; the city of Vancouver at a distance; picnic tables by the ocean; a couple walking in a forest canopy; families with strollers on the trails; close-ups of plants and flowers. In this simple montage, the park as nature, family, community, leisure, relaxation, recreation, escape, and heritage are all summed up. This is *the* story of Pacific Spirit, stemming from and informing the settler narrative as discussed in Chapter 2.

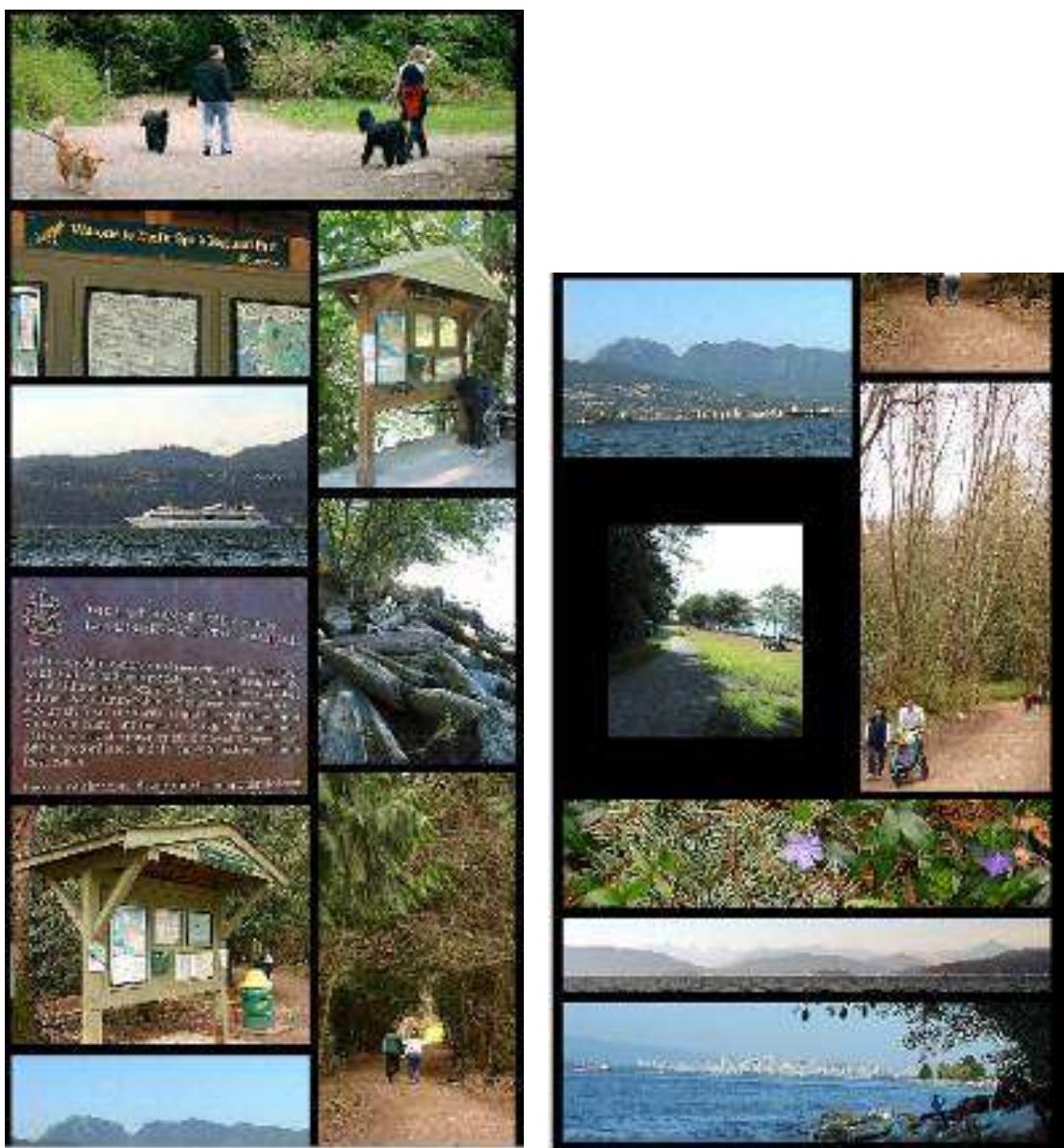


Figure 4.13. Greater Vancouver Parks (2012) website photograph compilation for Pacific Spirit.

The vast majority of online videos, blogs and local tourist guides tell the same story of the park as nature, and resistance to this story is hard to come by. For example, one online video on YouTube (keithm61 2010)<sup>6</sup> called “Getting Nice and Messy” depicts a man wading into muddy water, moving a few planks and logs aside, which appears to be a fetish video. This is certainly an outlier in the range of images and representations produced in relation to the park, and signals resistance in the form of “deviant” or “taboo recreation” (Russell 1996:205), discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6.

However, beyond a few outliers, there is next to nothing published that counters Pacific Spirit’s image as nature and as “a good thing.” Such representations create the impression the park is enjoyed and celebrated by all; there is little evidence to suggest it as a contested place. Indeed, for most of Vancouver, it is not contested: it is simply a public place, and thus a neutral space. Except in the rare occasions when a threat to public interest is posed, such as with the land transfer of 2008, or in the case of violence in 2009, the park image remains overwhelmingly consistent.

### ***In the News***

Over the last few years while undertaking this research, I regularly collected newspaper clippings and saved media webpages dealing with park news. For Pacific Spirit, the following events were most frequently deemed newsworthy:

- the 2008 land transfer, events leading up to it and legal battles following;
- the 2009 murder of Wendy Ladner-Beaudry;
- the 2011 discovery of a missing woman’s remains, deemed not foul play;
- Metro Vancouver’s Regional Parks Plan of 2011;
- a flasher observed in the park during 2011;
- Metro Vancouver’s dog obedience programs of 2011;
- the 2011 death of Iva Mann, who was instrumental in having the park designated;
- the 2011 smoking ban, and protest from the Wreck Beach Preservation Society;
- the revival of salmon in Spanish Bank Creek; and,
- the 2012 discovery of recent human remains, deemed not foul play.

News articles related to the 2011 and 2012 human remains found in the park all discussed the still unsolved murder of 2009 and, although the former two deaths were not homicides, used the opportunity to discuss safety in the park and for women in general.

Other than these particular events, pieces referencing the park often feature under “what to do this summer” or “what to do with the kids,” and specific park events are usually advertised. Beyond this, most media relating to the park, but not produced by park authorities or partners, concern real estate—rental

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<sup>6</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MMScJ7NKSa0>

advertisements and properties for sale that highlight the proximity to Pacific Spirit, the greenery and nature “at your doorstep.” The use of the park as an advertising feature is discussed further in this chapter.

### ***Archives as Artifacts***

An archive represents a collection of works selected by people for a particular purpose. To create an archive, someone makes choices about *what ought to be included and excluded*, and there is an internal logic to this. In this sense, it can be viewed as an artifact—a cultural construction reflecting a particular worldview and notions of ontology and epistemology, both idiosyncratic and cultural. For my research, I investigated two archives with collections specifically related to Pacific Spirit, specifically the Metro Vancouver library and University of British Columbia’s (UBC) Rare Books and Special Collections, and consulted other city and provincial archives.

#### Metro Vancouver’s Library

In June 2011, I visited the Metro Vancouver offices in order to access their library archives—a six-shelf bookcase containing documents related to Pacific Spirit Regional Park. My primary goal was to identify any references made to cultural, archaeological or heritage sites in the park, and/or to Musqueam or Indigenous connections and history. Secondarily, however, I was considering that the archive itself is a representation of the park, as reflecting what is viewed as appropriate to keep record of.

Overwhelmingly, topics included in Metro Vancouver’s library dealt with ecology and environmental issues, including soils; hydration; vegetation; hydraulics; erosion of cliffs; trail riding protocols; geology; beach change through time; forest management; trail management; biology; biking impact; waterfront planning; creek flow; amphibians; and bog restoration. The only documents to deal with social issues included a guide to Wreck Beach (Banardall 1991), a survey of educational and research uses of the UEL (Klassen 1983), a report on dog management (Metro Vancouver 2000a), and a GVRD (n.d.:5) Recreation Services Public Program Report for 1985-87, which recommended an interpretive program in all parks “to bring people in to safe, knowledgeable contact with the parks’ natural and cultural resources.”

Documents to deal with specifically Indigenous heritage issues in the park were limited to an archaeological survey report of the UEL (Ham *et al.* 1988), which identified ten archaeological sites in the UEL, and a Camosun Bog report (Westmough and Pearson 1990) that cited an archaeological assessment, stating no sites had been found in the bog area. Additionally, a report prepared in 1984 by Art Phillips discussed “the presence of extensive archaeological sites” in the UEL, over 20 sites with intact

deposits (Phillips 1984:4), including a canoe skid, campsite, shell middens, isolated finds, canoe run, village, and a main winter village at Musqueam. Phillips saw the potential of using these sites to raise awareness of history, suggesting a walkway be constructed with information signs at the sites (Phillips 1984:4). Before pursuing this, Phillips (1984:21) cautioned that the Heritage Branch and the Musqueam Indian Band (MIB) should be consulted. At the time of producing this report, the author noted that the Musqueam Band manager was contacted but declined to cooperate; Phillips (1984:21) suggested that “the door has been left open with the hope that at some time in the future the Musqueam Indian Band will release information on the historical importance of their land along the North Arm of the Fraser River.”

The GVRD’s 2000 Cliff Erosion Management Planning Consultation Discussion Document also noted that “the area is of spiritual, cultural and archaeological importance. There are important sites of ethnographic significance to the Musqueam along the cliffs and beach” (GVRD 2000:16). Indeed, Musqueam is listed under “stakeholders,” occupying a similar position to UBC in relation to the GVRD concerning decision-making (GVRD 2000:34, diagram). The report specifically states that “all work must take into account the importance of Musqueam interests prior to undertaking any mitigation procedures” (GVRD 2000:16). None of the other documents examined included reference to Musqueam, First Nations, Aboriginal heritage or history prior to European settlement and resource extraction beginning with logging in the 1800s.

Conversely, a heritage inventory prepared by Metro Vancouver (2000b:175-178) identified the following heritage sites in Pacific Spirit Regional Park:

- the Clinton Stables, 33rd and Camosun;
- a sawmill dating 1912-7;
- foundation remnants at Sasamat and St. Georges trails, 1920s-1968;
- Stuart Farmstead Site, Plains of Abraham;
- a World War II defence installation; and,
- a provincial plaque, to commemorate establishment of the park.

Despite the earlier reports of archaeological sites in the area, and this inventory of settler heritage in the park, there is no management plan in place to address any aspect of the cultural heritage of the park (Mitch Sokalski pers. comm. January 10, 2013). As such, the Metro Vancouver “archive as artifact” reinforces that the park is valued almost entirely for its natural heritage, while cultural history is ignored.

#### The UEL Collection

The UBC library’s Rare Books and Special Collections has a dedicated University Endowment Lands collection, compiled in large part by Iva Mann. Mann was a long-time UEL resident and involved in

petitioning for the cessation of urban development in the area and instrumental in the park's creation. Others contributing to the UEL files include the UBC President's Ad Hoc Committee on the Future of the University Endowment Lands and the Cliff Erosion Task Force. This UEL Collection served as a primary source for much of Chapters 2 and 3, and the contents focused on the history of the Endowment Lands since their legal dedication, as well as the creation of Pacific Spirit in 1989. As such, I have elected not to revisit this in detail here.

The compiled documents date back to the very early 1900s up until 1989. They are primarily related to the various development plans proposed for the UEL up until the early 1970s, where proposals by outside groups to keep the undeveloped UEL as a park were filed in the collection. Documents after the 1970s deal primarily with petitioning for a park, with a few considering cliff erosion, and culminate in the 1980s with specific park-use information (e.g., cycling routes). There are also documents included that relate to the Musqueam claim to the UEL. Notes and photocopied pamphlets are mostly filed in the 1976 UEL Study Team's records. The files end with printed materials regarding the opening of Pacific Spirit Regional Park, dated 23 April 1989.

Together, UBC's UEL Collection represents a microcosm for the history of the park—up until 1989. Because the park was officially declared at that time, one can only presume that the need either to collect information or to maintaining a standing committee on behalf of the university was extinguished at that time. After all, the quest to save the UEL forest and enshrine it as Pacific Spirit had been achieved. Iva Mann's role in contributing to the UEL Collection ended with her retirement from her 17-year position on the GVRD parks committee representing this cause (Gold 2011).

Since the park's creation, UBC has not been officially involved in park management as the land is no longer legally tied to the university. Yet the university remains intricately tied to this space, and regularly uses its greenery and beachscapes in promotional materials. The UBC archive gives the impression that the story of the UEL ended in 1989, culminating in Pacific Spirit's opening day celebrations and the successful ending of conflict with the park's creation.

#### City and Provincial and Archives

As the primary record-keeper for the city, it might be expected that Vancouver's archives would hold much valuable information in relation to the making of Pacific Spirit Regional Park. In actuality, however, there is very little. Only three documents or collections relate to Pacific Spirit: the fonds of the Fraser River Coalition, which includes documents about the cliff erosion plan and environmental assessments of Pacific Spirit; a collection of newspaper clippings compiled by the Save Our Park Association, which lobbied for a UEL park in addition to many other projects over the years; and a copy

of Metro Vancouver's dog management strategy.

Delving deeper into the history of the park lands, a keyword search for “University Endowment Lands” reveals 170 records, however only 19 relate to the park lands. These include primarily land use and zoning documents for the larger Vancouver area, some aerial photographs of the Endowment Lands from the 1950s, and the 1976 booklet by the GVRD advertising the benefits of a regional park. Instead, most photographic records depict early houses in the area, the construction of the university and summertime recreation at the Spanish Banks beaches.

In the archives maintained by the Royal British Columbia Museum, no materials related to Pacific Spirit Regional Park are kept. A search for “University Endowment Lands” returned 35 records, which include infrastructure reports in relation to the larger university area; documents from the UEL advisory board based at UBC; copies of the pamphlets advertising property in the UEL from the 1920s; and a couple of documents from the 1970s advocating the creation of the park; none date later than 1977.

Together, these archives reflect the varying degrees of interest in the park lands in relation to proximity and who will be most affected, with the exception of the Musqueam Indian Band<sup>7</sup>. As UBC and Metro Vancouver Parks are most closely connected to the management and history of the park *qua* park, their repositories are the most complete, while city and provincial records are spotty at best and primarily contain copies of documents that originate from the first two institutions. Even still, UBC’s record effectively ends with the creation of the park, while Metro Vancouver’s library is not an archive per se and so any less formal documentation concerning more recent events is not included. Collectively as an artifact, then, the archives tell a story of an area of land with a questionable future that was saved from development and protected as a park.<sup>8</sup>

## Defining a Community

People use the past as part of the way in which they create a sense of identity or identities, and they create links through myth and legend with established places in the landscape. They may also use the past to legitimate the present...

Barbara Bender (1999:64)

<sup>7</sup> Musqueam are perhaps most closely related to, interested in and affected by any changes to the park lands. I suspect that the Band’s archives would be more extensive and contemporary than those examined here, and regret that I was not able to examine them as a comparison to consider.

<sup>8</sup> Another archive that I approached was the Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre, which holds records relating to Japanese history in the province and beyond. I was curious to know whether they held any information that could illuminate the story of the Japanese “squatters” who lived in the park after logging had ceased in the early 1900s, noted in a 1907 *Province* article in Chapter 2. Unfortunately, I learned that their search for documents was not successful and that no researchers had yet pursued this particular aspect of Point Grey history.

The park plays a central role in the construction of Point Grey and UBC as a neighbourhood. As Bender notes above, cultural stories are used to create places and landscapes that reinforce a desired reality, reinforced through representations. Here, I consider the “brand” that is Pacific Spirit and discuss how it is employed in promotional materials by local businesses, selling a particular image and inviting people to buy a particular lifestyle. This shows “how culture is intertwined with the economy, how the local is implicated in wider spatial and social formations, how the past is produced as a set of stories told in the present, and how ‘community’ is appropriated in the business of representing both the past, the present and the future” (Dicks 2000:7).

### ***The Pacific Spirit Brand***

While doing web-based research for this project, I employed the Google Alerts tool, which sent me weekly emails with hits for news, events, websites and blogs that employ the name “Pacific Spirit.” Given the origin of the park’s name—that a local resident essentially invented it—I was interested to see how else the term was used as a way to better understand its associations and meaning.

As a result, I have compiled in Appendix F (Table F.1) all of the uses of the name “Pacific Spirit” that I encountered and was able to find during the course of my research. Although Pacific Spirit was used at least as early as 1984 when Pacific Spirit Tours opened its doors for business, the name flourished since the creation of the park in 1989. Most of these businesses are less than twenty years old. While many are in the area relatively local to the park, several are more distant, in North Vancouver or the Gulf Islands. Commonly used imagery for all websites include sunsets over ocean, beaches, forest scenes, leaves and greenery—with the exception of Pacific Spirit Investment Management Inc.

In short, Pacific Spirit has become a brand for “West Coast Living,” promoting nature, an active lifestyle, environmentalism, sustainability, health, education, finding balance and peace, leisure and recreation, self-actualization and community. Fundamentally, it is about wealth, a brand for elites who can afford the lifestyle of “the most liveable city in the world” (*The Economist* 2011). While the park’s name was used to convey the spirituality of nature, it is also part of this larger lifestyle that features prominently in Point Grey. In particular, UBC has capitalized on the Pacific Spirit brand and on the park’s proximity, which enhances the university atmosphere and the land value of its properties (Figures 4.14a and 4.14b). Ironically, UBC has little direct relationship to the park and does not financially contribute to it in any way.<sup>9</sup> Yet the park is consistently drawn upon in UBC’s self-promotion (Figures 4.15a and 4.15b).

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<sup>9</sup> At the outset of this research, I had emailed UBC’s Manager for Communications and Consultation, Tracy Bains, to identify a contact at the university for potential interviews regarding Pacific Spirit. After conferring with Campus and Community Planning, I was advised simply to contact Metro Vancouver. In terms of finances, at the Pacific Spirit Park Society’s 2011 Annual General Meeting, UBC was not noted among those who



Figure 4.14a and 4.14b. UBC's most recent development south of 16th Avenue, branded with the "Pacific Spirit: pure west coast" label.



Figure 4.15a and 4.15b. An information sign on the UBC campus (left), and a close-up of an advertisement for the university that uses imagery suggestive of Pacific Spirit's trails (right).

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financially support the park, which included Metro Vancouver and the Pacific Parklands Foundation. There has been a Metro Vancouver/UBC (previously GVRD/UBC) Joint Committee that together oversees campus planning, however this is related to infrastructure and services and, so far as I could discover, does not oversee park management. UBC was not represented on the Board for the Pacific Spirit Park Society, nor on the Metro Vancouver Parks Committee. Inquiries to UBC and Pacific Parklands Foundations went unanswered. Thus, I tentatively conclude that UBC has little direct relationship with park management and does not contribute financially to Pacific Spirit.

### ***The Business Community***

The wealth and associated lifestyle created in the brand of Pacific Spirit is reinforced by local businesses. The Point Grey Village Business Association<sup>10</sup> (2010) website describes the history of the area beginning with its discovery by explorers in the 1790s followed by logging and increasing residential and commercial development. It describes Point Grey's small town feel and its "charm" as "one of Vancouver's oldest and most beautiful neighbourhoods" (2012). These themes are emphasized through photographs (Figure 4.16) depicting an abundance of flowers and greenery while hiding the cars parked along the street, capturing the character of the neighbourhood with images of handbags and brand-name clothing, cappuccinos and desserts, high-end jewelry, as well as children's toys, craft shops and a neighbourhood bike race.



Figure 4.16. Imagery for Point Grey from the Point Grey Business Association (2012).

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.pointgreyvillage.com/>

*Vancouver Sun*'s Daphne Bramham (2011a) described the nearby neighbourhood of Dunbar as "a quiet, tidy neighbourhood" and "one of the most expensive neighbourhoods in Canada's most expensive city." Highlighted businesses in Dunbar Village at the time included "the charming Butter Baked Goods" and "old family businesses." Images are of wooden benches next to green brush and trees on the sidewalks and the greenery of trails in the Southlands area. Like Point Grey Village, Dunbar Village uses a small-town feel combined with greenery to create a heritage for the business district, which similarly is marketed to a wealthy European appetite.

The area is also home to various private member's clubs, such as the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club and the Jericho Tennis Club, both impressive structures on the northern edge facing the ocean. Nearby, the West Point Grey Community Centre is also a heritage site as one of the first houses built in the area. Further south, St. Georges School for Boys is a notable feature on the landscape, divided between the junior and senior schools adjacent to Pacific Spirit. Other private schools in the area include West Point Grey Academy, Our Lady of Perpetual Help and Crofton House School. Golf courses in Point Grey abound (Figure 4.17), representing the highest concentration in the lower mainland.



Figure 4.17: Aerial satellite image of the area with all golf courses in Vancouver highlighted in green: A. University Golf Course (now owned by the Musqueam Indian Band); B. Shaughnessy Golf and Country Club; C. Musqueam Golf Club (also owned by the Band); D. Point Grey Golf and Country Club; E. McCleery Golf course. Top of image is north.

## ***The Residential Area***

This heritage and Pacific Spirit brand form the foundation of the real estate market for Point Grey, which is decidedly wealthy. Demographic information for Point Grey is given on the BlockTalk website<sup>11</sup> (2011), which provides neighbourhood overviews, real estate agents and listings for potential buyers (Table 4.1). Dominant Lifestyle Groups were described as follows<sup>12</sup>:

- 35.9% Electric Avenues: Young upper-middle-class urban singles
- 19.5% Money & Brains: Upscale and educated professionals and their families
- 10.9% Urbane Villagers: Wealthy middle-aged urban sophisticates

Information includes household make-up and income, minority and immigration status, occupations, methods for travelling to work, and age of dwellings. The following statistics were provided for Point Grey:

Table 4.1. Demographic information provided for the Point Grey area (BlockTalk 2011)<sup>13</sup>.

Total Adult Population	11,599	
Total Households	5,588	
Average Household Income	\$142,921	
Country of Origin	Non-Immigrant	65%
	Immigrant	32.4% (of which the United Kingdom, Hong Kong and the USA were top three)
Visible Minorities: Chinese	12%	
Not a Visible Minority	82%	

As the first hit returned from an online search for “Point Grey demographic,” this site highlights not just that Point Grey is a wealthy and largely white community, but that this information is considered critical to provide to potential home-buyers, to ensure that they are buying into the community they desire.<sup>14</sup>

While this website is overt with this information, most real estate listings are more subtle, using lush green imagery and immaculately manicured lawns to advertise class values, along with descriptions of the area including words like “preeminent,” “affluent,” and “conservative” to convey the same

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.blocktalk.ca/vancouver/point-grey/lifestyle/>

<sup>12</sup> Only these three lifestyle groups were provided; what categories the other 33.7% of people fell into was not advertised.

<sup>13</sup> These figures reflect those provided in the 2006 Census profiles for the area (City of Vancouver 2006).

<sup>14</sup> BlockTalk is described as “a Vancouver Neighbourhood & Community Information website for real estate buyers.” There is no information provided beyond this as to who may be involved in the website.

message. For example, Point Grey Houses<sup>15</sup> (2010) real estate website describes Point Grey as “one of Vancouver’s most naturally beautiful neighbourhoods”; under Listings, the site frequently refers to the area as one of the “most sought after neighbourhoods,” describing the locations as “prime” and the character of houses as “Prestige Elite executive.” Images present even modest housing as immaculate with extensive landscaping and greenery (Figure 4.18).



Figure 4.18. This house, typical of the more modest properties in the area, was listed at \$2.18 million dollars (PointGreyNow 2010).

Point Grey Now<sup>16</sup> (2010) real estate, part of ReMax, describes houses as in the “neighborhood of the ‘creme de la creme’”; prices for houses range from \$1.2M to \$16.9M, and \$315,000 to \$1.6M for condominiums. Under the About Point Grey section of the website, the area is described as the “finest facet” of the jewel that is Vancouver, “an extraordinary community located within an astonishing oasis of nature”:

Conservative in the best sense of the word, Point Grey is also home to a diverse and ecologically appreciative populace. Faculty members of the University of British Columbia, working professionals, artists, young families, and established leaders and patrons of the city comprise many of the area’s residents.

In many listings on these and other sites and in newspapers, Pacific Spirit is lauded as an integral amenity

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.pointgreyhouses.com/>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.pointgreynow.com/>

for the area; indeed, as mentioned above, a whole series of residential developments at UBC were actually named after Pacific Spirit. However, even in general descriptions of the area by real estate agents and sites, the park is inferred as reflecting and inviting a wealthy population. Certainly, this is no accident as the park's creation ensured the affluence of the adjacent communities, which consistently display higher income levels than anywhere else in the City of Vancouver (e.g., Cain 2013).

## Affirming Cultural Stories

Heritage can be as much about forgetting as remembering the past.

Gregory Ashworth *et al.* (2007:6)

Perhaps more than what is published about the park, it is what is *absent* that silently accuses; as Ashworth *et al.* suggest, absences may be significant to the social construction of heritage. There is a distinct lack of in-depth discussion of the cultural history of this land, beyond the random reference to Captain Vancouver or other European explorers. This is evident from the official park documents, which are all focused on environmental issues, as well as from the above review of Metro Vancouver's Pacific Spirit Regional Park library, wherein published research concerning the park is primarily focused on environment, wildlife and ecology, and geological restoration, with a few recreational and educational use studies completed over the years. Because these topics dominate the literature base on Pacific Spirit, here I instead include only the references I was able to locate that pursue an understanding of the park as a cultural place, rather than a natural space.

## Writing History

One source that deals with Pacific Spirit's cultural history is Kahrer's (1991:54) detailed social history of logging and development in the park area; however, even this stresses ecological conservation and the protection of natural areas and features as then-contemporary priorities. When history is mentioned in relation to the park, sources deal almost exclusively with colonial, Euro-Canadian history; the only volume to explore Indigenous history of the park lands is that written by Musqueam (1977). This is in stark contrast to the broader pattern of primarily non-Indigenous authors writing about Indigenous history and heritage (Dabulkis-Hunter 2002). The result is that, beyond the archaeological reports already noted in Metro Vancouver's library, I was able to locate very few sources that deal primarily with the social or political aspects of Pacific Spirit or its cultural history.

In terms of academic theses written about the park, there are very few that are not explicitly environmental, ecological, or geological in focus. Given that several university departments regularly use

Pacific Spirit for educational purposes, this is surprising. By far, most of the departments with faculty or students undertaking research in the park are environmentally focused, dealing with ecology, biology, forestry or geology (Klassen 1983:7). Despite the park's adjacency to a major research institution, it appears that few feel the park's social history—Indigenous or settler—is worthy of attention.

The academic theses I could locate that have a social or cultural emphasis included Lori-Ann Day's (1995:23) undergraduate essay, which attempted to provide a dollar-value for the park—estimated then at \$4.3 billion—while also emphasizing the environmental value—\$137.8 million. More recently, Natalie Hemsing (2005) investigated a social history of Wreck Beach, while Ellen Bird (2012) looked at safety in the park. All of these theses were produced by students at the University of British Columbia.

Concerning the area's history more generally, an online UBC reference for Point Grey Pre-University (pre-1890) history<sup>17</sup> by Emma Spenner Norman (n.d.) notes that the area was “home to the Musqueam band since ‘time immemorial’”:

Only in recent history has this place been known as “University of British Columbia.” However, long before the university was established, this land was used for education. The Musqueam people used the peninsula as a training site for their youth. The sea was used for canoe pulling and fishing, the forest for hunting and gathering, and the beaches for crabbing. The land itself was, and is, a place for education, for growth.

In this description, the nature of the land itself transcends any particular cultural use, making its transformation into a colonial university seem, not only entirely appropriate, but actually inevitable. The narrative of a seamless and smooth transition from Musqueam property to Crown land is continued in reference to resource use (Spenner Norman n.d.):

Point Grey has a long tradition of supporting its inhabitants with its rich resources. The Musqueam have always looked towards the environment to provide resources for its people...Resources from the forest and the sea not only provide sustenance, but also are integral to the way of life for the Musqueam people. Even after Point Grey became known as “Crown Land” under the British Empire and eventually part of the University Endowment Lands, the rich resources of Point Grey continued to support its inhabitants.

In relation to the controversy surrounding the establishment of the park, the author only notes that, “although the GVRD has title to the land, the Musqueam consider that forested space, as well as the whole of Point Grey, as part of their traditional territory.” Rather than dwell on conflict, the author stresses “the interwoven influences that European-Canadians and First Peoples had on each other,” and the “positive working relationship” held between UBC and Musqueam. Tension in the “colonial encounter” is thus minimized, and the violence of European alienation of Musqueam people from their land is glossed over.

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<sup>17</sup> [http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/u\\_fabric/pre1890.html](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/u_fabric/pre1890.html)

The published literature and scholarship on Pacific Spirit is a cultural product that affirms, like Metro Vancouver's archive, that the area should be as the GVRD declared in 1980, "first and foremost a nature park" (GVRD 1980:5). This conveys a perceived dichotomy between nature and culture, with the latter losing out when pitted directly against the former. The message of this dichotomy is obviously received as the park has not been viewed by scholars in the humanities as an appropriate or attractive site of query. This in turn helps to (re)create the park as a site of nature, in opposition to culture—and this circle has no end.

### ***Marking Heritage***

As part of a 23-part series entitled "My Neighbourhood," *The Vancouver Sun*'s reporter Daphne Bramham (2011b) interviewed local historian Terry Slack concerning the history of Point Grey. Slack had identified the place where he believes Captain George Vancouver had first arrived at Acadia Beach, however no marker exists to indicate this, to "the city's shame" according to Slack. They proceeded into Pacific Spirit along Admiralty Trail, where a dairy farm in the 1890s, and visited the World War II towers on the beach, lamenting "how Vancouver seems intent on forgetting its past." In a follow-up piece, Bramham (2011c), wrote that "First nations history and culture has also been sadly neglected. Important village and burial sites have been paved over. Names have been anglicized or ignored...Few of us know much about the Squamish, Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Tsawwassen people who share their ancestral land with us." Bramham concluded that "it's not parks or history that defines people's relationship to their neighbourhoods. It's a feeling of belonging; a sense of breathing out when you round the corner to home."

Meanwhile, the Vancouver Heritage Foundation (2011) compiled a list of sites nominated as part of a "Places that Matter" plaque campaign for Vancouver's 125th-anniversary celebration. Included on this list was Pacific Spirit, described as "one of the few large wooded areas in Vancouver that you can walk, run, (with your dog) and even ride a horse on some trails" (Vancouver Heritage 2011:14). The park's Plains of Abraham area on the Pioneer Trail was also nominated, described as the site of a dairy farm in 1909 with still-visible concrete foundations and planted cherry trees. The justification for this site was that the Plains of Abraham "provides a focus to the so-called Pioneer Trail (otherwise uninterrupted) in that part of the park, and recollects the city's agricultural and labour history" (Vancouver Heritage 2011:35).

Of interest, however, was the inclusion of Musqueam Village IR#2 on the nomination list, its importance framed in relation to the area's 4,000-yr-old archaeological history, European explorer's contact with people from the "Misquame" village, and Musqueam's role in the 2010 Olympics (Vancouver Heritage 2011:5). The other site acknowledging Aboriginal presence was Stanley Park,

nominated for its bridges that are important for “providing access to and complimenting the park’s natural beauty” (Vancouver Heritage 2011:28).

A blanket nomination was also submitted for Musqueam Territory, noting that “GVRD is located in Musqueam territory” (Vancouver Heritage 2011:5):

As a Musqueam Band Member, I am proud our people survived the colonization and Residential School horrors. Mainly I am proud of our continuous efforts to succeed. Our ability to hold on to our traditional ways has been invaluable as we move towards our future. We are strong, intelligent and determined.

While none of these sites made the final cut for “Places That Matter” (VHF 2012), the Lions Gate Bridge is the only place even acknowledged on the map as having been nominated.<sup>18</sup> Over 200 sites were nominated and 125 sponsored for commemorative plaques, of which 70 have so far received their plaques in presentations.

One of the simplest ways that heritage is marked on the landscape is through naming. In Point Grey and Pacific Spirit Regional Park, the place names that label streets and trails testify to historical people, places and events. A sample of street names in the area with identifiable historical origins (Appendix G, Table G.1) and some of the park trail names (Appendix G, Table G.2) illustrates that colonial history is most frequently signaled in these placenames. These include references to particular people (e.g., Dunbar Street, after a 19<sup>th</sup> century realtor) and general themes (e.g., Pioneer Trail). Military references are especially evident (e.g., Plains of Abraham, a cleared area in Pacific Spirit). Even seemingly banal names such as trails named after plants (e.g., Deer Fern; Appendix G, Table G.3) reinforce the narrative of nature over culture, implicated in the ongoing process of dispossession as surely as streets named after colonial authorities (Berg 2011:20).

One would think that, with such obvious historical markers encountered every day, the history behind them would be well-known by those who live in the area; yet, I have found the complete opposite to be true. Casual conversation illustrates that people rarely look beyond the face-value of these street or trail names to investigate history or even wonder where the name came from. This has particularly struck me regarding the province’s name “British Columbia,” which is so taken-for-granted that the roots behind the name as Britain’s land of Columbus does not even register. This was illustrated in responses to my questionnaire, discussed in Chapter 7.

In these names, the heritage of Point Grey is literally embedded in the landscape, laid down with the very streets they identify. While they should recall European exploration, colonial administration and

<sup>18</sup> Regarding the two sites in Pacific Spirit, I suspected that this may be because these areas fall outside of the legal boundaries for Vancouver rather than any intentional exclusion of these sites for other reasons. The same reason may be true for Musqueam’s IR#2 being excluded, although it is noteworthy that the adjacent Musqueam Park is included on the map as a nominated place that did not make the 125-site cut.

institutions, the effect instead is to naturalize the name, neutralizing its historical potency and converting the political act of naming into an unquestioned feature in the neighbourhood; it operates to hide power (Thornton 2008:112). The lack of acknowledgement of the cultural history in the park or Indigenous history in Point Grey further emphasizes the area as natural. This, in turn, has the effect of naturalizing and neutralizing the history itself.

### ***Park Legacies***

While heritage and history may be overtly marked, it is more often more subtly referenced simply in the language and imagery used to describe a place. So far in this chapter, I have tried to illustrate how Pacific Spirit Regional Park is conceived of and the indices used to signal what values are at play. However, Pacific Spirit is but one example of a much larger trend. All representations I have encountered for local, regional, provincial and national parks share a common theme at their core: parks are about the discovery and exploration of nature. While there are other prominent cultural stories told through parks—community, health, recreation etc.—nature over culture is the common thread linking parks all across the nation.

As a means to evaluate the uniqueness and/or conformity of narratives told in Pacific Spirit compared to other parks, I reviewed park representations produced by the provincial and national park agencies. There is an overwhelming number of pamphlets, documents and webpages produced by and for parks in British Columbia and Canada more broadly. This, itself, is significant; both the province and the nation draw on nature imagery in their self-promotion and parks are often pointed to as representing a cultural ethos and achievement to be proud of. The province's registered trademark “Super, Natural British Columbia Canada” is but one example. Given the large volume of park literature available, here I highlight a few poignant examples representative of how cultural stories are interwoven in park narratives.

#### **Parks Canada**

As the national parks body, Parks Canada is a particularly pointed example of how the nature-discovery-exploration narrative underscores parks across the nation. Established in 1911 as the Dominion Parks Branch, Parks Canada is “the oldest and one of the largest national park services in the world, managing 167 national historic sites, 42 national parks and 4 national marine conservation areas” (Bottero 2011).

Two of the three headings on their website<sup>19</sup> (Parks Canada 2012) are “Discover” and “Explore” (the third is “About Us”).

The Parks Canada Charter (2002) identifies the agency’s role and commitments in terms of being “guardians,” as “opening doors to places of discovery,” recounting “the stories of Canada.” Using terms such as “healthy,” “heritage,” “natural” and “legacy,” the nationalist thrust of Parks Canada as an institution is self-evident, as is a sense of paternalism in phrases used such as “*our* Aboriginal people” Charter (Parks Canada 2002, emphasis added). While conservation appears to be the agency’s prime directive, promoting tourism has long been its practice, both feeding the need for and driving the consumption of nature (Sandilands 2002:161).

For the Parks Canada centennial in 2011, a website titled “Our Story” was created. The site features “striking images and short narratives that together tell the story of 100 years of Parks Canada. Be wowed and be proud!” Significantly, this website features a photograph of a man dressed in 19th century British army garb—complete with long red coat, tricorn hat and knee-high leather gaiters—holding a telescope looking out to the ocean from the Signal Hill National Historic Site in Newfoundland and Labrador (Figure 4.19). I can think of no image more strikingly colonial; indeed, this introduces the umbrella under which themes of nature, exploration and discovery unite: militarism. This image is iconic, representing “a masculine eye of survey, ownership and control,” the gaze of “explorers and adventurers, conquerors and colonists” alike (Taylor 1994:10).

The website section titled “A Century” provides a succinct description of how Parks Canada and its history are portrayed, emphasizing conservation, storytelling, and “wowing visitors”:

Parks Canada spans the nation,  
protecting our diverse and spectacular natural places;  
telling the fascinating history of our country;  
and facilitating adventure, recreation, renewal, and discovery.

Similar to Figure 4.20, this description accompanies a photograph of three people dressed in British military red-coat uniforms, walking forward across the prairies with swords drawn.

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<sup>19</sup> <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/index.aspx>

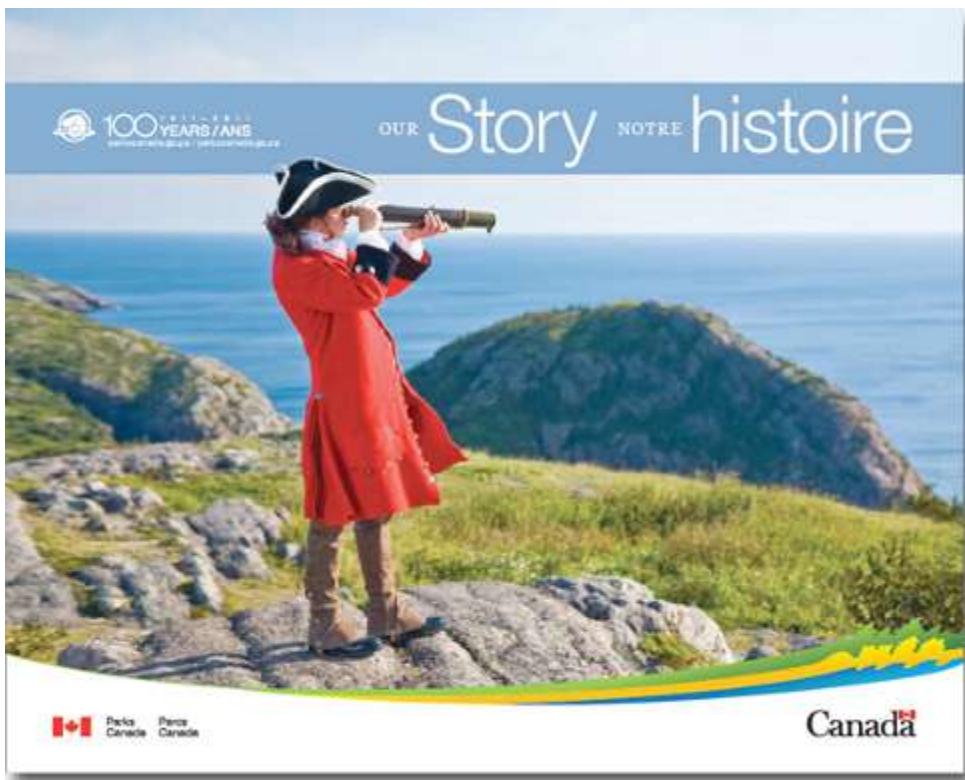


Figure 4.19. An image offered in celebration of 100 years of Parks Canada (2011).

“In the Beginning” tells how a hot spring in Banff prompted the designation of parks. The site describes that “various people claimed rights to the springs,” so the federal government stepped in and “protected” the area from sale, settlement or squatting. In this sense, the creation of public parks is presented as a means to settle conflict over land rights. “Defining Ourselves” describes how “as the national park movement grew, so too did the public’s appetite for history and for establishing a firm Canadian identity. The federal government was also looking for ways to extend the national parks system closer to growing urban populations and into Eastern Canada.” This page describes how early conservation efforts established an “integrated concept of balancing natural and cultural heritage, conservation and visitation, education and recreation.” Parks as representing endangered areas now saved is thus affirmed.

“New Perspectives” relates how, after the 1950s, “increasing numbers of Aboriginal peoples, women and ethnic groups were recognized and designated as national historic people and events. Their inclusion diversifies our collective perspective of the Canadian story and rights a long-held historical bias.” Towards this, under “Working Together,” a photograph of three Inuit men is accompanied by the caption: “The Inuit cooperatively manage this stunning park and bring their special historical and cultural relationship with the land to all aspects of park management.” The page further describes Parks Canada’s

relationship with “the country’s Aboriginal peoples” as “collaborative.”

Indeed, in February 2012, Parks Canada signed an agreement with the Maa-nulth Nations on the west coast of Vancouver Island to cooperate in planning and management of Pacific Rim National Park Reserve (Caranci 2012). Similarly, in 1996 the Wapusk National Park Management Board was created, made up of representatives from two First Nations, the local town, the province, and the federal government, “to ensure that the communities and government jurisdictions that supported the creation of the park continue to have ongoing input into its management by providing advice to the minister responsible for Parks Canada” (Britton 2011). A recent article (Tammemagi 2012) notes that “many of Canada’s national parks now honor First Nations peoples,” and calls Parks Canada “an international leader in working with aboriginal peoples.”

“Play, Experience and Be Inspired” remains the approach for Parks Canada towards public engagement. Programs aimed at youth include “Discovery in the St. Lawrence,” commemoration of “The War of 1812: A time to discover,” and the “Parks Canada Xplorers,” the latter which depicts a statue of a man in British military uniform. A general outlook of “For Canadians, With Canadians” highlights a nationalist pride in the colonial and military history of exploration, discovery *and occupation*. Looking to the future:

Parks Canada renews its invitation to all Canadians to get involved in their treasured places to help address the challenges of today and tomorrow. In so doing, we will keep exploring, deepening and celebrating our connection to some of the most inspiring and vibrant places in the world.

This is Parks Canada’s way of renewing its commitment to future generations: 100 years from now, our successors will look back upon our efforts and achievements and see a truly remarkable legacy of heritage creation and preservation that will fuel their pride in this country, “Our home and native land.”

#### Canada’s Historic Places

Although cultural sites are part of the agency’s mandate, the *Parks Act* of 2000 established “ecological integrity” as the agency’s focus. Thus, while Parks Canada is involved in managing cultural sites and certainly capitalizes on nationalist historical events and places in its self-representation, these cultural sites seem to take a back seat to the nation’s natural parks.

Partnered with Parks Canada and largely assuming the role of cultural caretaker, Canada’s Historic Places (2012) defines cultural sites as “a structure, building, group of buildings, district, landscape, archaeological site or other place in Canada that has been formally recognized for its heritage

value by an appropriate authority within a jurisdiction.” The Canadian Register of Historic Places<sup>20</sup> suggests that “Aboriginal history plays a central role in Canada’s protection of historic places.” Of the 93 National Historic Sites in British Columbia that have received Federal Heritage Designation, 30 are connected in some way to Aboriginal History. A cursory examination of some of these 30 sites reveals 13 are related to pioneer or fur trade era sites, where Aboriginal people had played some role, rather than sites relating to pre-colonial Aboriginal heritage, which account for the remaining 17 sites.

Of interest is that Canada’s Historic Places takes a cultural landscape approach to its site designations, “as a practical tool for proactively and respectfully managing significant historic landscapes which are meaningful to particular groups, cultures, or populations. The value of this method for protecting the character of a defined landscape lies in its potential to integrate multiple perspectives about a place, bring together many different stakeholders as well as acknowledge the traditional methods of stewardship which best promote sustainable land-use practices.

No fixed universal definition of cultural landscapes exists. In general, though, the application of this concept consists of two elements: the geographical location (landscape), a real, tangible place; and the impressions, beliefs, and rituals (cultural) associated with that place. Cultural landscapes can vary in size ranging from a street to an entire town, to a vast migration corridor. Identifying a cultural landscape is to recognize the complex relationship humans had or continue to have with the places they create and occupy.

This is a potential avenue to be considered for Pacific Spirit and other local or regional parks, as it shifts the focus of parks away from nature-at-the-expense-of-culture to nature-*as*-culture.

## BC Parks

In some contrast to Parks Canada’s website, which features many images of historic places, people dressed in uniforms and miscellaneous artifacts alongside photographs of park landscapes, BC Parks<sup>21</sup> (2012) almost exclusively uses images of mountains, lakes, forests, and marine landscapes devoid of people to represent itself. This is in line with its mission, “to protect representative and special natural places within the province’s Protected Areas System for world-class conservation, outdoor recreation, education and scientific study.” BC Parks is also committed to “maintain British Columbia’s ecological diversity through the preservation of representative, and special natural ecosystems, plant and animal species, features and phenomena,” in the form of Ecological Reserves, such as the one in Pacific Spirit.

As of January 2012, 1,000 protected areas representing 13,146,866 hectares fell under the jurisdiction of BC Parks. There were about 19.7 million visits to these parks during 2010/2011. Things to

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/pages/register-repertoire.aspx>

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.env.gov.bc.ca/bcparks/aboutBCParks.html>

Do featured outdoor recreation opportunities—hiking, canoeing and kayaking, fishing. In-Park Programs include cave tours, bear-watching and a lava bed tour. In 2011, BC Parks celebrated its 100-year anniversary. In celebration, they created a video series entitled “The Great Ranger Experience”<sup>22</sup> (2011a) (Figure 4.20). The video features interviews with park rangers describing the parks they work in, opening with whistling, banjo and harmonica music in the background. Imagery includes snowy mountains, valley grasslands, glacier tourism, and a marine park. The rangers describe the landscape, ecology and recreation experiences available in each area; one of the rangers identified their role as ensuring public safety in the park and protecting important habitat. Of interest is the Great Ranger Experience logo, seen in the upper right area of Figure 4.20, which features an image of a ranger’s hat, similar to that worn by the North West Mounted Police, now the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

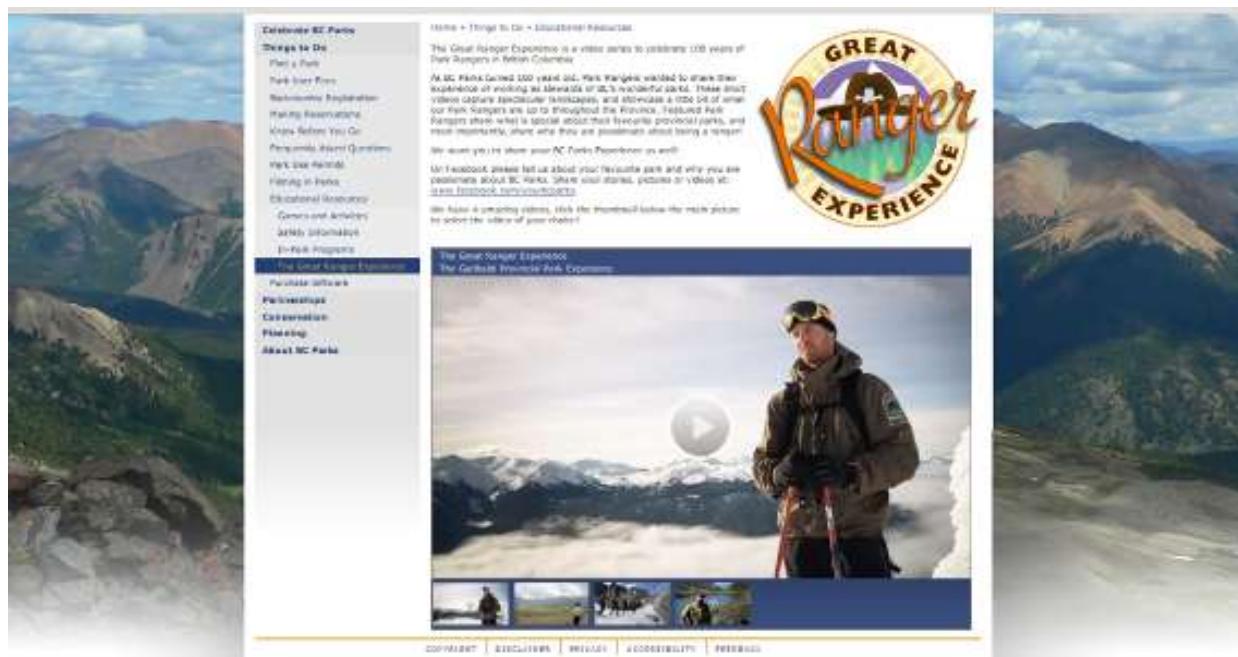


Figure 4.20. BC Parks (2012) “Great Ranger Experience” webpage.

“A History of BC Parks”<sup>23</sup> (BC Parks 2011b) begins with “an economic boom in the late 1800s and early 1900s, [which] gave rise to population and prosperity. This wealthy climate, along with a growing interest in the establishment of parks across Canada, was the perfect combination to begin what is now B.C.’s pride and joy: Its park system.” In these early days, “most visitors to these large wilderness parks were from the more affluent segments of society.” However, between 1930 and 1960, “parks made the shift from being vacation spots for the bourgeoisie to somewhere for everyone to enjoy.” The site

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.env.gov.bc.ca/bcparks/education/greatRangerExp/>

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.env.gov.bc.ca/bcparks/events/history/>

relates how, in the 1950s, “parks were all about recreation,” but this changed when “large segments of the affluent, well-educated public began to show concern for what was suddenly a shrinking resource.”

Looking to the future, the website emphasizes the “vast, beautiful, wild network of parks” as “one of the greatest resources this province has.”

Although it is recognized that “British Columbia’s parks and protected areas contain nationally and internationally significant natural and cultural features and outdoor experiences,” cultural heritage management is not officially part of BC Parks’ mandate, which is instead “dedicated to the protection of natural environments for the inspiration, use and enjoyment of the public.” Regardless, cultural heritage and particularly archaeological features are recognized and discussed in several of BC Parks’ conservancy site descriptions, particularly those located on Haida Gwaii.

Towards this, under BC Parks’ Partnership program, there are no *specific* First Nations listed among the 60 partners provided, instead only listing “BC First Nations” as one entity among a list of 11 other *specific* governmental agencies. However, in February 2012, EcoLog reported that BC Parks had teamed up with Squamish Nation in two conservancy management plans as “the first collaborative achievement for BC Parks and the Squamish Nation under a 2007 agreement to manage protected areas in the Squamish Nation traditional territory.” Several conservancy plans also highlight the role of First Nations including Haisla First Nation, Lax Kw’alaams First Nation, Haida Nation, Gitga’at First Nation, and Gitxaala First Nation. Some of these appear to be co-management plans, while others indicate significant involvement by the First Nations in creating and implementing the plan.

While Parks Canada uses the nature-discovery-exploration theme to promote a national identity, BC Parks is more conservative in representing itself and its parks as an almost back-to-basics recreation experience. Nature is central here, and while discovery and exploration underlie the agency’s approach to management, they are not foregrounded. BC Parks is also less directly involved in public engagement than Parks Canada or Metro Vancouver.

### **Discussion: The Social Construction of Nature**

Nature, then, is not natural. It is produced, and its production is always strategic because particular definitions of nature benefit particular interests and actors in society.

Ian Hodder and Bob Hutson (2003:111)

Pacific Spirit Regional Park is a cultural place shaped by and embedded with particular cultural stories, values and cosmologies. As Hodder and Hutson note above, such park representations strategically send messages of what activities and values are considered appropriate for the park. It is startling to see how closely the images presented of the park by widely varying sources resemble each other; indeed, there is

very little resistance or challenge offered to undermine the park's authorized narrative.

As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, four tropes for Pacific Spirit were evident in how it had come to be as a place, discussed in Chapter 3—namely, that the park is

- a “natural” place, valued entirely for its environment and ecology;
- a necessary escape for a growing urban population;
- under threat from development and thus needing protection; and
- a public place belonging to everyone.

In this survey of park representations, five more themes are apparent that can be added to this list.

Specifically, the park is

- about health, safety and well-being;
- a focus for community, specifically families and dog-lovers;
- an object of exploration and discovery;
- commemorating military conquest and nationalist/patriotic heritage; and
- for the wealthy and upper middle-class of society.

The park narrative is of a public place for all to enjoy, and a sense of community is played up particularly in official park representations. However, the media examined demonstrate that the community intended as the park audience is distinctly wealthy, the upper crust of society. These were considerations as far back as the conception of the park in the 1970s and its creation in 1989. For example, in 1976, a letter from a Vancouver Board of School Trustees (1976:1) was concerned that the UEL forest “is used as a refuge for certain undesirable elements of society.” In 1989, photographs of park uses published upon its opening in *The Province* (Eberts 1989:76) included a woman riding a horse at full gallop through forested terrain, although horseback-riding is the recreation of only an exclusive few.

While these messages exist on the level of the subtext, there is certainly a history of forcibly removing those whose presence in park lands was deemed undesirable. Following the initial expulsion of Indigenous peoples from the immediate area, in the early 1900s, government surveyors removed some 200 primarily Japanese squatters occupying what would later become park land (Kahrer 1991:30). Nearly one hundred years later, *The Vancouver Sun* (Sinoski 2009) reported that “patrols last summer criss-crossed the park and helped chase out the ‘oddballs’ that were seen hanging around the area.” This was in response to a murder in the park, prompting public concern about two issues: the homeless squatting in the area, and the proximity of the park to the Musqueam Reserve. Clearly, either the park is not for everyone, or the criteria for personhood are being conveniently redefined (Malkki 1997:63).

Reflecting on the area’s early history, Klassen and Teversham (1977:22) note that trails through the UEL had been maintained and stables established “by a number of prominent Vancouver businessmen

who were avid horsemen and wanted trails to ride.” In fact, horse stables today abound in Southlands, perhaps the most financially affluent (and mostly Euro-Canadian) community of Point Grey, which is just down the road from the UEL. Thus, while not advertised as a park exclusively for the rich, published materials, particularly concerning real estate in the area, indicate this demographic is especially welcome.

It is also noteworthy that the residents of Point Grey likely enjoy more leisure time both because of the positive correlation between leisure time and financial wealth, and because of their proximity to the park. As outlined in Chapter 2, Point Grey as an area was, since first European settlement, intended as an affluent community; however, the Musqueam community was not included in this vision. Hamilton (2009:55) describes:

Ironically, the Musqueam reserve’s chronic economic underdevelopment, which had preserved its “natural” feel for nearly a century, enabled the creation of a residential space of great desirability and value. In the 1980s, another form of landscaping further added to the value of Musqueam Park: the creation of Pacific Spirit Regional Park.

Indeed, financial capital in Point Grey and areas surrounding significantly increased after the establishment of Pacific Spirit (Day 1995:22); the park’s creation played a direct role in bolstering the affluence of this neighbourhood. In her consideration of the *Glass* case concerning the Musqueam Park leases and land values, Hamilton (2009:54) suggested that ‘Musqueam Park’s potential value as a residential subdivision inhered in its simultaneous proximity to ‘pristine natural’ rainforests and beaches and ‘urban’ cityscapes such as the University of British Columbia, affluent residential neighbourhoods on the west side, and downtown Vancouver.’ She elaborated (Hamilton 2009:56):

it is undeniable, at least in this context, that the subdivision’s proximity to a large green space positively impacts property values. The ability for urban dwellers to quickly escape “to estuary marshes, rock and cobble beaches, wooded ravines, upland forests and ancient bog” is highly prized. Additionally, the containment of further housing development in the area helps make properties like those in Musqueam Park increasingly rare. Thus, part of the value of Musqueam Park properties is that they are surrounded by a “natural” environment, by a “pristine” landscape claimed unsuccessfully by the Band and indefinitely protected under current legal regimes.

Similarly, Jean Barman’s (2005:90) study of the creation of Stanley Park describes how elite businessmen from Canadian Pacific Rail petitioned for an urban park to ensure that their nearby lands in what is now Coal Harbour and downtown Vancouver would remain valuable:

A parallel, equally important reason was that both rail officials and land speculators sought to depict Vancouver as a desirable place to live, and few amenities were as enticing as a large park adjacent to a city centre. The romanticized association of parks with natural bounty could become a major selling point that would transform the image of Vancouver to be more than just another boomtown.

Large parks like Stanley Park and Pacific Spirit both create and signal affluence. Significantly, however, in Point Grey, this affluence stops at the border of the Musqueam community itself, even while their leased-land occupants enjoy a similar economic position as the other neighbourhoods surrounding the park. By way of illustration, de Chant (2012) and Zhu and Zhang (2008) have studied the relationship between forest cover and income inequality, concluding that there is a direct correlation between greenspace and wealth. To follow suit, I used GoogleEarth to compare sections of Point Grey that abut the park with other areas of Vancouver. Both on the microscale and when viewed in relation to the whole city (Figure 4.21), it is visibly obvious how much more treed or green Point Grey is to the rest of Vancouver. In this sense, the park embodies the inequality pervasive in our society; it has also been central to creating the affluence of Point Grey.

By placing the park in its larger environmental context, Figure 4.21 also shifts the gaze out towards the area outside of the park. Conversely, in all of the park imagery, descriptions and slogans provided in both relation to Pacific Spirit and parks more broadly in British Columbia and Canada, a common feature is that the lens is turned inward: parks as beautiful places of nature and wilderness is affirmed and green is everywhere. This overwhelming use of green on maps, posters and websites to portray Pacific Spirit is significant (e.g., Monmonier 1996:170): “even if no deliberate manipulation is intended, because of embedded emotions or culturally conditioned attitudes some colors carry subtle added meaning that could affect our interpretation.” Green signifies a healthy environment, but is this a fair representation of Pacific Spirit given its larger context?

At the rally to Save the Park held in 2007, Sherry Sakamoto was invited to speak as the “name-the-park” contest winner. Reminiscing on the ideas behind the name Pacific Spirit—“inspired by First Nations, their belief in the Creator and their close ties to nature”—she recalled her contest prize as a helijet ride, saying that it brought to view just “how little green space there is in this city.” She commented how this ride showed her

how bad things really are, that our children are beginning to lose hope. And we can’t just blame the government, because we are all part of the problem. We are losing forests because of our needs for bigger and better, our homes are encroaching on lands that need to be used for growing food and to ensure a clean and healthy environment. In our effort to have more, we are numb and have forgotten what our forests do for us, and how we are part of the web of life.

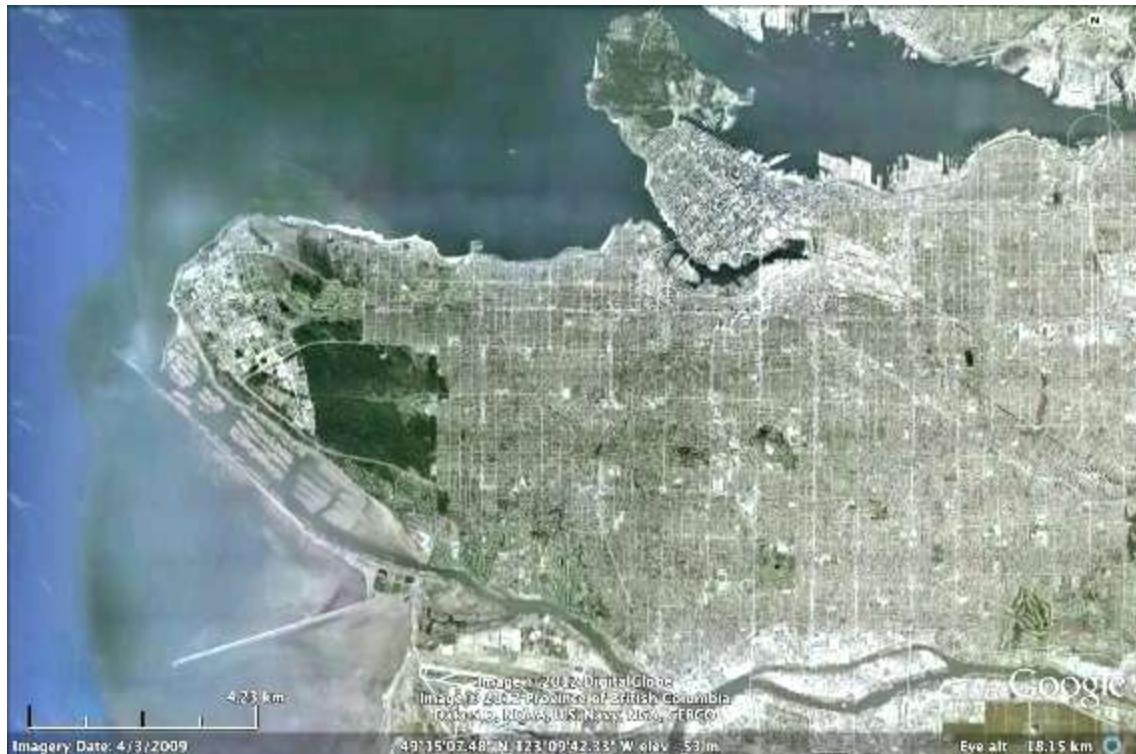


Figure 4.21. Satellite imagery depicting the greater Vancouver area and the paucity of large greenspaces. Top of image is north.

Such reflection on the context of the park within the larger area of Vancouver, in my experience, is rare, and instead the park as a jewel of nature is emphasized, rather than to ask why this escape is necessary. Yet escape was one of the reasons why the park was needed, a point that was repeated during the public consultations of the 1970s, when the park was made in the 1980s, and when the land transfer was proposed in 2007. Increased urbanization and population density has produced more concrete and less trees; in this context, Pacific Spirit is lauded as a victory by environmentally-minded residents.

Turning the gaze outward or zooming out reveals that the destruction of natural habitat is not only increasing—forestry alone represents 30% of provincial and national exports, bringing in over \$9.07 billion for British Columbia annually (BCFII 2013)—but it was a core motivation for the colonization of these lands in the first place. Resource extraction remains central to the economy and heritage of Canada; colonial expansion was only the vehicle for capitalism, which is still the driving force. The settler narrative implicitly celebrates this ideology, as observed throughout park representations, while Figure 4.21 above illustrates the result: Pacific Spirit and Stanley Park are simply the only forested areas existing today in Vancouver, portrayed as natural while great pains are taken to enforce this representation.

Park representations do not tell this part of the story, instead selectively narrating the more positive elements of the park's creation; likewise, stories connecting parks with military history are nostalgic, sanitized of the violence inherent in this nation-building (Mawani 2007). In the former, nature is being

saved from culture, from expanding industry and urbanization. In the latter, nature is an empty land, unclaimed and unnamed, a wilderness to be discovered, explored and transformed (Nash 1990a:107). In both narratives, nature is central to settler identity, and both the province and the nation draw on nature imagery in their self-promotion. Perhaps what is most concerning is that this militarism is usually employed in programs designed for children, such as Parks Canada's Xplorers and Pacific Spirit's Trail Troupers. This is the most basic way that ideology is naturalized: passed on through generations. Steeped in military history, and today with the university and an affluent population, Point Grey was and continues to be a landscape of power (Zukin 1993).

This process of heritage construction is selective (Ashworth 2007:35) and oriented towards contemporary interests (Ashworth 2007:3) in celebrating the successes of settler society. It represents, in this sense, the Disneyization of history (Bryman 2004) —transforming unsettling truths into safe, sanitized and unthreatening stories that can be easily consumed to make people feel good about themselves, their society and the world in general. This imagined reality is communicated throughout park literature in the choices made of what should be included (e.g., trees, birds) and how it should be portrayed (e.g., green). It therefore may be considered propaganda, defined by the Oxford Dictionary as “information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view; Italian, from modern Latin, congregation for propagation of the faith.” Park propaganda communicating a doctrine of “nature” is remarkable in its lack of deviation from this dominant narrative, leading park-users in their faith and worship of the “Pacific Spirit,” discussed in Chapter 6 as ritual behaviour. The sacredness of nature is thus constructed as “invariant and unquestionable” (Lambeck 2001:250), as are the institutions that produce formal propaganda (Herman and Chomsky 1988:2), including the state (e.g., Metro Vancouver, BC Parks, Parks Canada) and organizations representing elite interests (e.g., Pacific Spirit Park Society, Pacific Parklands Foundation). The timelessness and naturalness of the park and the structures of domination are thus intrinsically linked and mutually reinforcing. Yet, despite these efforts to secure nature in Pacific Spirit, there remains an anxiety concerning the future of the park expressed in the narrative of loss: of losing park lands, losing control, losing this jewel, losing nature—and, in the context of Point Grey, losing affluence.

## Summary

The potential of individuals to “see” things from different and contradictory perspectives may, in theory, be almost limitless. How, then, is meaning controlled by interest groups within society? Strategies might include placing events and their meanings in nature, making them “natural,” or placing them in the past, making them appear inevitable.

Ian Hodder and Bob Hutson (2003:210)

“Place” is the culmination of stories, memory, identity, and a sense of heritage. In this chapter, I have illustrated how Pacific Spirit Regional Park is primarily valued for its nature. There has been a singular lack of attention, not just to the cultural *history* of the park, but to anything cultural at all. This promotes an ecocosmology—a cultural worldview of humans-environment relationships—wherein there is a clearly distinct realm that is natural as meaning untouched by humans and another realm that is cultural, which is, by definition then, *unnatural*. As Hodder and Hutson suggest, the promotion of such views is strategic.

As observed in provincial and national park literature, this narrative of nature is integrally tied into larger cultural stories of European imperialist exploration and the discovery of the “New World.” This settler narrative, as discussed in Chapter 2, is manifest in park propaganda as patriotism, distinctly recalling British military expansion. Because of this clearly-cultural element to the story, perhaps more than all the other propaganda examined, this story exemplifies the foundations of parks in North America. The heritage of parks, and of Pacific Spirit in particular, is fundamentally colonialist and militaristic, pursuits in support of the larger capitalist endeavour of capitalist resource exploitation.

The representation of nature in propaganda as neutral, peaceful, green and friendly, serves to propagate the settler narrative as a neutral, natural and even benevolent story of nation-building—a story that is revered as foundational to Canadian identity (Sandilands 2002:161). Pacific Spirit as a place of natural beauty is open for all to discover and explore, giving primacy to natural heritage as democratic. Any particular cultural experience or history is thus erased, trumped by that which is perceived as being of universal human value. Yet this construction of heritage is singularly a cultural one, reflecting a fairy-tale version of events that paints a rosy picture of a society premised on inequality established through capitalistic exploitation. In this construction of the park as a place within the larger landscape of Point Grey, these cultural tropes become sedimented, reinforced through park performances, and embedded in the landscape itself.

## CHAPTER 5: CULTURAL LANDSCAPE, NATURAL MONUMENT

Places matter. Their rules, their scale, their design include or exclude civil society, pedestrianism, equality, diversity (economic and otherwise), understanding of where water comes from and garbage goes, consumption or conservation. They map our lives.

Rebecca Solnit (2007:9)

Landscapes<sup>1</sup> are more than material. They are memories and stories, places that we create to reflect our cultural memory back to us, to situate and locate us, to confirm our history. They are not static but are active in the social construction of reality, as Solnit suggests above—they both structure and liberate in the production of meaning (Giddens 1984). As Keith Basso (1996:7) suggests, “if place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine.” Landscapes are thus an ideal medium to communicate, and conceal, social values.

Archaeology, as an extension of anthropology, places an emphasis on the material world to understand human behaviour in the sites where mind meets matter. When framed as materiality, the relationship between people and things or places is reciprocal, recursive, and mutually reinforcing—together, they “bring each other into being and are therefore analytically indivisible” (Jones 2004:330). In this way, mind shapes matter: cultural values, ideals, and a sense of how things should be manifested and materialized in physical things. As such, “cultural landscapes thus do not *represent* memory; they *are* memory” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh *et al.* 2008:66).

In this chapter, I discuss how I sought to use the methods of archaeological survey to analyze the contemporary landscape of Pacific Spirit Regional Park as a culturally-constructed place conveying cultural values and stories. My interest was in assessing the extent to which the narratives established in previous chapters are reflected and/or challenged in the material landscape. As such, I emphasized the visible material elements of the landscape—the human-modified artifacts and features that people would encounter in their daily experience of the park and thus that contribute to people’s conceptualization of the character of the park—to depict “the *outer face* of the community” that is Pacific Spirit (Collier 1986:36). The ways that these material elements connect with cultural narratives illustrates how the park may function as ideology, naturalizing domination through landscape.

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<sup>1</sup> The term “landscape” and its use in archaeology have been explored in-depth in the 2008 *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* edited by Bruno David and Julian Thomas. They acknowledge three broad approaches to landscape: as fields of human engagement, as physical environmental contexts, and as representations (2008:21). In the 65 chapters addressing landscape, there is no agreement on definitions of or boundaries between those three approaches. Throughout this dissertation, I use the term “material” landscape to specify the material culture and physicality of the park, and “cultural” landscape to denote the conceptual, cognitive and social construction of place. While these elements cannot be separated (Mitchell 1994), I use the simple term “landscape” when I am referring to this totality.

I begin by discussing the challenge of overcoming my own ethnocentrism to identify culture in nature, and outline how I approached surveying Pacific Spirit. Aimed at gauging the official or authorized park landscape, the results of my trail-based surveys are discussed, followed by a summary of all findings. I then reflect on my more casual wanderings in the park followed by off-trail surveys, representing an attempt to engage with the unofficial or vernacular landscape of the park. Throughout, I give primacy to photographs to illustrate the environment that park-users interact with and to narrate the park landscape (Cronin 2011).

Although all material culture is *able* to communicate, in Pacific Spirit only that which supports the narrative of the park as nature is *activated* by park authorities, while cultural heritage is largely inert. In contrast to such official material culture, vernacular artifacts and features illustrate disparate perspectives on how the park should be interacted with, with notable differences between the forested areas and the beaches. Juxtaposing the authorized and vernacular narratives told through Pacific Spirit, I consider the relationship between memory, heritage, ideology, and place-making, and discuss how previously established narratives and tropes are manifest materially in the park. As the embodiment of cultural values, I suggest that the park functions as a monument to nature, a sacred site of worship, and as a natural museum. In the context of colonialism and industrial capitalism, Pacific Spirit articulates a deep-seated insecurity inherent in the settler narrative, despite overwhelming attempts to ease this anxiety through the manufactured nature of the park.

### **Designing a Survey Strategy: What is Cultural?**

A rock pile ceases to be a rock pile the moment a single man contemplates it, bearing within him the image of a cathedral.

Antoine de Saint Exupéry (1942)

The material landscape that humans create is, at its core, a cultural construction. In this sense, “monuments and places, like rituals, are ways in which societies remember, where the function of memory and commemoration is the joining of past with present” (Preucel and Matero 2008:84). This construction relies both on the material marker as a pneumonic device to trigger memory, and on the individual gaze of the object, which projects meaning—transforming, as de Saint Exupéry suggests, the banal into the emotional and symbolically charged.

Landscapes have thus been literally built to fit cultural conceptions of how the world and society operate and what activities are appropriate for what kinds of places. Archaeologists are trained to recognize the signs of alteration—building foundations, the remnants of a hearth, shell middens, culturally modified trees—and strive to interpret these markings, to create categories for site types that

may reflect how past peoples interacted with their world. It is a universal human quality to create places; the ways that places are created, however, are culturally specific.

Knowing this, and equipped with years of archaeological training to recognize modified landscapes and features, I still found it incredibly challenging to shift this gaze from looking for evidence of *past* human activity, to recognizing the signs of *present* human modifications. In part, this is because so often archaeologists study cultures other than their own, thus all material culture is somewhat alien and so more readily identifiable as cultural. As the product of my own culture, it was difficult for me to see past my ethnocentrism to consider features *as* cultural—precisely the point I was trying to make in this survey—yet the signs of human modification were all around us.

As I and my field assistant (and mother), Bonnie Hutchinson (Figure 5.1), walked through the park and discussed what we should or should not be recording as cultural features and artifacts, it was like taking off one pair of glasses for another set of lenses, ones that make the familiar seem unfamiliar—the lens, and strength, of anthropology. As such, I attempted to treat the park as I would any other archaeological site and record all visible features and artifacts, treating all as significant and worthy of study (as per Beck *et al.* 2009:102).

This required a number of conceptual shifts and lengthy debates about terminology. For example, the textbook definition of an “artifact” versus a “feature” is that the former is moveable while the latter is not. I consider this distinction to be arbitrary and unnecessary because these categories are not inherently meaningful and, further, are inadequate to cover the range of material objects and contexts that do not adhere to the distinction. All human-made modifications to the park, moveable or not, may be considered as “features” of the material landscape with which people interact. Similarly, all “features” are also “artifacts” in the etymological sense of being “something made” and “art.” The entire park may thus be considered both an artifact itself, and a feature of the broader landscape. Scale is implied in the conventional definitions, but scale depends on context. As such, I initially chose to use the terms interchangeably, however, the distinction between artifacts as mobile versus features as immobile later became significant to my analysis, as I will discuss.

Similarly, I struggled over the characterization of some features that had ritualistic elements. Some of these, such as rocks lined up on a log at the beach, had been created over time by multiple park visitors performing repetitive behaviour; some were one-event products. I view these features as ritualistic, created for artistic, aesthetic, and/or spiritual purposes, and some may be considered as altars, some as offerings. Together, I have chosen to call them monuments to indicate that they are markers of memory (Van Dyke 2008:278)—mnemonic devices that connote emotional engagement with place activated through ritual. As I discuss in Chapter 6, ritual is central to the function of Pacific Spirit.

The surveys completed for this project included first a forest and beach trail-based component,

which focused on only those artifacts and features visible from the trails. This enabled me to consider feature prominence and thereby assess which aspects are frequently encountered and observed by park users. I also undertook an off-trail survey of the park to identify features that would not be encountered by most park users, which may thus represent a more private use of the space.



Figure 5.1. Survey assistant, Bonnie Hutchinson, taking notes of artifacts and features, and maintaining a log of GPS waypoints and photographs.

The surveys involved a surface investigation only (i.e., no sub-surface testing), and used photography and written description to characterize the contemporary material landscape. I also used a Garmin 60CSx Global Positioning System (GPS) to record spatial locations of the various artifacts and features along the trails. A basic count and description of other park-users encountered and activities observed during the survey were also recorded. GPS waypoints were not collected for off-trail surveys. The off-trail component of my survey involved using local knowledge gained through conversation with long-term residents to identify areas of interest in advance, and then visiting these areas, documenting the experience using photography and note-taking. I considered spatial recording using a GPS to be unnecessary and even inappropriate, since the places visited may be valued precisely for their secrecy and

privacy. In this way, the off-trail surveys allowed me to access the park that is *not* visible and thus not part of wide public consciousness.

During the period between February 2009 and June 2011, I resided about three blocks away from Pacific Spirit Regional Park. I frequently walked, jogged, and cycled its trails, and became familiar with some of the areas, the activities, and the landscape in general. These varying experiences contributed to the design of the survey component of this research in innumerable ways, helping to establish which areas and times of day useful for both trail-based and off-trail surveys, and to acquaint me with the range of activities and artifacts or features I might encounter therein. Notes from these experiences and photographs obtained during these informal park walks have been included to supplement the results obtained through the more formal park surveys completed.

### **The Authorized Landscape**

Landscapes and cityscapes, which in turn may become ethnoscapes and stage-sets for spectacle, parade and performance, embody an official public memory marked by morphology, monuments, statuary and nomenclature.

Gregory Ashworth *et al.* (2007:54)

In order to access the official or authorized version of the park—the elements that park officials *intend* for people to interact with—I undertook surveys of park trails in order to evaluate the “official public memory” that Ashworth *et al.* describe above. Towards this, six GPS-based surveys were completed altogether. These include two in June 2011 that are considered test surveys, used to develop a survey strategy and recording methodology. The other four surveys were undertaken in the Fall of 2011 (October and November) and Winter 2012 (February). Details, descriptions, counts, and maps have been generated for all of these surveys. The areas were chosen based primarily on my experience of them as being variable in terms of frequency of use and kinds of behaviours evident at each. Each route also offered different qualities (e.g., trail type, permitted uses, tree species and age, proximity to the University of British Columbia [UBC] or public transit). While not statistically tested to be representative, the four areas surveyed do provide adequate coverage of the range of park behaviours and activity levels, consistent with Klassen’s park survey completed in 1976. Here, I provide a summary for each on-trail survey completed, followed by discussion of the artifacts and features recorded.

#### ***Test Surveys***

In June of 2011, my Survey Assistant, Bonnie Hutchinson, and I completed two trail-based surveys,

during which we experimented with the use of a Garmin 60CS GPS, discussed the parameters for what we would and would not consider cultural or human-modified features, considered which trails we should survey, and discussed the best times to undertake this work. These two surveys I consider to be a testing phase of the surveys and we experienced some technical difficulties with the GPS unit; as such, the spatial data and artifact/feature counts are not included to avoid compromising the integrity of comparisons and analyses offered herein. The majority of these areas were also included in later surveys (Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.2. Four survey paths taken through Pacific Spirit, with waypoints highlighted in yellow. Test Survey 1 was undertaken in the area near Survey 4, and Test Survey 2 on the beach near Survey 2. Top of image is north.

#### Test Survey 1

Undertaken on a sunny summer day, Test Survey 1 was conducted along trails in the middle of Pacific Spirit Regional Park off of 16th Avenue. Trails in this area are generally gravelled (Figure 5.3) and experience a medium-level of traffic compared to other surveyed trails. Results of the survey are included in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Summary of Test-Survey 1 location, conditions and finds. \*Distance covered is estimated as a lack of GPS readings prevented accuracy in this regard. \*\*Finds were deemed “noteworthy” if they were in some way out of the ordinary. \*\*\*Infrastructure includes facilities provided by Metro Vancouver to support park management; the amount of infrastructure associated with surveyed trails (e.g., medium) is a subjective description made relative to other surveyed trails.

<b><u>Test Survey 1</u></b>	
Date:	Tuesday, June 21st, 2011
Time:	2.50-3.50 pm
Weather:	sunny, warm
Trails:	Entered at 16th Avenue south onto Cleveland, to Nature, to Sherry Sakamoto, back to 16th Avenue
Trail Conditions:	gravel path, mix of old and young coniferous trees with heavy undergrowth
Distance Covered:	Estimated < 1000m*
Noteworthy** Finds:	several logging-associated culturally-modified trees (spring-board notches, wedge removed by axe for felling)
Park Users Observed:	4 dog-walkers (2F, 2M, 3 dogs)
	2 pedestrians (1F, 1M)
	2 cyclists (2M)
Characterization:	medium-use area, close to roads, bus stop
	multi-use trails
	medium infrastructure***
	low amount of litter
Notes:	first test survey developing recording strategy
	GPS faulty so no map created

During this test survey, the delineation of cultural and non-cultural features and artifacts was discussed, and a number of ambiguous areas identified. For example, culturally-modified tree (CMT) is a standard term archaeologists have given to include a wide range of modifications made to living trees; partially-carved fallen trees may be termed more specifically—canoe blanks, for example. Logging-related modifications, such as springboard notches or half-felled trees (Figure 5.4), may also be considered CMTs, although, in British Columbia, they would not receive status as archaeological sites given their more recent age, falling outside of the *Heritage Conservation Act* cut-off of 1846. There is no equivalent term in archaeological usage to denote *fallen* trees that have been minimally modified.



Figure 5.3. A section of Test-Survey 1, illustrating some of the features typical for the area.

In Pacific Spirit, fallen trees have been incorporated into park infrastructure to block paths, provide edging for trails, or create trail-side log-pile features. As such, I coined the term culturally modified wood (CMW) as an inclusive designation for these features, such as stumps and sectioned logs that have been chain-sawed at either end.

Conversely, cultural aspects of the material landscape in the form of invasive species were not included as features due to their lack of immediate modification. It is important to consider, however, that much of Pacific Spirit contains such invasive species, and mapping these out would provide an interesting picture of landscape and ecosystem modification in the long-term.

Another term that deserves explanation is infrastructure. As explained in Table 5.1, infrastructure includes facilities provided by Metro Vancouver to support park management. I broadly quantified the amount of infrastructure associated with surveyed trails (e.g., medium); as discussed later in this chapter, infrastructure represents the primary way that park officials interact with park users.

A portion of this trail was re-surveyed in Survey 4, specifically the Nature and Sherry Sakamoto trails. To avoid repetition, a detailed discussion of the survey is not provided here.



Figure 5.4. A large cut made into what is now a stump of a tree, at a guess perhaps a few hundred years old, with axe marks still visible.

## Test Survey 2

Our second park survey included a stretch of beach at the northeast extent of Pacific Spirit's boundaries known as Acadia Beach (Figure 5.5). This survey began at the parking lot above Acadia Beach, which is a popular spot for dog-walkers as there is a leashing-optional area provided. Even where dogs are not permitted on the beach, they are regularly encountered.

This test survey served to introduce us to the differences that we would encounter on the beach versus the forested-trails area of Pacific Spirit. As I discuss further in Chapter 6, these two areas of the park prompt a different level of engagement by park users with resulting material consequences. Table 5.2 provides a summary of this test survey.

Advertised at the parking lot park billboard were various posters, including a public notice prohibiting the picking of fiddle-heads; restrictions on local smelt fishing; various park programs including a Canine Summer School to be run in Pacific Spirit Regional Park; and a notice prohibiting shellfish harvesting (Figure 5.6). Upon our arrival, however, we witnessed a man leaving while carrying a bucket and wearing rubber boots.

Table 5.2. Summary of Test-Survey 2 location, conditions and finds.

<u>Test Survey 2</u>	
Date:	Wednesday, June 29th, 2011
Time:	11.50 am—1.50 pm
Weather:	overcast, warm
Trails:	entered from NW Marine Drive into parking lot, to path leading to Acadia Beach, west then east along beach, back to NW Marine Drive
Trail Conditions:	dirt path, cobble beach, deciduous trees and driftwood
Noteworthy Finds:	historic litter and stone artifacts cleared beach areas, possibly canoe skids wooden pilings offshore a rock in the toe of a sock
Park Users Observed:	2 dog-walkers (1F, 1M, 3 dogs) 3 pedestrians (1F, 3M) 1 jogger (1M)
Characterization:	medium-use area, close to roads primarily pedestrians, beach-goers, and dog-walkers low infrastructure high amount of litter (from consumables: plastic bottles and cans)
Notes:	second test survey developing recording strategy GPS faulty so no map created some of this litter is due to tidal action and the materials mostly float (e.g., plastic)

The picnic area above Acadia Beach (Figure 5.7) offers washrooms, garbage and recycling facilities, coal disposal for barbecue, and is replete with signage, particularly emphasizing where the clothing optional area towards Wreck Beach begins.



Figure 5.5. Acadia Beach looking west towards Wreck Beach.



Figure 5.6. Park entrance billboard, signs and other infrastructure at the parking lot for Acadia Beach.



Figure 5.7. Picnic area at Acadia Beach, looking northwest.

Beyond this, on the beach itself there is no infrastructure, and most artifacts and features noted were user-created: litter, hearths, graffiti<sup>2</sup>, trees with graffiti or carvings,<sup>3</sup> and small monuments such as stones lined or piled up on logs (Figure 5.8).

We also encountered historic artifacts including pieces of pottery and brick; this was likely related to a camp built at the top of the bluff in the 1920s (Coupland and Unfreed 1988:5). On a separate occasion, I had located just east of this area a scatter of lithics near a stream and a large basalt biface in the intertidal zone (Figure 5.9). Several features along the beach (Figure 5.10) indicate clearing of pathways from ocean to shore, and are possibly canoe skids associated with the Point Grey site (Borden No. DhRt-5), as Borden (1947:4) previously recorded.

<sup>2</sup> The term “graffiti” is historically associated with illegal vandalism but is more recently being appropriated by street artists to refer to vernacular creative expressions, mostly using paints. I have chosen to use the term here to signal the appropriation of features for expressive purposes irrespective of legality or “tags” versus “art.”

<sup>3</sup> I chose to separate this category of graffiti on trees because of the content and medium. Regarding content, the types of graffiti associated with trees largely differed from that painted on other surfaces, and included specifically initials and names carved into the bark as well as spiritual slogans. These features could also be considered culturally modified wood, hence their dual designation of “CMW – graffiti.” Finally, I considered that it may be significant, in light of discussions so far of “culture” versus “nature” and corresponding material elements, when trees—assigned as “natural”—are used for graffiti—clearly the product of human activity.



Figure 5.8. Wooden driftwood monument at Acadia Beach.



Figure 5.9. Large bifacially worked basalt or dacite artifact found in the intertidal zone of Acadia Beach.

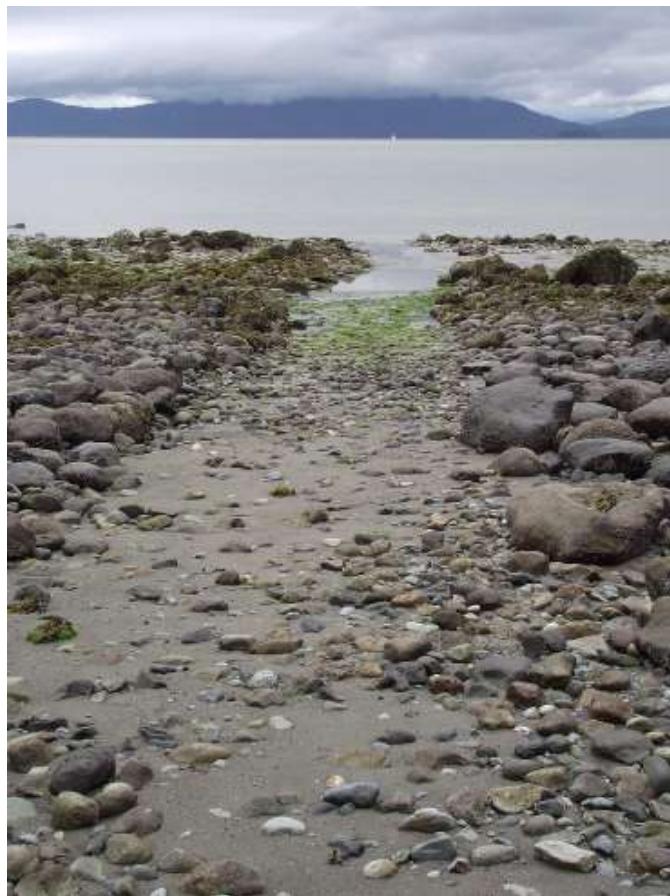


Figure 5.10. One of several cleared sections of Acadia Beach that may be a canoe skid, roughly 1.5 metres wide.

In sum, these two test surveys were very useful in designing a survey strategy and establishing a baseline of features and artifacts that would be encountered.

### ***GPS Surveys***

Using a different Garmin 60CSx GPS, we successfully completed trail-based GPS surveys of four distinct areas of the park, representing 9,945 linear metres, between October 2011 and February 2012. We speculated that this time frame would exclude most tourists and summer-only visitors, meaning that there were fewer park visitors, and thus a decreased amount of litter encountered. The material landscape of the park recorded thus reflects off-season, or “regular” park-user activities only. Additionally, we undertook these surveys on days of variable weather, such that we were able to observe park use during a range from clear, sunny skies, to standard Vancouver overcast weather, to absolute downpour in the winter. The

results of these surveys follow.

### Survey 1

The section of trail for Survey 1 is one that we were already familiar with in our own recreational walking activities. It is also close to SW Marine Drive and the Musqueam IR#2, where the Musqueam-UBC Archaeological Field School has been stationed; as such, I had walked this area numerous times (Figure 5.11). This area of Pacific Spirit abuts an elementary school and two residential neighbourhoods, and thus receives a moderate number of visitors including school groups. During our survey, we encountered 27 people and 13 dogs along these trails. A summary of the survey results is provided in Table 5.3.



Figure 5.11. Aerial imagery with negative colouring, depicting waypoints recorded for Survey 1 (n=279). The star indicates the entry point for the survey.

The entrance at 33rd Avenue on Clinton trail (Figure 5.12) is a popular one and directly meets an area with picnic tables and a washroom. Indeed, these trails are some of the most frequented ones according to Klassen's 1976 study and my survey experience. The route is not a complete loop, however, so it was

necessary to exit the park and walk past a local school in order to re-enter at St. Georges trail. Because of the school's proximity to the park, on previous occasions I have encountered large school and daycare groups, both on foot and on bicycles, using the Salish trail. Perhaps also because of this proximity, the school has used the park's forest as a theme for a mural that decorates the side of its portable unit.



Figure 5.12. Entrance at 33rd Avenue for Clinton trail, the starting point for Survey 1.

Because of its proximity to the Southlands area, where a number of horse stables are located, a number of features are located along trails in this area that do not exist elsewhere in the park. Particularly, this includes several sets of three wooden steps (Figure 5.13), which took some time to identify as steps to aid horseback riders in remounting. This horseback riding heritage is signalled in Pacific Spirit through a plaque noting the Clinton family, while another acknowledges the local private school, St. Georges.<sup>4</sup>

Finds of interest include trees with graffiti, mostly of initials or names, although one tree exhibited the phrase, "NOW IS THE DAY OF SALVATION" in white paint. The St. Georges trail also passes next to a felled cedar tree that had been bark-stripped, perhaps by someone from the Musqueam community where cedar bark weaving has a long and continuing history (Figure 5.14). We also encountered the cement foundations of the Clinton Stables (Figure 5.15). Previously, during our August 4th off-trail survey, I had discovered historic litter (window and bottle glass) in the area where the Salish trail meets SW Marine Drive. I was unable to relocate this during the October 5th survey.

<sup>4</sup> These plaques, like the memorial benches, are paid for by private individuals and not by the park authorities.

Table 5.3. Summary of Survey 1 location, conditions and finds. \*Feature/artifact density was calculated by dividing the number of waypoints by the distance travelled; this provides an estimate for how frequently a feature or artifact would be recovered, in this case one every seven metres.

<u>Survey 1</u>	
Date:	Wednesday, October 5th, 2011
Time:	11.25 am to 1.35 pm
Weather:	Overcast, chilly
Trails:	Entered at 33rd Avenue on Clinton, to Salish, north on Camosun Street to St. Georges, back to 33rd Ave.
Trail Conditions:	mix of gravel and dirt paths, deciduous and older coniferous trees, mixed undergrowth
Distance Covered:	2,076m
Waypoints Recorded:	279
Feature/Artifact Density:*	1:7m
Noteworthy Finds:	several CMWs – graffiti a bark-striped tree, recently felled and stripped post-felling building foundations for the Clinton Stables several stone or concrete blocks, used to prevent vehicles from entering trails horse droppings along trails (not GPS'd)
Park Users Observed:	10 dog-walkers (7F, 3M, 12 dogs) 4 pedestrians (2F, 2M) 7 joggers (2F, 5M) 2 cyclists (1F, 1M, 1 dog) 1 Metro Vancouver park patroller (1F) group of people filming with a white fluffy dog
Characterization:	high-use area, close to school, roads multi-use trails substantial infrastructure medium amount of litter (from consumables, dog-poop bags)
Notes:	did not record unofficial trails on this survey



Figure 5.13. The picnic area on Clinton trail steps in the foreground to allow riders to remount their horses.

Finds that were typical in the park included benches with memorial plaques (Figure 5.16), bridge and drainage construction (Figure 5.17), features designated culturally modified wood, which include contemporary-cut logs and historically-cut stumps alike (Figure 5.18), and signage (Figure 5.19).



Figure 5.14. A recently fallen cedar tree that has been extensively bark-stripped.



Figure 5.15. Bonnie standing next to the foundations of the Clinton family stables. Although immediately adjacent to the trail, these foundations are likely to be passed over unnoticed by the casual park stroller.



Figure 5.16. One of several benches in the park that is leased<sup>5</sup> as a memorial complete with plaque.

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5 Park benches and picnic tables are available for use as commemorative and memorial gifts in Pacific Spirit, as in other parks. Metro Vancouver maintains the gift for fifteen years, after which a further donation for another 15 years may be made or the table or bench can be relocated or removed.



Figure 5.17. A bridge and water management complex.



Figure 5.18. An example of typical culturally modified wood features, used here as guidelines for the pathway.



Figure 5.19. Right-of-way signs used in the park to indicate multi-use hierarchy, along with a “stay on trails” sign, both prolific throughout the park.

Counts for cultural artifacts/features encountered during Survey 1 are provided in Figure 5.20. As is evident from this figure, culturally-modified wood features account for the majority of objects encountered during this survey, representing 63% (of 279, n=175) of all cultural objects along these trails. Second in number are signs, accounting for 10% (n=28) of objects, followed by litter at 7% (n=19). Overwhelmingly, then, the cultural expressions in the landscape encountered along these trails are only minimally modified and made of wood. This result is typical of the surveys that followed, and significant in its implications.

Survey 1 - 5 October 2011  
Park Features by Type

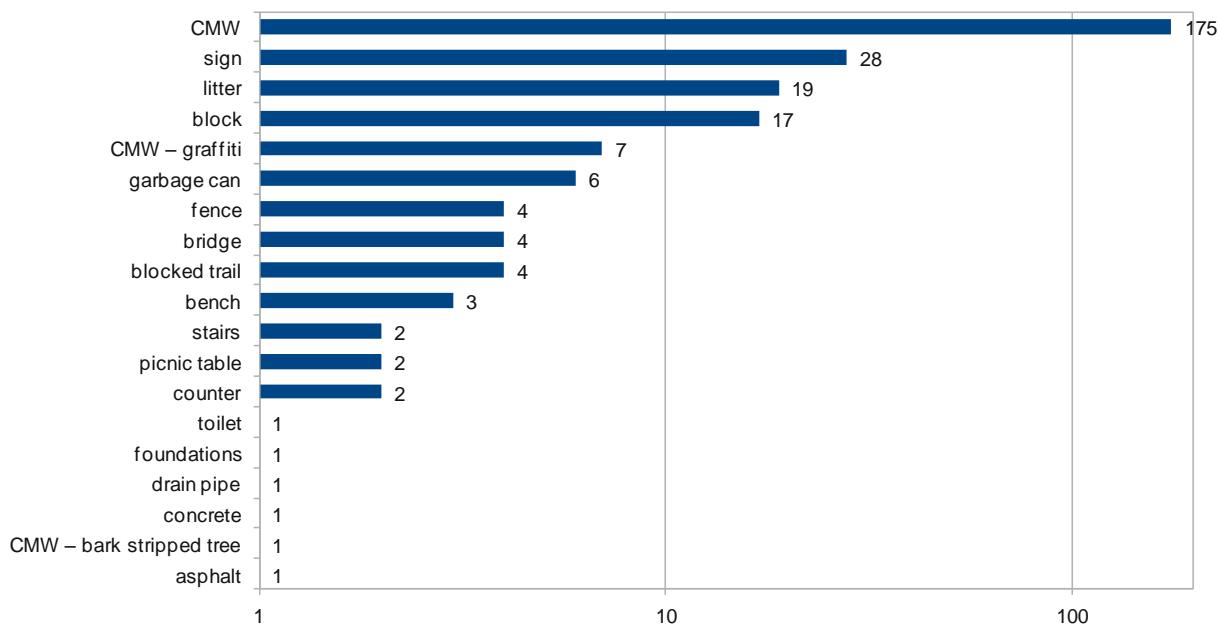


Figure 5.20. Park features organized by type with individual counts provided.

## Survey 2

This survey began at the top of what is known locally as Graham's Gully (Trail 3), the result of heavy rain and a washout of sediment in 1935. The trail leads down to a cobble beach, where we turned left and walked towards Wreck Beach, returning up the bluff by stairs near UBC's Museum of Anthropology (Figure 5.21).

Trail 3 is adjacent to the university campus and a residential neighbourhood, and may be characterized as a medium-use area; the absence of nearby parking prevents heavy use by non-locals. The day of this survey, with overcast conditions and light rain in mid-October, only five people and one dog were encountered. A summary of the survey results is provided in Table 5.4.



Figure 5.21. Aerial satellite map with reversed colouring, depicting waypoints taken along the route taken for Survey 2, beginning at top right trail. Top of image is north.

The entrance at the top of Graham's Gully is typical of other park trailheads (Figure 5.22), providing a park map, latest bulletin notices, signage regarding park rules, and a toilet hidden behind a wooden lattice. Proximity to Wreck Beach, however, necessitates additional signage (Figure 5.23) regarding the clothing-optional status of the area, advising visitors not to stare, and prohibiting unlicensed vending. Stairs wind their way down the gully to the beach (Figure 5.24), where a concrete structure, now the subject of much graffiti, remains after its use and abandonment post-World War II. Indeed, this survey traced along Tower Beach, so-named for the two World War II gun batteries still in place (Figure 5.25) and now sporting some elaborate graffiti artwork (Figure 5.26).

Table 5.4. Summary of Survey 2 location, conditions and finds.

<u><b>Survey 2</b></u>	
Date:	Wednesday, October 19th, 2011
Time:	10.45 am to 1.15 pm
Weather:	Overcast, light rain at times, brightening later
Trails:	Entered at NW Marine Drive on Trail 3, to Tower Beach, to Trail 4
Trail Conditions:	dirt paths and beach cobbles, older deciduous and coniferous trees, mixed undergrowth
Distance Covered:	2,452m
Waypoints Recorded:	284
Feature/Artifact Density:	1:8m
Noteworthy Finds:	graffiti and CMW – graffiti historic concrete structures World War II towers beach hearth monuments of rocks piled on driftwood logs oyster shells along forest trail abandoned campsite litter, mostly from consumables a rock in the toe of a sock
Park Users Observed:	1 dog-walker (1M, 1 dog) 3 pedestrians (3 M) 1 jogger (1 F)
Characterization:	medium-use area, accessible to UBC primarily beach-goers substantial infrastructure high amount of litter (from consumables) high number of user-created features
Notes:	did not record every piece of driftwood, just those that were modified did not complete a beach survey, stayed on trail near shoreline



Figure 5.22. Park entrance billboard, trail use sign and toilet at the entrance to Trail 3 at Graham's Gully.

Our survey took us along a dirt path edging the beach and onto the cobble beach. Other than the portable toilet at the top of the stairs of both Trails 3 and 4, only signs and garbage cans are offered as infrastructure on the beach. I noted the garbage cans were also chained and locked in place (Figure 5.27).

User-created artwork, in the form of graffiti (Figures 5.28a and 5.28b)—both simple tags and elaborate graphics—and small monuments of stone and wood (Figure 5.29a and 5.29b) are prolific in this area. Indeed, as I describe below, my previous wanderings at Wreck Beach have revealed several artistic works including carved benches and a large driftwood sculpture.

During our visit, we encountered very few people, however the beach, and in particular Wreck Beach just west of Tower Beach where we surveyed, is a popular place year round and particularly in the summer. As illustrated in Figure 5.30, although CMWs again accounted for the majority of cultural objects from this survey at 43% (of 284, n=122), there was a moderate amount of litter encountered, representing 25% (n=72) of all features and artifacts recorded. This litter was mostly leftover from consumables—pop and beer bottles and cans.



Figure 5.23. Signs indicating the trail name, clothing optional status of the beach, "No Unauthorized Vending," litter control and other visitor guidelines.



Figure 5.24. Stairs leading down Trail 3 through Graham's Gully.



Figure 5.25. A World War II towers at Tower Beach; view is north.



Figure 5.26. Graffiti artwork on one of the WWII towers, side.



Figure 5.27. Signs indicating beach rules with a graffiti-covered garbage can chained to the post.



Figure 5.28a and 5.28b. CMW – graffiti (left), and a small metal post (right), tagged with graffiti.



Figure 5.29a and 5.29b. Vernacular monuments, left constructed likely over time as visitors place a stone next to others along a piece of driftwood (left), and right a single-event construction of one stone on another (right).

We also noted the presence of various pieces of cloth, blankets and clothing, particularly near to the first concrete structure and perhaps indicating an abandoned camp or living site. As previously noted, much of the litter observed was plastic and thus may have simply floated in on the tides. Additionally, in September 2011 there was a beach clean-up event, and so it is possible that the litter encountered is not representative, either in kind or scale, of what is typical for the area, which may be much higher.

Survey 2 - 19 October 2011  
Park Features by Type

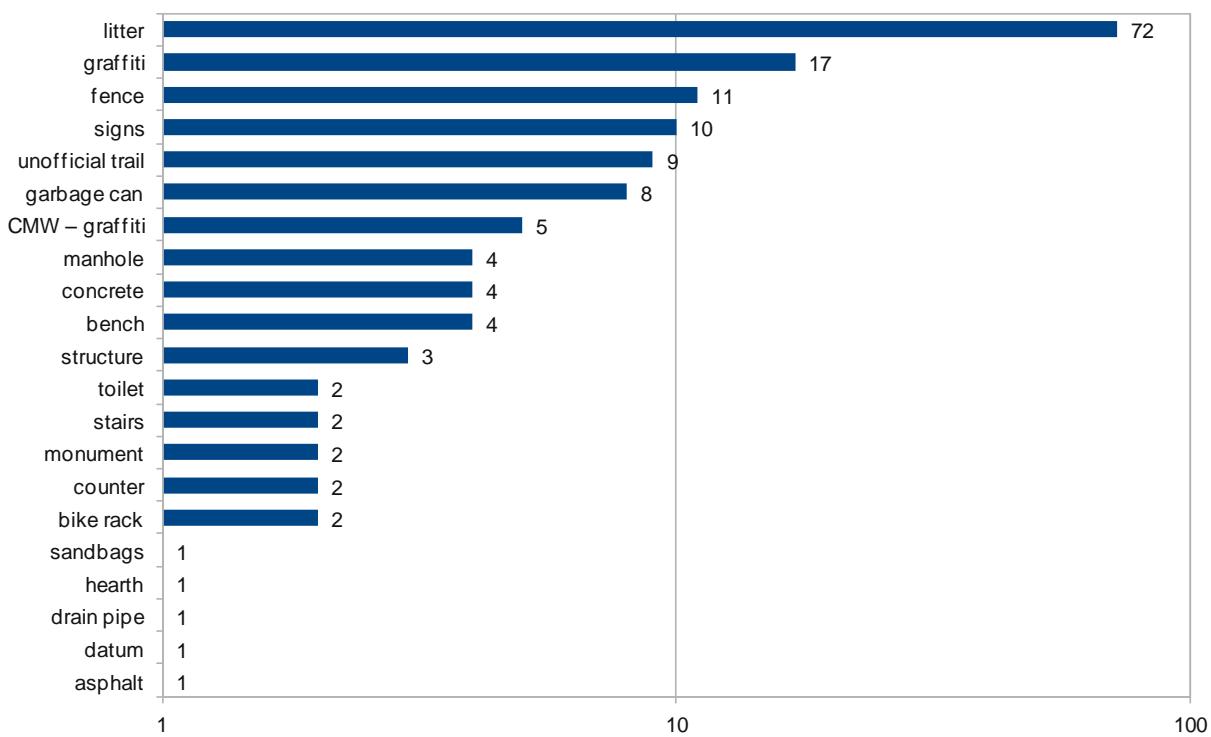


Figure 5.30. Park feature counts illustrated by type for Survey 2, with final counts for each type provided.

### Survey 3

This survey covered the area that I am perhaps most familiar with (Figure 5.31), as it was where I most frequently walked given it was closest to my house for two years. Trails in this area run adjacent to deep canyons and provide beach access. Most often, I have encountered dog-walkers in this area, often those who have arrived by vehicle and parked in the pull-out on Chancellor Road. On this sunny autumn day, 6 of 10 people we encountered were with dogs. A summary of the survey findings is provided in Table 5.5.



Figure 5.31. Aerial satellite imagery with negative colouring showing waypoints recorded for Survey 3. Top of image is north.

As usual, the trail head provided a park map with accompanying notices, a toilet behind wooden latticing and a garbage can (Figure 5.32). The trails for this survey pass by areas frequently used by Scouts, including cleared forest areas where overnight camps are held in summer (Figure 5.33) and a large grassy clearing known as the Plains of Abraham (Figure 5.34). Right nearby, we spotted the moss-covered extensive remains of the cement foundations for what is likely a dairy farm operating in the area during the early 20th century.

Table 5.5. Summary of Survey 3 location, conditions and finds.

<u>Survey 3</u>	
Date:	Wednesday, November 30th, 2011
Time:	11.30 am to 1 pm
Weather:	Cold, sunny
Trails:	Entered at Chancellor Road at Pioneer, to Spanish, to Chancellor, back to Pioneer and Chancellor Road
Trail Conditions:	dirt, several muddy areas, mix of deciduous and older coniferous trees, undergrowth and deciduous trees mostly leafless and died down
Distance Covered:	1,621m
Waypoints Recorded:	320
Feature/Artifact Density:	1:5m
Noteworthy Finds:	concrete foundations, likely of the dairy farm from the early 1900s monument of tree figure with shells (clam, mussel, crab), roses at base CMW – graffiti, “believe on the lord shalt be saved”
Park Users Observed:	5 dog-walkers (5F, 5 dogs) 1 pedestrians (1M) 2 joggers (1F, 1M, 1 dog) 2 cyclists (2M)
Characterization:	low-use area, accessible to vehicles primarily dog-walkers moderate infrastructure low amount of litter (dog-poop bags)
Notes:	realized that I have not been recording drainage ditches did not record depressions in deciduous areas started down the wrong path initially

Other noteworthy finds include a tree with graffiti—similar in both style and subject to that encountered during Survey 1 on October 5th along the Salish trail—observed on Spanish near Chancellor trail (Figure 5.35). Just down the path on Chancellor, we encountered a monument at the base of a tree resembling a figure with arms raised to the sky (Figure 5.36), comprised of now-dead roses and shells of clam, mussel, and crab—objects that could only have been intentionally placed there, as offerings to an alter.



Figure 5.32. Trailhead for Survey 3 with Bonnie in the foreground taking notes on the surrounding infrastructure.



Figure 5.33. An area of cleared undergrowth, possibly for use by the Scout groups who are known to attend this vicinity.



Figure 5.34. The grassy clearing known as the Plains of Abraham, facing north.



Figure 5.35. Religious graffiti: "BELIEVE ON THE LORD SHALT BE SAVED."



Figure 5.36. Remains of a tree shaped like a figure with arms raised, with monument at base out of sight.

Figure 5.37 provides a breakdown of survey findings. Representing 89% (of 320, n=284) of all cultural objects encountered during Survey 3, culturally-modified wood represents the most prolific feature type in this area. The next feature type observed was signs at only 3% (n=10). Given that the majority of other features and artifacts encountered represent park infrastructure, this area may represent a low-use area, as I have suggested, due to the lack of user-created material culture; it may also be an area where people gravitate towards following park rules against graffiti or littering. Finally, this survey was conducted at the end of November; I expect to find other forms of artifacts and features present during the more popular and populated summer months in this area.

Survey 3 - 30 November 2011  
Park Features by Type

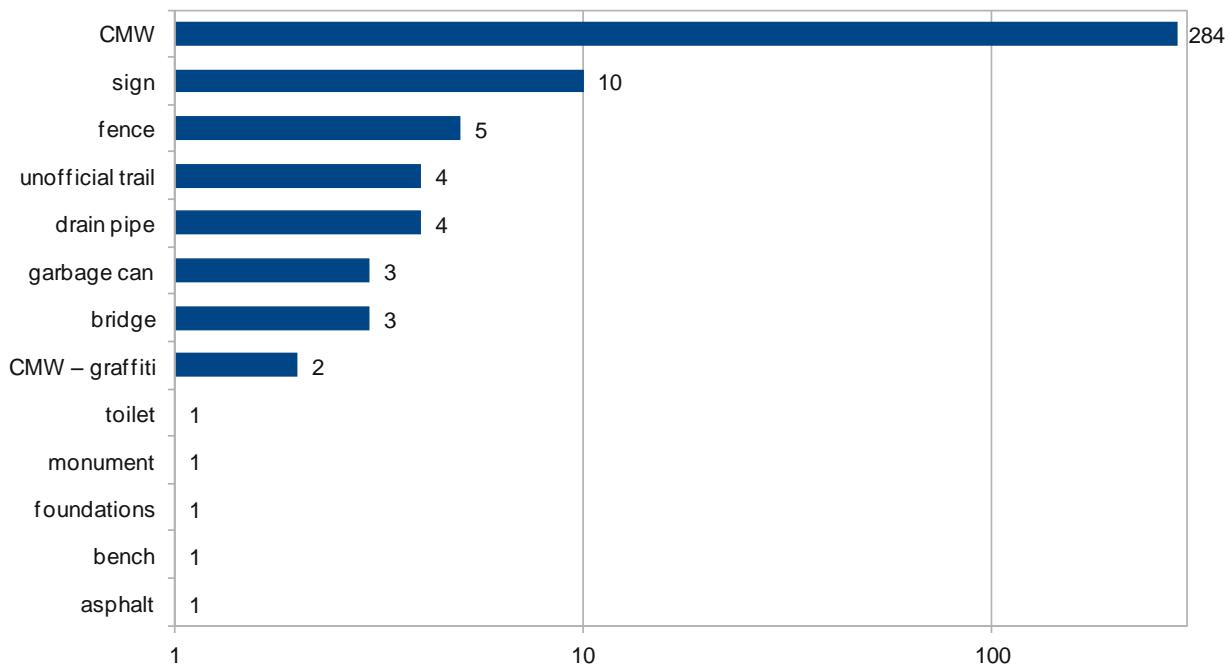


Figure 5.37. Park features by type for Survey 3, with counts for each feature included.

#### Survey 4

The survey route retraced two areas—Nature and Sherry Sakamoto trails—that had been surveyed in Test Survey 1 (Figure 5.38). Following a failed attempt to survey the area on January 26, 2012 due to a full GPS memory, we returned in February 2012. Heavy rain and cold impacted this survey, making it difficult to take photographs or notes, and challenging to keep spirits up. As such, the survey was shorter than intended and covered less distance than intended; a summary of the survey is provided in Table 5.6.

During our survey, we encountered three pairs of rain-soaked dog-walkers, and one geocacher who, having spotted our GPS, approached us to find out whether we had been successful in locating the cache. Given the weather, and the age of this elderly woman, I was initially taken aback to learn she was geocaching in Pacific Spirit. She indicated that she had given up, commenting upon her departure about the poor quality of the park maps.



Figure 5.38. Aerial satellite imagery with negative colouring, depicting the waypoints recorded for Survey 4.

Beyond this chance encounter, the trails surveyed were quite typical of Pacific Spirit: winding gravelled pathways, relatively cleared underbrush and tall, straight trees off into the distance (Figure 5.39). Items of interest included two ageing and yellowed notices concerning unofficial trails, noting the GVRD bylaws for staying on designated trails. The area where this sign was posted did not exhibit any obvious unofficial trail, thus perhaps it was posted some time ago and has been effective at deterring off-trail use. However, nearby, a wooden fence somewhat recently erected had been broken and it was clear from trampling that people had been using that route to leave the trails (Figure 5.40).

Table 5.6. Summary of Survey 4 location, conditions and finds.

<u><b>Survey 4</b></u>	
Date:	Friday, February 17th, 2012
Time:	3.15 pm to 4.15 pm
Weather:	Heavy rain, cold
Trails:	Entered at 16th Avenue on Nature, to Cleveland, Salal, Sherry Sakamoto, back to 16th Avenue
Trail Conditions:	mix of gravel and dirt paths, several muddy areas, mixed deciduous and young coniferous trees, mixed undergrowth
Distance Covered:	1,500m
Waypoints Recorded:	387
Feature/Artifact Density:	1:4m
Noteworthy Finds:	notice sign concerning unofficial trails sign on tree about forest ecology
Park Users Observed:	6 dog-walkers (2F, 4M, 4 dogs) 1 geocacher (1F)
Characterization:	medium-use area, accessible by vehicle, bus primarily dog-walkers medium infrastructure low amount of litter
Notes:	weather was horrible, likely affected survey accuracy

In this area, another tree with religious text in the same paint and writing style as previously encountered was observed. This one read: “REPENT AND TURN TO GOD.” We also encountered a plaque screwed into a large tree at the intersection of Salal and Sherry Sakamoto trails, in such a position as to be illegible from the trail, that described the immediate environment next to the roadway, where “the effects of dumping fill can be seen.” By its location, condition and reference to a “newly cut road,” this sign is not recent; by its designation as “12,” I presume it is part of a series, indicating a guided walk through the park. This survey ended with a walk along Sherry Sakamoto trail, (Figure 5.41) which effectively serves as a dirt and gravel sidewalk along 16th Avenue and was particularly muddy on this day.



Figure 5.39. A winding path into the Douglas fir wooded area.



Figure 5.40. An unofficial trail blocked off by a fence and further CMWs, now broken.



Figure 5.41. The Sherry Sakamoto trail, probably the most urban of all the park trails.

Of the 387 features/artifacts encountered during Survey 4, 89% ( $n=344$ ) of them were classified as CMWs, followed by signs at just 5% ( $n=20$ ). Other finds are primarily related to park infrastructure, with only 5 pieces of litter observed for 1,500 metres of trail walked (Figure 5.42). To reiterate, the inclement weather may have skewed the artifact/feature count negatively; however, this should be offset by the experience we had gained by this point in spotting cultural objects, which in theory should have been at its peak.

Survey 4 - 17 February 2012  
Park Features by Type

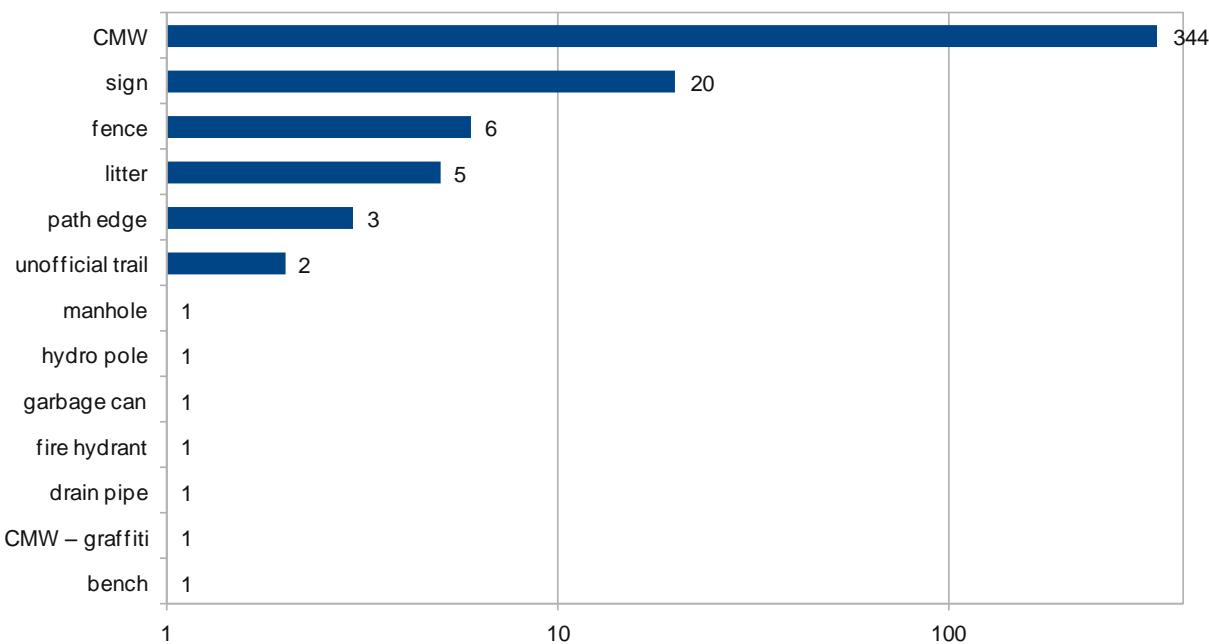


Figure 5.42. Park features by type illustrated with counts for Survey 4.

### ***Features and Finds***

As previously discussed, I recorded every feature that I could confirm was human-created—that was cultural, in the archaeological use of the term. All artifacts and features visible from the trails were recorded by GPS and coded (e.g., litter, sign, garbage can). Photographs were also taken, not necessarily of every object, but of every *type* of object. The four surveys produced an inventory of 1,271 recorded artifacts/features (Figure 5.43). These types were later grouped together under the headings of 1) Infrastructure, 2) Landscaping, 3) User-Created, and 4) Historical features (Figure 5.44). Each category is described more fully below.

All Surveys  
Park Features by Type

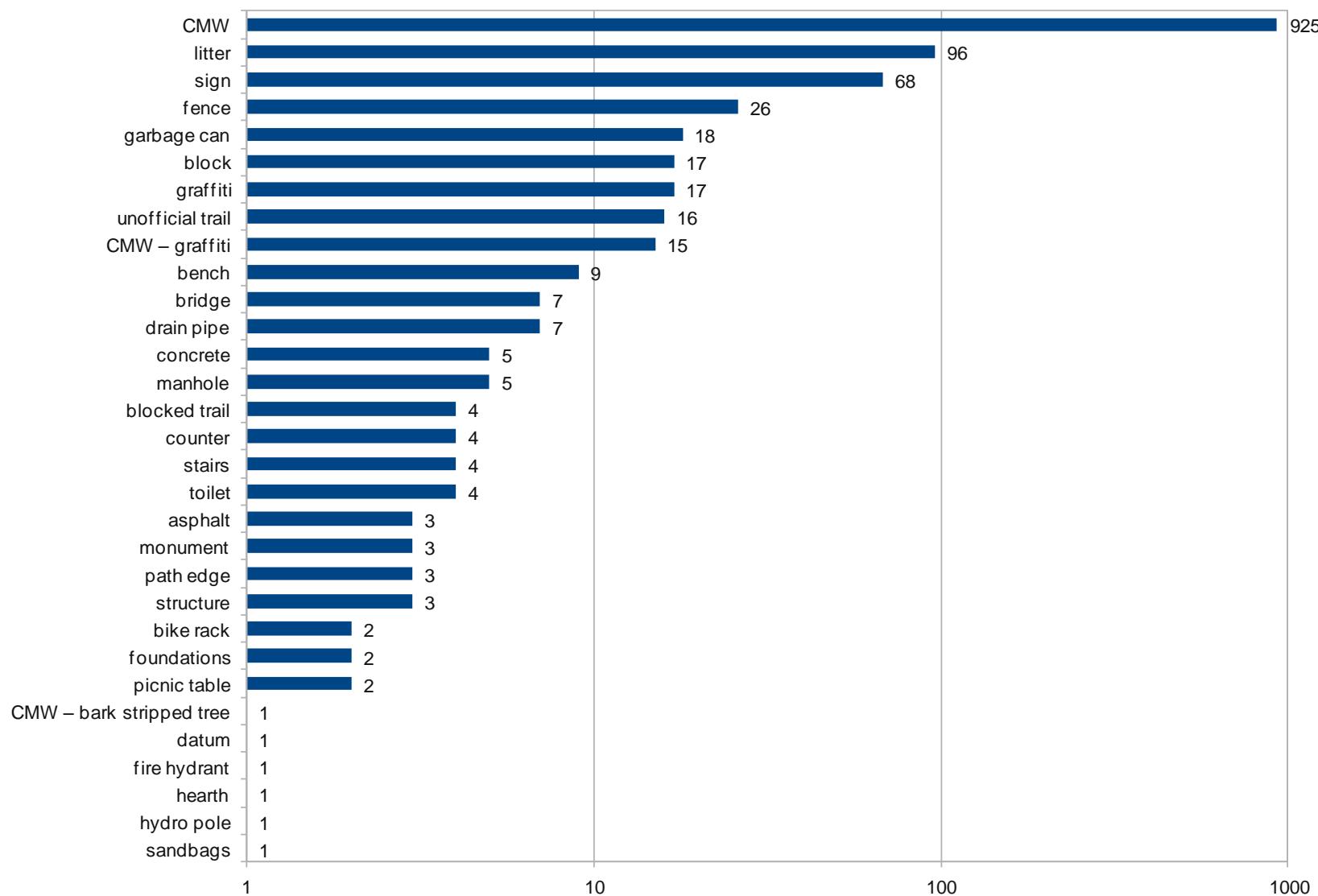


Figure 5.43. Park features by type with counts for all four surveys combined; total is 1,271 artifacts/features recorded.

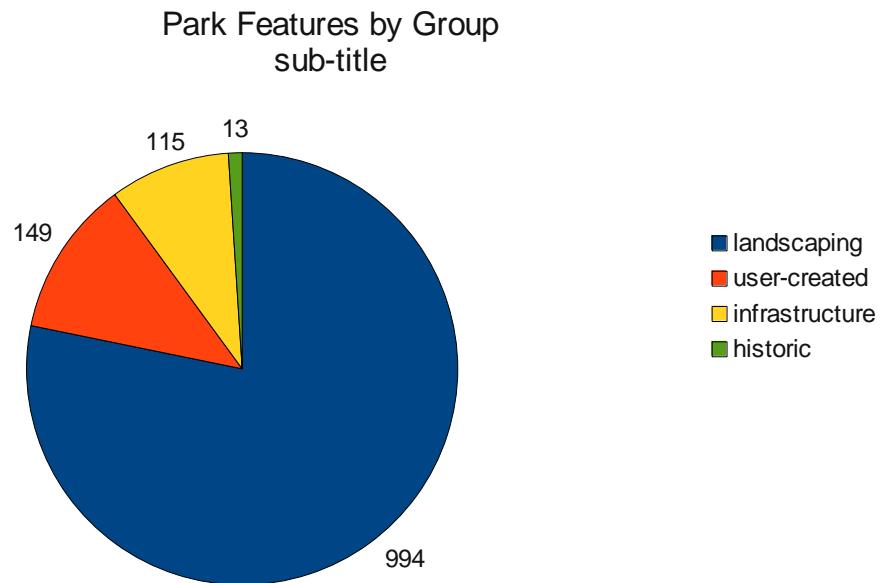


Figure 5.44. Park features by grouping with count.

### **1. Infrastructure**

Infrastructure is defined as features relating to official park management and facilities. Material objects that I have classified as Infrastructure are related in Table 5.7; examples of Infrastructure are provided in Figure 5.45.

Table 5.7. Features encountered that are classified as Infrastructure, with total counts from all surveys.

Feature Type	No.
bench	9
bike rack	2
counter	4
datum	1
fire hydrant	1
garbage can	18
hydro pole	1
manhole	5
picnic table	2
sign	68
toilet	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>115</b>



Figure 5.45. Examples of park features typical of the group Infrastructure.

Most numerous of the infrastructure features were park signs and posters ( $n=68$ ), encountered at every intersection of trails and discussed more fully in the following section. Billboards at trail-heads frequently contained several posters, which were not recorded separately, and were also in some cases accompanied by a counter ( $n=4$ ) to record the number of park-goers. Next in number were garbage cans ( $n=18$ ), signifying the park management's priority of keeping litter to a minimum. Rest areas such as benches ( $n=9$ ), complete with memorial plaques, were found along trails, while communal areas such as picnic tables ( $n=2$ ) were only encountered during Survey 1 in a cleared area that also provided full washroom facilities. All other toilets were plastic portables ( $n=3$ ). Nearly all of these infrastructure features were painted green.

Only two bike racks were encountered during these surveys, although many cyclists were observed; this may be explained by the fact that the park is commonly used as a transportation corridor for cyclists to and from the UBC campus—a place for cyclists to travel through rather than stop at. All other features (fire hydrant, hydro pole, manholes, datum) relate to city infrastructure.

## 2. User-created

User-created objects are those produced by the park-user population. Artifacts and features that I have classified as User-created are related in Table 5.8; examples of User-created objects are provided in Figures 5.46a and 5.46b.

Table 5.8. Artifacts/features encountered that are classified as User-Created, with total counts from all surveys.

Artifact/Feature Type	No.
CMW – graffiti	15
CMW – bark stripped tree	1
hearth	1
litter	96
monument	3
graffiti	17
unofficial trail	16
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>149</b>



Figure 5.46a and 5.46b. Examples of park features and artifacts included in the group User-created, including graffiti (left) and litter (right).

Perhaps not surprisingly, litter figured most prominently for this category of artifact ( $n=96$ ).

Although user-created, litter is generally not an artifact type that I would consider to be *intentionally* communicating with other park-goers. However, one kind of litter—the dog-poop bag—was frequently encountered next to trails; local knowledge suggested that dog-walkers will leave the bag if they intend to return on their way home, picking it up then. This does not account for the majority of dog-poop bags, however, including the many that were observed hanging in

leafless trees.

Next to litter, graffiti tags or images were most prolific (n=17), and some of the images were significant pieces of art, particularly those by the beaches. Similarly, trees with carved or painted words or images were found (n=15) on every survey route completed, again mostly just initials although some full phrases were also discovered.

Unofficial trails (n=16) were recorded where visible; these included any pathway that was not designated with a trail name. However, a combination of the changing season, fallen leaves and damp conditions made identification of these off-trail trails challenging and I feel it likely there are far more that were not identified. In the same vein, there are probably more monuments—comprised mostly of rocks stacked or lined-up on driftwood logs—than the few observed (n=3).

### 3. Landscaping

Landscaping refers to material culture that relates to the management of the park landscape. Features that I have classified as Landscaping are related in Table 5.9; examples of Landscaping are provided in Figures 5.47a and 5.47b.

Table 5.9. Features encountered that are classified as Landscaping, with total counts from all surveys.

Feature Type	No.
block	17
blocked trail	4
bridge	7
CMW	925
drain pipe	7
fence	26
path edge	3
sandbags	1
stairs	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>994</b>

As mentioned, the most abundant kind of feature encountered was culturally-modified wood (CMW), representing a minimally modified form of landscaping material. These were used to line paths, both gravel and dirt, block off old trails (n=4), or were simple scattered throughout the visible extent of the forest floor, perhaps to encourage ecological development.



Figure 5.47a and 5.47b. Examples of park features typical of the Landscaping grouping.

Several large cement or stone blocks ( $n=17$ ) were used at trail-heads near roads, presumably to prevent larger vehicles from entering the forests, although they also served aesthetically. Fences ( $n=26$ ) are prolific throughout the park, both new and ageing or fallen-down, and are most commonly constructed of wood although older forms are chain-link. Likewise, bridges ( $n=7$ ) are all made from wood, as are stairs ( $n=4$ ). This feature designation requires some explanation. A staircase was recorded as one feature, although it may have 300 steps; this accounts for 2 of the 4 stairs. However, the other two cases are small, 3-step features to assist horseback riders in mounting their horses, encountered only during Survey 1, the trail closest to the riding community of Southlands. Other trail features relating to water management (drain pipes, path edge, sandbags) were recorded.

#### **4. Historic**

The designation of “historic” was given to objects that reflect an older ( $>50$  years) use than the contemporary landscape exhibits. Features that I have classified as Historic are related in Table 5.10; examples of Historic objects are provided in Figures 5.48a and 5.48b.

Table 5.10. Features encountered that are classified as Historic, with total counts from all surveys.

Feature Type	No.
asphalt	3
concrete	5
foundations	2
structure	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13</b>



Figure 5.48a and 5.48b. Features typical of the Historic grouping, including moss-covered asphalt deposited here at some earlier time (left) and concrete housing over a drain (right).

This feature designation is imperfect and was a difficult one to assess; indeed, I had wanted to avoid using temporality as a classifying principle, based on the understanding that the landscape park-users engage with exists first and foremost *in the present*. However, I allowed this category of Historic to be used in cases where the age of the remains was at least 50 years old—the point being that this category reflects cultural modifications that were made *before* the park was created. As such, while these features do contribute to the character of the park in the present, this is simply by virtue of their pre-existing presence rather than their *intentional* construction in relation to park activities.

This designation was used to classify foundations (n=2), which included the known historic sites of the Clinton stables and a dairy farm. Structures (n=3) included an enclosed building and two gun battery towers. All three features are considered to be part of the World War II fort built above Tower Beach at the site of UBC's contemporary Museum of Anthropology.

Apart from these features, a few large slabs of asphalt (n=3) and concrete (n=5) were found buried under grass and brush in the forest, and were presumed to be related to previous

construction in the area or dumped there well before the park's creation.

### The Unofficial Story

The urban landscape, then, is recursive. It is shaped by expressions of identity and, in turn, shapes the formation of identity. As such, cultural landscapes are inseparable from their political and economic contexts...An urban landscape of countermemory, then, would emphasize contradictions, seeking to keep discourse open as a public sphere of challenge and counterchallenge appropriate for a city that is still marked by inequality.

Martin Hall (2006:204-207)

Surveying along designated park trails was intended to assess the official or authorized landscape of Pacific Spirit Regional Park—the managed park that most people would encounter in their daily visits. However, just as there can be a stark difference between what one says and what one does, the park trails only provide one vision of what the park is all about what happens off the trails may be a whole different story. In my attempt to provide a counter-narrative as per Hall above, this section discusses my park wanderings both as a local resident and park-user between February 2009 and April 2011, and as a park researcher, both with and without an official permit from Metro Vancouver to travel off-trail.

### *Casual Wanderings*

Most of the kinds of material culture or cultural material that I encountered during my casual visits to the park are already addressed in the descriptions from the surveys above. Here, I present only the finds that were either a little off the beaten path or were unique in my park wanderings.

In the park forests, few monuments were observed; a wooden construction of what may have been a fort, perhaps made by Scouts, was encountered (Figure 5.49). Subtle evidence of forest management was observed in the form of small boxed-holes drilled into trees, flagging tape or, more apparent, logs completely de-barked. GIS tags were seen nailed to large trees (Figure 5.50a) along with other markings (Figure 5.50b), and infrastructure was hidden within a wooden crate, both highlighting the attempt to minimize visual disruptions to the natural the forest.



Figure 5.49. Rich Hutchings crouches inside an elaborate structure, perhaps a fort.



Figure 5.50a and 5.50b. An example (left) of the extensive tagging system used by park management, and that possibly created by UBC researchers (right).

Conversely, we encountered a donation station (Figure 5.51) hosted by the Pacific Parklands Foundation where credit card-carrying park-users could charge funds towards cleaning up after the 2008 Winter wind storm. This investment in community was also communicated in the Catching the Spirit headquarters' mural (Figure 5.52).



Figure 5.51. A Donation Station where park visitors may use their credit cards to donate funds towards restoring the park following a windstorm.

We visited Wreck Beach during the early Spring 2010, approaching from Old Marine Drive and down the main stairs at Trail 6. This route took us past various facilities buildings, all of which had been decorated completely with graffiti art and tags (Figure 5.53).

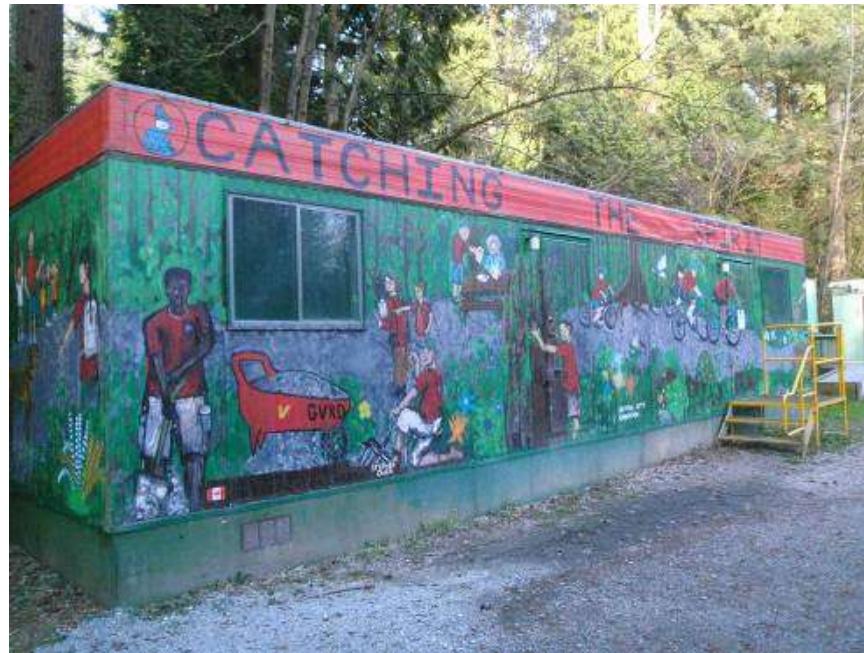


Figure 5.52. Headquarters for the Catching the Spirit park youth group.



Figure 5.53. A display of public graffiti art at the cliff above Wreck Beach.

Human-created features abound at the beach. Along the stairs on the way down to Wreck, a headstone surrounded by faded fake flowers sits in memorial to a member of “Our Wreck Beach Family” (Figure 5.54a). The creativity of the Wreck Beach community was evident in these and other displays of artwork,

including intricately carved wooden benches (Figure 5.54b) and a large driftwood sculpture (Figure 5.55) that was subsequently torn down by order of Metro Vancouver (Thompson 2010).



Figure 5.54a and 5.54b. A headstone on the walk down to Wreck Beach, and a nearby hand-carved wooden bench.



Figure 5.55. A giant driftwood bird's nest sculpture on Wreck Beach, with the artist standing on top and cliff erosion visible in the background.

Two trends are apparent to me in these casual wanderings. The first is how hard Metro Vancouver tries to make the park appear natural— hiding infrastructure such as garbage cans behind wooden features, for example (Figures 5.56a and 5.56b)—while simultaneously managing every aspect of the

park's forest. This harkens back to statements made in the 1970s and 1980s about Pacific Spirit as a wilderness park, in line with Metro Vancouver's management plan of minimal management. In other words, human-created features are to be minimized or, if unavoidable, disguised by using natural materials and shapes.



Figure 5.56a and 5.56b. Wooden features hiding park infrastructure: a garbage can is skillfully camouflaged by a wooden palisade, ensuring the natural feel of the area is not tainted.

The second trend is how hard people try to hide their *socialization* of this natural space. As discussed above, the beaches represent a space where “stop, play and socialize” are the order of the day; as such, evidence of human activity is appropriate there. However, in the forest, evidence of people openly socializing this space is rare. Instead, the litter that is encountered—candy wrappers, beverage containers—signify that people are using this space socially, but they are mostly hiding it. This is in line with the park as a place of nature set in opposition to humans, which are unnatural or artificial.

### ***Pre-Permit Days***

As a local resident and avid outdoor enthusiast, I admit to having wandered off trail at various times,

usually to get a closer look at something spied from the trail. Curiosity and an interest in the history of the landscape led Rich Hutchings and I to stray away from the managed park areas into the thick undergrowth and unmanicured areas of the park (Figure 5.57). At other times, and undoubtedly like others who stray off the trails, we simply wanted to feel closer to a world without people.

In fact, we have never encountered another person wandering off-trail while we were. Instead, only traces indicating the past presence of others were visible, most commonly in the form of litter or small collections of trash. These items were nearly all indicative of consumable products—pop and alcohol bottles, bags from potato chips, or emptied canned goods, perhaps from a small party or from someone living in the park for a short stretch of time. We even found a golf ball in the middle of the park, an unusual find given the distance to the local golf courses.



Figure 5.57. Rich Hutchings illustrating the size of this depression left by a large tree throw.

At other locations, we encountered litter that was historical, in the sense of having been dumped decades previously. These items ranged from a small collection of household items such as bottles, window glass and rusted cans—or even a sofa dumped in the creek (Figure 5.58)—to industrial materials like concrete and re-bar and sheets of thick, black rubber. In more than one area, we even discovered large hills or platforms made from construction fill material (Figure 5.59), which has been suggested to me was waste material from UBC’s early campus construction. Indeed, removing some of this material was the job of the Camosun Bog Restoration Society.



Figure 5.58. A large sofa chair is dumped by one of the creeks running through the park; erosion on the banks is evident from the tree's diagonal angle.

While acting as a Teaching Assistant with Rich during the 2008 Musqueam-UBC Archaeological Field School, we encountered similar features in the Triangle Lands, which used to be part of Pacific Spirit and was repatriated to the Musqueam Indian Band (MIB) in 2008 as part of the land transfer. In particular was our discovery made during our relocation of an early 1900s Chinese domestic and farming area: a whole dump truck-load of what we described as hotel commissary ware (Figure 5.60), including standardized and stamped cups, saucers and dinner plates, and a vast amount of ketchup bottles, among other glass. The environmentalist narrative of the park as preserved greenspace is made somewhat ironic by these finds of over one hundred years of informal use of the park lands as a dumping ground.



Figure 5.59. A large constructed gravel platform near the Catching the Spirit youth group headquarters, with garbage bin visible in the background.

Given my lack of familiarity with the park lands, I enlisted the help of a couple of people who knew the area a bit better. I was given directions to meet at a particular location by a student of mine, who was doing some experimental archaeology in the park, using felled trees to test stone tools (Figure 5.61). His intimate knowledge of the landscape, topography and flora of the park astounded me and attested to his long hours spent wandering these woods in search of what he described as a spiritual peace, reconnection and relaxation. Conversely, I had trouble finding the meeting location despite adequate directions, barely found my way back out of the park, and would never in a million years be able to relocate the spot if I tried.

I walked off-trail in the area near Sasamat and St. Georges trails with another friend, who had been wandering off trail for years, through a sometime abandoned mountain-biking course, only one of a few I have encountered in the park. While cycling on some park trails is permitted, the constructed hills and jumps of a mountain-biking course are hazardous both to other park-users and to the immediate flora, as there appears to be no attempt by the constructors to mitigate their impact.



Figure 5.60. Hotel wares dumped in the Triangle Lands about fifty years ago when a road still ran through the area.



Figure 5.61. Observing experimental archaeology on a fallen cedar.

We travelled to a site described simply as a pet cemetery, where a few markers and names carved in trees indicate the resting place of family pets. She used the large maple tree as a marker to keep her bearings, and try though she might to teach me, I could not identify the species of tree, let alone know one from another. Eventually, through her teachings, my view of the park changed, and I became able to separate distinct plant species and name them—effectively re-ontologizing the landscape. The forest transformed conceptually from an endless sea of green to an ordered place populated by individual actors all intertwined.

We also visited a broken-down and collapsed old shack with a tin roof resting alongside one of the creeks, which she said was still standing about 30 years ago. Other evidence of people living in the area more recently came in the form of a backpack, torn clothing and a jar with a twist-off lid, although she had encountered make-shift structures during other trips.

On another trip north of Chancellor Road, we encountered another bike course with small jumps constructed of fallen branches, and what we thought may be a geocache including glitter, feathers and a photograph. Her knowledge of the unofficial trails was astonishing, recalling where one had been a few years ago and grown over, and recognizing new trails. After all my walking in the park over the last few years, I may be able now to identify salal, hemlock and huckleberry, but I have not been able to develop anywhere near this level of familiarity with the park's landscape.

### *An Off-Trail Permit*

In May 2011, a research permit was obtained from Metro Vancouver to expand my survey off the official park trails as necessary. As the permit map depicts, a portion of the park was considered off-limits under this permit (Figure 5.62). This included several sections at the northern extreme, a section near Camosun Bog, two areas near Camosun Street and SW Marine Drive, a section at the edge of the UBC campus, and a large area designed as an Ecological Reserve. I asked Markus Merkens, Natural Resource Management Specialist for Metro Vancouver Regional Parks, why these areas were unavailable to me, and he indicated that “[s]ome areas are ecologically sensitive others are culturally sensitive, cliffs and ravines are closed to research in general given the hazards involved with these areas, one area is undergoing restoration, and several areas are currently not under our jurisdiction” (pers. comm. 8 Aug. 2011). Of the latter, the section at the edge of UBC known as Block F and the Triangle Lands next to SW Marine Drive are implied, likely because these are two parcels of land now under the jurisdiction of the Musqueam Indian Band and thus Metro Vancouver has no authority to issue permits for these areas.

Also off-limits was the Ecological Reserve (ER) #74, surrounded by fencing with signs indicating

that entry is prohibited. As conveyed in an editorial for the Fall 1997 newsletter of the Friends of Ecological Reserves (FER 1997a), adjacent to a review of a walk in the University Endowment Lands (UEL) with Ecological Reserve Steward, Terry Slack (FER 1997b), “Ecological reserve status is intended to protect areas for science and education. The designation excludes all destructive uses...to be conserved forever for the public benefit.” In this sense, the Ecological Reserve is the most exclusive space in the park.



Figure 5.62. The map accompanying my Metro Vancouver permit, depicting blacked-out areas where I was not allowed to venture off the trails.

Previous research about the Ecological Reserve is related on the FER website<sup>6</sup> (2012), and includes reports on the Great Blue Heron, the Red Cedar, amphibians, reptiles and mammals, and a broad survey on educational research use of the UEL. This area was strictly off-limits for my survey purposes and I did not apply for access. This is in part because I was particularly interested in the material landscape features of areas that are commonly encountered, and in part because I was not sure that I would have received permission, had I asked. As such, the Ecological Reserve remained off-limits.

In my officially permitted wanderings with my field assistant, Bonnie, we completed two off-trail surveys in August 2011. The first of these began just north of the area of Survey 1, west of Sasamat trail. After passing the “Please stay on designated ‘named’ trails” sign (Figure 5.63), we encountered the remains of what seems to have been a mountain biking course (Figure 5.64), where steps and jumps had been constructed from soil, leaving pits scattered in the area. A rock cairn and a newspaper dated April 14, 2011 lay on this path.



Figure 5.63. The stay on trail sign nestled amongst the greenery, passed as we ventured off the trail.

<sup>6</sup> <http://ecoreserves.bc.ca/category/74+research/>



Figure 5.64. An elaborate mountain biking course constructed about 50 metres off the trail system.

Further along, we found a small Heinz-57 ketchup bottle (Figure 5.65a) and what appeared to be a phallic monument of wood and stone (Figure 5.65b). Next to Clinton trail, we encountered a collection of timber that had possibly been a bridge in earlier days (Figure 5.66). In the area west of Salish trail we also found the remains of a camp site (Figure 5.67).

A few weeks later, we visited the area near where local historian Terry Slack had lived as a child, right next to Booming Ground Creek (pers. comm. August 11, 2011). This survey began at the parking lot on SW Marine Drive, a common spot for tourists to stop and take in the view of the log booms and ocean (Figure 5.68), where the monument to Simon Fraser's trip down the river now bearing his name is a prominent marker (Figure 5.69).

We walked east into the adjacent woodland following an unofficial but frequently used trail. Along our way we encountered what I believe to be a bark-stripped CMT of maybe 75 years ago or so (Figure 5.70). Following notes made from my discussion with Slack, I knew we were on the right track when we encountered large blocks of cement with re-bar and asphalt (Figure 5.71) next to a steep drop (Figure 5.72); clearly, this was one of the dump sites he had referred to.



Figure 5.65a and 5.65b. A Heinz-57 ketchup bottle (left) and a possible monument (right) constructed nearby.



Figure 5.66. The remains of a historic bridge or pathway, or possibly from a skid road although the lack of decay makes this unlikely.



Figure 5.67. An abandoned campsite with clothing and a tent as well as other refuse.



Figure 5.68. Looking southwest at the lookout by the Simon Fraser monument, with log booms below and a low tide.



Figure 5.69. The Simon Fraser monument at the lookout by the log booms.

We continued down the trail until we reached Booming Ground Creek, where the remains of a recorded shell midden still rest beneath a large cedar tree (Figure 5.73). We walked out to the delta (Figure 5.74), encountering some vernacular architecture along our way, both built from timber (Figure 5.75) and another possible shelter in the base of a large tree.

Returning to SW Marine Drive, we continued east past the creek and back into the woods that abut the Triangle Lands and Shaughnessy Golf Course. Therein, notable finds include a timber constructed ladder nailed directly to a tall tree (Figure 5.76), purpose unknown; litter perhaps indicative of someone camping for a short time in the woods; a very large cedar next to the creek, notable for its size and thus age in this area; and boundary markers including a G.V.R.D. survey post and a fence separating this area from the golf course (Figure 5.77).



Figure 5.70. A healing scar of a culturally modified tree, age unknown.



Figure 5.71. Construction waste including concrete and re-bar at the edge of a steep, eroding cliff.



Figure 5.72. Looking upwards the cliff shows a steep but well-worn path along the edge where Bonnie stands for scale next to a large tree. This area is described by Metro Vancouver as still home to old growth forest.



Figure 5.73. The creek at the bottom of the cliff, looking towards the green marshland grasses.



Figure 5.74. The delta landscape, looking southwest.



Figure 5.75. A structure at the edge of the forest, likely used as a temporary camp site.



Figure 5.76. Looking up the tree ladder, extending high into its branches.

We did not relocate either the log chute that Slack had mentioned or other structural remains. In an email following our survey, he wrote that his family “lived about 300 yards to the east” of where we had been, and that the log chute was there, where Cutthroat Creek had flowed over the escarpment. Given the treacherous conditions along these fragile and eroding unlithified sand cliffs, we elected not to return for a second attempt.



Figure 5.77. The boundary between the Triangle Lands, now Musqueam property, and the Shaughnessy Golf Course, on Musqueam leased land.

### **Discussion: The Materiality of Natural Heritage**

Through spatial overwriting, built monuments, regardless of their scale or artistry, construct certain memories at the expense of others, ostensibly curtailing the possibility of alternative and new experiences and memories coincident with the place of memorialisation.

Patricia Rubertone (2008:15)

The motto for Pacific Spirit is “recreation in harmony with nature.” This message is communicated through the material landscape itself—in the choices made concerning raw materials, the placement of various features, and what information is chosen to convey on park signs and noticeboards. It may be surprising, then, that my survey of the park has demonstrated Pacific Spirit as an artificial construction, densely littered with cultural artifacts and features. With an average of one artifact or feature every six linear metres, and over 73 kilometres, or 73,000 metres, of pedestrian trails, there could be as many as 12,167 features/artifacts on the park trails alone. Given that I experienced a learning curve and grew to recognize more cultural modifications with each survey, and that I likely missed some during my survey, this figure provides only a minimum baseline.

Of the 1,271 artifacts and features recorded during the four trail-based surveys, 994 (78%) were

considered to be Landscaping features, of which 925 (93%) were designated as culturally-modified wood (CMW). The significance of this proportionally high number of CMWs in the park, however, lies less in their modification than in their use. These logs are scattered along either side of the trails, at times providing edging, while in other cases they are used to close off unofficial trail-heads. They are so numerous that they should be conspicuous—there was barely a section of the almost 10,000 metres of trail surveyed that did not have CMWs on both sides of the path—yet they blend into their background, disappearing into the surrounding nature.

This means that, overwhelmingly, people encounter cultural objects on park trails that may be largely unrecognized as manipulated due to this natural material and minimal modification. The choice to use wood, and particularly of sectioned logs still wrapped in bark, strongly reinforces the park as a place of nature and serves to minimize the disturbance to this image that might otherwise be created through should park management employ more obviously-artificial materials such as metal or plastic. The central element of these features, then, is precisely that they are observed as *being* natural, as part of the surroundings, and not as *cultural* products. As such, they are used to literally enhance the feeling of nature in the park.

Likewise, the other features included under Landscaping—fences, path edging, bridges—are notably constructed of wood and are usually left in their inherently rounded shape, as opposed to being planed with flat sides, which would convey modification and betray their naturalness (Figure 5.78). Other features, such as garbage cans and toilets, are necessary in an urban park but considered intrusive in the wilderness. While constructed from undeniably human-made materials such as metal and plastic, these objects are most frequently hidden behind wooden fences and lattice structures; garbage cans are also painted green, blending into the forest background.

The choice of material (wood) and colour (green) for park infrastructure and landscaping may have been a conscious one, discussed and implemented as general policy, or it could have been non-discursive, simply assumed as the natural choice. In either case, this decision relied on cultural understandings of *what is appropriate material culture for a park*, and these understandings and values inform the physical transformation of the park lands into a version and definition of nature that is considered to be culturally-appropriate. The idea of what a park should be becomes reality through the physical rearrangement of the landscape. As such, the construction of this space is recursive—the place informs the idea, which informs the place—and thus Pacific Spirit Regional Park is confirmed as being, first and foremost, nature.



Figure 5.78. Two different methods for off-trail prevention: unmodified mossy logs across an old path and a wooden fence.

In focusing on the materiality of park interactions, this aspect of research ties together the narratives produced through historical and contemporary park propaganda, which relate how the park was and is valued. It also enabled me to consider whether these or other values are materially inscribed and communicated through the landscape, intentionally or unintentionally, and with what degree of success. Bearing in mind that the whole landscape has been radically altered since at least the mid-1800s, and certainly was modified by Aboriginal people before that, I sought to both characterize the authorized version of the park as well as identify visible features that could challenge this.

Towards this, I considered what kinds of objects were intended by their authors to communicate and which were intended to be silent, to afford a better understanding of how narrative is constructed in the landscape. As such, I organized the observed features into categories that ranged from “intended official communication” to “unintended vernacular communication,” the former reflecting park management and the latter, park-users’ interaction with the Pacific Spirit (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11. Park feature types organized according to the author who created them (official park management versus vernacular park users), the reason the features were created in the first place, and whether or not they are intended to communicate with park users.

<b>Author</b>	<b>Reason for Feature</b>	<b>Communication</b>	<b>Artifact/Feature Type</b>
official	to prompt interaction with park-users	intended	sign, garbage can, toilet, picnic table, bench, stairs, bridge, bike rack, fence
official	infrastructure	unintended	foundations, concrete, asphalt, structure, path edge, sandbag, hydro pole, fire hydrant, drain pipe, manhole, blocks, blocked trail, counter, datum
vernacular	created for display	intended	monument, graffiti, CMW – graffiti
vernacular	by-product of interaction with park	unintended	CMW—bark stripped tree, unofficial trail, litter, hearth

It is my assertion that all material features in the landscape can and will communicate. What differs is simply whether the message was intended, and by whom, and if it is intelligible, and by whom. As such, these forms of communication highlight that

1. both official park authorities and every-day park-users have power over the landscape;
2. official messages are aimed to be broadly intelligible; and
3. vernacular messages may be directed at exclusive communities who know the “sign language.”

A good example of the last is graffiti. While much of what I observed were tags—authors’ signatures, in essence—they were largely unintelligible to me, as were the messages written on the World War II towers. These messages were intended for a select group of people who were capable of receiving them—for the Wreck Beach community. Graffiti, in and of itself, is also considered colloquially to be a form of resistance to authority and thus communicates rebellion more broadly. At Pacific Spirit’s beaches, however, this rebellion is in keeping with its community’s values, as is creativity, reflected in the elaborate murals created by graffiti artists.

Conversely, unintended official communication may have the opposite effect. While culturally modified wood strewn about the area could communicate park management to a wide audience, it is intended to be silent and not prompt interaction; it is intended to be invisible, although a large group of people are capable of deciphering its meaning. This exemplifies the non-discursive (Giddens 1984) or habituated (Bourdieu 1977) aspects of culture that *can* be discussed but usually are not. Given that the vast majority of features encountered in the park by number fall into this latter category, it is little wonder that the perception of the park as nature—as unmanipulated by humans—is so prevalent. Here, nature is meant to be on display; culture is meant to be invisible.

Landscaping is an effective but indirect way of manicuring the park’s aesthetic value while

managing park behaviour. A far more direct way of communicating what activities should and should not be undertaken in park areas is through the use of signs (Karlsson and Gustafsson 2006:138), or “official” graffiti (Hermer 2002:54). Excluding CMWs, signs account for 20% (n=68) of features encountered in the park. At every trail intersection, signs indicate trail names and uses allowed, at times offer a park map, and display posters for local events and for coyote awareness. Trail-heads often sport large billboards conveying more information about park programs, alongside the rules and hazards concerning harvesting local resources such as shellfish, berries, fiddle-heads, and mushrooms. With on average one signpost every 146 metres, I estimate there are at least 500 signs on the trails in Pacific Spirit; this figure, too, is represents a minimum since most signposts held several individual signs.

The rules conveyed through signs are not necessarily strictly enforced, however. During my visits to the park, only once did I encounter a park patroller, although police presence at the beaches during the summer has increased over the last few years. Rather than policing and bylaw fines, it is the sign itself that encourages adherence to the rules as people will, more often than not, self-police (Burr 1977), so long as they feel the rules are in line with their values. Ultimately, the number and content of signs in Pacific Spirit affirm its role as an *urban* park, host to a regular and large population, not a *wilderness* park, despite how some have envisioned it. These distinctions are discussed further in Chapter 8.

Indeed, as an urban park, Pacific Spirit is littered with the material remains of people either passively disregarding or actively rebelling against the park rules. Passively, this comes in the form of casual litter, dog-poop bags, and small stone monuments left on the beach. Actively, this is represented by graffiti, large monuments, and remnants of campsites throughout the park away from the trails. As a public place, the park is viewed as belonging to the public or to everyone. In this sense, it is not surprising that people seem to feel they have the right to engage with the park as they see fit, or that *their* interests should take priority over other user groups, expressed in responses to my questionnaire as discussed in Chapter 7. This sentiment translates into forms of material culture representing vernacular interaction with the park landscape.

In some areas, such as Wreck Beach, this has led to the creation of a space that is less inhibited. The community at Wreck Beach is widely viewed as uninhibited or liberal and the beaches, where people stop, sit and relax, tend to be sites of more creative expression—places where the landscape is socialized. In that space, “nature” is not separated from “culture” and, indeed, some of the artworks around Wreck Beach actively blur these lines. While not part of the authorized landscape, such behaviour is accepted, normalized, and even celebrated in the beach community: Wreck Beach openly defies authority. Perhaps for this reason, there has been considerable and ongoing tension between Metro Vancouver and the Wreck Beach Preservation Society and beach community in general.

In the forests, vernacular interaction with the park is largely off-trail, and similarly follows unspoken rules. The pet cemetery is an unauthorized memorial that involves digging in the park; yet, as a site of spirituality and peace, it is both accepted and cherished by those most closely involved with Pacific Spirit. Conversely, the mountain biking courses that have been constructed off-trail represent an activity that is much frowned upon by this community and by park authorities. In part, this is due to the scale of landscape disturbance that results; however, litter—portable artifacts that require no landscape modification—is just as negatively viewed. This reaffirms non-discursive understandings of what kinds of activities are appropriate for the park as a place revering nature.

Together, vernacular expressions through material culture highlight the park as a “site of struggle” (Abu Lughod 2009:47) between authority and resisters, taking place openly on the beaches through public art that is made to be seen and covertly in the forests through concealed mountain biking courses and litter. What exactly is being resisted through this material culture? Myriad answers are possible. In a society that emphasizes a nature–culture divide, the intentional construction or deposition of features and artifacts that are widely recognizable as “cultural” signals resistance to this narrative. Similarly, litter—the second most numerable form of artifact encountered in my survey—is directly at odds with dominant narratives of conservation and “saving” the nature of Pacific Spirit. More broadly, the concept of the park as “public” creates it as a place to resist authority, which may be variously perceived as the government, an institution or workplace, one’s parents or teachers, or the structures that regulate and confine daily life for a working population. These issues are returned to in Chapter 7 when I discuss the results of my park community questionnaire, but a central take-away message is this: while there *are* artifacts and features that signify resistance in the park, overwhelmingly the materiality of Pacific Spirit communicates structure, authority, conformity, and control.

This is evident both in material culture intending to communicate, such as signs delineating park rules, and in features that are meant to be silent. For example, as neither authorized nor vernacular per se, the material remnants of historical uses of what is now the park lands for other purposes remain visible along the park trails. The dairy farm foundations and prominent World War II structures are not identified in any signs or monuments in the park, and none but an intent observer would happen upon many of them. Only a picnic table on Clinton trail refers to the stables that stood there, without mentioning the foundations that remain, hidden under moss and greenery. In this way, rather than overtly celebrated by park authorities, these places are left *unactivated* in the landscape. They are not considered to be heritage—after all, the heritage of the park is clearly communicated to be a natural one. Instead, these sites are treated as the trail-side equivalent to the large dumping sites scattered throughout the park—blemishes in the park’s picture-perfect visage, allowed to be grown over, removed from sight.

Perhaps this is because these places signal both the past, and thus the possible future use of the park as something else other than a park. On the immediate level, this gives rise to insecurity about the status of the land as both park and nature. Situated in history, however, this insecurity has deeper roots, however, unspoken and maybe largely unrecognized. In Point Grey, European colonization has meant the creation of places invested with history and meaning for the settler society; Pacific Spirit as nature is central to the settler narrative. As discussed in Chapter 2, this cultural story is framed as celebratory yet is simultaneously about insecurity, both about the past—was the land takeover really so peaceful?—and the future—will we lose our land to someone else? Being insecure about this new home, settler society seeks security, by fixing its ideology into the landscape, physically, and permanently.

To inscribe the settler narrative—an idealized story of exploration, discovery, and nation-building—into the landscape, it must first be cleared for this project to succeed (Guernsey 2008:122):

Erasing First Nations landscapes and replacing them with a preconceived understanding of “wilderness” allowed the landscape to be physically, socially, and conceptually cleared for the colonial settlement of the land. Yet, First Nations landscapes were never erased; they were merely hidden by a dominant ideology.

It is the cultural connection between this place and the First Nations that has been repeatedly and intentionally severed, in the dislocation and resettlement of Musqueam people from these lands, the alienation of lands as a park and an ecological reserve, the renaming of the territory, and the erasure of all Indigenous history from the park to instead focus on its natural heritage. Throughout the park, its natural heritage is indicated in an almost desperate attempt to convince not only park-goers, but even the park itself, that Pacific Spirit truly *is* nature.

It is only because of my experience with the Musqueam-UBC field school that I am aware of several areas and features considered by Musqueam people to be places of cultural and spiritual importance. In light of their status as sacred places, I did not record these locations in my survey when I encountered them so as to preserve their secrecy. While this was intended as a gesture of respect, it could be perceived as not recognizing Musqueam heritage—as yet another episode of heritage erasure. Similarly, my focus on the visible landscape—that which park visitors would see and engage with—flattened time into “the contemporary” and thereby excluded ancient sites perhaps buried by forest duff. This complicated issue is discussed further in Chapter 8. However, what is not visible is *invisible*, and my approach to this survey illustrates that, without prior knowledge of historical uses of the park lands, this story is left untold in the activated landscape.

Similarly, the parallel narrative of the park as threatened by capitalism through development generates anxiety over the “loss” of nature. The park’s status as nature and an environmental victory must

be secured in order to alleviate this anxiety; evidence of cultural use, past and present, threatens this designation, challenging the boundedness of the category. It is significant that litter—the only “artifact” type recorded in the park—comprises only 8% of the total 1,271 objects encountered. Overwhelmingly, the material landscape of the park as encountered through my survey is comprised of features—of *immobile constructions that are fixed into the landscape*. This immobility, combined with the material properties of these features (e.g., wood, green) generates a perception of permanence in the landscape and likewise flattens time: the nature of the park *is, was, and always will be*.

The result is that Pacific Spirit is a powerful landscape that may be variously perceived. In the context of urbanization and as a space defined through capitalism, the park is portrayed as a nature preserve, as if the area was simply bounded and left untouched, frozen in time. In this way, it is created as a monument to nature, memorializing an imagined landscape of times past.

On one hand, this monumentality can be interpreted secularly to suggest Pacific Spirit as a natural museum (e.g., Cronin 2011; Mason 2004; Gobster 2007). This is significant because, historically, museums have acted as showcases for *cultural* treasures, often the by-products of expeditions carried out in concert with imperialist goals. Museums thus reified state power, legitimizing their authority to decide not only what should be remembered, but also to decree what will be forgotten. This dynamic is certainly present in Pacific Spirit, where “nature” is remembered and culture is forgotten.

On the other, the monumentality of Pacific Spirit reinforces the spirituality of “the Pacific Spirit” and nature as doctrine, introduced in the 1970s as the “gospel of ecology” and affirmed today through park propaganda, as illustrated in Chapter 4. In this light, the park is also as a sacred site of worship (Engel 1992:87):

The spatial and temporal symbolism associated with sacred spaces is remarkably uniform. They are perceived as ideal. Written in their landscapes and in the design of their artifacts are not only how things are, but how things ought to be. One sees in sacred space the true pattern of the cosmos, a part that uniquely symbolizes the whole. To enter a sacred space is therefore to make a pilgrimage to the center of existence, and for this reason sacred spaces are typically conceived as centers of universal community.

Pacific Spirit as a sacred monument of nature is thus ideological, naturalizing the division between state and private property and the hierarchical structures that sustain these. As such, the park is akin to a temple: it has restricted hours, defined boundaries between the sacred (nature) and the profane (the city), a code of restricted behaviours (clearly communicated in signs) that reinforce doctrine, altars and offerings, an authoritative priestly class (park patrollers), and an exclusive space where none but the ordained are allowed (the Ecological Reserve). The park’s *performance* as sacred is discussed in Chapter 6.

The construction of Pacific Spirit as a monument signals both the importance of ritual and

remembering as mechanisms to define place as one thing and not another. Pacific Spirit is a manufactured illusion of nature—a Disneyfied version of reality that “improves the past and represents what history should (!) have been like” (Holtorf 2005:139), thereby influencing how the present and future are envisioned. In the context of colonial Canada, such selective remembering, and thus forgetting, is central to the craft of revisionist history and to the creation of heritage (Smith 2008:23):

The clearance of landscapes, then, is about the material and social expression of ideologies and of community and/or individual experiences. Clearance of landscapes is about rupturing the sense of belonging, home, identity, and meaning; it is about the politics of remembering and the politics of forgetting; it is about violence, colonialism, forced movement, and removals; and it is about postcolonialism, diaspora, migration, asylum seekers, and refugees. The clearance of landscapes is a constant in both the past and the present. All landscapes are constantly “occupied” and simultaneously “cleared” from the past and into the present.

Initially used to justify colonization and exploitation of Indigenous lands, the myth of *terra nullius* has become a necessary prerequisite, sedimented and materialized in the landscape of Pacific Spirit as nature. Clearing places of people and erasing traces of culture in turn justifies colonial presence, once as purveyors of civilization and today as stewards of nature (Mawani 2007). Yet there is a lingering anxiety as the creation of this natural museum has meant the destruction of a cultural landscape, implicated in an agenda of capitalist imperialism that is implicated in the genocide of Indigenous peoples. The insecurity of the settler narrative is thus pervasive, looming in the material landscape of Pacific Spirit, indicating how urgently settler society still “needs to root itself” (Malkki 1997: 60).

## Summary

In the language of placemaking, sanctification is the process of turning a site associated with a historic event or person into a place or monument conveying lasting and sacred meaning; on the other hand, obliteration effaces a site by covering it up or removing it altogether.

Patricia Rubertone (2008:27)

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the landscape of Pacific Spirit conveys stories embedded in the landscape. The material landscape of Pacific Spirit is manufactured and manipulated to emphasize its character as “nature.” This is accomplished through the choice of wood as the predominant raw material, used in landscaping and to hide necessary infrastructure, and of the colour green, used on trail signs and garbage cans. Conversely, features that communicate “cultural” origins or history are unactivated in the official authorized landscape; they are, however, invoked by the park-user community. This highlights the park as a site of struggle where park-users resist the authorized heritage discourse (Smith 2004), both

actively through the construction of artworks and passively through littering.

The official narrative of Pacific Spirit as “nature” influences how the park is perceived and, in turn, what stories are told through this landscape. As a monument, the park is both a natural museum and a sacred site to celebrate and worship the “Pacific Spirit”—established first in the settler narrative as pioneering optimism and later through environmentalism as a connection to nature. The material landscape of Pacific Spirit operates recursively to inform the performance of the park in daily life and public events—the socializing and affirmation of the park as a place through ritual. Together, these three elements—place, memory, identity—comprise the heritage of a culture. As discussed in the next chapter, such heritage is activated and remembered through the interaction with sites of ritual such as Pacific Spirit.

## CHAPTER 6: THE PERFORMANCE OF PACIFIC SPIRIT

The memories and experiences created and reinforced by heritage performances help bind communities and other social and cultural groups through the creation of shared experiences, values and memories, all of which work to help cement or recreate social networks and ties.

Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton (2009:44)

The construction of a place as a meaningful site of memory relies on the ritual rehearsal of that memory. Such performance keeps a place alive, and while memory is reenacted, it is not static and its rehearsal does not reflect a simple going-through-the-motions. Rather, memory as an integral component of heritage is recreated in the present (Bender 1999:18), and the communication of heritage through ritual must shift with each generation in order to remain meaningful. This is the process behind Jacquette Hawkes' (1967:174) saying, "every age has the Stonehenge it deserves—or desires."

As in anthropology more broadly, I have placed in this research an emphasis on understanding culture—the particular perceptions and lifeways that are learned and passed on through generations. In order to conceive of a socially-constructed place such as Pacific Spirit, it is integral to imagine the culture of this place—how the park is valued, perceived, and performed—and how this culture may function as ideology.

In Chapter 2, I characterized the overarching metanarrative of Point Grey and the park as the settler narrative, a particular version of history that has become celebrated heritage for contemporary settler society. I introduced in Chapter 3 the parallel narrative of environmentalism, providing an in-depth examination of the articulated values and beliefs of park-supporters while exposing the park as a site of ongoing colonial tension. In Chapter 4, park culture was illustrated through what I describe as propaganda, reflecting an on-paper version of Pacific Spirit's imagined reality. The materiality of "natural" heritage was discussed in Chapter 5, highlighting how dominant narratives are embedded in the park landscape itself.

This chapter relates the performance of the park as I have witnessed it directly over the last few years. In my approach (Patterson 2008:80),

landscape is seen as a space of public performance, the transcendence of the ordinary, communication, and the cultural reproduction of social relations, replete with spectacle, theatricality, ritual, impersonation, movement, and meaning, on the one hand, and sights, sounds, smells, textures, light intensities, temperatures, humidities, and so forth, on the other.

This emphasis on performance as (re)creating place privileges personal experience and participation, all forms of "immersion in, and commingling with" a place (Ingold 2011:137).

While residing in Point Grey, I was well-situated to conduct participant observation for my

research throughout this period. This, I saw as an ideal avenue to build an understanding of the park as a place, to view first-hand its performance and observe how values are practised by park users on a daily basis. I attended events organized by the volunteer communities of the park and regularly visited the park and beaches to get an impression of how the park spaces are used and change over the seasons. This allowed me to see how people interact with the park—how it may be used variously as a backdrop, a stage, or an actor in the performance, and the extent to which my analysis of the park discussed so far reflects its practice.

Building on the narrative established in previous chapters, I discuss how Pacific Spirit functions as a site of ritual, rehearsing a heritage of the park as nature. This is evident both in the daily practice of this space, as well as in the formal events reflecting authorized park values. The park as nature enables two parallel stories to be affirmed: (1) the park is *terra nullius*, an empty land to be explored and discovered, and (2) the park is an environmental victory. As discussed in Chapter 4, both stories represent an idealized heritage, sanitizing the colonial occupation of this land and its exploitation through capitalism. Yet the park as nature is viewed as sacrosanct, creating a site of pilgrimage that is ritually performed through formal events and daily life, masking a deep-seated insecurity that underscores the settler narrative.

### **Informal Daily Life**

It is within a given context of experience that the material world acquires meaning.

Laurie Wilkie and Kevin Bartoy (2000:750)

These meanings further regulate and organise our conduct and practices by helping set rules, norms and conventions.

Gregory Ashworth *et al.* (2007:3)

Places are constellations of memory, experience and expectation, mutually-reinforcing through engagement. This is illustrated in the two quotations above, where Wilkie and Bartoy privilege experience as shaping meaning, while Ashworth *et al.* focus on how meaning shapes experience. Similarly, Ruth Van Dyke (2008:279) suggests “the experiential nature of place provides one starting point to retrieve social memory.” In short, to know a place is to live it, and vice versa; such intimate familiarity is formed through daily practice.

With these understandings, and aiming to access the non-discursive, informal daily practice of Pacific Spirit, I visited the park on a regular basis, generally at least twice each week, during the period that I was resident in the area. Most often this involved visiting the park trails for long walks, or resting at the beach. I was nearly always accompanied by my partner, Rich Hutchings, and we usually brought a

camera with us for these trips. What follows is a summary of my personal experience interacting with Pacific Spirit, presenting an emic view of the performance of the park and how this relates to larger themes of history and heritage discussed so far.

### ***On the Trails...***

I frequently visited Pacific Spirit's forested trails, mostly as a pedestrian with Rich, and sometimes as a cyclist. We lived about four blocks away from the park's northern-most forest near the East and West Canyon, Spanish and Pioneer trails (Figure 6.1), an area characterized by large cedars and two actively eroding canyons. A vehicle pull-out on the nearby road often had a line of parked vehicles and it seemed that most people used the trails as a loop, returning to their vehicles. Instead, we frequently used the trails along the canyons to access the beach. It was there that we once heard someone practising bagpipes; in those canyons, the acoustics were formidable, transforming the park into an ethereal landscape.

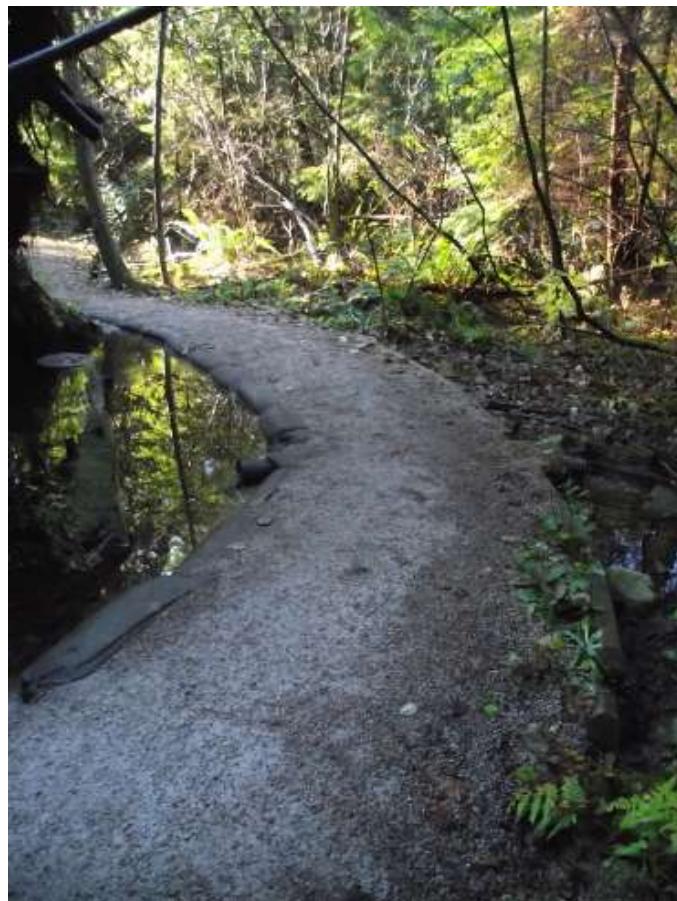


Figure 6.1. Path through area north of Chancellor Blvd.

More commonly, however, we encountered dog-walkers in this area. Indeed, everywhere in the park, most of the other park visitors we met were pedestrians with dogs—sometimes several dogs, by professional dog-walkers—and as many dogs as people were observed. Men jogging alone; sometimes women jogging alone or with friends; single cyclists, families cycling together and school groups all on bicycles; couples walking together; families of tourists. On average, there were slightly more men than women, especially jogging and cycling alone, and more women walking with dogs; most people I observed were white. Interaction between park-users revolved around the meeting of dogs and ensuing conversations between their walkers. Beyond this, a smile or short greeting was standard.

We also walked along Spanish and Salish trails in the area adjacent to the University Golf Course, in order to access the southern portion of the park. However, neither of us much appreciated these trails, which have long, straight stretches, are gravelled and travel under deciduous trees, having been logged in the 1950s in advance of development. They felt more like transportation corridors than inspiring a leisurely and meandering walk. In this area, we identified flagging tape indicating biology students from the University of British Columbia (UBC) were conducting research there, particularly in the waterlogged sections of the forest (Figure 6.2).

We also wandered frequently in the southernmost area of Pacific Spirit along the pedestrian/dogs-on-leash trails, where an older forest of large cedars grows amidst giant stumps that indicate logging of many years previous. Far fewer people were encountered in this area of the park, perhaps because of the dogs-on-leash policy, although the trails are quite beautiful and lead through dark forest and bright wetlands. The impression inspired by this portion of the park is of peace, quiet and solitude.

Our walks in the southern parts of the park were more varied and we often ended up somewhat disoriented, due to a combination of winding trails, a lack of familiarity with the trail directions, and the sheer size of this park area. We encountered other lost visitors at times as well, and would use the sound of traffic or of airplanes to gauge our direction (the airport is roughly south). After moving away from the area, I continued to visit the park weekly to run with my sister-in-law, who grew up visiting these trails while living in Kitsilano, and I was astounded by her familiarity with the park trails, using landmarks and features such as garbage cans rather than trail names to guide us. Such intimate knowledge of the landscape was the result of decades of visits, a familiarity I will never achieve.



Figure 6.2. Flooded landscape south of Chancellor Blvd.

While we lived in Point Grey, the park was our escape. Our basement apartment afforded little light and less greenspace, and its size was confining. Whether, walking, running or cycling, Pacific Spirit was, for Rich and I, a necessary respite for physical, mental and emotional health. Critically, despite my knowledge of the logging history and a heightened awareness of the managed landscape of the park, I still felt connected to nature there—at least, more so than in the city—and I consistently left feeling relaxed, refreshed and just better. As discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 7, my experience of Pacific Spirit is quite typical of how people view and relate to the park and its role in their everyday lives.

### ***At the Beach...***

I most frequently visited the stretch of beach on the northern edge of the park between Acadia and Tower, which involves a dirt trail for a portion of the westward walk and then transfers to a cobble beach (Figure 6.3), eventually to sand further along by Wreck Beach (Figure 6.4). My trips were all accompanied by

Rich and we often used these opportunities to examine the erosion of known archaeological sites in the area. Again, we most frequently encountered dog-walkers, nearly always with dogs off-leash, although dogs are not technically allowed on most of this beach. We also met families with children playing in the sandy intertidal zone, and people who seemed to be tourists, taking photographs of the ocean.

Although we were not aware of this at the time, I gradually realized that a stretch of this beach also seems to be used as a “pick-up” area for men looking for partners. This, I discerned from the behaviour of lone men walking on the beach, from online Craigslist advertisements looking for beach “partners,” and—given that this area is clothing-optional—from the disposition of some people. However, when together, we rarely had any negative encounters, as smiling and saying hello is standard etiquette everywhere in the park, including the beaches. Previously, when I had visited the beaches alone, I received unwanted attention from polite but intrusive men looking for partners, which dissuaded me from returning by myself.



Figure 6.3. Area west of Acadia Beach.



Figure 6.4. Wreck Beach looking northeast with West Vancouver in the background.

Despite these negative encounters, the beaches of Pacific Spirit provided, even more than the forest, a necessary escape for Rich and I while we lived in the city. While the quiet and green of the park's forested areas seemed to breathe life into us, the beaches replenished our souls. My experiences of these two aspects of Pacific Spirit highlighted that the forest and the beach are very different places, inspiring different activities and resulting in different material signatures of these behaviours. This dynamic can be summarized as follows:

1. **People at the beach sit down.** In the park, I only once saw anyone sitting on a bench; usually, people travelled at some speed, purposefully walking their dogs, out for a jog or cycling with family. At the beach, sitting and admiring the view is *the* reason to visit; even if people are walking, they are *strolling* at a leisurely pace, less often observed in the forest. As such, the forest functions more as a travel corridor—a linear space of movement, direction and purpose, while the beach is a place to *stop*, antithetical to all of those things as a *lateral* space. Loitering is expected here, but is considered suspicious behaviour in the forest.
  
2. **People at the beach tend to “play with” or touch their environment.** Everyone I observed, including myself and Rich, would run the sand through their fingers and make designs in it, look for and pick up shells, glass, and other artifacts encountered, put their hands in the ocean water, or go swimming. The beach is, in this sense, a tactile space of interaction. In the forest, I have only

seen people touching the environment when they are collecting berries, using this sense for a clearly defined purpose rather than simply playing.

3. **People at the beach are most often in groups.** While families and friends together were observed in the forest, there were also just as many or more singles out for a walk, run or cycling, or walking their dog(s). At the beach, I saw people sitting or walking alone infrequently, and it was more common to have at least two and often more together. Because the beach is a place to stop and play, it follows that this is also considered to be a *social* space more than the forest.
4. **Because people stop, play and socialize at the beach, they tend to create and leave behind “monuments” as markers of their visit.** Small stones arranged in a line on a piece of driftwood, shells in a circle, spiral, or other shape arranged on the sand, designs written into wet sand by fingers, elaborate graffiti or driftwood sculptures—all constitute monuments that communicate from one user to the next the day-to-day presence of people in place for an extended *time*.

In sum, my personal experiences of the forest and the beach highlight that these are interacted with, and thus perceived, as very different spaces with attendant behaviours and values. This affirms the contextual nature of what behaviours are considered to be appropriate and how these are reinforced. At the beach, there are few formal indicators such as signs to tell people what they should, or should not, be doing there. As an interface between land and sea, the beach resists definition (Ingold 2011:131); the result is that the beach becomes a space of leisure and creative expression, and the mind wanders. Conversely, in the forested areas of the park, signs indicate the various recreational uses allowed for different trails, which are themselves inherently linear spaces for travelling and movement; these corridors do not invite loitering. The result is that people come to the trails with a purpose—to go for a run, to walk the dog, to horseback ride, or even just to get from UBC to Dunbar by bicycle without cycling on the roads. Less time is therefore spent in the forest and, in my experience, time seems to pass more quickly than time at the beach. Lacking the spatial reference of movement, time at the beach is protracted: it seems to stretch on forever, like the sands surrounding and the ocean’s horizon. In perception and performance, then, the forested trails and the beaches of Pacific Spirit are fundamentally different places.

### ***My Images***

Photography as a tool of ethnography (Collier and Collier 1986), a medium for self-reflection (Schulze 2007), and a mode of engagement (Shanks and Svabo 2013) is now widely recognized in visual

anthropology and archaeology. In focusing on representations of the park, my observations in Chapter 4 illustrated conformity in the narratives told through photographs of the park. Similarly, the photographs that I have taken casually while at the park, forest and beach alike, provide a window into how I have viewed these places over the last few years.

Perhaps not surprisingly, I have found that my images mirror those taken by other park visitors (as observed online), as well as imagery used by formal park authorities including Metro Vancouver and the Pacific Spirit Park Society. This illustrates how a feedback loop is generated between how “society” views the park and how I view it, both of which are constructions and influenced by the perceptions of others, as well as by the park landscape itself (Schulz 2007:538). Through this structural duality (Giddens 1984:25), the park is reproduced as a cultural place and a site to reinforce elite interests.

Here I provide a few representative examples of the thousands of digital photographs I have taken in and of Pacific Spirit Regional Park. In looking through these photographs, I note that most of them are of trees (Figure 6.5). Several feature the sun shining down through the trees, creating a dappled lighting effect (Figure 6.6). Photographs that I took at the beach also feature the sun shining on water (Figure 6.7). Wide shots of the beach and ocean are also prominent, particularly at low tide (Figure 6.8).

Because of our mutual interest in history, some photographs include historic artifacts or landscaping features that Rich and I were able to locate. Others depict artistic features, particularly observed at Wreck Beach. These represent some of the only images that have *people* featured in them, which I often used for scale and sometimes in an awkwardly humourous circumstance (Figure 6.9).

Collectively, my photographs of the forest and beaches of Pacific Spirit convey the same messages as articulated in formal and informal park propaganda: the park is about nature, which is in opposition to culture. The park aesthetic lies in its natural features—trees, ocean, beach, sun—which are viewed as the appropriate subjects for photographing. This aesthetic maps onto the doctrine of “nature” discussed in Chapter 4, conveying what the park is about and influencing how people perceive and perform this place.



Figure 6.5. Winding path through Douglas firs, the quintessential Pacific Spirit image.



Figure 6.6. Sun streaming through Douglas firs early in the day.



Figure 6.7. Wreck Beach looking southwest on a hot, sunny day.



Figure 6.8. Wreck Beach at low tide, with the ongoing cliff erosion slump visible.



Figure 6.9. Rich sits on a creatively carved bench at Wreck Beach, reflecting the “vibe” of the place.

## **Formal Performances**

Promoting the heritage of the core society is the main instrument of socialisation, assimilating “outsiders” into the values of the core while continually reasserting and reinforcing it to insiders and outsiders alike.

Gregory Ashworth *et al.* (2007:91)

The ways in which people interact with a place help to define its character and role in society. In this process, dominant values become privileged and, through repetition, naturalized, as Ashworth *et al.* suggest above. While the every-day experience of Pacific Spirit Regional Park represents a more common or casual interaction with this space, formal events may likewise express an authorized conception of the park. During 2010 and 2011, I attended a number of such formal events organized either in Pacific Spirit, in relation to the park or in the surrounding area. This section describes these events and my experiences of them, and considers how these authorized performances influence the character of the park.

### ***Pacific Spirit Park Society***

As an official Park Partner with Metro Vancouver, the Pacific Spirit Park Society (PSPS) often spearheads the organization of events in the park itself. These tend to target children in particular and are most commonly advertised as family events. In addition, PSPS offers a monthly “Talk and Walk” series, with an informal lecture by a local expert one evening to be followed that weekend with a guided walk by this expert through a portion of the park. In total, PSPS events comprise the majority of formal events I attended, as well as the majority of such events held in the park.

#### **Stories Along the Trail 2010**

The first such event was the annual “Stories Along the Trail,” a guided walk through a series of stations where different people tell short stories related to some aspect of the park. In 2010, these stories were guided by a larger theme of global ecology, expressing the interconnectedness between all life in all areas of the world. Eleven volunteers dressed up and stood along different parts of the trail; the guided walk through these stations was designed to take about an hour. Following this, visitors attended the “finish table,” where volunteers tried to summarize the tour by reinforcing the global connections between the different stations that people encountered. They also asked visitors for feedback on the experience. This is where I fit in.

Having met and talked with then-President of PSPS, Pille Bunnell, I volunteered to assist in some

way at the Stories event. I saw this as both an opportunity for me to experience more first-hand the kinds of narratives being told about the park by PSPS, and to reciprocate by helping in whatever way the organization needed. While this exchange felt right, I did have concerns about being too closely affiliated with PSPS and having this compromise my relationship with the Musqueam Indian Band, as I was uncertain what relationship, if any, existed between them. I also initially felt strange being *part* of the event—using terms like “we” and “our” when explaining the tour and its messages to visitors—and reflected that, in some ways, it is harder to be situated within the researched community than to be separate from it.

In my capacity as a volunteer, I stood at the finish table (Figure 6.10), explaining mostly to children about how all the water in the world is connected, which means what happens here affects what happens elsewhere and vice versa, using a globe and diagram as explanatory aids. I then spoke with their parents about the experience and asked for suggestions. Following the event, I wrote up my observations for Pille as a form of direct feedback that might assist with future PSPS activities.



Figure 6.10. The finish table for PSPS’s Stories Along the Trail event 2010, illustrating the interconnectedness of all things globally.

I was able, however, to tag along with one tour group so that I could hear each of the stories. It struck me that the park as a stage, and its performance as theatre, was particularly emphasized in the Stories event. Unfortunately, my desire to chat with each of the characters meant that, rather than hear the stories as they were told to the group, I received the summary versions in most cases. In all of my conversations with the costumed volunteers, when I explained that I was researching roughly what the park means and its role in society, two topics were consistently raised: fear for personal safety and

Musqueam land rights.

The stories these characters told all focused on the environmental impacts of human activity around the world, from cars and pollution to melting polar ice caps and attempts to harness “green” energy, representing what the storyteller described as “optimism for the future” (Figure 6.11). The tour was ended by Gaia, who emphasized how all of these stories are part of “her,” as all of these people, places and environments are interconnected (Figure 6.12). Visitors then came to me at the finish table for a summary and take-away diagram of all of the stations.



Figure 6.11. A wind turbine, demonstrating the potential of clean energy.



Figure 6.12. Gaia, or Mother Earth, illustrating how she is at the centre of all things, connected.

Over 200 people attended the 2010 Stories Along the Trail while I was at the finish table. Many of the younger children were primarily interested in the costumes, while the older children and parents paid more attention to the stories. Many of the children were too young to understand more than the basic messages: cars are polluting, recycle more etc. One group of children looked at the sheet and said, “these ones are bad” (pointing to the car, wind turbine), and “these ones are good” (pointing to the animals)—meaning, bad or good for the environment.

The “bad” ones also tended to include stories and characters that were from elsewhere in the world, not in Canada; thus, I wondered whether focusing on the interconnectedness on a global scale made it more difficult for children to see how “we” are contributing to these problems. However, several of the parents expressed that they would have liked for the children to be told more ways that they can help, and to have the story be more of a “happy ending.” This reinforces park propaganda, that a Disneyized story is more frequently sought after, and portrayed, than one that tells the “negative reality”

of consumption and ecological degradation. This echoes Cornelius Holtorf (2005:140), who suggests “Disney heritage is clearly fabricated, but it has the virtue that a large part of the public loves it.” Of course, I understand this—I grew up in this society with these stories, too, after all—but I also consider, after this event, that such a narrative is ultimately a lie by omission.

Ironically, the finish table was stationed adjacent to a parking lot and immediately across from TRIUMF, a nuclear facility at UBC surrounded by chain-link fencing, barbed wire and “private property” signs (Figure 6.13). This site, however, was not deemed to be part of the interconnectedness portrayed through Stories. Instead, in PSPS’s narrative, the park is a stage for the production of environment, and its actors are called upon to fill their roles as stewards of nature in a narrative of hope, inspiration and optimism.



Figure 6.13. The TRIUMF nuclear facility on the UBC campus, directly adjacent to the PSPS event finish table.

#### Take Another Look

The next PSPS event I attended was called “Take Another Look,” held in April 2011, which was a self-led tour involving stations that posed questions, aimed at levels of difficulty, relating to local ecology (Figure 6.14) and elements that are “natural” or “out of place.” The tour was designed to take about an hour and was situated in the woods adjacent to the University Golf Course on University Boulevard. Most people attending were young children with parents, often in groups with other families. I again volunteered to help for this event, however I ended up simply doing the tour instead.



Figure 6.14. A level three question at the Take Another Look event station explaining how salmonberries fit into the wider ecology.

Topics included various plants along the trails, evidence of woodpeckers, insect nests, geological history, Indigenous uses of plants (e.g., elderberries described as “an important food for natives”), tree life cycle from birth to death, among others. At the “yellow” difficulty level, visitors were asked to identify objects that were considered out of place, which included various plastic and metal objects (Figure 6.15), and domesticated crops (e.g., carrots). A Metro Vancouver vehicle along the trail made several people laugh, as it was clearly not intended to be part of the event but seemed equally out of place in the forest.

Geared towards children, a Metro Vancouver exhibit about halfway through the tour used mythical creatures as analogues for wildlife—for example, relating fairies to hummingbirds—communicating the “magic” of the natural world (Figure 6.16). The tour ended with a PSPS table and poster advertising the society under the banner of “Your Park, Your Voice.” There, visitors were invited to vote on a name for the “storytime mouse,” a PSPS mascot, which was later announced via email: Snowberry.

Designed as self-directed learning, again targeting young children, this event prompted people to take the time to really stop and look at things around them. I later reflected that the three difficulty levels perhaps represented a scientific approach to “taking another look,” asking visitors to first simply observe, then analyze, and finally explain what they are observing.



Figure 6.15. Plastic grapes in the forest, with Discussion Ideas: Do you like grapes? Are these grapes good to eat? Do grapes grow in the forest?



Figure 6.16. Metro Vancouver station likening the local wildlife to magical creatures, like fairies.

In a broader sense, however, the event is teaching children and adults alike a scientific ontology—the proper names of plants and animals and their roles in ecological systems. It also conveyed objects and ideas that are and are not “appropriate” in the park, the latter identified as human-manufactured objects

deemed out of context. This has the effect of reinforcing a division between natural objects and unnatural ones, the latter of which were invariably cultural objects or artifacts. This distinction is highlighted in one question asking if the blue plastic flowers were “real,” and in another about a twist of bark, “Did this grow by itself? ...or did you make this beautiful sculpture?” (Figure 6.17). This activity puts things in their proper places; the lesson learned is what *belongs* in the park, and what does not.

While chatting about my research topic and approach, the park as nature was questioned by one of the PSPS volunteers, who remarked that “there is nothing natural” about Pacific Spirit. He suggested that a placebo affect might be in play: that if people think it is nature, they *make* it nature, and so it *becomes* nature. In this sense, there is no placebo per se because reality is constituted socially. Nature, in this view, is whatever we make it to be. The lingering question, then, is, who is “we” and what influences what definition of “nature” is told?



Figure 6.17. A twist of bark with the caption adjacent: Did this grow by itself? ...or did you make this beautiful sculpture?

I personally found the event very exciting and enjoyed the puzzle of figuring out where the mouse had been photographed, and what objects did and did not belong. Although it was aimed at children, the

adult oriented educational aspect—learning how different species grow together and so on—was also fascinating and fun. I later wondered whether this feeling was the “thrill of exploration and discovery” that the parks programs allude to: is learning the same thing as exploring and discovering? Should this terminology be used, which is implicated in larger historical and political processes? Will children then find the event boring because it is called “educational?” Ultimately, can knowledge-building ever be separated from colonial and capitalist expansion (e.g., Galtung 1967; Nicholas and Hollowell 2007)?

## Talks & Walks 2010-2011

A series of lectures and park walks were put on by the Pacific Spirit Park Society (2011) between September 2010 to July 2011. Of these, I was able to attend only a handful in person; here, I provide details of these experiences. To supplement, I also include In Appendix H all topics covered at these events in order to more fully represent the series.

### *Green is Healthy*

The “talk and walk” event in February 2011 was provided by Mike Meitner, an Environmental Psychologist in UBC’s Forestry Department. I missed his talk but was able to acquire a digital copy of his presentation entitled, ‘Human Well Being and the Natural World.’

Meitner emphasized that even a view of greenery has positive health benefits, citing studies in prisons and hospitals demonstrating this quantitatively by number of sick days and recovery times, as well as stress levels assessed during driving through “nature-dominated” areas compared to “artifact-dominated” drives (Meitner 2011:17). Access to wilderness, even just visually, was linked with improved coping skills, cognitive function, and measures of cooperation and trust (Meitner 2011:18). This, Meitner explained in terms of biophilia, an innate emotional connection humans feel with other living things (Meitner 2011:19).

Meitner (2011:28) considered the economic, social and health problems associated with urban living, and suggested the benefits of access to green space include:

- Reduced stress;
- Increased concentration and self-discipline;
- Reduced symptoms of ADHD in children;
- Half the incidence of violent and property crimes and domestic violence;
- Increased strength of community;
- Increased ability for the poorest single parent mothers to cope with major life issues; and,
- Increased physical activity.

He then discussed the Vancouver Greenest City initiative (Meitner 2011:31), which stated access to nature as one of its ten goals, ensuring that “all Vancouver residents live within a five minute walk of a park, greenway, or other green space by 2020.” The immediate benefit of this, Meitner (2011:33) described, is “forest bathing”—visiting a forest to relax and recreate while breathing in the natural oils and compounds created by plants and trees.

The walk itself took place on a rainy weekend in March and so was cut a bit shorter than had the day been bright and warm. Rather than health benefits, Meitner primarily emphasized the concept of forest aesthetics during this walk, discussing what people consider to be “pretty” or desirable in parks. In particular, Meitner cited Rachel and Stephen Kaplan’s book, *The Experience of Nature: A Psychological Perspective* (1989), which is a well-known text on landscape aesthetics. This book identifies four qualities of forests that affect their aesthetic value and preference by people (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989:53): coherence, legibility, complexity, and mystery. The first two relate to the extent to which people understand the environment, “providing a sense of order and in directing attention” (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989:54)—for example, how much undergrowth impedes vision, whether there are clearly defined trails. The latter two relate to “exploration,” which is “defined in terms of the number of different visual elements in a scene” (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989:53, 56) and the promise of more information if one continues to move further into the place. A winding path with diverse flora on either side provides this feeling of exploration as one does not know what is around the corner: as discussed in previous chapters, this is the quintessential image of Pacific Spirit as the most frequently photographed composition. Such attributes are widely applied in predicting human responses to different scenery, and are directly implicated in how forests are managed.

To illustrate these concepts during the walk, Meitner identified the various features encountered during the walk that would be considered pleasing or detrimental to the experience of the park. He said that evidence of people—garbage cans, litter, signs—has a negative impact on this experience, but that *historical* evidence of people—such as old tree stumps with springboard notches—is considered pleasing because of its heritage value. Meitner also offered that the materials used to create park infrastructure affected how desirable people considered landscapes—for example, a wooden fence was more pleasing than chain-link, and even better if the wood was “roughly” shaped rather than neatly planed, which indicates machine use. As I described in Chapter 5, these techniques for green-washing park infrastructure and playing up the “natural heritage” of the park are prominent in Pacific Spirit.

Overall, I found this walk highly instructive as the themes discussed mapped well onto a landscape-based analysis of park meaning. Many of the issues Meitner raised I discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to the results of my archaeological survey of the park, illustrating the benefits of combining an archaeological approach with psychological understandings of placemaking.

### *What is Natural*

In April 2011, Steve Mitchell, Associate Professor in UBC’s Forestry Department, gave a talk for PSPS, held at a church in Dunbar, titled, “What is natural? Human impacts on forests.” Outlined in a digital presentation (Mitchell 2011), his talk covered the concept of nature, human impacts on forests and the signatures of human activities, forest disturbance history, invasive species, and forest management.

After briefly discussing whether humans are considered part of nature, Mitchell concluded that, “natural or not, the rest of nature needs to be protected from our degradations.” He specifically defined “natural” as meaning self-sustaining: fulfilling the regeneration process from life to death to life without need for human intervention. For example, in his discussion of how to recognize natural forests, he juxtaposed these with plantations of trees planted in rows, and pointed out that such regenerative processes are not apparent in urban treescapes. He also identified urban forests as “domesticated landscapes,” representing a mixture of natural forest processes and human management.

Using Stanley Park as a case study for urban forest, Mitchell noted that large, old-growth trees still remain in urban woodlands. He referred to parks as “nature in the city” and emphasized the need for management in such areas, given the 10,000 visitors that Stanley Park receives daily during the summer; he also highlighted the need to make parks “safe.”

In his discussion of human use and impacts on forests, Mitchell noted Indigenous burning of woodlands as a form of management, noting that, when First Nation’s “lifeways stopped,” these areas began to regrow. This allowed invasive species to take over, putting a strain on the local ecology. In his discussion of Pacific Spirit, Mitchell showed slides of some culturally-modified bark-stripped trees and reflected that, when one is out in the “wild or coastal landscape,” one could think, “I might be the first human ever here”—until the first modified tree is encountered. Mitchell’s point was that “humans have been driving climate for a long time” and that the concept of natural forests—meaning original or pristine—ignored this history. While Mitchell said he “would like to think we have forests that represent more primeval conditions,” he was all too aware that, for thousands of years, “these landscapes have been managed all this time.” As a result, “you never know what you’re going to find in the forest.”

I found it interesting that Mitchell presented Indigenous forest management as though this practice was common knowledge, and I suspect it was news to many of the audience members. While this discussion may challenge some stereotypes, the flip side is that such evidence is drawn upon to defend Western industry by attacking Indigenous practices, as though these are comparable in scale or impact. This is similar to the “over-kill hypothesis,” as Deloria (1997) explains, that seeks to justify the European slaughter of the buffalo by pointing to the Indigenous practice of buffalo jumps—or, suggesting that Indigenous peoples “colonized” North America, which is used to justify later European colonization. This

was not Mitchell's point, however.

When drawing out his timeline for the history of Pacific Spirit, Mitchell began with Captain Vancouver at 1792, but made the off-hand comment, "never mind the previous 5,000 years of history," to note that there *is* a much longer history that is little discussed in relation to the park. His history included the dairy farm of 1909 to about 1960 near what is today known as the Plains of Abraham, the 1927 Clinton stables and riding club, which burned down in 1968; the last logging in the park in 1965; and, in 1973, construction fill dumped in the park. With a hint of irony, Mitchell suggested that "if you want to leave a legacy, think concrete." He then asked, given this history, "What's left that's natural?" and answered his own question: "it depends on how you define 'natural,'" bringing the lecture full-circle.

At the end of his lecture, Mitchell asked the audience, "What do you want in your park?" He stressed that, as a forester, his role was to act in the interest of the public and property owners; as such, he did not offer his *own* view on what the park should include but rather presented options, emphasizing that the more active management is, the more disturbance results. In response to Mitchell's question, one audience member asked what threats to the park exist, because her understanding was that its status as a park was secure. In response, Mitchell pointed out that the transfer of the University Endowment Lands (UEL) to Metro Vancouver meant that all park land is eligible for settlement of Musqueam "land claims," to which the woman who had asked the question gasped and said, "oh god." Mitchell then stated that the Musqueam people are "a part of our community," but that "this land is still up for grabs." He summarized this situation as representing the threat of development—"one critical flaw in the restructure of the park means you might get a gas station"—and stated: "I want my grandchildren, my great-grandchildren to play in it. I want a park."

It is significant that the main threat to the park identified was the possible shift in ownership of park lands to the Musqueam Indian Band to settle land claims. This threat seemed to be automatically associated with development—that, if the Musqueam people are in control, the land will be cleared and built upon. This point was also highlighted in the 2007 protests over the land transfer. It is also encapsulated in the response by the audience member to this threat who exclaimed, as if a transfer of jurisdiction and ownership is synonymous with losing nature, and highlighted in Mitchell's equation of development with a gas station, representing the antithesis of all things "green."

I did not attend the accompanying walk, but Pille Bunnell posted photographs with captions on the PSPS website<sup>1</sup> shortly after the event. Included as examples of park features that are "not natural" were an old hydro pole that was used to bring electricity to Clinton stables, the concrete foundations for the stables, flat terraces that were created for farming, and an old road. Mitchell also pointed out both invasive species, such as oak and vinca, and native species, including bitter cherry trees, of which few

<sup>1</sup> [http://www.pacificspiritparksociety.org/Stories/Stories\\_and\\_Images.html](http://www.pacificspiritparksociety.org/Stories/Stories_and_Images.html)

remain standing. The symbiotic relationships between different species was also presented, emphasizing where regeneration was taking place naturally, meaning without human intervention. In sum, Mitchell's presentation of Pacific Spirit both challenged the view of this place as natural—meaning original or untouched—by demonstrating all of the cultural uses of the park lands, and thereby affirmed nature as separate from culture in so doing.

### *Safety*

In January 2011, Constable Stacey Gibson of the RCMP UBC detachment and Richard Wallis, the Metro Vancouver West Area Manager, co-presented on the issue of safety in the park. In her introduction, Pille Bunnell remarked that there were “different faces than usual; that’s interesting.” This was likely due to the topic and the ongoing concern over safety in the park after the murder of Wendy Ladner-Beaudry.

Gibson, a Community Liaison Officer, began by outlining the kinds of crimes committed in the university area, of which theft ranked highest, followed by loitering, door-to-door soliciting, “people who sleep on floors” and the homeless. She offered that people should contact the RCMP for any “suspicious activities,” including drug and alcohol use, “vehicles that don’t fit the area,” and any activity out of the ordinary. Gibson also suggested that people walk in the park accompanied by a dog or a buddy and use trafficked routes, keeping an eye as to “what kind of people are around.”

Gibson felt that “this area is quite safe,” that the park is “a safe place to run,” and there are not a lot of violent activities in the neighbourhood. She offered that “most of the people around this area are quite pleasant.” In response to questions concerning the murder of Wendy Ladner-Beaudry, she responded that it was “a one-time isolated incident,” it “can happen anywhere,” that “the park is a pretty safe place to be” and “a safer place to be than out on the street”; she also offered that “we’re making progress” or at least “that’s what they tell us,” referring to the other police officers who were still investigating the case.

Richard Wallace then took over, reiterating some of Gibson’s suggestions concerning walking with friends and carrying a cellular telephone. He cited that just under two million people and 500,000 dogs visit Pacific Spirit Regional Park every year. He felt that the 2009 murder was “very unfortunate and very upsetting but very unique,” and advised that people “obey all signs and enjoy your visit.” Wallis then spoke about other park issues including “grow-ops,” fires, mountain biking jump courses, mushroom-picking, and wildlife including coyotes. He noted that, during the summer, 23 staff patrol in Pacific Spirit, covering all trails at least twice and many of them several times per day.

Referring back to the question about the homeless, Wallis noted there are a few people living in the park, that the RCMP is aware of them and monitors their location, and that they have successfully connected at least six of these people with social services. He said that those living in the park, “just like

the wildlife,” do not want contact with people and “maintain their own privacy.” After the talk, I asked Wallis whether Metro Vancouver actively allowed people to stay in the park; he responded by noting that there was sometimes legal action. My impression was that it was not official park policy to allow people to reside in the park but, unless there was some kind of trouble, the bylaws pertaining to this are mostly overlooked.

I was unable to attend the walk but later made an enquiry with Gibson concerning crimes that take place *in* Pacific Spirit Regional Park, as opposed to in the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Unfortunately, Gibson was unable to provide any figures or details; however, Ellen Bird’s 2012 thesis in the School of Community and Regional Planning at UBC specifically addressed safety in Pacific Spirit. While Bird does not provide crime rates for the park, she highlights that the *perception* of crime and of threats to safety have the same impact on how people interact with the park (2012:9), which was also illustrated in responses to my online questionnaire discussed in Chapter 7.

#### PSPS Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting for the Pacific Spirit Park Society was held in June 2011. In advance of the event, a poster was circulated online and in the park advertising the event, titled “Parks—Love ‘Em or Lose ‘Em!” For this event, a lecture was provided by Howard (Howie) Harshaw, a Forestry Resource Management and Outdoor Recreation Management specialist from UBC, whose dissertation research (2005) focused on outdoor recreation from a planning perspective in British Columbia. As such, his talk focused on park planning for the future, and was followed by AGM business.

Using a digital presentation, Harshaw discussed the various stresses on the park, including “population pressure, government cutbacks and tradeoffs and shifting priorities, and resource exploration.” He said that, after eleven years of visiting Pacific Spirit, he thinks it is “a wonderful park” and appreciates PSPS’s efforts “to keep it that way.” Describing outdoor recreation as a combination of fitness, socialization, inspiration and improving quality of life, Harshaw felt the park “promotes connectedness to nature” as well as a sense of community; in his words, “you’re going to meet people who are like-minded.” Harshaw cited studies that have linked even a short drive through nature as promoting happiness at work and thus mental health, and suggested that the park is a site of introspection: “as we wander, we wonder.”

Reflecting on park use, Harshaw cited various provincial studies concerning recreational park use that show the most common activities are walking, hiking, picnicking and swimming. He noted that the demography most likely to use the park are between 24-34 years and 45-54 years, employed, with higher than average income, have children, and are Canadian-born. Least likely to attend are aged 16-24 years

and 55-74 years, unemployed immigrants from China and South Asia, with lower than average income and no children. Harshaw offered one reason for this disparity was due to cultural views of “wild” spaces, offering that immigrants from China in particular are not comfortable in these places, as well as differing relationships with dogs, which are so frequently encountered in parks.

Reflecting on Pacific Spirit in particular, Harshaw remarked that people were “lucky” to live nearby, and that the park felt like “you’re not in the city anymore” or “you could be anywhere.” He noted that, with projected visitation rates inevitably increasing over the next decade, it was important for the park to “stay in that natural state” while enabling outdoor recreation which “supports community well-being.” In Harshaw’s view, “recreation is a window to the environment” and necessary for “maintaining and building a constituency for nature.”

In sum, Harshaw’s talk summarized the role of the park as an escape from the city, emphasizing the pressure this place will face as population grows and park use increases. His concept of building a “constituency for nature” also implied getting young children involved in park and nature-oriented activities, in order to foster these values in the next generation of city planners. The connection between nature and health has been emphasized concerning the park since at least the 1970s, and is a topic that I return to in Chapter 8.

Following Harshaw’s talk, the event shifted into Annual General Meeting (AGM) business, providing various reports for the membership. In 2010/11, PSPS had 589 members and 1,313 volunteers, with an estimated total of \$125,000 volunteer contribution hours towards 15 programs and events, of which the most popular was Nightquest, with over 1,600 people attending. Of interest was one comment made concerning membership, that the PSPS grew as part of the “struggle to maintain what park we had” in the crisis of the land transfer; most people united under a common cause and have stuck with the Society since then.

The AGM struck me most by what was not discussed directly: the Musqueam community and possible involvement in PSPS events and activities. Indeed, the Musqueam people were not mentioned even when a photograph of Musqueam elder Larry Grant was shown in relation to a park event. Instead, funding was the central topic and concern, both for PSPS, who gets \$14,000 from annually from the city, and by representatives of Metro Vancouver, whose \$1.3 million annual operating budget for the park continues to fall short. The PSPS Board noted that, increasingly, corporate groups are approaching PSPS wanting to sponsor the park—for example, the Camosun Bog Nature Walk discussed later in this chapter was sponsored by the Royal Bank of Canada. Jokes were made about putting up a McDonald’s at the trail-heads in order to support the park, although there was no real discussion of any ethical issues concerning corporate sponsorship. One person commented, “we’ve got one of the most affluent populations in Canada,” referring to Point Grey broadly, and suggested undertaking more fund-raising

activities to capitalize on this affluence.

### Stories Along the Trail 2011

In September 2011, the annual Stories Along the Trail event was held. Posters circulated in advanced described the theme as “Songs of the Forest,” “weav[ing] together the voices of frogs, birds, water and wind.”

As with the previous year, I volunteered to help with this event; however, I was asked to be a storyteller, using my anthropological perspective to tell a story about the past people who have been in the park. While I was flattered to be considered in this manner (and terrified at even the prospect of such a public performance), I had more basic concerns with this role. As Culhane (1998:31) discussed, the traditional role of the anthropologist has been to provide “representation and translation” of Aboriginal culture for mostly white audiences, acting as a “cross-cultural mediator.” Given that my research was about challenging precisely these colonial dynamics, I wanted to avoid falling into this role and replied that I did not feel comfortable in the storytelling role as I thought I would be speaking “for” the Musqueam community, who should be representing itself. I therefore suggested that PSPS contact the Musqueam Indian Band directly to see whether they would be interested in participating, which they did, but with only a few weeks’ notice, the Band was unable to join in this event.

Initially stationed at the PSPS table, my volunteering was cut short and I instead went on a tour of the stories in the pouring rain. The tour guide introduced the event as “theatre in the forest” and encouraged us all to listen carefully while on this journey. As with the previous year’s Stories event, the storytellers were primarily dressed as animals (Figure 6.18), dramatically communicating about forest ecology, the seasons, the roles that different “actors” or animals play in the park, and “the health of the earth.” Although it rained very hard at times, about 300 people still turned out for the event, again mostly families with young children.

The “Pileated Woodpecker” actor talked about rotting trees and cited the woodpecker as an indicator of a healthy forest, describing its “drumming” as song; however, at that moment, all I heard was the sounds of traffic, an emergency vehicle’s siren, and children yelling. Ironically, the next station featured the “Spirit of Night,” who was searching for her grandson, “the Spirit of Quiet” who has left “the land of noise”—the city of Vancouver—and come to Pacific Spirit, where the creatures “speak the language of silence.” Other storytellers included Wind, who was drumming; a water nymph, and a station about “people,” featuring dancing and singing together—presumably the station where myself, or a Musqueam representative, would have been.



Figure 6.18. The queen bee, highlighting the role of bees through the seasons.

### ***Camosun Bog Self-Guided Nature Walk***

As the non-profit granting agency that provides funding for Pacific Spirit, the Pacific Parklands Foundation (PPF) has been instrumental in enabling some projects to proceed. One such project was the Camosun Bog Self-Guided Nature Walk, a series of interpretive and educational signs installed along the boardwalk in the bog area.

This project was directed by a committee comprised of representatives from the Camosun Bog Restoration Group, the Pacific Spirit Park Society, the Musqueam Nation, and Metro Vancouver. As the result of what was “truly a collaborative effort” (PPF 2011) between these groups, part of the sign project involved incorporating Musqueam history into the “Nature Walk.” PPF (n.d.) alluded to this on their website<sup>2</sup> description of the signs and their purpose:

Long before the bog area was labelled “Camosun Bog”, it was known as məqʷe:m to the people of the Musqueam. The Camosun Bog Restoration Group volunteers have invested over 10 years of time restoring the bog. The educational signs provide visitors with important cultural and natural information about the bog. In addition, the self-guided nature walk is intended to encourage appropriate use of the site and to celebrate community involvement in protecting, restoring and providing educational information about the bog.

<sup>2</sup>

<http://www.pacificparklands.com/Projects/pacificspiritbog.html>

On October 5, 2010, a sign unveiling event was held in a clearing next to the bog's entrance (Figure 6.19). A tent, chairs, and podium had all been erected, and tables at the back provided refreshments and snacks—complete with real glasses and uniformed servers. There were about 50 people in attendance and a number of speakers sitting next to the podium, the first of whom announced that this event signalled the end and celebration of two projects: the interpretive nature trail, and an updated BC Hydro line. Other speakers at the event included Musqueam elder Larry Grant, Mitch Sokalski of Metro Vancouver Parks, Denise Coutts from PPF, and Brian Woodcock, long-time PSPS board member. I noted that most, but not all, speakers began by acknowledging Musqueam traditional territory.



Figure 6.19. The 2010 Camosun Bog interpretive sign unveiling event tent with attentive audience.

I completed a tour of the signs, lagging behind the others so as to take my time at each station. I noted the prominence on the bog's Welcome sign of the Musqueam name for the bog spelled using their orthography (Figure 6.20). The sign depicts hands facing palm-upwards in a traditional Salish gesture of welcome, and invites visitors to "Come on in...Enjoy Camosun Bog's green calming atmosphere and be introduced to its features and stories, including Musqueam use and legends of the bog. It's a hidden treasure and community conservation project." The sign further describes how the bog "provides important ecological benefits for the city" including plant and animal shelter and food; it acts as a filter for water and air; it "buffers noise of the city" and "is an oasis in the city—good for your spirit, health and wellness"; it is an "outdoor classroom" and "remnant of a once larger system of bogs and wetlands" in the area before 1900; and finally, that it is "part of Musqueam Nation's traditional territory."

Throughout my self-guided tour of the installation, I spoke casually with elder Larry Grant and archaeologist Wayne Point from the Musqueam Indian Band, and we inspected some trees that may have

been culturally modified (Figure 6.21). Musqueam community member Terry Point was stationed at one sign about the bog's formation and explained to visitors that the Musqueam origin story stems from the bog (Figure 6.22).



Figure 6.20. The “Welcome” sign for the Camosun Bog interpretive sign series.



Figure 6.21. Wayne Point and Larry Grant, Musqueam community members, investigating a possible culturally modified tree (CMT) in Camosun Bog.



Figure 6.22. Terry Point, Musqueam community member, explains this sign illustrating the geological history of the bog and its cultural significance to the Musqueam people.

All of the signs described the natural world of the bog, focusing on ecology and plants, identifying these in common terms as well as their Latin names. This was supplemented at times with information on Musqueam cultural usage of the plants. For example, the sign for “Bog Cranberry—A Pacific Northwest Original” (Figure 6.23) read:

Cranberries were traded by coastal aboriginal bands for other foods and valuables. They were eaten steamed or raw and were stored in sphagnum moss. They were sold to European settlers who did not know this plant before it was introduced to them by aborigines. Commercial cranberries originate from eastern North American plants.

The sign goes on to say that “The European settlers thought the flowers resembled the head and neck of a crane, and so called the plants crane berries.”

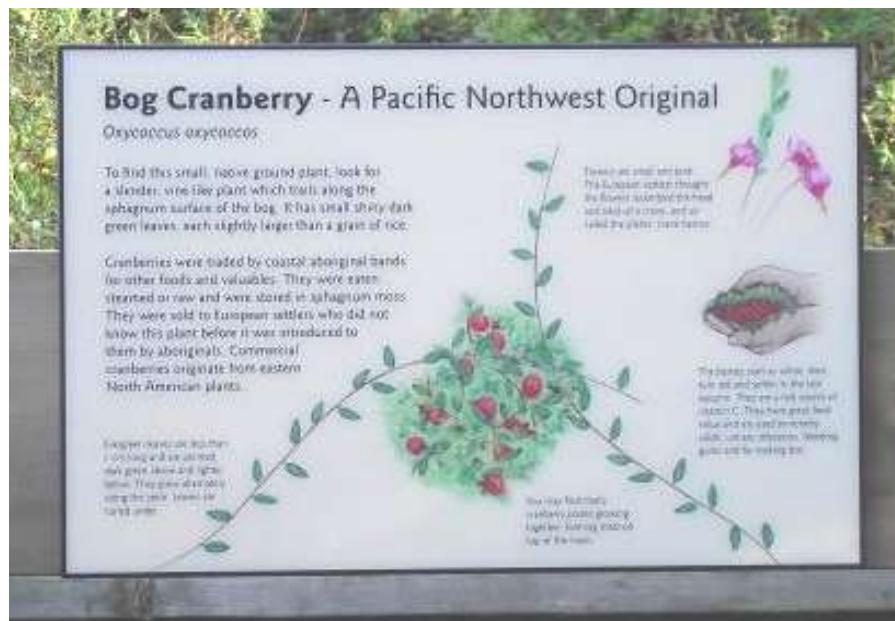


Figure 6.23. Bog Cranberry, one of the interpretive signs in Camosun Bog.

Several of the uses of plants were noted to be medicinal. Fragrant Labrador Tea is noted to be “used by the Musqueam and others as a beverage and medicine for colds and sore throats.” The “Blueberry—Food for Wildlife” sign described that “the Musqueam prepared blueberries with meat as well as ate them raw and dried. The leaves can be made into tea, used by some to treat urinary disorders. Excessive consumption of blueberry leaf tea can be toxic.”

In a video posted online (CMCTV 2012), late Musqueam elder and ethnobotanist Rose Point spoke about the bog: “this was our garden, our people’s garden, where they had picked the berries, picked the medicinal plants.” Accompanying Rose, Susan Point commented that the signage “explains the very kinds of plants that are native to this specific area, what it used to be used for at one point in time, and how the Musqueam community themselves helped to restore the whole area to what it is today.”

A sign titled “A Community Working Together: Restoring and Protecting the Bog” (Figure 6.24) describes how this 3,000-year-old wetland was nearly destroyed in less than 50 years due to draining and filling “from nearby developments,” which prompted the growth of non-bog plants. Today, “community members, the people of Musqueam, scientists, park staff, students and park visitors are working to protect and restore the bog.” As Rose Point explained in the online video (CMCTV 2012), the Musqueam name for the bog “means the spirit power of the west wind. So everything was treated like as if they were a person. We have to save this for our children and our children’s children.”



Figure 6.24. “Restoring and Protecting the Bog,” a sign illustrating the important role of community in conservation.

This collaboration with the Musqueam community and the public recognition of their history in the park is significant step towards truthtelling and has likely set a precedent in terms of how park projects will be coordinated in future; this is discussed further in Chapter 8. It did strike me, however, that the “Nature Walk” remains precisely that—focused on nature. As a teaching tool, the interpretive signs indicate to people what is important about the bog and the park and represent a form of ontologizing the landscape—naming things and identifying why they matter. The interpretive signs, even with their references to Indigenous uses, communicate that the plants and ecology are the important stories in the park, and a half-sentence mention in one sign of the bog’s near total destruction due to development pales in comparison to the theme of restoration that is reinforced everywhere else.

I also see a difference between acknowledging that the bog is part of the traditional territory of the Musqueam people and recognizing that the land was *never* ceded and so may *still* be considered their territory. The use of the word “traditional” can be complicated as, in some contexts, it may be a source of power, signifying heritage and cultural strength in continuity. Its more common usage, however, is that, by “traditional,” the *past* is being indicated. While Indigenous uses of plants are important to include, the association between Musqueam culture and the bog remains fixed on *the past*, not the present role of the bog in their culture today. Meanwhile, it was Denise Coutts of the Pacific Parklands Foundation, not Larry Grant from the Musqueam community, who stood by the Welcome sign for official photographs.

### ***Metro Vancouver's Forest Symphony***

Now an annual feature, the Forest Symphony is one of the more popular park activities organized by Metro Vancouver. This event is designed to bring the forest to life through sound, transforming Pacific Spirit from a park to a music hall. My impression is that the music is meant to be emotive, inspiring a deep, spiritual connection with the forest. However, when I attended in July 2011, I was more interested in the large banners hung along the trails as part of the event, each of which featured a quotation:

Music hath charms to soothe a savage beast, to soften rocks, or bend a knotted oak.

- William Congreve

Tug on anything at all and you'll find it connected to everything else in the universe.

- John Muir

In the end, our society will be defined not only by what we create, but by what we refuse to destroy.

- John Sawhill

Treat the Earth well. It was not given to you by your parents. It was loaned to you by your children.

- Kenyan Proverb

The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new lands, but in seeing with new eyes.

- Marcel Proust

The latter banner featured an image of the Point Grey promontory showing the rocks and water edge.

These five quotations neatly sum up how the park is most commonly represented. They convey a sense of sacredness about the park as nature, its fragility, and thus the need to protect it, and a sense of interconnectedness, emphasized by PSPS in their events. The environmentalist ethic is clear. However, the first also likens nature to savagery, while the last plays upon the theme of discovery, in this case taking care to provide an image free of any human-created or “cultural” objects and buildings. This reinforces the authorized park narrative for Pacific Spirit.

I did not stay long at the Forest Symphony. I did try, however, to take an anthropological step back and consider what exactly it was about the park and symphony that made it seem, to me with all of my own cultural biases, quite a “natural” marriage. Was it because nature and music are both relaxing? This is implied in the first quote above; however, would *all* music be considered appropriate? Or does the symphony—featuring classical music, distinctly European and associated with upper-class values—seem especially fitting? As discussed in the next section, these elements may be precisely what make this event so attractive: anecdotally, I was told that over 3,000 visitors, mostly Vancouver locals, attended that year.

### ***The Southlands Country Fair***

Every year, the Southlands community and Southlands UEL Trail Riders in particular organize a Country Fair in September. I attended this event in September 2011 with the goal of assessing the culture of Southlands in this performance of community, and how its values contribute to and shape the larger neighbourhood of Point Grey, and thus of Pacific Spirit. While other festivals and celebrations take place in the Point Grey area, I chose the Southlands Country Fair specifically because of the close ties that the horseback riding community there has with Pacific Spirit, both historically and today. I also felt it exemplified the cultural heritage that the various neighbourhoods in Point Grey all draw upon in characterizing their communities and businesses, as discussed in Chapter 4.

The Southlands Country Fair was described online (2007, emphasis in original) as “a community event that focuses on horses and a rural lifestyle within the city of Vancouver. It was created to showcase the unique equestrian neighbourhood of Southlands, and to give all residents of Vancouver the opportunity to enjoy *a day in the country, without leaving the city.*” The website<sup>3</sup> boasts that several thousand people attend every year and activities include “shopping, learning, petting animals, riding ponies, playing games, and watching horses and riders perform.” The 2011 Fair was sponsored by MCL Motor Cars, which features high-end luxury cars, Sotheby’s Realty, Carrington Stables and the Carrington Shoppe, and Southlands Equine Photography.

After ten minutes at the fair, I had the short answer to my question concerning what was the culture of the fair: wealthy and firmly British in flavour. A Celtic fiddler and singer played at the entrance to the fair, goods offered in the marketplace—which formed the centre of the fair—featured expensive cheeses, jams and honey, home-made baked goods, biodegradable cleaning products, fresh tomatoes at \$5 per pound (double the grocery store price), and sheep wool dog beds at \$30 to \$50 each. Indeed, second only to horse-related goods were services and products for dogs, reinforcing a historical relationship between these particular animals and humans in aristocratic British culture. A silent auction was prominent in the market, with donations indicating particularly European cultural and specifically upper-class interests, including dog grooming, gift certificates for upscale European restaurants and grocery stores, spa treatments, wine and cheese baskets, and various horseback riding goods and services. For the cosmopolitan country fair goer, cappuccinos and lattes were readily available; flowers were everywhere.

Events in the paddock ring emphasized other heritage qualities. The Welcome Ceremony opened with the parading of the Canadian flag and singing of the Canadian National Anthem; the audience all stood, and some sang along, clapping afterwards. Dressage featured first in the ring, followed by a display of the now seldom-used side-saddle (Figure 6.25), a male rider dressed in a 19<sup>th</sup>-century Canadian militia

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.southlandsridingclub.com/Country\\_Fair/countryfair2.htm](http://www.southlandsridingclub.com/Country_Fair/countryfair2.htm)

uniform (Figure 6.26), and a demonstration of a border collie dog rounding up ducks.



Figure 6.25. A demonstrating of how to ride side-saddle.



Figure 6.26. 19th Century Canadian military uniform on show.

A speech was given by Mary McNeil, the Minister of Children and Family Development, who emphasized this event as displaying “the strength of community,” “making families resilient” and keeping kids “healthy and happy.” She was followed by Suzanne Anton, City Councillor and former Vancouver

Park Board member, who described the Southlands neighbourhood as “beautiful and unique” and as “one of the gems of our city.” As “the only agricultural land reserve neighbourhood” in Vancouver, and with over 400 horses in this area, Suzanne suggested that Southlands offers the chance to experience “that whole section of life that we don’t really see when we live in urban areas.” Southlands, Anton said, is an “ideal” community.

In addition to being wealthy and Eurocentric, the character of this community is branded as “rural,” which is in stark contrast to the cosmopolitan character of the goods and services offered here. In this sense, the “country” part of the fair reflects instead the British countryside—a manicured lifestyle enjoyed by only the most privileged, with money and the time to spend it on the finer things in life, such as expensive European imported foodstuffs and wines (Barry 2007:24): “Here the ‘countryside’ acts as a ‘living reminder’ of a ‘better’ age in which things such as patriotism, hard work, loyalty to the land and monarch, respect for authority, piety and community formed the substance of daily life and identity.” Even compared to the rest of Point Grey, the properties in Southlands alone communicate this as an incredibly affluent neighbourhood, and its residents live a lifestyle completely different to the vast majority of urbanites in Vancouver. Emphasis by local politicians and community representatives on the Southlands neighbourhood as a gem and ideal thus reflect the elitist European values that remain dominant and fundamental to the ideology shaping the larger area of Point Grey.

### **Discussion: Rehearsing a Ritual Landscape**

Traditions, meanings, and memories are invented, and they become legitimate through repetition or a process of formalization and ritualization characterized by reference to the past.

Paul Shackel (2004:3)

What is the culture of Pacific Spirit Regional Park? What stories do the formal events held in the park tell, and how do these connect with larger themes? Does the everyday experience of the park challenge or confirm these narratives? How does ritual define Pacific Spirit?

Building on the tropes discussed in my review of Point Grey’s history, my discussion of the making of Pacific Spirit, my examination of park propaganda, and my park landscape analysis, my ethnographic experience of the park and its communities confirms the following themes. First and foremost, the culture of the park is fundamentally about environmentalism—a love of nature and a conservation ethic. The park is a site of recreation, promoting health, safety, and general well-being. Education is central, as is creativity. The whole area is kept clean and organized. Heritage is recognized in the everyday experience of nature, and in formal celebrations of culture. This is a wealthy society, with upper middle-class, democratic values, a sense of patriotism and feeling of security, and an appreciation

of peace and natural beauty.

As such, the culture of Pacific Spirit embodies the values that Vancouver, and Canada, idealizes and thus wants to project—it embodies a particular class-based morality (Bruck 2013:199). In this way, Pacific Spirit is the ideal citizen: a wealthy, healthy, educated, peaceful, upper middle-class, living in a clean, beautiful, safe, democratic city that appreciates and protects the environment, is secure in its history, enjoys the arts, and has the leisure time to appreciate all of it. This is a “success story” in every way. The question is, success for *whom*?

The particular heritage connected to the park and to Point Grey is largely wealthy and European; however, this heritage *as cultural* in origin is not recognized, nor are the attendant values considered to be anything but natural. In this way, class values become naturalized, referred to simply as “ideal.” Similarly, culture is routinely glossed over in favour of stories that are presented as having universal human application—specifically, stories about the environment. What struck me most about the series of “Talks & Walks” provided by PSPS was that none of their guest speakers were situated in disciplines that could be considered social or cultural—the humanities and social sciences. Instead, nearly all of them were from UBC’s Forestry Department and, while they did touch on social issues, a constructivist or critical view of the park—one that foregrounds the social, cultural, political, and economic factors that create and sustain this place as meaningful—was mostly absent. Similarly, there was little consideration or reflexive discussion offered of either the scientific ontology presented or the values and priorities that were largely assumed to be not only benign but actually beneficial for people in general. Such universalizing of culturally-specific values and perspectives is simply ethnocentric.

In formal events, local Indigenous groups, the history of colonization, and/or the elevated inequality of capitalist Canadian society were completely ignored in favour of the settler narrative. When the topic of the Musqueam community was raised at all, it was in relation to “threats” to the park or conflict in some way. Only the Camosun Bog sign installation event stood out in this regard, a perhaps hopeful indication of future park events and management, yet the park as nature remained prominent in signs above the cultural connections and uses of this place.

Through experiencing the park personally, I sought a sense of how these structuring cultural tropes may be resisted on an individual level. Increasingly, I was not surprised to find very little resistance to the values projected onto the park of nature, community, democracy and overall human well-being. Casual conversations and even a formal presentation questioned how natural the park actually is; however, the conservation ethic and need to preserve the park were not similarly questioned. Likewise, the desire to escape the city and relax were not publicly examined; instead, recreation and the health benefits of attending the park were taken for granted. The consistency of these narratives and the lack of disruption to them are significant.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the social construction of nature in Pacific Spirit may be considered a Disney version of reality—sanitized, domesticated, and made safe for easy consumption. In PSPS events, particularly aimed at children, this is by and large the version of the park that is conveyed, often with fairy-tale like qualities. Even overtly raising issues of global warming and pollution did not act to destabilize this vision, but instead affirmed the importance of the park’s “protection.” There remains a fierce dedication to what is revered as nature and a reticence to upset this vision of the “Pacific Spirit” that is almost religious in its conformity and intensity.

It is my contention throughout this dissertation that such expressions of confidence are often used to conceal its absence. Similar to the idea that “the more there is a need to talk about the ideals of democracy, the less democratic the system usually is” (Chomsky and Macedo 2000:17), the more I witnessed how the park as “nature” was reinforced, the more I became suspicious that insecurity was being masked through this performance. After all, “all ideologies that appear to ‘mask,’ in the process ‘reveal’” (Hodder and Hutson 2003:86).

I have suggested that the settler narrative, in over-celebrating a revisionist history, is fundamentally about insecurity over establishing a new nation, affirming the past and present legitimacy of colonial rule, and facing the possibility of losing land in the future. I have also discussed the widespread cultural anxiety regarding the loss of wilderness through capitalist expansion, traced back to the environmentalism of the 1960s. As evidence to both, I illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5 how park propaganda and the landscape itself is used to reinforce Pacific Spirit as a site of nature; in this chapter, I demonstrated how these cultural stories are rehearsed through park performances. Despite these overwhelming displays of confidence, there is an anxiety that lingers concerning how safe the park is (a) *for* people and (b) *from* development, associated with Indigenous land claims. While only rarely the focus of any event or discussion, nonetheless this anxiety over the “safety” of the park was pervasive, raised in nearly every conversation I had with people during my research and highlighted particularly in responses to my questionnaire, discussed in the next chapter. This anxiety, I came to see, is central to understanding the role that this park in particular plays in society today, as I discuss in Chapter 8.

In Walter Burkert’s (1982:57, 50) discussion of myth and ritual, he describes ritual as stereotyped action redirected for the purpose of demonstration and communication, and suggests that it serves a psychological function of overcoming anxiety through “traumatic repetition.” In his estimation, anxiety both produces the need for ritual and is temporarily overcome through ritual action.

My experiences of Pacific Spirit suggest that this dynamic is at play. Ruth Russell (1996:61-62) describes the ritual of leisure and its relationship to promoting collective behaviour. Such ritual performance reinforces religious beliefs—Pacific Spirit as sacred nature—a relationship described by Lars Fogelin (2007:57-58):

Religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long lasting moods and motivations in [humans] by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic (Geertz 1973:90). The emphasis here lies on belief and the meaning of symbols—the manner in which belief serves to instill in people a sense of where they belong in the universe. Rituals, in this conception, serve to enact or promote symbolic meanings in a format that can be easily understood by the masses. As phrased by Wallace (1966:102), “ritual is religion in action; it is the cutting edge of the tool...It is ritual that accomplishes what religion sets out to do.” In this formulation, ritual is a form of human action determined or shaped by underlying religious views.

However, Fogelin (2007:58) also notes the recursive relationship between ritual and cosmology:

Some anthropologists and religious historians advocate for the primacy of ritual practice in the dialectic with religion...Rituals are not seen as preserving or enacting stable sets of religious beliefs, but rather rituals reconstruct, create, or modify religious beliefs...People constantly choose to remember, forget, or recreate elements of their religion through ritual practices.

The material culture of the landscape, park representations, events and activities, and people’s every-day interactions with and perspectives of this space convey Pacific Spirit as a place to worship nature. Both at special events and during casual strolls, the park as a “park” and as “nature” is being reaffirmed through its ritual performance. The erasure of history to create *terra nullius* sets the stage for the performance of the settler narrative—the exploration and discovery of empty lands, and their colonization, development and civilization, culminating in the city of Vancouver and the establishment of Pacific Spirit Regional Park. Simply walking along the park trails is itself a ritual, rehearsing tales of exploration and discovery and reconnecting with nature. Both formal events and the everyday walk in the park affirm a dialectical opposition between culture/the city and nature/the wild; visiting the park is a reversal from people’s normal, everyday lives, and they do things there that they may not do elsewhere.

The ritual of visiting the park keeps this sacred place alive, by performing these values on a regular basis, reinforcing why this place matters. Yet even this ritual rehearsal of what is in essence a sanctified heritage is insufficient to settle what remains a deep-seated anxiety over the loss of “nature” at the hands of “culture.”

## Summary

Parks do not simply “protect” nature, as we are so often educated to believe, but rather manufacture an experience of wildness and disorder which is not only congruent with widespread practices of environmental toxification, but also plays a central role in constructing particular social relations as “natural” and “normal.” The social construction of nature and the policing of “civilized” social relations are intricately linked.

Joe Hermer (2002:5)

In this chapter, I discussed how my experiences with Pacific Spirit, both in informal and personal daily life, and at formal park events and activities, have provided an in-depth view of the culture of the park and its attendant values. Overwhelmingly, the park is performed as a site of “nature”—of environment separate from people, yet always somehow connected. The park is a backdrop for this performance of cultural values, the stage where heritage is played out over and over in ritual fashion. From walks in the park and days at the beach, to “Stories Along the Trail,” nature is the force that surrounds and connects people with this place, and is manifest as the place itself. Embedded in this narrative is the naturalization of elite values and the structures that maintain them, as Hermer suggests above, which are fundamental to the social construction of Pacific Spirit as a place in the Point Grey landscape.

As the heritage of all humanity, nature is also endangered and in need of protection and stewardship. This is particularly highlighted by the Pacific Spirit Park Society, the self-appointed stewards of the park and main organizers of park activities. These performances conspire to reproduce an authorized version of the park, and there is little resistance to it. Such an idealized vision of Pacific Spirit is only shaken by a lingering anxiety over the park’s safety for people and from development, a ripple in the otherwise picture-perfect visage of the park. The ritual performance and worship of the park’s doctrine as nature may serve to conceal this anxiety, but it does not erase it, nor does it address its root causes.

### PART III: WORLDVIEW AND IDEOLOGY

*I am a typical park user. When I first began formal research into Pacific Spirit, I expected to encounter the colonial story in the park—the settler narrative of exploration, discovery, nation-building, and progress. This expectation is important because I structured this study to address these specific issues. Nevertheless, I was occasionally surprised to find just how overtly this story was at times communicated, while most often the messages were far more subtle. My expectations were met, as the settler narrative is (re)presented in Pacific Spirit through language, in the names of park trails and nearby streets, and in militaristic terms of exploration and discovery. Less anticipated was the central role of capitalism.*

*The latter became apparent when I first read the results of my online questionnaire, which happened in the final stages of my research. Specifically, it was my emotional response to the questionnaire results that prompted my reflection on the economic foundation of the problem: I felt sad. Each time I read about how beautiful or wonderful Pacific Spirit is, how relaxed or rejuvenated people feel when they go there, and how the park is to them a refuge or an oasis in the city—each time they wrote that they see the park as escape—my heart broke. I, too, have loved walking the trails and relaxing at the beaches in Pacific Spirit. I, too, feel a wide range of emotions when surrounded by tall, green trees, and ocean air. I, too, see the park as a necessary escape, and I, too, needed the park—to get out of the basement, to get out of the city, to get away and escape into the trees and the quiet, to relax and rejuvenate, to breathe. In this sense, I am clearly part of the park community. Yet, for all the time and energy people devoted towards talking about the need to “save the park,” no one ever asked what I think is the most critical question: what is it that we all want to escape from?*

My personal experiences of Pacific Spirit and my emotional reaction to hearing the experiences of others highlighted an underlying theme in the social role of the park: anxiety. In Part I of this dissertation, I characterized the historical and mythical foundations for the dominant narratives communicated through Pacific Spirit. Framed as the settler narrative, the origin story of the park lies in the widespread anxiety felt at the loss of greenspace in increasingly urbanized environments. Saving nature thereby became central to the mandate of the park, reflected in both formal and everyday representations and interactions with Pacific Spirit, and manifested in the material landscape itself, as described in Part II.

In Part III, I assess how these narratives coalesce to form a worldview, articulated by the park community particularly in responses to my questionnaire. Overwhelmingly, people see the park as an essential part of their otherwise urban lives, providing escape into nature. The park enables forgetting and temporary relief from anxiety resulting from colonial history and industrial capitalism. Constructed to oppose the profane city, the sacred “nature” of Pacific Spirit is inherently ideological.

## CHAPTER 7: COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES AND INTROSPECTION

Landscape is loud with dialogues, with story lines that connect a place and its dwellers...Dialogues make up the context of individual, group, and place. The context of life is a woven fabric of dialogues, enduring and ephemeral.

Anne Whiston Spirn (1998:17)

My goal in this research has been to understand the ideology that is communicated through Pacific Spirit Regional Park. In particular, this has led me to focus on its colonial history expressed as the settler narrative, which provides the meta-narrative for the park and settler society in Point Grey and British Columbia more broadly. Through personal engagement with Pacific Spirit, interaction with its communities and an investigation of park propaganda, I have identified two central dynamics that are at play:

1. colonial heritage is implicitly celebrated in the park's construction as a place of "nature," yet there remains a lingering insecurity surrounding the legitimacy of this legacy; and
2. the park is lauded as an environmental triumph and example of "saving" nature, yet this cannot fully placate a pervasive cultural anxiety about the ongoing threat to the environment by capitalist development.

The social construction of the park as nature is central to both dynamics, functioning as its governing ideology. At its most basic, ideology naturalizes the social order reinforcing elite power. While it is often expressed as "masking the objective reality" (Hodder 1987:295), as a social construct, ideology may likewise be de-constructed, or re-constructed: "we are not merely blind victims of ideologies. We are also creators and interpreters, and we can learn to analyse them, to challenge them, and to change them" (Hale 1990:7).

While archaeologists focus on material culture to interpret behaviour, and anthropologists study behaviour through observation, perhaps the best way to find out what people think and why they do things is to simply ask them. Particularly in urban planning, researchers of parks have commonly employed surveys or questionnaires in order to assess park use and communities (e.g., Burr 1977; Butcher 1980; Driscoll 1996; Klassen 1976, 1983; Low *et al.* 2005; Norris 1971; VanSiri 1997). Those surveys attempt to gauge park use and user preferences in relation to landscaping, activities and overall management.

Towards this, I designed, published and analysed an online questionnaire in order to evaluate whether my analysis of the ideology of Pacific Spirit was reflected in park-user conceptions of this place. I specifically sought to assess the level of knowledge that people had regarding park history and how people feel the park should be managed and by whom, in addition to basic information regarding park

use, in order to understand how people interact with this landscape.

The questionnaire discussed in this chapter was undertaken as a means by which to evaluate the extent to which my analysis of the cultural tropes at play in Pacific Spirit Regional Park was reflected in park-user understandings of this place. Using online software,<sup>1</sup> I designed, edited and circulated a web-based survey in order to assess the overall sense of shared attitudes, uses, values, and priorities concerning Pacific Spirit Regional Park. My specific goals were:

1. to access basic information regarding park use in order to understand how people interact with this landscape;
2. to assess the level of knowledge people have regarding park history; and
3. to consider how people feel the park should be managed and by whom.

Because questionnaires inherently lack detail and risk being transformed into quantitative data without understanding the reasons behind the answers (McClanahan 2006:127), this questionnaire contained many open-ended questions wherein respondents could write at length in their own words, in order to avoid over-structuring possible responses or leading their answers. While this complicated quantitative<sup>2</sup> analyses, it proved indispensable as a qualitative tool to understand people's views about the park. It also replaced the need for in-depth interviews with the public, as I received many very detailed responses to the survey<sup>3</sup>.

In this way, I used this questionnaire to identify the values that are widespread (e.g., identified in the largest number of responses) and thus may reflect broadly shared cultural ideas, as well as locate those that may be less common and/or that challenge these views. While providing quantifiable information in these respects, it also offered the opportunity for respondents to freely write their thoughts in their own words. Despite this freedom to creatively express, the picture that was created by respondents of Pacific Spirit—community, values and visions—was overwhelmingly consistent.

Questions specifically addressed how people use the park; priorities concerning park management; attitudes towards nature, conservation, and environmentalism; awareness of cultural

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1 FluidSurveys.com is an online survey tool that allows the user to build their own questionnaire, circulate it through email and a stable IP address, and analyse the results. All data are stored on servers in Canada, thus protecting data from the U.S. Patriot Act, which allows for mining of personal information stored digitally. This was a requirement of the Behavioural Research Ethics Board of the University of British Columbia, who reviewed and approved the survey I designed.

2 Quantitative analyses were undertaken using the basic exploratory statistical tools built into FluidSurveys and LibreOffice Spreadsheet. These were limited to basic counts and percentages, as well as cross-tabulation to compare responses to similar questions or identify any differences between responses by demographic.

3 In order to stay true to the answers provided by respondents, I have only provided minimal editing, such as common words misspelled, first words of sentences capitalized, periods at end of sentences. I did not alter proper names that were misspelled (e.g., Musqueam) or capitalize phrases that should be capitalized (e.g., First Nation). While on one hand, these may simply be spelling errors, in other cases they appeared to reflect awareness; rather than be the judge of this, I left all such “errors” unchanged.

heritage and park history; attitudes towards residential, commercial, and recreational development; perspectives on the Musqueam land transfer and Aboriginal land claims; and aspects of the park people would change or learn more about. A copy of the questionnaire is provided in Appendix C.

The results of this survey and accompanying analyses are provided in this section. I begin by introducing the park-user community, providing a demographic breakdown, responses regarding the variety of park uses, and attitudes towards “deviant” behaviour and safety in the park. I then discuss how people described what they like and dislike about the park, and what Pacific Spirit means to them. Respondents’ knowledge of park history and heritage is then evaluated, followed by attitudes towards management. Situated within results from a survey conducted for Metro Vancouver’s regional parks, I discuss the patterns that are highlighted throughout this survey and relate these to the central themes discussed in previous chapters.

In sum, the view and values communicated by respondents closely match those communicated since the 1970s when growing ecological concern prompted the creation of the park; they also mirror the ideological narratives promoted through the “authorized” version of Pacific Spirit. Overwhelmingly, the park as nature was affirmed, as was a reverence for nature that is often described in spiritual terms. Conversely, cultural heritage was viewed as less important, and knowledge of park history was minimal, particularly knowledge of Aboriginal history. Concerns over “losing” park lands continued to be foregrounded, feared as the result primarily of development and secondarily of Aboriginal land claims. Viewed as one way to prevent this, respondents advocated for local control of the park lands, some offering co-management with First Nations as a compromising strategy. The critical value of the park to people’s daily lives, however, was the central theme communicated: Pacific Spirit is viewed as a necessary “escape” from the city and a reversal from their daily lives.

### **Park Users, Behaviour, and Activities**

Knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of the self, to grasping one’s position in the larger scheme of things, include one’s own community, and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person.

Keith Basso (1996:34)

Focused on park use and perspectives on its history and management, this survey was aimed at a broad public while targeting people who have the most frequent, and perhaps even daily, interaction with the park lands. I therefore advertised the questionnaire primarily through email sent to: all departments at UBC; local group listserves including the Southlands UEL Trail Riders, the Dunbar Residents Association, the Pacific Spirit Park Society, local schools; municipal and First Nations governments, friends and family. I also posted a notice at the Dunbar Community Centre and on hydro poles near local

schools. My hope was to reach not just local residents but the park and beach user communities, although in many cases these groups are one and the same.

In undertaking this questionnaire, I had hoped for 100 responses. To my surprise, I received more than double this number, of which 185 were complete—meaning that the respondent made it to the final page and clicked “submit.” Only these 185 complete questionnaires have been used in the analyses discussed herein. However, this does not mean that all 185 respondents provided answers to all of the questions asked, as the survey did not require that every question be answered before moving on to the next question. As such, in discussing the results, I have provided the number of respondents who provided answers to each question; percentages are respective to those numbers.

To further confuse matters, several of the questions were “check all that apply”—meaning that multiple responses to that question from one respondent were possible. As such, the number of responses for these open-ended questions does not necessarily equal the number of respondents, as any one respondent could provide multiple answers. In the interest of clarity, both figures are provided and explained where appropriate. These factors limited the analyses possible for the survey data. Appendix D provides detailed response rates and breakdown of figures.

### ***Demography***

The park community as represented in this survey is comprised of local residents, the majority of whom were over 40 years of age and female, and not involved in any park organizations. Most people live in the immediate area; those who live further afield noted that they had previously lived nearby and had continued to visit the park after moving.

The top responses for Cultural Background were “White / Caucasian” (36%, n=61) and “European” (26%, n=45), with “Asian” next (5%, n=10); only five people who self-identified as Aboriginal or First Nations responded to the survey. Respondents also identified their Cultural Background by their nationality, specifically “Canadian” (37%, n=64), and some identified themselves by how long they or their families had been in Canada:

“Canadian (200 years)”

“European heritage; first Canadian ancestor came for War of 1812”

“native Canadian, born here, raised here”

The latter responses interested me in particular. The question of Cultural Background was asked at the end of the survey, meaning that respondents had already completed the whole questionnaire and likely had formed an opinion regarding my research interests and direction. The question itself did not require

anyone to identify *how long* they had been anywhere; as such, I consider these and similar statements to be somewhat defensive. This is not unusual, however, given that North American mythology centres on equality, often framed as “colour-blindness” (Kivel 1996:15); the result, however, is usually that European culture becomes normalized and ceases to be considered “cultural.” Similarly, one respondent rejected the question outright: “what is that supposed to mean? you want a religion, skin colour, which era of painting and sculpture I like best, what?”

### **Park Use**

Most respondents said they had first become aware of Pacific Spirit because they live nearby. As such, walking was the most common method of transportation to the park, followed by driving, biking, and bus; additionally, 21 people said they arrive at the park by horse. Nearly all respondents cited “recreation” as the reason they attend the park (walking, cycling, jogging and dog-walking in particular), while smaller groups cited their reasons for going to Pacific Spirit as “transit (passing through” or “cultural/spiritual practice” in equal numbers. Other forms of recreation included “resting on the benches,” “relaxation and quiet,” “meditation,” “teaching my grandson about nature,” “appreciating views,” and “beauty.” Of interest, six people noted that they had visited the park for “research” purposes. These were further specified as primarily related to forest ecology, flora and fauna, with three noting their research as “cultural,” one of which was an archaeological survey.

The forests were by far the most popular destination, followed by Camosun Bog and Wreck Beach; the latter was more commonly cited by those who did not live nearby. Most people said they attend the park with a friend or family member, with their dogs, or alone. They visit the park year-round, although attendance peaks in the summer, with responses roughly equal between attending more than once a week, once a month, and only a few times a year, for an hour or two at a time.

Overall, then, the park-user community as identified through this surveys tend to live nearby and visit the park fairly regularly throughout the year. At least for those who live nearby, the primary reason for visiting Pacific Spirit is to walk the trails, while those who live further away also come to Point Grey to visit Wreck Beach. Most people tend to come with a friend or family member, although many also go alone or with their dog(s).

### **“Deviance”**

In relation to park use, several questions were designed to assess people’s attitudes towards park rules. These were intended to give some insight into what kinds of activities people thought were “appropriate”

for the park, regardless of what activities the park authorities deemed appropriate—my landscape survey in Chapter 5 confirmed that these may not always be the same.

Towards this, about a third of respondents said they “sometimes” go off the official trails, while the majority “never” do. This suggests that the landscape that most park-users interact with is the official, authorized version of the park, discussed in Chapter 5. Indeed, most people said that it bothers them when people break trail-use rules, and did not feel their behaviour is “too restricted” by park rules.

However, there was a bit more variation in responses concerning police patrolling the beaches, an issue that had been in the media during the summer previous to the circulation of this questionnaire. While more than half of respondents did not feel bothered by police patrols, the other half were either neutral or did feel bothered; the latter figures were slightly higher for people who did not live nearby. The role of the police in maintaining a “safe” environment versus monitoring behaviour was also framed in relation to things about the park they dislike:

Not being allowed to have a campfire. Part of me appreciates having police monitoring, part of me feels this is over the top. Monitoring for dangerous behaviour is a great thing. But not to manage people simply relaxing and having (even if it’s a slight illusion) a moment in the forest, woods, sea. I have never been hassled by police, so simply would like again, a balance of quiet wild space and a place of safety and respect. I don’t think I would walk in the forest alone as a woman. So...it’s a wide range of feelings I have about “park” land and space.

In a following question concerning park safety (dealt with in more detail below), there were a few specific comments made concerning illicit behaviour—specifically, drug and alcohol use and explicit sexual behaviour—often framed in relation to Wreck Beach. This signals an association between liberal attitudes and illicit or deviant behaviours. Such forms of “taboo recreation,” including graffiti, sexual activity, and camping in the park, are singled out as deviant because they do not conform to the dominant view and values of society (Russell 1996:203). In Pacific Spirit as elsewhere, these values are class-based, with upper-class values signalling “goodness” and lower-class values becoming “deviant” (Russell 1996:222). While the motivations behind this deviance are varied, Ruth Russell (1996:205) links it to larger concepts of anomie, and suggests that taboo recreation occurs because of the inability of people to achieve their goals within the rules. The resulting struggle to express and control is manifest in Pacific Spirit as activities that break park rules, signalling a larger discourse of resistance; as discussed in Chapter 5, Wreck Beach represents a space of resistance in Pacific Spirit.

## *Safety*

Safety in Pacific Spirit Regional Park has become a significant issue for local residents and park-goers. This is not because there are frequent violent crimes committed in the park, but particularly because of

one violent crime in 2009, the still-unresolved murder of Wendy Ladner-Beaudry, which featured prominently in the media. The issue of safety was raised by just about everyone I spoke with about this research, and was identified as a key issue that I should address. As such, I included in my survey specific questions concerning safety, as well as open-ended questions where respondents could address what they felt were the most significant issues concerning Pacific Spirit.

However, when asked directly, most respondents said they felt safe in the park, with only about ten percent feeling unsafe to varying degrees. This result was surprising, given that safety was so widely identified to me as a concern. The two main reasons people provided for feeling unsafe included being isolated or alone, or because of media-reported violence, specifically the murder of Wendy Ladner-Beaudry; several women said they no longer visit the park, or do so only in numbers, as a result. In relation to this particular violence, some respondents identified people living in the park—“squatters” and people “looking shabby”—as well as people who appeared “unbalanced” as reasons for feeling unsafe. At times, these two groups were conflated into one group, often singling out men.

However, dogs off-leash and cyclists breaking trail-use rules ranked higher in responses than fears of “suspicious people,” “homeless / squatters,” or illicit behaviours. Indeed, most people said they have never even seen anyone residing in the park, and about half of respondents felt that people living in the park should be allowed to stay or were “neutral” on the issue, while the other half disagreed with the statement.<sup>4</sup> Instead, people responding to this survey felt the park is “a welcoming and accessible place.”

These conflicting results may indicate that, while the violence of the 2009 murder was real enough and itself cause for safety concerns, the media exacerbated the perception of violence in the park; Bird’s (2012) recent thesis on perceptions of safety in the park supports this. A possible link with the homeless population living there was never substantiated although the suspicion was still reported (Wood 2009). Likewise, reference to the proximity of the murder location to the Musqueam Indian Reserve was mentioned in many readers’ comments to online news coverage. Singling out these two groups implies no one who “belongs” in Point Grey (non-Aboriginal property owners) could have been responsible, reflecting how the homeless, as deviants of society/capitalism and representing in many ways non-people, remain always under suspicion, as do Indigenous people. One survey participant highlighted these issues:

I think that it’s important to separate this [question about safety] from the question at the start of the questionnaire about people living in the Park, because otherwise it leads to the conclusion that those living in the park are making it unsafe, whereas it’s the whole society and practices of violence against women that are implicated. I know some people who have lived in the Park

4 On the question of whether people living in the park should be allowed to stay, there was no significant difference in response rate between those who reported having observed people living there and those who had not. This suggests that observing people living in the park had no significant impact on attitudes towards this “deviance.”

because they cannot afford to pay rent (Welfare is \$610 per month), yet have important ties to this area, and I believe that they shouldn't be stigmatized or have fingers pointed first at them when there are problems.

In relation to the park itself—rather than human behaviour in the park—low visibility or darkness was frequently cited as a cause for feeling unsafe. Given that the park is technically only open in daylight hours and that night-time visits seem to be infrequent, the concern about darkness, I suggest, has more to do with being in the forest cover, out of sight of other people; Kaplan and Kaplan's (1989) study of the psychology of natural places supports this. This is important because getting away from people is one of the motivations cited widely for visiting the park; however, the park as nature and specifically as forest has cultural connotations denoting it as a “wild” place, the opposite of cultural or “civilization.” As such, while people visit the park to escape the city, the perceived safety of civilization is also left behind, producing a fear of the wilderness, and of “wild” people. Although one is probably more likely to be the victim of violent crime downtown Vancouver than in Pacific Spirit Regional Park, this does not prevent the perception of parks, forests, woods, and wilderness as being dangerous, contributing to a feeling of insecurity about the park, discussed in Chapter 8.

## Park Meanings

The producers of culture are *also* its consumers, seeing and sensing and listening to themselves enact their identity—and, in the process, objectifying their own subjectivity, thus to (re)cognize its existence, to grasp it, to domesticate it, to act on it and with it.

John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff (2009:26)

Questions asking what people liked and disliked, or how they felt about the park, were open-ended—meaning that respondents wrote their own answers and there were no length restrictions for these text responses. The result was that many people wrote *a lot*—which is great, but also presented a challenge when I attempted to organize responses towards quantifying them. I used the online software's “categories” tool to group responses, which were allowed to be affiliated with multiple categories. In this process, I attempted to construct categories that were mutually-exclusive but did not overly simplify the responses. As such, the result reflects more splitting than lumping, which I feel is appropriate given that I hoped to identify a range of perceptions about the park. A breakdown of response figures to these questions is provided in Appendix D.

### ***What Do You Like About the Park?***

In response to the above question, people described features of the park that they enjoy and their

emotional responses to being in that space. Of all responses, two stand apart from the rest: “accessibility or proximity to the city,” and “natural wilderness.” These ideas were often expressed together, for example by one respondent who liked that the park is “close by but makes me feel a million miles away from the city,” and another who felt that, “except for the trails, it is left untouched.”

Respondents described their connection to Pacific Spirit in very personal terms: as one person stated, “It’s my backyard.” Some people specified that the park *feels* natural or like “wilderness” because it does not feel like the city, regardless of how “natural” or “wild” it may actually be. The social construction of the park as nature therefore relies on its opposition to culture: “‘Wilderness’—feels like it is not the city.” Several comments noted either the rarity of “nature” so close to the city, the “untouched” state of the park, and the looming threat of development: “Getting back to nature because at the rate parks being cleared for housing they will soon be a thing of the past.” This highlights that people perceive the park as an endangered space and therefore in need of protection, casting nature as the heritage of all humanity, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The second cluster of most common responses includes “trails” and “trees,” “scenic beauty,” and “recreation / exercise opportunities.” Comments consistently used the terms “beautiful,” “peaceful,” and “tranquil” to describe the park, and cited their sensory experiences of this place, including “cooler temperatures,” “views, smell of the sea,” and “a feeling, whether justified, that this is the original, primal forest.” In particular, the beach was cited as a space for enjoying scenic beauty, while other popular responses praised the “greenness” of the park, its size, the wildlife, and the fresh air. Often, people articulated the park’s role in their lives as “escape” or being “away,” offering the park as “a quiet retreat from the city” and the noise and traffic that accompanies it.

A sense of community, of history, and/or a spiritual connection were noted by some as reasons why people like the park. The park was described as a “friendly and healthy environment,” as offering “the glory of nature and the peace that it brings,” and engendering “total serenity. It is a spiritual place. Energy from the trees. The light. The air.” This “spiritual connection” was frequently related to the untouched character of the park: “The majestic trees, all the plants, the birds, the fact that it is not groomed, I feel connected to my ancestors here and to all humans who love forests and trees.” One person consistently personified the park, described their relationship with this space as “45 years of intimacy with *her*” (emphasis added): “She is both a symbolic and physical manifestation of nature due to her proximity to the surrounding urban centre.”

Many respondents referred to the park as a place of “peace and quiet / relaxation” and of “freedom to walk, be alone, be quiet, see people enjoying the peace and having picnics, savouring life and beauty.” These sentiments were also articulated as reasons provided by respondents concerning why they visit the park in the first place:

- “For sanity, after long work days.”
- “To see and smell the forest on a walk.”
- “Peaceful Reflection.”
- “Get away from city, embrace sanity.”
- “To be in the trees, and fresh air and nea

Collectively, respondents articulated similar qualities that they like about the park. Complicated emotions were expressed about the park and connections were made between seemingly disparate themes. In an attempt to provide a visual representation of these relationships, I employed a web-based tool called Wordle, which simply uses size to convey frequency of word use.<sup>5</sup> This graphic is depicted in Figure 7.1.



Figure 7.1. Wordle for full-text responses of what people like about the park.

As the largest word in this image, “trails” highlights the importance of the park as a space of motion and movement; yet only 38 people indicated they simply transit through the park. Noted in Chapter 4, the trails of Pacific Spirit are frequently represented as winding between trees, curving out of sight. The park trail is the quintessential symbol of exploration and discovery (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989:53-56). As the next-largest and almost comparable in size, the term “city” is juxtaposed with “trees” and “forest,” again highlighting the dialectical opposition of these concepts. Words like “nature,” “natural,” “green,” and

5 I limited the Wordle graphic to 75 words, discounting commonly used words; however, I chose not to further tamper with the Wordles as I felt that even seemingly out-of-place or insignificant terms can turn out to be significant. <http://www.wordle.net>.

“wilderness” are predictably associated with the park. Less so are some of the smaller words: “access,” “freedom,” “space,” “place” and “home” signal a sense of belonging. Sensations also featured prominently in how respondents’ described their “likes” about the park, expressed simply as “feeling,” “clean,” “peace,” “well” and “life.” In sum, these word-associations characterize respondents’ experience of the park as exploring a natural place where people *feel*.

### ***What Do You Dislike About the Park?***

Responses to this question tended to identify multiple concerns, many of which were addressed regarding safety. Overwhelmingly, however, people said that user-group conflicts—specifically between dogs/dog-walkers, horses/horseback riders, and cyclists—were the main thing they disliked about the park, along with park users breaking rules. Some respondents felt there were “too many people” in the park, describing the litter and dog or horse waste in the park. Many other gripes were voiced in response to this question—too noisy, too many rules, poor trail conditions, too much or too little park maintenance, lack of sanitation facilities, lack of wildlife—and the list goes on. These sentiments reflected the particular interest of the park users, and sometimes countered each other. For example, one respondent suggested the “trails are too ‘manicured,’” while another felt that “some of the trails are in rough condition, esp. for horses (too rocky, too sloped).” One person responded that they dislike “bicyclists who feel they own the park,” and another wrote that “not having bike-only trails” was a problem. “Too many people” was a phrase commonly used.

In addition, seven people said they disliked the encroaching development, specifically the residential construction being undertaken by UBC, which was described as the “destruction of forested areas” and as nature “being done away with.” Of particular note, however, was that only three people identified the contentious park name or contested ownership as an issue.

Regarding what people dislike about the park, the two most commonly used words were “people” (32 times) and “dogs” (20 times)—reinforcing that different user-group conflict represents the most common disliked feature of the park. Again, I a Wordle illustrates responses (Figure 7.2).



Figure 7.2. Wordle of full-text responses to the question of what people dislike about the park.

The characterization of the park as nature in opposition to culture perhaps explains why the most frequently-cited disliked feature of the park was “people.” Kaplan and Kaplan’s (1989:138-139) research affirms an association between “wilderness” and a sense of “solitude,” and describe how hearing human voices and observing traces left by previous people were viewed as “negative” and considered to detract from the wilderness experience. The consistent description by respondents of a dislike of gravel pathways is but one example of this dynamic.

Beyond this, the Wordle for what people dislike about Pacific Spirit is notable in its representation of contradiction. This is perhaps not surprising; people visit the park with all of their attendant values and views about what behaviour is appropriate for this space. While there is widespread agreement concerning what people like about the park, this does not translate into agreement as to how people should *engage* with this space—what activities should take place therein—and responses are largely self-interested (e.g., dog-walkers want more off-leash trails, horseback riders want better trails for horses, cyclists want bicycle-only trails). This is the fate of public places: spaces that are perceived as being democratic, regardless of the official rules, will remain inherently conflicted.

### ***What Changes Would You Like to See in the Park?***

Similar to above, responses to this question addressed issues already raised and were, in many cases, repetitive. Still, there is value in comparing these responses with those concerning “likes,” “dislikes,” and “safety,” as differently-phrased questions can elicit varying responses.

Some people said they would make no changes to the park; for the rest, improving park infrastructure ranked top of the list of changes people would like to see made. This included more signage, drinking fountains, garbage cans, bike racks, and improved trails. Other suggestions included increased safety features, in relation to which people commented on police patrols—for an increased presence, for a ranger, not police, presence, and against any presence at all. Also identified in relation to safety were “undesirable” people in the park, described by one respondent as “homeless type people” and by another as “the wrong type of people.”

Some commented that they would like more strongly-enforced trail rules (10%, n=12), although another 9% (n=11) wanted to see park rules relaxed (smoking, dogs off-leash, closing hours). One person commented specifically on the locked parking lot at Acadia Beach, emphasizing that as a “public” place, people should be able to govern their own behaviour.

More commonly, environmental concerns and conservation featured in responses:

“Stop cutting it all down.”

“Leave it completely natural. I hope it will not be “developed.” I hope we will not lose it.”

“UBC needs to stop cutting down so many trees on campus and relying on Pacific Spirit Park to attract students...”

“The fewer changes the better!”

“Not to urbanize the wild areas to much, i.e. the covering of trails with gravel.”

Usually in relation to the environment and ecology, educating the public about the park was suggested by several respondents, who proposed variously “a permanent nature interpretation centre” and “more information posted throughout the park about its history, formation, uses, and various residents (people, flora, fauna).”

Of particular interest were responses concerning cultural awareness in and about the park, specifically in relation to First Nations. “Education/consciousness” about Indigenous culture and “respect” and “protection” for Musqueam places in the park were advocated by a few respondents. While these indicated support for the Musqueam community’s relationship to the park, another respondent was less sympathetic when making suggestions of changes in the park: “None that I can think of, maybe ownership: it seems a park like this should NOT be allowed to be used to settle native land-claims. Designating it a proper city/provincial park would prevent that.”

Overall, comments made in answer to this question support the issues already identified and remarks repeatedly made in previous responses. This was, however, the first time that the issues of ownership, management, and information conveyed with respect to the Musqueam Indian Band's relationship with the park were raised. That the question asked for suggested "changes" to be made may be viewed as encouraging in this respect.

### ***What Does the Park Mean to You?***

Following the previous questions concerning likes, dislikes and changes in the park, the questionnaire addressed the issue of what the park means to people in a number of ways. One question addressed this indirectly through a series of statements with which respondents gauged how strongly they agreed or disagreed.

From responses to this question, several trends become apparent, reinforcing previous statements concerning what people liked about the park. The vast majority of people agree or strongly disagree that the park reconnects them "with the natural world," that they feel "relaxed" after visiting the park, that they visit the park "to escape from urban life," and that the park is "an important part" of their lives. These four statements signal very strong cohesion in values from the vast majority of respondents.

More than half of respondents said they feel "a spiritual connection" with the park, and about half said they felt that they were "part of a community" at the park. More than half of people said the park feels like "wilderness" while just under half said the park feels like "a managed landscape. At times, both sentiments were expressed by the same respondent: "I selected that it feels like 'wilderness' and that is feeling like a managed landscape because I know it is highly managed but I personally feel like I've escaped from 'urban' life while there. It's an awkward juxtaposition and seems conflicting but it's how I feel."

When asked directly what the park meant to them, people provided multiple responses that largely mirrored those for that people liked about the park. I grouped responses by the following common themes, recognizing that most responses cross-cut several of these categories:

#### **1. natural wilderness**

"A lovely natural place open to anyone."

"A bit of wilderness in the city that feeds my soul."

"A place for me and my family to reflect and connect with, and learn about, nature."

"An oasis of clean, green, natural world. A place of discovery and wonder. An opportunity to see fungi, pick the odd berry, see new green growth, breathe fresh air—heavenly."

2. accessibility or proximity to the city

“It is an oasis of wilderness in the middle of the city.”

“It’s a nearby place to get away from the busyness of the city.”

“It is a wonderful refuge from the city that is so close but still so far away when one is in the park.”

3. relaxation / tranquility

“It’s a place to rejuvenate, to think and to relax.”

“Quiet, peaceful world.”

“Tranquility a place to reconnect with nature and my own self.”

“Wonder and beauty.”

Compared with the question of what people liked about the park, “escape / refuge from the city” figured higher in responses listing this as what the park means to respondents:

“A chance to escape from urban life and revel in the nature of beauty.”

“My escape from urban life, my backyard, my connection to nature.”

“The park is a place I love to visit so that I can escape from the city. I live on a 33-foot lot on a rather overcrowded street with basement suites and laneway houses which I dislike.”

Several people stated that the park plays a significant role in their otherwise-urban lives, citing the park as “vital to life in Vancouver” as one of the main reasons why respondents continue to live in the city. One respondent offered that Pacific Spirit is “my daily vacation...I have made plans to have my ashes distributed in PSRP after I pass away.” Another said that, “without it, I would have to leave the city...I live in an apartment on a busy street and have no garden or personal green space. So I rely on public green space. Connection with nature is essential for my well-being.”

Many stressed the cognitive and/or health benefits they experience while “reflecting” in the park, with respondents describing the park as “a buffer from the city,” “a place to connect with nature, breathe and be centred, to connect with and be myself,” and “a place where I can let my gaze soften and let my soul rest.” Many also specifically articulated this in terms of spirituality:

“I am not a religious person but I call the Park my cathedral...it gives me a tremendous psychological lift when I am there...any day, any weather.”

“It is a place where I can see the bigger picture—how I am connected to all around me and that life has more meaning than current societal behaviours.”

“It calls to me to remember my own connection with nature and encourages me to take a break

from the activity of city life and what ever “thoughts” I am obsessed with at the moment...To come back to the present and appreciate, even have reverence for, the sacredness of life, abundance of Mother Nature, the universal powers beyond my control.”

The environmental value of the park to the city and its residents was frequently emphasized, alongside the importance of protecting the park “for future generations” from development:

“Pacific Spirit Regional Park is a place for urbanites to escape the sometimes stressful urban life, if only for a few hours. It is also an amenity that must be saved for future generations. Development cannot continue to encroach on the natural parts of this city.”

As is apparent from the above comments, for most respondents, these ideas were all tied up together; for example, one person answered simply: “quiet, rejuvenation, exercise, natural ecosystem, refuge, growth, connection, home.” The role of Pacific Spirit for urbanites was articulated thoughtfully by one respondent, for whom the question of what the park means elicited introspection:

The park to me signifies many different things. On the one hand, I appreciate its accessibility and its meaningfulness for people who live nearby who frequent the park for exercise, reflection, recreation, and personal enrichment. On the other hand, it is a big place and does not foster a sense of belonging for me. I do not know its history well nor do I feel I have a connection with the people who use it. I find myself feeling grateful for its existence, but upon further reflection, I cannot identify why its existence is so significant. For example, I am glad that it is not a vast expanse of condo towers because accessibility to green space is an important balance point for urban living for me. Yet I don’t have a strong connection to it either and more often pass it by on the bus rather than traverse through it. Finally, I am aware that the park rests on Musqueam land and that in fact Musqueam people have dwelt in parts of the park in the past. With this in mind, I feel that Pacific Spirit Park and Stanley Park are similar in that they both provide access to forests and beaches for Vancouver’s residents while also offering an illusion of a place-without-history—a natural space “saved” from development for the benefit of the greater good. This sanitized form of place-making is to me consistent with Vancouver’s representation of itself—managed but accessible natural spaces, beautiful scenery, and a social history yet to be written.

Using a Wordle to visually depict the themes in these responses (Figure 7.3), some of the common terms used to describe the park included “nature” (n=26), “beautiful” (n=20), “escape” (n=17), “connection” (n=25) and “love” (n=14). These further support the thoughts and perspectives offered by respondents in other questions.

Overwhelming in this image is the word “place,” recalling responses to the question of what people “liked” about the park that emphasized a sense of belonging, some describing Pacific Spirit as “home.” Again, in size and meaning, “park” is placed in opposition to “city,” “nature” and “natural” opposing “urban” and “Vancouver.” Other terms that were cited equally included “wonderful,” “beautiful,” “live,” “life,” “love,” and “escape.” Even the smallest words in this Wordle reflect important concepts: “peaceful,” “oasis,” “wild,” “relax,” and “connection.”



Figure 7.3. Wordle of full-text responses to the question of what the park means to people.

These themes highlight the park as an important place in the lives of those who responded to this survey. Indeed, their responses are often emotionally-charged, colourfully-descriptive, and at times evoke an ethereal and fantastical picture of how people envision the park. Overall, there is consistency in the meaning of Pacific Spirit that people provide that reflects in the narrative of the park as nature, expressed particularly both in terms of escape and of connection. This signals the unique place that the concept of nature holds in Western culture as a space without people and therefore, critically, as a space without history or heritage. As discussed below, however, this dialectical opposition represents a selective remembering; the necessity for this selection is tied to the role the park plays for its users as escape.

### Park History and Heritage

Place-making is a way of constructing history itself, of inventing it, of fashioning novel versions of “what happened here.”

Keith Basso (1996:6)

A series of open-ended questions were asked on the questionnaire in an effort to assess people's awareness of the history of the park lands and their familiarity with current issues. Respondents were asked to leave the form blank if they did not know the answer, although some filled the space with “don't know” in any case. As with the open-ended text responses discussed above, I developed and assigned

categories in order to produce a quantitative description for each question<sup>6</sup>.

### ***Ownership and Management***

Respondents were asked who owns Pacific Spirit Regional Park. While apparently straightforward, the answer is actually quite complicated. After the local First Nations were dispossessed of these lands, they were converted to a Military Reserve, then used for timber harvesting; the University Endowment Lands were created in 1908 to both build a university and residential housing as income for the university. The UEL is not legally part of the City of Vancouver as it is Crown land and thus under provincial jurisdiction, and there is a UEL Administration office and a Manager; however, Metro Vancouver provides all infrastructure and services to the area. Pacific Spirit Regional Park is similarly owned by the province and managed by Metro Vancouver, with the exception of the two parcels of land transferred to the Musqueam Indian Band a few years ago.

With this history, it is not surprising to receive varied responses, from 141 out of the total 185 survey participants, to the question of “ownership.” Most common was Metro Vancouver (33%, n=61), then the BC Government (18%, n=33), UBC (11%, n=21), and Musqueam or First Nations (10%, n=19). The federal government and the UBC golf course were also proposed as possible “owners.” 19% (n=36) of survey participants did not answer or answered that they did not know. In other cases, suggestions were offered as guesses, which were included in these figures.

Of interest were the responses indicating that “the public,” “us” or “the people of BC” own the park (9%, n=17); in some cases, “the public” was conflated to also mean “the province” or vice versa. For example: “Owned by the people of BC through the provincial Government.” The issue of First Nations’ ownership was also directly commented on in relation to “the public,” both as a synonym and antonym:

“Musquem first nations, the government of BC—in other words the people of BC, and mother nature.”

“The Musqueam people!!! (who kindly bear the ‘ownership’ by the Province of BC on behalf of all the people of British Columbia.”

“We do—the tax payers (‘officially’—of course the First Nations People might disagree).”

Regarding the park’s management, people who responded (n=138) seemed somewhat clearer on the issue. 66% (n=123) of all survey participants (n=185) indicated Metro Vancouver or a branch of

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that for each question, not all 185 respondents provided an answer. However, as my goal for this section of the survey was to assess awareness, the percentages provided herein reflect percent of the total number of participants (n=185), unless otherwise noted. I have also clarified what percent of the total number of respondents answered at all; again, this should not be confused with the number of responses, given that multiple responses were allowed (e.g., one respondent could provide three answers). As such, percentages provided, unless otherwise specified, represent the percent of all survey respondents who answered as such.

government therein as responsible for managing the park. UBC, the provincial government, local First Nations and the Pacific Spirit Park Society were also mentioned in a few responses, while 25% (n=47) of participants did not know.

### ***History***

Of the 76 respondents to the question of when Pacific Spirit was created, the majority (n=56) seemed generally aware that the park was created around the 1980s or 1990s, while others responded with a date as early as the 1960s or as late as the last decade. Concerning the origin of the park's name of "Pacific Spirit" (total respondents n=72), only half (n=32) were aware of the "name the park" contest held that determined the park's new title.

Significantly, an equal number of people instead thought the name was either Musqueam or First Nation in origin, indicating "the spiritual nature of the park" and its "Aboriginal connection. This *assumption* that the name is Indigenous raises the critical question of appropriation—in this case, not of an actual Indigenous name but of a concept of pan-Indigenous spirituality, discussed in Chapter 3. In her explanation of the name "Pacific Spirit," contest winner Sherry Sakamoto suggested that it was inspired by the First Nations' connection to the land and to the Creator. The appropriation of generalized representations of Indigenous culture and spirituality to grace public places is a problematic issue. In this case, it may be enough to note that, although many people felt the name was honouring the First Nations' connection to this space, far fewer even raised the issue of Indigenous title when asked about park ownership.

The question of what the park was used for before it was a park received multiple responses from 111 people who answered this survey question; the other 74 did not know the answer or did not respond. Many comments indicated an awareness of the park's logging history (17%, n=32), although about the same number (17%, n=31) considered that the land had been used as a park, same as today, or for "recreation" (11%, n=20). This may be due to imprecise phrasing of the question—using the vague term "before" rather than "before 1850" or similar, to indicate pre-European occupation; however, the question was intentionally broad as I was interested to see how far back in time people would consider in their responses, perhaps indicating their own sense of the depth of history.

Towards this, 25 people responded indicated that the park was previously First Nations' land, and/or that it was used for food harvesting, hunting and fishing (n=20), and for camping, squatting or homesteading (n=17), although the latter were not specified as Indigenous versus settler usage. The majority of responses dealt with post-European occupation history, such as dairy farming (n=8), horse stables (n=11), University Endowment Lands (n=13), landfill (n=3), scouting (n=2) and military (n=1)

purposes.

Of the total 185 survey participants, only 31% (n=57) offered an answer to the question concerning the government's "early plans" for the park lands. Responses identified development (9%, n=16), residences (11%, n=21), or UEL (13%, n=24) as the primary plans in store. Most comments focused specifically on development, often using the word with a negative connotation, reflecting the general ethos of "anti-development" already identified as a common value through previous questions:

"Houses. As usual, mindless homogenized development. Houses as commodities rather than homes and community."

"Demolish the lot and build condos."

"Build, build, build."

One respondent offered, perhaps wryly, that the government's plan was ultimately to "keep it out of First Nations ownership." Another suggested that the plan was "To keep them [the UEL] as a park for all generations." Ironically, these two answers amount to the same thing.

### ***Controversy***

This section was particularly interesting as it raised the question of what people consider to be controversy, which is directly connected to their values. Of the total 185 complete responses received for this survey:

- 102 offered multiple suggestions concerning controversies about the park;
- 46% (n=85) did not know or provided no answer;
- 24% (n=44) identified First Nations land rights as a key issue; and
- 19% (n=36) noted UBC's encroaching development as a cause for controversy.

Respondents also identified issues surrounding different user-group conflicts (n=15), safety and violence in the park (n=15), and the 2007 land transfer to the Musqueam Indian Band (n=12). Issues previously discussed under "deviant" behaviour were noted as controversial (e.g., Wreck beach nudity, alcohol and drug use, homelessness), reinforcing a perceived connection between violence and deviance:

"There may be issues about people sleeping in the park. There was an unfortunate act of violence there about a year ago."

"People living in the park and supposed connection with murders."

The series of questions that followed "quizzed" survey participants concerning First Nations' connections with the park lands; these questions received a moderate-to-high response rate (more than

65%). People primarily identified Musqueam as the First Nation who assert the park lands as traditional territory (n=128); Squamish were also identified (n=15), as were Tsleil-Waututh (n=10). Most respondents (142 of 145) identified Musqueam as the First Nation with an Indian Reservation next to the park, and all 121 respondents identified the Musqueam Indian Band as now owning a portion of former park lands.

These results signify a moderate awareness of specifically the Musqueam community's connection to Pacific Spirit Regional Park, which is encouraging; it may be relevant that most survey participants live relatively locally to the park and thus the Musqueam people. It remains, however, that 25% of respondents did not know the answer to these questions.

Only 40 people provided answers concerning who protested the 1989 opening of the park, of which 36 identified Musqueam people. This means that more than 80% of all 185 people responding to the survey are unaware of this part of the park's history. Concerns of land rights, no compensation, and a lack of consultation were primarily cited as reasons for the protest.

Concerning the 2007 land transfer, 75 of 185, or 41%, of respondents provided answers. Of these, 67 identified some aspect of the golf course lease expiration and legal settlements concerning Indigenous land rights as the reason for the transfer. Various suggestions were offered concerning exactly why the land was transferred, including "successful litigation" and "part of a 'treaty' settlement."<sup>77</sup> One respondent suggested the transfer offered "permanent protection from development by UBC" while another felt that the transfer was completed "so UBC could sell it and/or build on it."

Multiple groups were identified by the 64 respondents to the question concerning who protested this land transfer; 65% of survey participants (n=119) did not offer an answer. Most explanations that were provided can be considered correct, given that many communities were involved in the protest, brought together primarily by a shared environmentalist and anti-development ethic. The Pacific Spirit Park Society and Metro Vancouver were specifically cited, alongside "Vancouver residents [who] don't want the land transferred to be developed." Indeed, respondents frequently suggested that the protesters felt the transfer of land to the Musqueam Indian Band would inevitably result in development of the land. Some respondents attributed racism and colonial attitudes as core motivators for the protest, which they suggested was signalled in the particular community that was protesting, described as "rich white people," or "everyone but Musqueam residents." However, 12 people of the 64 respondents identified Musqueam or First Nations as the protestors, suggesting that it was *their* fear of development or a lack of proper consultation that prompted the protest. In sum, that only 64 people of the total 185 respondents, or 34%, provided an answer is indicative of mixed awareness of the issue.

## ***Heritage***

A series of questions concerning trail names and heritage monuments in the park were posed in the questionnaire. These received some of the lowest response rates of all questions in the survey, with an average of 39 people, or 21% of all 185 questionnaire respondents providing an answer.

Concerning deep history, people expressed little awareness of archaeological sites in the park, and only a few people said they had ever found ancient artifacts. A slightly higher number of people knew of “historic”<sup>7</sup> sites in the park, although, again, few of these had ever found historic dump sites.

Significantly, of the total 185 survey respondents, only 26 or 14% were aware of cultural or spiritual sites in use today. Again, I left it up to the respondents’ interpretation to decide what was indicated by “cultural” or “spiritual” sites, as such a designation can be quite personal. Given that at least 10 respondents said they felt “spiritual” about the park, my interpretation of this question regarding knowledge of spiritual sites is that respondents likely employed varying definitions and included anything from Indigenous traditional use sites, to the pet cemetery discussed in Chapter 5, to the park as a spiritual place.

Response rates regarding the origins of trail names and other park areas are provided in Appendix D, Table D.1. To summarize, the vast majority of respondents had little knowledge of the origins or history of the places mentioned. Response rates to questions concerning trail name etymology were low with less on average 20% of respondents providing an answer. “Admiralty” and “Imperial” trails were largely identified as broadly related to European, specifically British, military and naval history; likewise, most respondents recognized the “Plains of Abraham” as a French/English battle site. Most respondents correctly identified “Camosun” and “Sasamat” as names associated with First Nation history. A slightly higher number of respondents at 24% were aware of a salmon-bearing creek in the park, but mostly were unsure of its name.

Regarding monuments in the area, 17% of respondents suggested European explorers were the subject of such features. Only 16% of people acknowledged other monuments, among them “nature” information signs in the park, memorial sites (e.g., benches, picnic tables, plaques) and World War II structures.

In sum, respondents were largely unaware of the details of park history, nor were they aware of the possible antiquity of cultural sites in the area. Given that more people seemed aware of such places in the park than had actually found evidence themselves, it is likely that respondents were drawing on stories

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<sup>7</sup> I did not define “historic” in the survey, preferring to leave it up to respondents to evaluate what this term means and reply accordingly. In common usage in North America, however, “historic” means post-European arrival and before “modern” times, both defined variously.

they had encountered of the park's antiquity. Excluding a possible bias in the respondent population, the overall picture is a dearth of knowledge about the cultural landscape, past and present, of Pacific Spirit. Significantly, this includes recent colonial history; as discussed in Chapter 4, while naming is critical to familiarize a colonized landscape, names also become banal, their meaning forgotten in the every-day. In this way, particular cultural, social, political, and economic histories become naturalized and neutralized; the values that are represented similarly fade into the background. It is the lack of recognition of these stories as cultural that enables the park to function as ideology.

## **Management and Mandates**

The regulation of park conduct constructs both nature as an object of regulated exploitation, and the accompanying idea of freedom as a state achieved through compliance to authority.

Joe Hermer (2002:101)

The final section of the questionnaire considered park management and the mandates driving it. Specifically, survey participants were asked a series of questions concerning who should have management authority, over which aspects of the park, and with what governing philosophy in mind.

### ***What is the “Mandate” of the Park?***

The mandate of the park as a natural place was emphasized in the official GVRD management plan for Pacific Spirit Regional Park as well as through the various media of and events in the park. As discussed, I consider the perceived dichotomy between nature and culture to be central to the ideology of the park as a site where colonialist and capitalist narratives are played out. As such, I constructed a series of questions to assess respondents' perspectives on this dichotomy, attempting to tease out its margins.

When asked about the role that culture should play in the park, the vast majority of respondents said they agree or strongly agree that they would like more information in the park about its history. About three-quarters of respondents said they would like to learn about cultural uses of the park. Just over half felt that cultural heritage should be a major focus. From these responses, it is clear that park history is valued by the surveyed population generally. Indeed, of the 185 respondents, only 21 said that they felt indifferent or disagreed/strongly disagreed that more information on history should be provided in the park.<sup>8</sup>

There was more ambivalence, however, concerning what were described in the questions as

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<sup>8</sup> Of this group, less than half were able to answer most of the questions concerning historic events in the park, however this does not distinguish this group from the survey population, the majority of which did not respond to the questions concerning history, as noted above.

cultural uses or heritage, with nearly a quarter of respondents checking “neutral” to these two questions, while 17% disagreed that cultural heritage should be a major focus in the park. Given that “history,” “culture” and “heritage” could be argued as synonyms, the question is raised as to what differences the respondents felt existed between the terms that “history” was viewed as important while “cultural heritage” is not.

Regarding the Environment, responses were strongly in favour with nearly all respondents in agreement environmental conservation should be a major focus, and the vast majority suggesting they would like more information in the park about its ecology. The park’s mandate as primarily environmental in focus was reaffirmed by these responses.

When forced to consider whether the park’s “natural environment is more important than its cultural heritage,” 44% (n=80) agreed or strongly agreed, 24% (n=43) were neutral, and 31% (n=56) disagreed or strongly disagreed. My interpretation is that while some people may value cultural aspects of the park, most consider its environmental value to be greater and, as such, this takes priority—echoing previous sentiments that nature represents the heritage of all humanity. Of interest is that responses by those who do not live near the park were somewhat reversed: 56% (n=25) disagreed or strongly disagreed that the natural environment is more important than cultural heritage, and only 31% (n=24) agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. Beyond an over-simplified correlation between political views, economic class and geography, I do not feel there is enough information in this survey to reasonably discern the reasoning behind these differences.

### ***How Should the Park be “Managed,” and by Whom?***

Closely tied to the issue of cultural and environmental mandates is the concept of park management. The understanding of the park as a public place was overwhelmingly affirmed, with nearly all respondents saying they agree or strongly agree that the park should be a public place and open to all. Indeed, second only to the question concerning environmental conservation as a driving mandate, there was the most agreement amongst all survey participants concerning the public and open nature of the park.

Many respondents also saw an important role for First Nations to play in the governance of the park, stating that they should be involved in decision-making about the park. This was echoed in a later question asking respondents who should have control over the park management; First Nations were listed as second only to Metro Vancouver as deserving of control. Other responses included co-management between Metro Vancouver and Musqueam, that “all interested parties should have a say in decision making,” “especially the First Nations People.” Some of these values were challenged, however, when it came to ecologically-sensitive areas or resources in the park, with about half or more of

respondents suggesting both should be off limits, including to First Nations.

When paired side-by-side, these questions are somewhat puzzling. The former affirms that, while the majority of respondents feel ecological sensitivity should relegate areas as off-limits to park users, nearly a quarter of respondents disagreed with this statement—meaning, they feel the areas should not be restricted. However, the latter question concerning First Nations’ use of park resources saw the most variation in responses and the most disagreement of any question in this series.

One explanation could be that people feel all areas of the park should be *accessible*, but not to be used for its “resources.” While participants suggested a wide variety of uses for the park with recreation being top of the list, the ethic of environmental conservation was clearly interpreted as meaning that the park is untouchable or sacrosanct as “environment, to be protected *from* culture.”

It is worth noting that responses to First Nations’ resource access differed slightly by age group. For example, of respondents over 40 years of age, 23% (n=26) agreed and 18% (n=20) strongly agreed that First Nations people should have access to resource in the park. The figures for respondents under 40 years of age were somewhat higher, with 32% (n=21) who agreed and 35% (n=23) who strongly agreed with this statement.

Similarly, in the over-40 category, 46% (n=52) agreed and 21% (n=23) strongly agreed that First Nations should be involved in decision-making about the park. This group favoured Metro Vancouver as the primary park authority (75%, n=85), with First Nations favoured by 43% (n=49).

By contrast, figures for the under-40 group were higher overall, with 46% (n=30) agreed and 40% (n=26) strongly agreed that First Nations should be involved in park decisions. This group also favoured First Nations as the primary park authority (72%, n=46), with Metro Vancouver a close second (69%, n=44).

This may signal changing values and a differing appreciation of the social and political position of First Nations’ in British Columbia by generation. Local university students today receive more information and thus are more aware of, for example, the Musqueam community’s relationship with the university lands, and legal cases over the last twenty years have increasingly brought Indigenous human rights issues to the fore. It is perhaps one result that with education comes appreciation and advocacy for these critical issues (La Salle 2006).

This is not to say, however, that respect for Indigenous culture and support for First Nations’ rights is considered to “trump” the settler sense of national identity or vision of democracy based on equality. One person addressed this specifically:

I’m not against first Nations collecting/harvesting in the forest, lots of people do. I am against first nations getting *special treatment*: if “normal” people can’t harvest fiddle heads, neither can they. I think the park should be managed by professionals with input from the local community.

This can or cannot involve first nations people, it's up to them to participate...They are Canadian citizens and have every right to have their voices heard on park management issues, just like the rest of us.

Indeed, the protest held in response to the land transfer illustrated that, despite sympathy for the Musqueam community, nature comes first because it is the shared heritage of humanity. This is significant, as it is likely that the community represented in my survey of park-users overlaps with the people who protested the land transfer in 2007, discussed in Chapter 3.

Related to these issues, the final question in this survey addressed the interpretive signs installed in 2010 at Camosun Bog. As discussed in Chapter 6, I was able to attend the sign-unveiling event and so took note (and photographs) of the signs. I then developed this survey question in order to assess, for those who had viewed the signs, which ones had made enough of an impression that they were remembered. However, less than half of respondents had actually seen the signs, and of those, most recalled signs that conveyed information about bog plants and animals or geology—the “natural” history of the bog. About a quarter to a third of people also recalled signs that describe cultural uses of bog plants and animals identified First Nations’ stories about the bog as a component of the signs—the cultural history of the bog, which was not remembered as well as those dealing with natural history or signs relating to the role of volunteers in the park. This highlights how nature as the *appropriate* subject of the park is recursively reinforced through expectation and projection (Hall 1966:106). As such, it is likely that respondents either noticed the signs conveying natural history more, or presumed this was a key component of the signs if they could not actually recall when answering the survey. I return to this issue in Chapter 8.

### ***Questionnaire Feedback***

My online survey was very comprehensive; at 9 pages and with a total of 80 questions presented, it was also very long. Although I felt the length was required in order to assess the range of issues that I considered to be pertinent, a more experienced designer of such surveys would likely have been able to accomplish the same results with a shorter, and thus more user-friendly, questionnaire.

I feel that the survey covered all the topics I wanted to address; these were also the issues identified to me by others and highlighted in media and events as important. However, I invited respondents to provide comments on what they felt was missing. Instead of actually addressing what was *missing*, however, many people used this opportunity as their last chance to reiterate the issue(s) they felt were of the utmost importance—to have a last word, in a sense. Comments emphasized the park as a public place open to all, with some respondents suggesting this means “parkland must not ever be given

away, traded or sold” but rather “should be kept open to everyone.” This was somewhat offset by comments about who is included in the park community, with respondents prioritizing, for example, equestrians and volunteers, and denigrating commercial dog-walkers and the homeless. To be expected, respondents emphasized environmental conservation, particularly questioning “how to manage the expected growth of park usage over the next 20 years” in light of rising local population. These comments were expressed in relation to anti-development sentiments and the need to protect nature from culture from, as one respondent put it, “the develop at all costs mentality that has infected this whole region.”

The topics raised reinforce themes developed throughout this section, and the dissertation as a whole. Implicit in these sentiments is an anxiety over lingering uncertainty: who exactly is the park for? and how safe is it from development? At the centre of this anxiety is sacred nature, worshipped and revered, in need of protection from culture, and fear of losing this last vestige of wilderness to urban sprawl and irresponsible park-use is pervasive.

### ***Opportunities for Action***

In framing my research as activism, I have attempted to find ways to mobilize knowledge, particularly to destabilize dominant narratives. Towards this, my online questionnaire served as both a data-gathering tool for my research and a medium to generate awareness concerning the untold stories of Pacific Spirit.

Throughout the survey, I focused on questions that were, in part, designed to generate *awareness* of ignorance, particularly concerning park history and heritage—an acknowledgement that constitutes the necessary first step towards critical learning. I also used various questions to identify how park users engaged with and learned about the park, in an effort to find possible opportunities for learning in future.

Many participants responded that the survey had made them aware of how little they know about the park and how little is conveyed about history within Pacific Spirit; some felt this should be rectified through creating markers of historical interest in the park. These responses are gratifying, and I feel the survey was successful in at least drawing attention to some aspects of the park’s contentious heritage, particularly as reflected in place names, not widely known or discussed.

My questionnaire also demonstrated that formal park events are generally well-attended by a non-Indigenous public and represent a central way that park values and heritage are communicated. Of respondents surveyed, half “sometimes” or “often” go to park events, so these events are a viable option to pursue towards communicating Musqueam connections to the land now called Pacific Spirit. Whether the Musqueam community has time or resources to make this commitment, or willingness to cooperate with people who had protested the transfer of lands to their authority, remains to be seen.

Finally, many respondents indicated that they read the posters on park noticeboards for

information, or look at the park and affiliated group websites; these are thus potentially effective media to generate awareness about park history. In particular, advertising park history *in* the park itself through signage may be the most effective way to communicate with the public<sup>9</sup>. This issue is discussed further in Chapter 8.

## A Regional Park Study

By way of situating my park survey in the larger regional context, I examined a study of parks and recreation undertaken for Metro Vancouver and the Fraser Valley Regional District (Lees and Assoc. 2011). The resulting Regional Outdoor Recreation Opportunities Study was published, as a means by which to assess outdoor recreation opportunities and plan for future improvements in park services (Lees and Assoc. 2011:3). They found that most residents in Vancouver use parks year-round, but a bit more in the summer; that most people drive to parks although some walk; and that most people spend an hour or two there.

The study also suggests that immigrants from China and South Asia are least likely to use parks, as well as people with physical disabilities (Lees and Assoc. 2011:4), and that park usage is highest amongst employed, Canadian-born families with children (Lees and Assoc. 2011:15). They submit that children exposed to natural environments will grow into adults who regularly engage in outdoor recreation (Lees and Assoc. 2011:4).

Concerning the type of recreation people engage in, of 600 respondents, 92% walk or hike for pleasure; 77% picnic; 70% swim; 55% view nature or wildlife; and 25% cycle (Lees and Assoc. 2011:16). Only 7% horseback ride, while 22% own dogs and walk with them in parks (Lees and Assoc. 2011:16, 20). Ocean/beachfront and wilderness/forested areas were two of the most preferred landscapes (Lees and Assoc. 2011:36).

Interestingly, Pacific Spirit Regional Park has the “highest name recognition” in Metro Vancouver, with 10% of respondents able to identify it as a regional park. However, most people do not distinguish between “regional” or “city” parks, and so Stanley Park (61%) and Queen Elizabeth Park (12%) received more responses.

Looking to the future, the study notes that “participation in outdoor recreation has generally, particularly in nature-based activities, increased significantly” since 1994 (Lees and Assoc. 2011:28), and that there is broad support “to enhance nature-based education programs” (Lees and Assoc. 2011:29). They found that, since 1989, visits to regional parks grew by 113% while the population only grew by

<sup>9</sup> For example, see Ciccarello (2013) for discussion of Indigenous content in signage and an interpretive guide at the Ngaut Ngaut Conservation Park in Australia.

48% (Lees and Assoc. 2011:36). This may suggest that people are increasingly either able, or feel the “need,” to visit parks.

The methodology of my survey, insofar as it is “self-selecting,” may have resulted in a bias towards those who are already connected to Pacific Spirit in some way, or connected to me personally. The Regional Study was broader in its participant audience, however it is still similar to the results that I achieved in my questionnaire. This may suggest that my survey is actually representative of the attitudes and values of the park community, and wider society in general.

### **Discussion: Dialectics and Reversals**

The production of places through contradictory relations and practices does not make them less meaningful, real, or physical...The multiple meanings of a place, even if not articulated all at once, always stand in culturally productive tension with each other.

Gaston Gordillo (2004:256-257).

This questionnaire has proven an effective tool to assess widespread views, perceptions and values in relation to Pacific Spirit. While providing quantifiable information in these respects, it also offered the opportunity for respondents to freely write their thoughts in their own words. Despite this freedom to creatively express, the picture that was created by respondents of Pacific Spirit—community, values, and visions—is fairly consistent.

Overall, the majority of people who completed the questionnaire were middle-aged, of European background and lived nearby. They were not affiliated with any official park organizations, and involvement in park events was divided almost equally sometimes and never. About half felt they were part of a community at the park, mostly expressed by those who lived in the area.

Responses to the various questions concerning how people view and value Pacific Spirit suggest a broadly shared worldview. With some exceptions, most people like the park for the same reasons, dislike the same kinds of behaviours, and share a similar experience of the park and its role in their lives. Most people use the park for recreation and approve of activities that echo Pacific Spirit’s mandate of “recreation in harmony with nature.” They view the park as a public place open to all, and seem to fear most of all the loss of park land and nature through development; similarly, aspects of the park that are viewed as manicured, such as gravel trails, are seen as part of urban encroachment. These values, perceptions and preferences mirror the tropes actively portrayed in park propaganda; they are likewise embedded in the park landscape, and reinforced through performance at park events. The coherence and dedication to these tropes expressed by respondents to my questionnaire affirm them as forming both religious doctrine and a shared worldview.

People seemed aware of current issues and controversies, likely because they have been

prominent in the media. Foremost of these in recent years are the Musqueam land transfer, ongoing UBC development adjacent to the park, and safety/violence concerns. Perhaps in part as a result of the first, as well as for those residing locally, many survey participants were aware of the Musqueam community and their present-day interests in the park. However, the topic of the Musqueam community was not raised by most respondents prior to the questions addressing Musqueam interests directly. For example, when asked what they like/dislike about the park, what they would change about it, or what it means to them, outstanding issues of Aboriginal Rights and Title did not register as concerns for most respondents. Conversely, these issues were often raised by Aboriginal and First Nations respondents throughout the survey.

For the series of questions concerning park history—including the origins of trail names, and knowledge of ancient, historic or recent artifacts and sites—most survey participants did not offer answers. The questionnaire had instructed respondents to leave their response blank if they did not know the answer; as such, I have interpreted no response to mean that the participant did not know the answer. As such, knowledge of local history and heritage appears to be low to non-existent amongst most of the respondents to this survey, and most people said they had never learned about park history. As discussed, this includes both Indigenous and settler history, the latter having become normalized through everyday use in park trail names, for example. These results reflect the ideology of dominant society and mirror the authorized settler narrative of the park discussed in this dissertation. While this was my goal—to characterize ideology—by focusing on the trends and shared values and perceptions, to counter this, I looked at responses provided by the few people who self-identified as Indigenous (n=5).

While the majority of respondents overall were unfamiliar with archaeological or spiritual sites in the park, Indigenous respondents expressed knowledge of such sites; indeed, cultural and spiritual practices in the park were identified by most Indigenous respondents as activities they participate in and as priorities. Where overall responses were split as to whether the natural environment was more important than cultural heritage, Indigenous respondents were firm that the latter was not less important than the former, and also felt that cultural heritage needed to be a major focus in park management. They also clearly expressed that First Nations should have access to park resources and have control over park management, while identifying other groups and governments that should likewise be involved in park decision-making.

Indigenous respondents were more aware of the history of the park lands and placed more emphasis on cultural and spiritual expression and aspects of the area. For example, one respondent felt in the park “that there is a presence of my ancestors who lived, gathered, hunted, laid to rest the ones who passed and that there is an semblances [sic] world of my ancestors.” One person described the park as “one of our last wild spaces where we can seek to fulfil our spiritual needs”; another saw the area as

providing “vital links to the survival of the Musqueam people...it is comforting to know there is an area which continues to maintain an appearance close to that from which the ancestors enjoyed a full life.” In this same vein, one respondent lamented, “that it’s such a small portion of our ancestral territory that remains undeveloped.”

Concerning the name “Pacific Spirit,” one respondent recognized that “there are older more important place names tied to Indigenous history.” The area was noted by another person as “the location of villages, resource use areas, spiritual areas, trails that linked many communities.” The contentious creation of the park in 1989 was framed by one respondent in terms of what they dislike about the park:

that the provincial government of british columbia, went ahead and turned the university endowment lands into a park, right under the literal nose of the Musqueam Indian Band active Land Claim to the area, that such brazen racism would be tolerated and supported by the population of bc speaks to the attitude held toward the indigenous people of the beautiful land which the non-native people take for granted the fact that this area preserved and held in sanctity of the people of old was shared with the non-native people (and pets, and non-indigenous plants).

This “unresolved sovereignty assertion of the Musqueam First Nation” was acknowledged; another reflected that “the Musqueam Indian Band Land Claim was wholeheartedly ignored and in the face of the Musqueam Membership Community marching in protest that William Vanderzalm declared the UEL a park while looking us straight in the eyes.”

The reason behind the land transfer of 2008 was described by one respondent at length:

As a result of another breech of a promise, in this case with the city of Richmond, Province of BC and Federal government, when a deal was created to share Garden City Lands was allowed to fall through when the council of Richmond underwent an election and the level of support shifted toward the negative. It was claimed by the other parties the difficulty in transferring the Garden City Lands out of the Agricultural Land Reserve would be too difficult, although in other cases within the lower mainland this same type of transaction removing land out of the ALR has been achieved successfully. to make up for the breech the Province offered MIB the Parcel's K, F, University Golf Course (held in a lease until long into the future) and the Nokia building in burnaby along with 20 million dollars in legacy funds.

Regarding who protested the land transfer, another person offered that it was a “citizens group” advocating for more green space and opposing “so-called ‘special rights’ for First Nations.” The fear of development was articulated by another respondent who emphasized inequality and colonial/capitalist attitudes of settler society: “British Columbian People are happy to live on our traditional ancestral land and reap the benefit and profit of the bounty available to them within this temperate rainforest yet they do not want Musqueam People or any Natives as their neighbours.”

In light of the colonial history of the park and Point Grey in general, these responses are not surprising, nor is the disparity between Indigenous versus settler respondents concerning knowledge of

and interest in Aboriginal history and issues more broadly. It is likewise not surprising that Indigenous respondents might not see the park as a place of freedom, given that it represents a reserve system with which they are intimately familiar; nor is it surprising that the park may be seen as having been lost by them when others consider the park as having been saved.

Yet, despite differences in social, political, cultural, and economic locations, there were core sentiments expressed by both groups—concern about safety, people breaking trail rules, encroaching development; dislike of the managed landscape of the park; appreciation of the park’s peace and quiet, relaxation and solitude; and nature of the park as an escape. These core values illustrate the power of symbols in a sacred site, which—while not necessarily producing the same experience—are nonetheless articulated as “collective ideals” (Ross-Bryant 2005:32, 56). Responses offered by survey participants collectively provide an overall sense of the *character* of the park as it is imagined. This is most apparent in the nouns and adjectives that respondents used to describe Pacific Spirit (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1. Terms commonly used by questionnaire respondents to describe the park, particularly in response to questions concerning what people like about the park and what it means to them.

<b>Nouns</b>	<b>Adjectives</b>
an oasis	natural
a jewel	peaceful
a gem	quiet
a treasure	beautiful
a haven	clean
a refuge	relaxing
a retreat	rejuvenating
nature	tranquil
wilderness	spiritual
escape	wonderful

The park as an urban nature reserve signals this space to be somehow different than other places; indeed, the performance of the park highlights that this is a place where people do things they do not do elsewhere. Significantly, the park was consistently placed in opposition to the city, nature defined in opposition to culture (Barry 2007:16; Coates 1998:191). Descriptions of the park and how people feel about it demonstrate their experience in Pacific Spirit to be a reversal of daily life. These descriptions all use terms that are associated with a positive, even euphoric and spiritual experience of the park. J. Ronald Engel (1992:86-88) explains:

Sacred spaces are perceived to be centers of extraordinary power and reality. Such a space is not merely space, but fully *a place*, imbued with a “sense of place.” For some, they are places where one feels the Other, the Holy. For others, they are simply places of particular qualitative richness, of unique beauty or historical importance. In either case, they evoke a depth of experience that is

more than ordinary. This experience is often expressed in the feeling of nostalgia for a more perfect world behind or beyond “this” world...

Granted the universal function of sacred spaces in human culture, the question arises: what kind of sacred spaces are needed to reorient contemporary society to the natural world?

If the park is a space of positive emotions, offering a reversal from daily life, and is viewed as a sacred place of worship, by extension it follows that people are spending most of their time in situations that may be characterized by the obverse of these sentiments. Indeed, escaping the city was expressed as one of the main motivations for visiting the park, an activity only possible because of its proximity to the urban core of Vancouver.

In her discussion of “leisure,” Ruth Russell (1996:94-97) offers some defining characteristics including a loss of self-consciousness; an activity where action and awareness merge and people are focused; a sense of control; the transformation of time; and an autotelic experience, where the activity is an end unto itself. The responses offered in my questionnaire, and my own experience of the park, confirm these as both outcomes and reasons stated why people visit Pacific Spirit. Critically, they represent a reversal from “work” (Russell 1996:251-252).

As a heuristic tool to probe this idea a bit further, I have provided a breakdown of terms used by questionnaire respondents to describe Pacific Spirit and the city, extrapolating to provide the opposites where these were not articulated (see Barry 2007:16-18). The following list is indicative of Western dualisms (Barry 2007:185), simplifying complex and mutually-reinforcing spatialized dialectics:

park	city
natural	unnatural
peaceful	warlike
relaxation	tension
beautiful	ugly
quiet	noisy
clean	dirty
tranquil	frenzied
wonder	boredom
freedom	restriction
escape	imprison
oasis	desert
refuge	exposed
space	confinement
access	limit
restoration	decay
solitude	populated
healthy	sick
spiritual	secular

sanity	madness
rest	toil
well	unwell
love	hate (or indifference)
connection	alienation
community	isolation
necessary	unnecessary
home	away
feeling	numb
life	death

These dialectical categories of space and place, while defined in opposition, rely on context and scale for their definition and are thus shifting and fluid (e.g., Gordillo 2004). Reinforcing the division between “leisure” on the left and “work” on the right (Russell 1996), these categories also confirm a cultural worldview revering nature as sacred and untouched by humans, and the city in its opposition as profane. Expressed as “the wilderness experience,” Russell (1996:66) describes:

Early writers frequently used the descriptive language of spirituality, mysticism, or emotional transcendence to describe their experiences in the wilderness. They viewed the wilderness as a source of psychic energy. Today, perhaps more than ever, people consider the outdoors as a place for the human spirit. To many people, natural areas are important settings for answering the deepest questions of human existence and for contemplating the unifying power behind life and things. Through history, we have gone to the woods, oceans, plains, deserts, and rivers to discover the spiritual riches within ourselves. The outdoors is a place where we cannot escape the fundamental truth of what we are.

In this sense, Pacific Spirit may be viewed not only as a site of pilgrimage where people go to escape the city and commune with nature, but also a place where the psychological toll of increasing urbanization, rising population and density, and a lifestyle organized around work are in fact reinforced. This tension highlights that the concerns produced by the overarching cosmology of contemporary Western society—an ideology and heritage of growth, development, and progress (Hutchings 2011:4)—are inescapable. The park is therefore a site where anxiety over diminishing ecological health and contributing to a discourse of loss and of safety is both relieved and reinforced, paralleled in the lingering insecurity of colonial myths that continue to be told through the settler narrative. The “nature” of Pacific Spirit, then, is paradoxical.

## Summary

Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home; that wildness is a necessity; and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life.

John Muir (1901)

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the views and values communicated by questionnaire respondents closely match those communicated since the 1970s when growing ecological concern prompted the creation of the park, as discussed in Chapter 3; they also mirror the ideology promoted through the authorized version of Pacific Spirit. Overwhelmingly, the park as nature was affirmed, as was a reverence for nature that is often described in spiritual terms. Conversely, cultural heritage was viewed as less important, and knowledge of park history was minimal, particularly knowledge of Aboriginal history. Concerns over losing park lands continued to be foregrounded, feared as the result primarily of development and secondarily of Aboriginal land claims. Viewed as one way to prevent this, respondents advocated for local control of the park lands, some offering co-management with First Nations as a compromising strategy. The critical value of the park to people's daily lives, however, was the central theme communicated: Pacific Spirit is viewed as a necessary escape from the city and a reversal from their daily lives.

The tropes expressed in the 1970s by environmentalists looking to preserve the University Endowment Lands forests have been repeated over and over since then with an almost astounding similarity in message and form. This suggests that these ideals—nature, community etc.—are fundamental to the culture of the park—to its shared worldview—and its role in broad society. In the context of the park's social construction and performance as a sacred place, these values may be considered to represent the ecocosmology of the park community—recursively generated, embedded and performed as the authorized narrative for the park.

Central to these values is a colonial narrative that neglects Aboriginal history, heritage and contemporary needs, transforming the landscape into nature, initially inviting occupation and now accessible to all, saved from development. The security of this narrative, however, is shaky, and the future of the park lands remains a source of anxiety. This is prominent in park discourse expressing Pacific Spirit as representing an essential opportunity to escape the psychological and emotional trauma of modernity and urban living. As a reversal from people's everyday lives, Pacific Spirit Regional Park represents a mirror of society, but the question is: do we like what we see?

## CHAPTER 8: THE IDEOLOGY OF PACIFIC SPIRIT

Nature emerges as a means and as an expression of making sense of the world and of ourselves.  
David Crouch (2003:25)

Pacific Spirit Regional Park holds a very special place in the lives of many people living in the lower mainland of British Columbia. For some, it is a respite from the city, a quiet place to walk the dog, an interesting trail to run, a sunny spot to rest and watch the waves. It is also a site of knowledge and wisdom, a place where grandparents made medicine, where dancers sought spiritual cleansing. Finally, it is a space held in tension, a memory of violence and tragedy, a battle both won and lost. It is all of these things at once and more: as Crouch suggests above, Pacific Spirit as “nature” is a worldview.

My research into the landscape of Pacific Spirit Regional Park has shown that there are stories embedded in the places that people create. Part I of this dissertation demonstrated how, in Point Grey, stories favouring the settler narrative of exploration, discovery, and nation-building are told to the exclusion of those that reflect less than colonial society’s ideals. The (il)legitimacy of Canada’s sovereignty, the erasure of pre-European history, the relegation of Aboriginal people to reserves, and the gross social and fiscal inequality that resulted are the concealed stories of Pacific Spirit. The domestication of this landscape involves hiding these politically volatile and ethically unpalatable narratives to create the park as *terra nullius* wherein the goal of saving nature from culture trumps all.

As described in Part II, the construction of “nature” in Pacific Spirit is ubiquitous and ideological. The settler narrative is reinforced through formal representations of the park in media, landscape design, and ritualized performances, and becomes internalized and enacted by the park community in their daily practice of Pacific Spirit. In the process, the concealed social values embedded in the park—values that reinforce elite interests—are naturalized and neutralized, and the conservation of nature in the park is universalized as a “success” story and morality tale. Evidence of resistance is few and far between in a place where this narrative has been fixed in the material landscape itself: sacred nature is sacrosanct.

Yet stories that challenge this dominant discourse refuse to be silent. They lurk beneath the myths that obscure them, struggling to be freed in the landscape, and threatening exposure in the rehearsal of a place that is felt by its performers to be incomplete—*felt*, but not fully recognized, nor entirely understood. The result is a pervasive insecurity and anxiety concerning the status of Pacific Spirit as “nature,” originating in colonization and exacerbated through capitalist expansion. In Part III of this dissertation, I illustrated the park as a reversal of daily life, articulated in people’s views of and relationships with Pacific Spirit. The park as “escape” is a defining feature, central in the dynamic of memory and ritual forgetting.

As set out in Chapter 1, my primary goal in this project was to confront and disrupt dominant

narratives by exposing the ideology that is perpetuated in this contemporary landscape and, ultimately, to find ways to challenge it. As such, in this chapter, I begin by discussing the dominant discourse of the park as “nature,” first considering how this dialectical space defies boundaries as a unique example of a wilderness park in an urban environment. I then relate this to the lingering insecurity of the settler narrative and the anxiety that is reflected in the social construction of nature in Pacific Spirit. Central to the foundations of colonialism, I consider this cultural insecurity in relation to long-held Western conceptions of “wilderness” and “civilization,” transformed by industrial capitalism into “nature” and “culture”—specifically, into “parks” and “the city.” The reasons for this anxiety are considered, and the role that parks play in placating it explained in terms of forgetting, necessary to cope with past and present social violence and environmental tragedy. I suggest the ideology communicated in Pacific Spirit enables injustice to continue in the project of contemporary capitalism, the prime mover behind colonial occupation and transformation of the land today called Point Grey.

Despite obsessive attempts to forget and to fix nature in space, Pacific Spirit is a rift zone—a site of where contradictions are exposed through the very attempts to hide them. These contradictions signal struggle and thus potential for disrupting dominant narratives. Towards this, I return full-circle to consider how the dominant narrative discussed in Chapter 2 is being challenged through the creation of counter-narratives in Point Grey—stories that recognize First Nations’ history and their growing influence in contemporary society. A glimpse of the future is provided in these examples, yet the question remains whether these stories do, in fact, challenge dominant narratives or if recognition is inherently a form of appropriation—a curve in the circle of hegemony. As such, I examine how dominant narratives are being reinforced and recreated in Point Grey, and conclude this chapter with a discussion of what my research has achieved towards my goal of understanding the place today called Pacific Spirit.

## Dominant Discourse

The sovereignty of the state is built on the control of territory. As such, then, the use of state land in developing national parks served to extend the state’s authority over products of nature and to determine the rules by which those products could be accessed.

Maano Ramutsindela (2004:79)

As described in Chapter 2, the dominant narrative of Pacific Spirit is the settler narrative—a cultural story that begins with European exploration and discovery of new lands. After a period of trading with Indigenous groups, the establishment of colonies was accomplished through clearing the land and transforming the landscape into a vision of civilization that had been imported from Europe. Logging, fishing, and farming provided a resource-based economy for an increasingly-affluent society premised on

a philosophy of growth, development, and progress. In Point Grey, the establishment of Pacific Spirit Regional Park continued these efforts, providing the local population with a natural place to recreate while ensuring property values would remain comparatively high. Point Grey as a place, and Canada as a nation, was thus established and affirmed.

As a cultural narrative of celebration, the story of colonization necessarily forgets pre-European history, erasing traces from the landscape, ensuring the legitimacy of settler society. The establishment of Pacific Spirit as a site of nature is the manifestation of *terra nullius* required to confirm this narrative. It likewise glosses over the struggles of the working class, instead focusing on the elite who benefited from this labour. Yet there remains a festering insecurity and anxiety that cannot be sated despite elaborate attempts to placate it. Is Pacific Spirit truly “wilderness,” “urban,” and/or “nature?” Deeply rooted in history and still be played out today, this anxiety threatens to expose the forgotten stories of the settler narrative, revealing its unsettling truths.

Drawing on the analyses built throughout previous chapters, I discuss in this section how the social construction of nature is central to controlling people through places. The quality of “nature” in Pacific Spirit is first discussed to illustrate the park as a place where opposites collapse. This paradox is then related to colonial constructions of “wilderness” in opposition to “civilization” and to the environmentalist narrative of Pacific Spirit as “saved.” The lingering insecurity of these historical narratives and an anxiety regarding the uncertain present and future of Pacific Spirit are identified as a unifying theme, underscoring the park’s role in society as a place where people “escape” to “forget” and “feel better.” Framed as part of a larger social pathology resulting from the crisis of modernity (Leiss 1990), I suggest the park functions to minimize resistance to capitalism by acting as an outlet where urban stress is alleviated, resulting in varying degrees of dependency on the park for health and well-being. This is the nature of power and the power of nature in Pacific Spirit.

### ***Nature in Pacific Spirit***

Throughout this dissertation, I have argued that the “nature” produced in Pacific Spirit is artificial—a *representation* of nature, defined through its opposition with the city. What, then, exactly *is* the “nature” produced in Pacific Spirit? In comparing my findings in Pacific Spirit with other park literature, a division is apparent between parks in urban areas versus rural locations, as well as between parks *classified* as “urban” versus “wilderness.” Although related concepts, in the former, it is the geographic location of the park as urban vs. rural that defines it; in the latter, it is the intended interaction with the space perceived as urban or wilderness that is central. As I discuss below, Pacific Spirit is a unique example of a park that transcends these categories, which is central to its articulation with dominant narratives.

Colonialism, the erasure of history, and the resulting tension between settler governments and Indigenous peoples in the creation of parks are most frequently discussed in relation to rural areas and national parks. In Africa, the ongoing struggle of Indigenous peoples to access necessary resources, sacred sites, and homelands is foregrounded, as is the state's protection of these natural preserves, often by military means (e.g., Meskell 2012; Miscolta-Cameron 2010; Ramutsindela 2004). In North America, the conceptual erasure of Indigenous presence in the national parks of the United States has been noted (e.g., Harvey 1994:240-241; Nabokov 2004), as has the eviction of Aboriginal peoples in Canadian National Parks (Cronin 2011)—necessary clearances to construct a new national history (Smith 2008). Invasion, occupation, dislocation, alienation, and erasure are prominent themes in these discussions, foregrounding nature as *terra nullius*, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Regarding parks in urban areas, the ideas discussed are rather different. In the context of metropolitan cities, such as New York, which has received the bulk of attention (e.g., Low *et al.* 2005; Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992), the focus is on social differences in race and class, and how these categories of people are particularly invited, juxtaposed, and/or challenged. Urban parks are described as democratic spaces where cultural diversity is encountered. These sites of urban nature are discussed as healthful respites for the working class and symbols of elitism and hierarchy under capitalism (Kalliney 2006:86-92). Central in these discussions is the role of industrial capitalism in changing the social and natural environment and in producing *the need* for urban parks, as described in Chapter 3.

The location of a park as urban or rural tends to inform what kind of park is produced, simply by virtue of proximity to people. Parks labelled as “wilderness” are generally in rural areas where industrial development has not occurred, nature has been allowed to run its course within the boundaries, and visitors tend to be seasonal, creating a low population density within the park. Conversely, “urban” parks are created in high-density areas where construction is prolific; they tend to be manicured and highly managed, tailored to suit the recreational needs of a large attendant population who frequent these places.

Vancouver is unique in having two very large forested parks within the central metropolis: Pacific Spirit and Stanley Park. However, despite sharing this element of forestation, these two places are conceived of differently and even in oppositional terms. Throughout my research, people repeatedly drew upon Stanley Park to emphasize how Pacific Spirit was *different*; this vision has persisted since the 1970s, as described in Chapter 3. Although the nature myth reinforcing the settler narrative of *terra nullius* remains prominent in Stanley Park (Kheraj 2013), Stanley Park was described by people as an urban park: it has games fields, a playground, swimming pools, a zoo, restaurants, an amphitheatre...it has full plumbing facilities. These elements, specifically associated with *cultural* activities, were viewed as undesirable in Pacific Spirit, which was first and foremost about the *natural* environment. In my questionnaire and in casual conversation at park events, people referred to similar landscape features in

Pacific Spirit, such as new fencing and gravel on the trails, as evidence that the park was becoming *too urban*, too much like Stanley Park. Indeed, Stanley Park was frequently described in terms associated with the city—noisy, busy, too manicured, too confining—regardless of the fact that much of that park is also forested.

Pacific Spirit, thereby perceived by many as a wilderness park, is unique in its geography within a densely populated *urban* environment. Yet, because of its relative distance from the heart of the city—from downtown Vancouver and everywhere east of the central artery of Granville Street—it is still somewhat geographically isolated from the core urban population. It thus takes on some of the associations and categories usually attributed to parks in rural areas: the expectation of quiet and solitude, of viewing wildlife, of natural ecological processes unfolding. In this sense, Pacific Spirit offers the necessary escape from modern urban life that Stanley Park cannot; however, this escape is *privileged*, demonstrated in my questionnaire results showing that nearly three-quarters of park-users live in the local area<sup>1</sup>. Pacific Spirit is thus an exclusive space used mostly by its elite resident population.

As a wilderness park, awareness of Indigenous land claims and historical and ongoing conflict over their alienation from this space is also brought to the fore. The “question” of Aboriginal Title is viewed by both the Canadian government (Canada 2010b) and half of settler society as settled in treaties and other compensation (Compas 2001:6-7). While this may be little more than wishful thinking, it may be particularly the case in large urban metropolises in Canada where the radically-altered concrete landscape is also the stamp of colonial ownership. This is echoed in government policy (BC Treaty 2009) that stipulates the transformation of landscapes into urbanized private property removes these lands from treaty negotiations because “traditional use of the land” is considered to be impaired. The city as civilization and “progress” is defined in opposition to the wild as primitive and “backwards”; discussed in detail below, these categories map onto views associating Indigenous peoples with wildness and wilderness. This, in turn, reinforces the notion that “Aboriginal” as a social category is in opposition to “urban” as a racialized geography of whiteness; the category of “Urban Aboriginal” indicates this perceived opposition, as though there is something *inherently non-urban* in the social category of “Aboriginal.” What this means is that urban parks and parks in urban areas are not commonly viewed as sites of colonial tension, because ownership and association are considered as decided.<sup>2</sup>

Pacific Spirit disrupts these categories as a wilderness park in an urban area that is still somewhat

<sup>1</sup> Local area includes immediate (Dunbar, Musqueam, Point Grey, Southlands, UBC, UEL) and Vancouver West (Kitsilano, Kerrisdale); see Appendix D for details.

<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, the topic of Aboriginal Title has also become a central topic in relation to Stanley Park (e.g., Barman 2005; Mawani 2007), elevated into broader public knowledge following severe wind storms that exposed archaeological sites (Vancouver Sun 2007). The larger context of unsettled land claims in British Columbia, combined with the increasingly vocal and active First Nations in the Vancouver area, is perhaps what has created the space for this tension to be unsettled.

removed from the city but becoming increasingly urbanized. In conversation with park visitors, at formal park events, and in responses to my questionnaire, the *authenticity* of Pacific Spirit's nature was questioned now and then; thus, it is not that people are unaware of the landscape's modification, past or present. Rather, within the cultural worldview that shapes the park's (re)construction, Pacific Spirit actually *is* nature as defined through its relationship with the surrounding urban landscape. As articulated in questionnaire responses and discussed further in Chapter 7, the park is thus a site of contradiction where binary opposites—between nature and culture, freedom and restriction, life and death—are both fixed and collapse into each other. As a result, the associations of wilderness parks in colonized rural areas, and the dynamics of urban parks within cities created by capitalism, are all at play in Pacific Spirit simultaneously. The insecurity of the settler narrative and the anxiety produced through capitalism are exacerbated by such dissolution of meaningful categories into their opposites. This produces the need for elaborate infrastructure and daily rituals that reinforce a desired order, and the production of nature in Pacific Spirit serves just this purpose.

All of these categories are central to the ideology of nature in Pacific Spirit. In the larger context of industrial capitalism, the social construction of a spatial category of nature functions to reinforce a division between all things human and an abstracted other. On one hand, this enables a shift in perspective to view the natural world in terms of resources to be commodified, and naturally the purview and property of the state. On the other hand, when nature is bounded as in parks, it is packaged neatly and safely for public consumption, while opening up the surrounding area to exploitation and reorganization through private property. The former dynamic of resourcism is associated more with rural areas with low population densities, in tension with national parks; the setting-aside of nature in urban parks specifically creates them as spaces of interaction. This means that parks, perhaps above all other representations of nature, are critical to reproduce the nature–culture division, which in turn regulates how people view and interact with the environment and each other. Critically, in mediating this relationship—literally, through park infrastructure and signage, and symbolically, in the power to “empark” (Hermer 2002)—the authority of the state is likewise naturalized, presumed, unquestioned. As a site of contradiction, however, Pacific Spirit holds the potential to be activated in resistance of these ideologies. While this creates opportunities for destabilization, it also heightens the uncertainty of the park's status as “nature,” upon which all rests.

### ***The Insecure Colony***

Fear of the wild, the untamed, the uncivilized, or the savage has played a central role in the colonial project (Conrad 1995; Williams 2012). This object of fear was manifest in people as the “other” and in

landscape as the wilderness, and the project of colonization relied on taming the wild in all its forms, described as the settler narrative in Chapter 2. John Nash (1990a:107) describes how the energies of the early settlers and pioneers

were largely directed to conquering wilderness and destroying savages in the name of progress, religion and, indeed, survival. The pioneers and their chroniclers frequently employed a military metaphor in discussing the advance of civilization: wild country was an “enemy” which had to be “vanquished” and “subdued” by a “pioneer army.” Achievement was defined as winning this battle against the wild...[pioneers] looked forward to a future in which Indians had all been made “good” and the wilderness fructified in the manner of a garden.

This constructed dichotomy between the wild and the civilized has deep historical roots, as Robert Williams (2012) details in his aptly-titled book *Savage Anxieties: the Invention of Western Civilization*. Therein, Williams describes how the savage was a necessary invention in order to confirm an ethnocentric and superior vision of the West as civilized. In dualistic terms of opposition, B is necessary in order to define A; thus, civilization was not possible without savagery. This dynamic is reflected in the nature–culture divide, recorded first in the writings of Greek philosophers who sought wisdom/rationality/the soul/civilization (associated with men), valued above intuition/passion/the body/wilderness (associated with women) and thought to be closer to god (Barry 2007:185). This association of both women and “savages” with nature resonates with cultural narratives that shift variously between dominating and domesticating nature to nature as in need of protection and saving (Merchant 1989), and articulates with larger narratives of colonial oppression and capitalist functionalism (Mies 1993:151). This dualism has been perpetuated since then throughout Western history.

To achieve civilization, the wilderness must be tamed, transformed into a garden, and otherwise controlled (Hermer 2002:17). The construction of nature in Pacific Spirit, as elsewhere, has similarly necessitated domesticating the wilderness, removing the threat inherent in wild places (Preucel and Matero 2008:85). In this way, the park is safeguarded for exploration by even the youngest of society, emphasized throughout park propaganda and official park programs in Pacific Spirit, discussed in Chapters 4 and 6. Like Disney themeparks, the park affords the “opportunity to have contact with the untamed ‘wilderness’ ...but in a controlled, managed environment” (Mason 2004:76). Nature is brought into its proper place in civilization—controlled, managed, and dominated by humans.

The wildness of nature is paralleled socially: in North America, “Indians were regarded as a form of wildēor whose savageness was consistent with the character of wild country” (Nash 1967:7). The creation of civilization therefore required both erecting boundaries between nature and culture—literally, in removing Indigenous peoples from their lands—and domesticating wild places and people. Nash (1967:59) describes this view of “advancing civilization,” as related by American pioneer James Hall:

“From this land, so lately a wilderness,’ he wrote in 1828, ‘the savage has been expelled; towns and colleges have arisen; farms have been made; the mechanic arts cherished; the necessaries of life abound, and many of its luxuries are enjoyed.” These sentiments, charted chronologically, exactly mirror the development of Point Grey since its occupation by settlers in the early 1800s, right down to the construction of the University of British Columbia and the establishment of Pacific Spirit Regional Park.

In the project of progress, parks were created as natural reserves—land declared off-limits to development—while their cultural equivalent was established as Indian reserves. Both represent the containment and taming of the wild and both attempt to control it by freezing time and space: Indian Reserves were often described as protecting Indigenous populations from the corrupting influences of white culture (Upton 1973:59), while nature reserves protect against development. Yet the threat that these places and peoples may again become wild remains; thus the safety of the park is tenuous, just as the security of the colony remains unsure.

In this sense, even though the park is a domesticated space, there remains an anxiety associated with it. Tall trees, while lauded as beautiful, create shadows, and the sense that there could be someone “out there” lingers, drawing on a fear of the wilderness that is associated with interpersonal violence—with fear of the other. The domestication of nature is therefore never complete as there is always the threat that civilization may revert back to a state of savagery—or, worse, that “the savages” may reclaim it. After all, while the park is viewed by some as a place of freedom, for First Nations it also represents the Indian Reserve system with which they are all too familiar; it is not surprising that the park may be seen by them as having been “lost” while settlers consider the park as having been “saved.” In this reversal of the settler narrative lies the paradox of the park, which in concept is fixed but in context is fluid, producing contradiction. Emily Vernizzi (2011:3) describes this tension:

As much as society has benefited from the experiences presented by the beautiful parks, the native population suffered eviction from their homelands in order to preserve the area in its “pristine” state. Native Americans have experienced near cultural genocide at the benefit of [colonial] expansion.

The domestication of nature is thus never completed and always its status is threatened, fragile, and uncertain. In this way, the foundation of the settler narrative—nature as *terra nullius*—is always shaky and the colony is fundamentally insecure, for the unspoken knowledge of its illegitimacy—of the violence inherent in its creation, the force that is still required to maintain it, and the lies that are told to hide these realities—is ever present. “Forgetting” is central in this constant endeavour to affirm civilization, for the real fear is that the civilized is, in fact, the savage (Nash 1967:24).

The creation of Pacific Spirit relied/relies on the erasure of Indigenous history, the removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands and from their homes, and their exclusion from participating in

matters concerning their territory and heritage. These tactics are consistent with a colonial agenda of genocide that has included variously the forced removal of children, providing inadequate conditions of life, and causing serious mental harm (United Nations 1948; Bolen 2013). The social construction of “wilderness” in Canada is central to this agenda, yet there is a staunch refusal to consider these acts as genocidal (McLean 2013:358-359). Even when this *is* accepted, it is considered to be something that happened in the past associated with residential schools, not something that is still happening now (Regan 2010:109). Gordon Gibson (2009:16) provided this summary:

The traditional, comfortable myth is that, while terrible things were done, they were done in the past. In fact, the prime fault that must concern us lies not in the past, nor with bad people, nor with the victims of this story, the ordinary Indian people. Rather the fault lies directly with the mainstream society of today, which means most of the readers of this book. It lies in particular with the Indian System, a dense complex of talent and money that has evolved in part to advance the cause of ordinary Indians but now in addition has assumed major commercial importance.

Paulette Regan (2010:10) explained that recognizing this violence as ongoing “call[s] into question a core tenet of Canadian identity—that we are a nation of peacemakers in our relations with Indigenous people.”

Tim Schouls (2002:14) challenges this tenet:

Non-Aboriginal Canadians have to face up to their part in the historical process that has amounted to the near “cultural genocide” of Aboriginal nations. Most law-abiding Canadians believe they carved out their own niche by virtue of hard work or the labours of their ancestors, and find it unthinkable that they are implicated in this historic tragedy. This perception has to change: all non-Aboriginal Canadians have benefited tremendously from assimilation policies, seizure of Aboriginal land and government defaults on solemn treaties. These are the foundations of non-Aboriginal wealth. Acknowledging that these practices were wrong and accepting the Aboriginal vision for a distinctive future within Canada are the first steps toward a new relationship.

While “forgotten” in the settler narrative and “erased” through the construction of nature in Pacific Spirit, these are stories that threaten to shake the foundations of settler society, that undermine the methods and motivations for colonization, and that expose the project of Canada as inherently violent (McLean 2013).

There is an extent to which a degree of ethnocentrism is essential in order to participate in society. One must believe that one’s own society is “good,” or even better than others, in order to feel good about being part of it—or one must ignore all the evidence to the contrary (Kahan *et al.* 2011). Failing this, one falls prey to anomie and nihilism, rejecting social conventions. Alone, increasing disillusionment and cynicism are the inevitable results; if in numbers, the product is revolution. The security of the state therefore rests on the security of its origin stories in the settler narrative and the continual (re)construction of the nature–divide. In these efforts, “nature is constructed as a cleansing system” to affirm the “innocence” of settler history and the Canadian national identity (McLean 2013:360).

The social injustice that has enabled the creation of parks such as Pacific Spirit in colonized contexts worldwide (Wynn 2004:56-57) thus looms in the counter-narratives struggling to be told and heard. More and more, these stories are surfacing and they are creating a crisis of legitimacy—not only for past actions in colonialism, but for its ongoing cultural manifestation in capitalism (Wolf 1982).

### **“Saving Nature”**

The Oxford Dictionary defines the word “park” as both a noun, meaning “an enclosed preserve,” and as a verb, meaning “to bring something to a halt.” Both are relevant descriptions for the creation of Pacific Spirit, whereby lines were drawn around a space to indicate that urban development would thereafter be off-limits. While colonial government may have had ulterior motives in this designation—motives related to thwarting potential repatriation or compensation arising from unextinguished Aboriginal Title—amongst the general public of settler society, the park was a way to feel like “nature” was being “saved.”

At the end of this research, I am faced with an uncomfortable realization: all of the reasons why the park was desired in the 1970s remain true today. The park was established—nature was saved—yet nothing has changed: people still feel anxious about the loss of nature. They still feel the city represents ecological and moral decay. They still spend most of their days engaged in activities that are associated with negative emotions. They still feel the need to escape to the park. Why haven’t things changed?

I believe the answer lies in the nature of capitalism. John Foster *et al.* (2010:209, 208) articulated the emergence of the environmental crisis as a result of the “absolute general law of environmental degradation”—that is, “a tendency toward the amassing of wealth at one pole and the accumulation of conditions of resource-depletion, pollution, species and habitat destruction, urban congestion, over-population, and a deteriorating sociological life-environment” at the other. Put simply, the greater the social wealth, the greater the ecological demands and thus the level of environmental degradation.

In affluent Point Grey, the largest green-space in the immediate urban Vancouver core has been set aside as a reserve for nature. Logging has ceased in Vancouver and Pacific Spirit; in order to support the affluence of this core, the environment and resources of the periphery are pursued. Thus, the establishment of Pacific Spirit—saving *this* nature—has not been enough to assuage the fears raised in the 1960s about ecological devastation, nor has it been enough to convince urbanites that everything is okay, as the concrete jungle of Vancouver continues to sprawl outwards and upwards. The anxiety felt is pathological, indicative of the industrial capitalism that fuelled colonial expansion, embedded in Vancouver’s image as a place of industry and commercial optimism (Alexander 2008:18)—the very reasons why Point Grey exists as it does today.

Over a century ago, Frederick Engels wrote about the injustices faced by the working class of

England. His evidence for this was simply to witness the city of London (Engels 1969[1892]:57-58), often expressed, like Vancouver, as one of the great cities of the world:

But the sacrifices which all this has cost become apparent later. After roaming the streets of the capital a day or two, making headway with difficulty through the human turmoil and the endless lines of vehicles, after visiting the slums of the metropolis, one realizes for the first time that these Londoners have been forced to sacrifice the best qualities of their human nature, to bring to pass all the marvels of civilization which crowd their city...The hundreds of thousands of all classes and ranks crowding past each other, are they not all human beings with the same qualities and powers, and with the same interest in being happy? And have they not, in the end, to seek happiness in the same way, by the same means? And still they crowd by one another as though they had nothing in common, nothing to do with one another...The brutal indifference, the unfeeling isolation of each in his private interest becomes the more repellent and offensive, the more these individuals are crowded together, within a limited space. And, however much one may be aware that this isolation of the individual, this narrow self-seeking is the fundamental principle of our society everywhere, it is nowhere so shamelessly barefaced, so self-conscious as just here in the crowding of the great city. The dissolution of mankind into nomads of which each one has a separate principle and a separate purpose, the world of atoms, is here carried out to its utmost extreme.

Steeped in the urban pollution and heightened poverty of the industrial revolution, Engels described London in dystopic terms, using the metaphor of health to illustrate social ills. In particular, the lack of empathy expressed between strangers, described as “brutal indifference,” highlights what Engels viewed as *atomization*. Critically, this alienation is all-pervasive, keenly felt in the social and emotional isolation felt by residents in cities (Touraine 1974:103): although “community” was frequently cited in propaganda as a feature of Pacific Spirit, less than half of my questionnaire respondents actually *felt* they were part of a community there. Thus, the ideological imagining of the park is imperfect, an inadequate substitute for real relationships that are not forthcoming.

As a result of this pervasive social alienation, Engels argued that society was in the process of committing “social murder” (Engels 1969[1892]:127). Following suit, Robert Chernomas and Ian Hudson (2007:177) use the same term to describe the impact of today’s corporations, governments, and military who collude in “opening up foreign markets for profitable business opportunities” without regard to the welfare of the originating communities or the environment upon which they depend for life. Jack Forbes (2008[1979]) simply uses the term cannibalism to describe capitalism: the consumption of life for profit.

Engels’ characterization of urban life reflects a dystopic vision of modernity, which had promised progress and instead deepened poverty. Indeed, one result of this disillusionment was a “return to nature” advocated as a symbol of health, an idea already popular by the time Engels was writing (Nash 1967). By the early 1920s, public parks were articulated as *necessary* respite for “the tired workers” to escape from cities (Russell 1996:268-269); as discussed above, Central Park in New York is the quintessential example (Huth 1957:70). These sentiments continued through the 1970s (Davidow 1976:104), while more

recently, this nature-as-health association has been highlighted in the concept of *nature deficit disorder* (Louv 2005). Jean Barman (2005:12) articulated this as reasoning to establish Stanley Park: “to venture into a park is to be permitted, for a brief moment in time, to escape the materialism of our workaday world...Urban parks were established for precisely these reasons.” While framed as creating parks for public benefit, these motivations were far more self-interested (Barman 2005:12): “urban parks recalled a simpler, romanticized past, as well as offering a popular means of recreation. They were also good business, in that they kept people more content and encouraged still more workers to move to the city, to the advantage of businessmen and developers.”

Point Grey and Vancouver are not comparable to the harsh realities of late-19th century London. This is not, however, because this harsh lifestyle has been fixed or overcome, but rather because it has been *outsourced*, externalized from the affluent core to the impoverished peripheries through globalization—the new word used to describe imperialism, colonialism, and capitalism all wrapped up in one and often framed under the rubric of neoliberalism (Springer 2013). The genocide of Indigenous peoples through the destruction of their environments and forced removal from their lands continues, and the devastation has reached global crisis levels both ecologically and socially (Rogers 1994:19; Atleo 2010).

While those living in Point Grey do not necessarily witness this daily occurrence, they remain connected to it, for the depletion of the peripheries sustains the wealth of the core, a global dynamic producing social inequality. Pacific Spirit directly contributes to the affluence of the area, as do parks in general (Crompton 2001); its development would severely decrease property values in the area. Paradoxically, however, affluence is negatively correlated with concern for environment (Dunlap and Mertig 2010), meaning that those with the most wealth have the least concern for environmental quality—except, perhaps, when it comes to having a large park in the neighbourhood. Cultural anxiety over the loss of nature may therefore be experienced by elite homeowners of Point Grey as a perceived threat to social and economic position and the lifestyle that has been afforded as a result.

This illustrates how the anxiety produced through capitalism and the discourse of loss results in differently-situated experiences. However, the dialectical relationship established between cities as dystopic and nature as utopic (Harlow *et al.* 2013) remains pervasive across social categories, and there is the need for escape, to reconnect with nature, to find peace and relaxation, today as ever. Maria Mies (1993:155) describes it this way: “The beautiful illusion of Nature, the simulation of originality and spontaneity, the aesthetic and symbolic representation of Nature makes this world of machines more tolerable. The market opportunities for selling these symbolic representations of Nature grow in proportion to people’s growing frustrations with the hollow benefits of modern civilization.” Pacific Spirit provides just this illusion, enabling people to feel they can live in the otherwise urbanized landscape. Yet,

to repeat Barman above, the establishment of parks “kept people more content...to the advantage of businessmen and developers.” The question is, by keeping people content, what else does the park do?

There is a common saying that we are only ever three meals away from a revolution. While often discussed in terms of law, morality, and human nature, the subtler implication is that society is fragile—that it is only *panem et circenses* (bread and circuses), or boredom and an empty belly, that stand between obedience to authority and mass uprising against the establishment (Collins 2008). It is my contention that Pacific Spirit falls into this category—a substitute for nature that acts as a distraction and diversion, placating people with the illusion that nature is being protected. Just as corporations appropriate “pious social responsibility themes” (Bakan 2004:32) to advertise their products and greenwash their practices—donating funds to parks, for example—Pacific Spirit itself is a way for urban society to greenwash its ecological impact. The park provides the necessary breath in a hectic day, without which one would suffocate; meanwhile, the project of industrial capitalism continues unfettered.

In looking at environmental education, Sheela McLean explains how conservation discourse concerning “the effects of environmental destruction...depoliticizes and silences the primary causes such as colonialism, capitalism, and white supremacy” and “silenc[es] industry’s relationship to colonization” (2013:357):

...the destructive elements of contemporary globalization—insatiable greed for resources, genocidal disregard for life, militarism, and racism—all trace their lineage in North American back to the invasion by Europeans in the 16th century. The colonial relationship between white-settler society and Indigenous Peoples is foundational to land-based struggles.

Despite this long history of capitalist exploitation (Wolf 1982), efforts to prevent the land transfer to the Musqueam Indian Band creates a dynamic whereby “‘good’ white people can maintain superiority by saving both the environment and people of color, which includes Indigenous communities devastated by environmental destruction” (McLean 2013:358). Such discourse “produce[s] environmentalism as a space where white identities safeguard and maintain the land, rather than consume and destroy it” (McLean 2013:360).

The contradiction whereby settler society is both responsible for environmental degradation in Point Grey and elsewhere and yet advocating for an environmentalist ethic causes anxiety, expressed as an overwhelming and almost obsessive insistence and rehearsal of Pacific Spirit as nature. Because of the explicit association of development and loss of park lands with the Musqueam Indian Band, this anxiety is reframed within the larger colonial project. The cultural anxiety felt due to capitalist development is merely the most recent iteration of the insecurity of the settler narrative, for colonialism was merely the vehicle for capitalism.

## ***Forgetting***

The nation-state is “an imagined political community” (Anderson 1991:6), inhering a suite of values and beliefs that are shared in the group, internalized, and reproduced (Kahan *et al.* 2011). Ideology is central in this dynamic, as Howard Adams (1999:37) identifies: “ideological domination is the primary means by which the state maintains control over its citizens.” Described as “thought control, the manipulation of one’s entire belief system and thus of one’s consciousness,” ideology reflects the social and political values of the dominant society (Adams 1999:37); “in Canada, as in much of the world, the state’s ideological system is based on capitalism, and the system’s goal is to indoctrinate the public with these values.”

In this way, the state is a front for elite power; its interests and leaders are of the elite class, comprised of “those with vastly disproportionate control over access to a resource” (Khan 2012:361). To some extent, this relationship is recognized (Earle 1997:149):

In states, ideology, as distinguished from other cultural elements, is not simply generated through human interaction; a significant part of a society’s worldview is intentionally created and transformed by a social elite to direct the thoughts and actions of subject peoples. State institutions, as part of an ideological apparatus, seek to develop and perpetuate a charter for the institutional order of society. Such charters are a significant source of social power in state societies.

However, as a hegemonic institution, these interests are hidden behind an ideology of democracy and equality (Springer 2013). The state is thereby presented, and is perceived, as *neutral*. Indeed, this is so much the case that the state and the structures that maintain it are conceived of as separate and external from people—outside of anyone’s control, despite that people make decisions on a daily basis in service of these elite interests.

The ideology and heritage of Canada as a nation-state is conceived of in terms of democracy, equality, and justice with one hand, while its policies systematically undermine the means by which to achieve these ideals with the other. In Pacific Spirit Regional Park, “the state”—provincial and local governments and their supporting elites, in particular—has created a place to worship nature, while at the same time relentlessly pursuing the exploitation and destruction of the natural landscape. It has created a place of community, while its policies prevent community from forming as this could be a threat to its authority. It has created a place of equality, in the middle of one of the wealthiest areas in Vancouver. It has created a place of health and recreation, yet reinforced the deterioration of both in its labour and environmental policies. It has created a place for education, while systematically cutting funding to schools and teachers and increasing tuition for students. It has created a haven from urban life, while permitting the expansion of the concrete desert.

Who is “the state?” To be sure, people in a hierarchical, capitalist society are differently-situated to act on power, and there are clearly those whose agency can be more easily and effectively realized irrespective of any resistance to it. Yet, even if state power is attributed to a select group of people, such as a “global elite” (Bodley 2008:119), it is questionable whether anyone actually *feels* they have control, or if instead it is simply bureaucracy that maintains the system—if, in fact, we *all* sustain “the state” merely by participating in, internalizing, and thereby reinforcing the ideology that supports it (Arendt 1963; Springer 2013:153). The complexity of these multiple forms of power (Wolf 1994:5) illustrates why it is so difficult to recognize the state has an agenda that is self-reinforcing (Thompson 1990:71):

We are in the realm of shifting sense and relative inequalities, of ambiguity and word-play, of different degrees of opportunity and accessibility, of deception and self-deception, of the concealment of social relations and of the concealment of the very process of concealment. To approach this realm in the expectation that one could provide incontestable analyses is like using a microscope to interpret a poem.

However, “the fact that it is difficult to determine these phenomena [of ideology] does not imply that these phenomena are indeterminate” (Thompson 1990:71), as my research has demonstrated. Rather than praising the preservation of these green patches in a concrete landscape, the gaze should be turned outwards to confront what is happening to the rest of the environment that makes these spaces necessary; to ask who is making these decisions, and in whose interests; and to question why people believe that “the state” has power, when the only power “it” has is that which is relinquished by all of “us.” Instead, people go for a walk in the park.

What has enabled the continuation of this elitist agenda is forgetting. As Wallace Shawn and Andre Gregory (1981:83) explain,

Hannah Arendt was always writing about the fact that the more involved you are in corruption or evil, and the more areas of your own existence there are that you therefore don’t want to think about, or that you can’t face, or that you have to lie about, the more distorted your perception of reality will be in general. (Pause) In other words, we all have every reason to hide from reality, and it’s a terrible problem.

Just as the brutality of colonization is forgotten in the settler narrative, the social violence of capitalism and the ecological devastation that results (Rogers 2006:249) are forgotten in the nature of the park.

Indeed, the park itself *enables* this forgetting, serving both as diversion and placation: it makes people *feel better*, forgetting for a time “the sense of sadness for the destruction of Nature, the lost homeland, fear about ecological destruction, despair, hopelessness and alienation about the cold, indifferent world of machines and factories, recognition of the futility of the work people must do, panic about industrial and ecological catastrophes” (Mies 1993:157) and just “the overwhelm” of life in modernity (Schulte 2014).

Forgetting by feeling better is necessary in order for ideology to be effective, and ideology is central to continuing the endeavour of capitalism.

Engels (1969[1892]:133) described how forgetting was accomplished in 19th century London:

All possible temptations, all allurements combine to bring the workers to drunkenness. Liquor is almost their only source of pleasure, and all things conspire to make it accessible to them. The working-man comes from his work tired, exhausted, finds his home comfortless, damp, dirty, repulsive; he has urgent need of recreation, he *must* have something to make work worth his trouble, to make the prospect of the next day endurable.

Alcohol, Engels (1969[1892]:133-134) suggested, provided “the certainty of forgetting for an hour or two the wretchedness and burden of life”; this was not an idiosyncratic behaviour, but rather “a phenomenon, the necessary, inevitable effect of certain conditions upon an object possessed of no volition in relation to those conditions.” Witnessing the “inequalities of condition” produced through industrial capitalism, one response to social reform was to view drunkenness as the problem and seek prohibition; another was to elevate the importance of leisure and create parks (Russell 1996:268).

This feeling of helplessness to overcome, of having no control, or of being dependent on (Helen 2008) a system predicated on brutality produces overwhelming anxiety and frustration. Coping strategies revolve around forgetting, and result in dependency and addiction—not just to alcohol or drugs, *but to all forms of repetitive and ritualistic behaviours*—for the anxiety is only ever temporarily relieved while its cause remains unresolved.

Writing about the concepts of dependency, addiction, alienation, and poverty in Vancouver, Bruce Alexander (2008:3, emphasis added) points the finger squarely at capitalism:

The history of Vancouver suggests, and a broader survey of history seems to confirm, that today’s rising tide of addiction to drug use *and a thousand other habits* is the consequence of people, rich and poor alike, being torn from the close ties to family, culture, and traditional spirituality that constituted the normal fabric of life in pre-modern times. This worldwide rending of the social fabric ultimately results from the growing domination of all aspects of modern life by free-market economics, producing a lopsided kind of existence...Free-market society subjects people to unrelenting pressures towards individualism, competition, and rapid change, dislocating them from social life. *People adapt to this dislocation by concocting the best substitutes that they can for a sustaining social, cultural, and spiritual wholeness, and addiction provides this substitute for more and more of us.*

Alexander was specifically addressing the dynamic of addiction in Indigenous peoples dislocated through colonization; however, his arguments are more broadly applicable because, as he demonstrates, alienation and anxiety characterize modern urban life. Thus, the response to anxiety of ritualizing activities is not specific to marginalized communities but is inherent to all people under capitalism.

As an escape from the city, people consistently described Pacific Spirit in terms of

reconnection—with nature, with other people, with oneself—and in terms of relaxation. In his research, Edmund Carpenter (1981:87) highlights precisely this dualistic nature of intoxication, which, for the 17th century Iroquois, meant “not flight but search; not escape, but fulfillment; not loss of self, but discovery of self. To them it was a positive, spiritual experience.” Significantly, people described their relationships with the park in all of these terms, often all together, and emphasized the result of visiting the park was to *feel better*, to be able to carry out another day in the city; without the park, some people felt that they could not cope. These are the fundamental attributes of dependence behaviours that, for some, may border on addiction (Alexander 2008:34-46).

In this sense, the nature of Pacific Spirit is intoxicating, providing soothing relief and resulting in an anxious dependency that is both caused by, and necessary to cope with, modern capitalism and urban life. The doctrine of nature is about forgetting through adherence to an ecocosmology that is ritually performed in the sacred place that is Pacific Spirit; yet this is not enough to fully alleviate the anxiety that persists, for it is not just the atrocities of the present that need to be forgotten, but the horrors of the past. Reconnecting with nature lets people forget; the euphoria produced is akin to collective amnesia (Mapes 2009:107), a dynamic that McLean (2013:359) suggests as the foundation of white settler identity in Canada. Just as the “nature” in Pacific Spirit is only a substitute, a feeling of true “community” cannot be created simply by stating through signs and media that it exists. The placebo does not wholly satisfy, and so a dynamic of dependency ensures the ritual rehearsal of Pacific Spirit continues.

### **Creating Counter-Narratives**

By definition, alternative histories tend to be constructed and defined in opposition to the orthodox, hegemonic, and colonial histories they challenge. Yet in doing so, alternative histories run the risk of being framed and constructed by the very forces they oppose.

Ian McNiven and Lynette Russell (2005:250)

My goal in this research has been to understand the ideology that is communicated through Pacific Spirit Regional Park. This has led me to focus on its colonial history expressed as the settler narrative, which provides the meta-narrative for the park and settler society in Point Grey and British Columbia more broadly. At its most basic, ideology naturalizes the social order reinforcing elite power. While it is often expressed as “masking the objective reality” (Hodder 1987:295), as a social construct, ideology may likewise be de-constructed, or re-constructed: “we are not merely blind victims of ideologies. We are also creators and interpreters, and we can learn to analyse them, to challenge them, and to change them” (Hale 1990:7). Identifying the prime mover behind the settler narrative as capitalism enables a shift of focus to consider how ideology manipulates *all* people, Indigenous and settler alike, in the interests of a privileged

few. Just as alienation and forgetting are the inevitable results of this dynamic, emphasizing the connections between people and *remembering* may be central to challenging it. The risk of hegemonic appropriation, however, is ever-present, as McNiven and Russell note above.

Since immigrants from Europe and elsewhere first arrived off the shores of what is now called Vancouver, the relationships formed between them and the Indigenous peoples here have been complex. As discussed in Chapter 2, First Nations living in the area Captain Vancouver designated as Point Grey have played all kinds of roles on the stage of scientific study. Viewed by some initially as curiosities, these groups came to be seen as valuable sources of local knowledge and trade opportunities for those who would eventually establish Fort Langley. Declining numbers and an increasing settler population threatened Indigenous sovereignty, and groups such as the Musqueam community were subjected to colonial rule, administration, and subjugation. These once politically, socially, and economically independent people came to depend on wage labour, offset by continued hunting, fishing, and gathering of local resources, where available.

Despite rampant racism built into imperialist government policy, one-to-one relationships between members of the Musqueam community and new settlers were varied and complicated; for some, social hierarchy was leveled through status as labourers or as non-European (Harris 1997), while others placed the Musqueam Indian Band in the position of leaseholder. The outstanding issue of Indigenous sovereignty, however, was never resolved despite government attempts to quash it, and Aboriginal Rights and Title have loomed large in the foreground of Indigenous-colonial relations since at least the 1970s.

In Point Grey, so-called land claims have significantly affected the relationships formed between the Musqueam people, colonial government, and local residents. Quite often, a commitment to principles supporting Indigenous rights has been challenged when the issue has landed on the doorstep; as described in Chapter 3, this is precisely what happened during 2007 when the transfer of Pacific Spirit park lands was proposed. The ongoing effects of colonialism continue to be felt by Indigenous communities; yet there are real efforts being made to rebuild old relationships and form new ones based on respect and trust. Such relationships involve acknowledging colonial history and ongoing policies, and the legitimacy of Aboriginal Rights and Title.

To illustrate these efforts, I discuss in this section the roles that the Musqueam community is playing in Point Grey today and the counter-narratives that are being produced as a result. Grounded in a recognition and respect of Aboriginal history and knowledge, and promoting Indigenous self-representation, some may go so far as to frame these new relationships as a step towards decolonization, defined by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999:98) as “the formal process of handing over the instruments of government...a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power.” For others, the relationship may be simply one of business, grounded in an

ethos of capitalism. In any case, increasingly the Musqueam Indian Band is pursuing its power to self-determine, and increasingly they are in the media spotlight.

### ***Indigenous-Settler Relations***

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the Musqueam community has historically not been viewed or represented as part of Point Grey society, instead existing on the margins a distance apart from settler society. Despite this social and spatial division, there were also true bonds of friendship formed and relationships were pursued between Musqueam people and settlers in the area; this remains true today. The survival of the Musqueam people is a feat in face of all efforts towards their demise; as articulated by the Musqueam Indian Band (2006:13),

Today, despite almost insurmountable odds, our people have not only survived, we have maintained a rich and unique culture. Our current community of 1200 is filled with strength and pride. Our people have adapted, yet we have managed to keep many of our cultural and spiritual traditions alive. Others, including our language and weaving, are being revived today. We face the future hopefully and with renewed vigour, still intimately tied to our territory, and evolving with the changing landscape around us.

Examples of Musqueam presence in Point Grey are now ubiquitous. For example, in 2010, an article entitled “Musqueam Band: This Land Is My Land” (Jordan 2010:1) was published in *BC Business*, profiling the Musqueam Indian Band’s business policy: “Determined to take the reins of their own finances, two years ago the Musqueam band forged an aggressive economic development plan that would see it become financially self-sufficient and would establish its credibility as a legitimate player in the private-sector business world.” Jordan details the history of Musqueam land being divided and leased out at rates unfavourable to the Band, and describes their new economic plan for real estate under Musqueam Capital Corp. as “a bold step toward economic self-sufficiency” (2010:4). In sum, the article presents a business and economic portfolio of the Musqueam Indian Band as now corporate property investors.

Kerry Gold (2010) wrote a similar piece for *The Globe and Mail* on real estate as “the new Musqueam economy.” As Howie Charters, a managing director handling real estate for the Band, stated, “an urban band isn’t going to be doing a lot of hunting and gathering out in Point Grey.” Gold describes that the Musqueam Indian Band have a 15-year plan to develop the parcel of land adjacent to the University Golf Course that was granted in the land transfer, which includes building a hotel:

If the community consultation gives the green light, the project—worth about \$200-million to the Musqueam—will follow with office buildings, rental apartments and 99-year prepaid-lease condos and townhouses that will use the same lease agreement model that the University of British Columbia currently uses.

Gold (2010) then discussed the Band's image:

Part of the undertaking includes a new awareness that the usually low-profile band needs to open the lines of communication with the non-native community. They learned a valuable public relations lesson after the 2007<sup>3</sup> transfer of the University Golf Course, which caused anger because people feared it would mean the end of the golf course in the prestigious area.

Towards improving the relationship between Musqueam people and the non-Indigenous community, late Chief Ernest Campbell was optimistic (Gold 2010):

The non-Indians just need to get to know us. I think this will be a good opportunity for that. We want to give the public the opportunity to come back and learn from our point of view, our perspective, what the Indians are really like.

We don't hide anything. I think if we educate people, then they will understand us.

Indeed, the Musqueam community has increasingly been welcoming the wider public to various events in their community. Over the last few years that I have been attending, Musqueam celebrations of National Aboriginal Day events appear very well-attended and involve a diverse public. Local schools, including Southlands and the West Point Grey Academy, have connected with the Musqueam Indian Band for special events such as the Musqueam-UBC Archaeological Field School, which saw dozens of school children every week visiting the project. The relocation of the 2010 Olympic Aboriginal Pavilion to the Musqueam Indian Reserve has provided a focal point for these activities; indeed, the Musqueam Indian Band's involvement in the Olympics generated widespread awareness and perhaps appreciation of Indigenous cultures in B.C.

In June of 2011, the Musqueam community hosted a citizenship awards ceremony at the Musqueam Cultural Pavilion, with assistance from the Institute for Canadian Citizenship. An interview with Wade Grant, a Musqueam Indian Band Councillor, addressed the concepts of assimilation and reconciliation (McGregor 2011). Grant said:

The history of First Nations' relationship with the Canadian government hasn't always been a good one, with some of the policies that were put in place—the assimilation policies and things of that nature.

But we're moving forward here in Musqueam, and we're trying to reconcile. Not just with the government of Canada, but with all the different communities in Canada.

McGregor summarized the event: "Grant explained that First Nations communities and immigrant communities share the status of being among Canada's fastest-growing cultural demographics. However,

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<sup>3</sup> The legal transfer of lands was actually in 2008, but it was announced in 2007, prompting immediate media coverage, protest and public forums.

many new immigrants are told very little about First Nations peoples or their cultures when they arrive to Canada.” Grant’s hope was that events such as the citizenship award ceremony might go far in showing that First Nations communities, too, can be inclusive: “There’s this aura about aboriginal people, that we’re very shut in and closed-off from society—and we’re not,” said Grant.

During the 2007 Musqueam-UBC Archaeological Field School, it was widely remarked by community members that many people in Vancouver have never heard of the Musqueam people and did not know there was a reserve right next to the University of British Columbia (UBC). Five years later, I asked Wayne Point, who assisted with the field schools, if he thought this was still true. He responded, commenting on the lack of awareness of history more generally (pers. comm. April 11, 2013):

Even amongst our own community members, they don’t realize what’s under their feet when they walk through the reserve. They don’t realize there’s one big site you’re walking on or that there’s, 90% of this area [the livable space on the reserve] was farmland at one time. They look at you kind of funny really. So I’m not too surprised that a lot of people from off the reserve don’t realize that this is a reserve. And people have actually driven through Musqueam and stopped and asked me where the reserve is and I tell them, you’re looking at it. And they’re looking at the houses and surprised.

Musqueam community member Victor Guerin expressed similar sentiments (pers. comm.. March 17, 2013): “it may have changed somewhat but...we still encounter people on an almost daily basis that don’t even realize that there’s a reserve, an Indian Reserve right here in the city.” Meanwhile, relations between Musqueam people and the local leaseholders on the Reserve remain variable, particularly after the court case involving Musqueam Park. While there is little interaction between the leaseholders and the larger Musqueam community, in other cases the situation remains quite heated.

I first met Victor Guerin in 2007 at an anthropology student conference at the University of British Columbia. I had finished my presentation when he raised his hand to respond to my use of the term “decolonization.” His argument against the idea—“once you’ve made mayonnaise, you can’t separate the eggs”—was poignant. In our later conversation about Pacific Spirit, Guerin further articulated his vision for future settler-Indigenous relations (pers. comm.. March 17, 2013):

Well, as far as the environmental movement is concerned, I think it’s a good thing but you know, with even more recent, we have Idle-No-More that has been working in concert, we have new non-Aboriginal groups common cause that are joining in with Idle-No-More, and I think that’s a really good thing. We don’t necessarily have exactly the same goals in mind but we have enough in common that we can work together and we know that we all have to live together now in this day and age. Nobody’s going anywhere, we’re all here to stay. Same thing with the Squamish, we know they’re not going anywhere, we need to learn to live together with them. So as far as the environmental group and Aboriginal groups working together, I think that’s a really good thing. There’s strength in numbers, we can all work towards our common goals and learn to live with each other’s differences.

This vision of working together was also espoused by Maria Harris, who was the Director for Electoral Area A (which includes UBC and the University Endowment Lands), and was Metro Vancouver Board's ambassador to the Musqueam Indian Band from 2008 to 2011. In a letter composed in response to my invitation, Harris described the relationship between Metro Vancouver and the Musqueam Indian Band (pers. comm. July 26, 2012):

Clearly, this relationship has had its ebbs and flows and has been influenced by many factors, including agreements between the Crown and the First Nation impacting Metro Vancouver, litigation matters, taxation issues, incidents etc. Over time, these challenges have actually worked to strengthen the relationship. The First Nation and regional district work together to resolve their issues...and improve on the number of ways to further their relationship through commitment to meet more frequently, establishment of working groups, invitations to special events, participation on technical and other committees, etc.

Providing a list of twenty-two projects and/or meetings that had taken place between Metro Vancouver and the Musqueam community since 2009, she used the terms "cooperation," "communication," "commitment," and "mutual interest" to characterize their relationship, summarized simply as "positive."

Speaking about the relationship between the Musqueam Indian Band and Metro Vancouver Parks, Metro Vancouver Parks Director Mitch Sokalski likewise felt this dynamic had improved since the park's creation in 1989 (pers. comm. January 10, 2013):

At an operational level, my staff, we've been working over the last five years a lot more collaboratively with Musqueam. So I'd say our relationship with the Musqueam staff that we work with, with Musqueam council that we work with, has improved dramatically in that last five or seven years, to the point now that we have a couple of working groups, well-established, we share—shouldn't say we "share," we jointly develop our annual work plan for the park, you know, significant stuff, projects and that with Musqueam input and review and so on. Ten years ago, we wouldn't have done that. It was more the mindset at the time and the direction that staff were guided by policy, board policy. Now, I think there's, everybody understand that we've got to work collaboratively on these things, and I think Musqueam, too. They've also recognized that, for now, Metro Vancouver has this role and so we've gotta work with Metro Vancouver in that role until such time as a decision is made, whether it's ten, twenty, forty years from now, who knows when that'll happen. So, I would describe it as, right now, it's the best that it's been.

Collaboration and mutual-recognition were central to these improving relationships, and to some extent, Sokalski attributed this to changing attitudes towards Aboriginal peoples in society more broadly:

As far as the parks go, there's been great improvement and great advances, I think, over the last six to seven years, and I think that's based on the public understanding and recognition of Aboriginal people just in general, but I also think it's an understanding that, you know, we're all here forever so we've gotta find a way to make things work.

In particular, Sokalski stressed a combination of cultural training and first-hand relationship-building,

rather than policy directives, as driving forces behind this improved relationship:

You know, if you don't have that one-to-one working relationship and some trust and some credibility and some sharing of wins and sharing of some setbacks as well...you're not going to prosper and move forward.

I worked out an arrangement with Musqueam where they gave us a cultural training session in their longhouse. So we had a day-long training session and I think that was a bit of a turning point for a number of things...Musqueam gave us a little peak into their community and I know I was appreciative. And so we learned a lot. And I think it was those steps, like that, and you know, we shared lunch together, we had a lot of laughter and fun and that. But it's things like that that you do that helps build a relationship as acknowledgement of their role that they've played in shaping Point Grey.

It's things like that that, you know, fifteen years ago wouldn't have happened.

Officially, then, as well as anecdotally, relationships between the Musqueam Indian Band and the colonial government are good—or, at least, better than they used to be. Recognition of the importance of the Musqueam Indian Band in governance has been central to this, reflected in UBC's Memorandum of Affiliation (2006) with Musqueam, which notes that the university lies within “the traditional and ancestral territory of the Musqueam people.” The New Relationship signed by the B.C. Government (2008) recognized Aboriginal Title as “inherent rights flow[ing] from First Nations’ historical and sacred relationship with their territories.” Yet, despite the government’s stated commitment “to restore, revitalize and strengthen First Nations’ communities,” when it comes to financial compensation and particularly land repatriation, they relented in 2008 only after being forced to negotiate following failed litigation. Although cooperation and shared decision-making are strategies being pursued by all parties, the extent to which these initiatives are based on the interests of social justice and the legitimacy of Musqueam Aboriginal Rights and Title, or if they are simply token gestures towards this powerful community, is not always clear. After all, it is one thing to acknowledge traditional territory, and quite another to recognize unextinguished Aboriginal Title.

The Musqueam Indian Band’s increased involvement in public events works towards re-establishing their presence *in* Point Grey and as *part of* that wider community. Significantly, as the references above articulate, this is being accomplished through the Musqueam community’s overt movement to participate fully in the capitalist economy, particularly through real estate, as well as to work with government. In this sense, the power of the Band is being publicly acknowledged and awareness elevated, and thus stereotypes of Indigenous peoples are being challenged; this actively challenges colonial narratives. However, whether or not these actions are creating a counter-narrative on other levels—specifically in relation to capitalism, the driving force behind imperialism, implicated in the anxiety-forgetting dynamic discussed above—is less certain.

### *The Politics of Recognition*

Heritage is considered by anthropologists (e.g., Silverman and Ruggles 2007), the United Nations (UNESCO 1972), and the Canadian Government (Heritage Canada 2008) to be fundamental in the construction of social identity. Imperial economic policies described as globalization (Asad 1973) have brought this issue to the fore in colonized nation-states, where heritage is being invoked both by Indigenous peoples to revitalize culture and seek redress for social injustices; it is also employed by the state in the construction of a national identity in which all citizens participate (Kohl and Fawcett 1995). Movements by Indigenous groups to control their own heritage and places, past and present, have begun with an expression of the need to self-represent, recognizing that “the power to tell their histories is inseparable from the power to determine who they are” (Harmon 2007:45). First Nations are also empowering themselves by writing or commissioning their own works as steps towards fulfilling larger goals of self-determination and sovereignty.

The Musqueam Indian Band has been pursuing these opportunities and relationships, gaining more recognition through the Band’s involvement and thereby gaining more decision-making authority. UBC’s Museum of Anthropology, in partnership with the Musqueam Indian Band, the Stó:lō Nation, and the U’mista Cultural Society, has been busy developing the Reciprocal Research Network (2009), designed to virtually unite online collections that are geographically dispersed with their origin communities<sup>4</sup>. For First Nations like Musqueam, and indeed all along the Northwest Coast, this is critical as the art and artifacts of these peoples were sold internationally, with museums in Berlin, Denmark and London holding more Northwest Culture than the Northwest Coast (Thomas 1991). This project was designed collaboratively with several First Nations and affiliated organizations, with the aim of inclusivity, multivocality, and building relationships based on mutual respect and trust.

The relationships between settler society and Indigenous communities frequently include indirect forms of interaction, and art is one of the principal means that people relate to Indigeneity. Towards this, Musqueam artist Susan Point has been particularly involved in public art, including a spindle whorl at the Vancouver Airport, carved house-posts at UBC’s Museum of Anthropology, stained glass windows installed in Christ Church Cathedral, and a tri-gateway installation in Stanley Park, affirming that Vancouver is in Salish territory. A Musqueam house-post is also featured at UBC’s new law building and two new student residences were given Musqueam names.

While the installation of public art can be an effective way of generating public awareness of Indigenous groups and income for the artists, it may also be problematic as it can reinforce stereotypes and promote an economy of cultural appropriation. Point Grey is a landscape dotted with references to

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.rnnpilot.org/>

and examples of Indigenous myth, history, and art—for example, in Thunderbird Stadium, Totem Hall, and UBC’s Museum of Anthropology. Such public forms of Aboriginal recognition, including ceremonies, art, and educational programs, have an impact on public knowledge and perceptions of Musqueam and First Nations in general. In one sense, these may act as a form of truth-telling, prompting awareness and appreciation for Indigenous struggles and perseverance. In another, they may function to placate Indigenous communities by conferring a sense of recognition while maintaining status quo policies (Alfred 2009). Such references may also be commodified for public consumption and transformed into just one part of a larger, multicultural Canadian heritage (Carman 2005; Mawani 2004). Paradoxically, then, the display of Indigenous cultural items can represent not reverence for First Nations’ history but its very subjugation, “echo[ing] the logic of assimilation rather than resistance” (Rubertone 2008:15); a ubiquitous example of this dynamic is found in “totem poles” commonly placed adjacent to state buildings such as police stations and court houses, and also found in parks such as Stanley Park.

In the creation of landscapes of power (Zukin 1993), nation-states have sought to appropriate community heritage (Carman 2005); yet “inclusion in the nation does not simply hinge on the discursive acknowledgement and appreciation of Aboriginal peoples, but requires a redistribution of material resources, and economic, social, and political power” (Mawani 2004:54). Thus, the more difficult task in creating counter-narratives is to move past superficial recognition of “Indigeneity” to generate a critical understanding of First Nations’ history, heritage, *and current issues*, and foster public support for the restitution of their sovereignty supported by the necessary material means. It remains to be seen whether Indigenous self-representation in public spheres will challenge the dominant cultural tropes founding the settler narrative, or if resistance will be appropriated as another chapter in the settler narrative.

### ***Telling History in the Park***

The creation of Pacific Spirit against the Musqueam community’s will and despite their protest, the forgetting of the history of this place to instead tell a narrative of the exploration and discovery of nature, and the reticence of settler society to reject state authority and engage directly with the Musqueam Indian Band, are all facets of the colonial apparatus that continues to govern Point Grey, Vancouver, and Canada more broadly. While part of the larger cultural phenomenon of “forgetting” and “feeling better,” parks play a particular role in this dynamic and they may therefore also be ideal locations to challenge it.

In her discussion of Kruger National Park in South Africa, Lynn Meskell (2012:121) describes attempts to repair historical injustices through “restitution, compensation, and recognition or acknowledgement.” Of these, she suggests, recognition is most important as it “acknowledges the victims and the harm enacted against them and involves the act of restoring or compensating those who have

suffered. Recognition can also take the form of public apologies and forms of collective remembrance, as has become commonplace in post-apartheid South Africa; these are themselves political acts" (Meskell 2012:121). Meskell (2012:121) provides examples of such recognition as collective remembrance, including acknowledging burials and other cultural sites and changing the park's name to reflect local Indigenous history, "a symbolic change that would cost little in financial terms." Other approaches involve land transfers and financial compensation. Meskell (2012:121) suggests that, "while not all reparations are costly or financial they do overturn the fiction of *terra nullius*."

For Aboriginal Day in June of 2011, CBC's Margaret Gallagher interviewed Musqueam Indian Band member Henry Charles in Pacific Spirit Regional Park. Charles is self-described as the last Musqueam person to have lived in the University Endowment Lands (UEL) that now comprise the park. During their walk, Charles related his experience growing up in the area with his grandparents, who lived there in the 1920s, until he had to move in the late 1960s when the Shaughnessy Golf Course was developed. Comparing the area then and now, Charles said: "We never thought that the world would ever change and as we watched Vancouver and all this area develop all around us, this area here was so beautiful, so pleasant." Gallagher then asked Henry about how he sees things going in the future:

Hopefully it will all go to the better, but you gotta remember, who we are, where we come from, and what we've been through. As the Aboriginal goes, we're losing a lot of our culture...Musqueam's almost an extinct dialect, but we're fortunate in my age group, we got to see the last of the real old Musqueam people.

He concluded by inviting people who go for a walk in the woods to

have a good look! That's where we lived, that's actually one of the old Musqueam families that lived in the bush there, and tell them that you're walking through a piece of history...and so come walk on a little piece of our heaven because we're the Musqueams and we're never gonna go away.

Acknowledging Musqueam's history and connection to the park is what was sought in the Camosun Bog Nature Trail signs. Mitch Sokalski described these signs as the first time that Musqueam's story and language were included in park signage. When I asked how the project came about, he explained (pers. comm. January 10, 2013):

Well, it was just a desire to do the right thing...So I assembled a team and we challenged ourselves as staff to say, this is the right thing to do. Let's do the right thing. And so we were able to introduce it to Musqueam, they were willing to participate, the members of the Pacific Spirit Park Society—so we had Musqueam, volunteers, Metro Vancouver staff, work through a member of the Pacific Parklands Foundation...We worked through this process and it happened. And I was just so grateful...once the project team came together, they all sort of worked towards that common goal, and there were champions within that group...It was not just being seen to be doing

the right thing, it was actually doing the right thing.

Through these signs, the park is offered broadly as an oasis in the city and the use of the term “community” is employed to include everyone connected to the park. This may be a step towards reconciliation between Indigenous peoples, colonial governments, and settler society, with the Camosun Bog Self-Guided Nature Walk considered a bridge towards a future together built on trust and collaboration rather than conflict and division.

The power of signs to communicate has been demonstrated through my survey results, discussed in Chapter 7; thus, I considered this to be a potential avenue to pursue towards the recognition of Musqueam’s connections to the park. However, it is not that easy, as my conversation with Metro Vancouver Parks Director Mitch Sokalski revealed (pers. comm. January 10, 2013):

Most of our money is day to day operation, you know, serving the public that attends. But interpretive elements? Not a whole lot...it's expensive. If you wanted a two by three foot sign with some graphics and so on, you're talking \$5,000 just like that. So if you want to build something that is a statement of culture or whatever, you know, you'd eat up thirty, fifty thousand dollars in no time. By the time you pay the artist to design it, get into production, and get it in the ground so it's vandal proof and all that kind of stuff. The numbers go up and for us, we are not, all we do as a park agency, we have about a \$35-million dollar budget which is a huge number, there's no question. But we have 32,000 acres, we service ten million people every year, and we've got these thirty-three parks across the region, and that's what it costs just to service, the basic service components. We do the odd development, like toilets or replace a concession building or whatever, but we're not capital-rich at all. It's all pretty much in day-to-day operation. Running an interpretive program? So if there was something that we, you know, every year we spend money on, in terms of education about the park, not always about this historical site but more the natural side, through our education and interpretation programs.

In short, a lack of funding and a complicated bureaucratic structure were the main barriers to posting interpretive signs in the park. It is significant, however, that there *is* money to spend on programs communicating the natural side of parks.

I also raised this issue in my conversation with Musqueam community member Victor Guerin. Remarking that there are few signs in the park that deal with the cultural history and instead they all feature natural aspects of the forest, I asked if he also felt this was true, to which he replied (pers. comm.. March 17, 2013):

In some ways it is, in some ways it's not. Because the way we perceive that word “nature.” You know, in Western thinking, nature is sort of something that's separate from us or that we are separate from. In our philosophy, it's not. We're a part of it. We can't separate ourselves from it, at least not permanently. When we try to, we damage it and even though we are capable of doing lots of damage to it, it can ultimately come back and destroy us. And it has, it's destroyed civilizations in the past. We all know that. So in that way, I don't think that the way that the trails have been named, the way the park has been set up, is detrimental to us directly.

In relation to creating signs or renaming aspects of the park, Guerin emphasized that “tooting your own horn is taboo” in Musqueam culture, so “there’s a certain amount of lack of comfort on our people’s part with that, with sharing parts of our culture to place, or the name of the trail or something like that. It can be done but we need to consider it very carefully so that we can come up with something that’s not offensive to our community.” He elaborated:

When we are asked to name things like, for instance, in a building like this, we’ve frequently been asked to name rooms in the building or to name the building itself, we have to go through a long process of considering. We first have to come up with a list of potential names and then we have to vet those with community members and make sure that they’re acceptable to them and get advice from the elders, the culturally knowledgeable people, about whether they’d be culturally appropriate or offensive or create vulnerabilities. It’s a pretty long process to figure out what we can use, what we can share.

However, Guerin emphasized, “that’s not to say that it shouldn’t be done. It’s just to say that we need to be careful about how we do it...we should be recognizing the ancient history of this place and not just the documented history of the place.”

Signs and events in the park may be effective ways to acknowledge Musqueam history and presence, and “educating ‘the locals’ and environmental activism might seem hard to critique, but there is little evidence of the long-term effectiveness of this kind of participation in materially improving the conditions of the most vulnerable people or as a strategy for social change” (Meskell 2012:165, citing Cleaver 2001:36). Indeed, the result of such public education may simply be to enforce simple, sanitized narratives about historical and ongoing injustices, as it is more likely that “good news” stories will be told over those that challenge settler society’s fundamental cultural ideals or the legitimacy of the colony itself (Pleshakov 2010:38-39). Further, as Hermer (2002) discusses, such use of *formal* events or signs may inherently reinforce state authority to regulate space, becoming hegemonic rather than challenging dominant views.

This is because, as places foregrounding nature, parks are viewed as inappropriate spaces to talk about politics, violence, and social oppression—all distinctly *cultural* issues—although all of these things are implicated and unfolding there. Recognition requires truth-telling, which includes acknowledging past harms, as Meskell notes above; however, telling stories through park signs that acknowledge colonial occupation, alienation of lands, and exploitation of resources may be seen as a step backwards in building positive and respectful Indigenous-settler relationships. This is observed in acknowledgements such as the Camosun Bog signs, which “satisfy the desire to include information about Musqueam people while avoiding more controversial issues of colonization” (Pleshakov 2010:36). Further, the sanitized cultural narrative told is almost nostalgic, potentially reinforcing colonial narratives by drawing on a stereotype of Indigenous peoples living “in harmony with nature and with one another” (hooks 1992:26). In this sense,

unofficial or vernacular signs and monuments to history and culture may be more effective avenues, particular if highlighting political and social tension is the aim. The more effective forms of resistance are, after all, anarchic, and Pacific Spirit is an excellent platform for such expression.

Ultimately, education in the park can only be one of a variety of strategies employed. Others should include Musqueam control over, at minimum, areas of the park that are spiritually important and should remain off-limits, and in decision-making concerning all park activities. Further, the park lands continue to be used by Musqueam community members for resource-harvesting; I can think of few better ways to visibly demonstrate Musqueam's ongoing connection to the park than recently bark-stripped trees, affirming a living tradition and nature/culture interrelation. As Meskell articulates, the central point to consider is that acknowledgement falls short of social justice in the absence of *land repatriation and financial compensation*. Thus, the ultimate recognition of Musqueam Aboriginal Title is to return land rights and governance over all traditional territory to the Musqueam Indian Band, as and how the Musqueam community deems appropriate.

Repatriation is about social justice, even decolonization. Just as “[d]ecolonization brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life” and “is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools” (Tuck and Yang 2012:1), signs in Pacific Spirit acknowledging cultural connections to this place are only “step one.” Such public recognitions must also be critically evaluated to ensure they are not just a “feel good” tactic to ignore the harm, colonial and capitalist, that is still ongoing (Meskell 2012:164, citing Mohan 2001:159):

Papering over historic injustice and decades of grinding poverty with the cultural cachet of royal houses and indigenous knowledge in park promotional materials and the media privileges a kind of culturalism over material deprivation and should be considered deeply suspicious. Deploying culture over the material inequalities that exist between Kruger [National Park] and its neighbors as if they were unrelated diverts criticism of capitalism and conservation and provides an alibi for inequity, exploitation, and oppression in their modern guises.

When it comes to financial compensation or land repatriation, the desire to “do the right thing” does not necessarily factor in; reactions to the transfer of park lands to the Musqueam Indian Band exemplify this dynamic. However, the more that the Musqueam community engages with settler society, the more relationships form and trust is built, the more remembering results and counter-narratives are produced, and the need for a third-party mediator—the colonial government—may be felt less. Indeed, my survey results discussed in Chapter 7 demonstrate increasing support for Musqueam involvement in decision-making, particularly amongst younger generations, with 86% in favour of involvement and 72% in favour of the Musqueam Indian Band as the primary park authority.

Meanwhile, what remains silent in Pacific Spirit is its *ancient* history, the tangible record of Musqueam's connection to these lands. While it is the intangible quality of heritage and places that

contributes “to cultural identity, worldview, cultural continuity, and traditional ecological knowledge” (Nicholas and Bannister 2004:332), tangible evidence is often given more weight in Western society, and in the courtroom in establishing Aboriginal Title (Culhane 1998:364). As discussed in Chapter 3, the current management plan for Pacific Spirit contains no mention of archaeological sites. During our conversation together (pers. comm. April 11, 2013), Musqueam archaeologist Wayne Point described finding culturally modified trees (specifically those connected to Musqueam’s use) throughout the park, particularly along the steep cliff sides, and discussed the recorded shell middens that dot the coastal landscape of the park, at risk of erosion through trampling.

The British Columbia Archaeology Branch’s official policy (Glaum 2012) to restrict information from the public concerning the ancient landscape of this province is designed to protect sites from looting. However, keeping these sites “secret” does not also mean they are kept “safe” from destructive impacts. Further, this policy inherently reinforces colonial narratives of *terra nullius*, perpetuating cultural erasure (Arnold 2013). Using the Archaeology Branch’s database, I counted thirty recorded archaeological sites in the immediate area of the park, and these do not include the many culturally-modified trees that Wayne Point and others, including myself, have located. Point Grey and Pacific Spirit are recent names given to an ancient landscape; so long as knowledge of its older places continues to be ignored publicly, the park as “nature” will remain the dominant narrative, and public acceptance of the legitimacy Aboriginal Title will bear the consequences.

### **The Hegemonic Circle**

Individuals and their discourses may not always appear racist at all—they may even exhibit tolerant or humanitarian values. Meanwhile, these same individuals, when they are employed or rewarded by elite power structures that are founded upon racist ideologies, sustain these structures.

Suzanne Dabulkis-Hunter (2002:77)

The ideology of nature that is activated in Pacific Spirit Regional Park is hegemonic. As described earlier in this chapter, the narratives that are articulated, rehearsed, and embedded in this place naturalize and neutralize the political, social, economic, and environmental violence of colonization and contemporary capitalism. By imagining this as a cultural story, the interests of the elites become the interests of the many. Yet the park as nature is an imperfect cover story, for it does not wholly placate the sense of insecurity and anxiety that lingers.

This anxiety, when articulated as a need for social justice, has prompted some of the changing relationships described above. Yet the question remains whether these counter-narratives represent a break with the past and are affecting change, or if they are instead being appropriated into the dominant narrative. Just as the wild does not exist without the savage, and nature needs the city for its definition, so,

too, is resistance the flip-side to domination: neither exists without the other. Thus, for every attempt to produce counter-narratives, there are multiple instances of how the dominance is being reinforced.

In this section, I discuss how the ideology of “nature” continues to be reinforced in Point Grey. The insecurity over the status of Pacific Spirit as a park is first addressed and the implications of this for Aboriginal Rights and Title considered. I then situate this dynamic within the reconceptualization of nature as a commodity under capitalism, and consider how this narrative articulates with cultural anxiety over increased development and urban sprawl. Finally, I foreground the concept of heritage in my discussion of local community planning at the University of British Columbia, which illustrates how dominant discourse is internalized and reified through landscape. These three sections highlight how hegemony is reinforced at multiple scales and in varied contexts to reproduce a “cultureless nature” and a “natureless culture.”

### ***Still Saving “Nature”***

My research has overwhelmingly demonstrated that the social role of Pacific Spirit is dependent upon its construction as nature. In our conversation together, Parks Director Mitch Sokalski described how the park was envisioned back in the 1980s before its creation (pers. comm. January 10, 2013):

We always saw it as protecting a significant landscape. We saw it, it was easily within a half hour drive to more than 50 percent of the region’s population, and it’s, other than the land base itself, it’s natural forest and, cultural interests, the trails are really the active recreation. We, at the time, we had a classification, it was called multi-purpose park, so this seemed to fit the mould quite nicely.

The park’s mandate of “recreation in harmony with nature” was central to this vision and continues to influence park management and landscaping, as discussed in Chapter 5. However, in Sokalski’s vision, the park was more about *recreation* than about nature *per se*:

You couldn’t say it was a nature park. There was a lot of people that wanted us to call it, you know, Point Grey Nature Park or Point Grey Regional Nature Park and stuff like that. It’s been logged more than once. There are some really interesting habitat systems or ecosystems within the forest core and so on, but it was, it was always actively recreated, cycling, walking, jogging, some equestrian. And so, you know, it provides great opportunity for outdoor recreation.

Despite recognition of the park’s reality as somehow less than nature, Pacific Spirit still *represented* that endangered landscape, threatened by development. For Sokalski, Pacific Spirit was one of the “last sites” where it was possible to create a public ocean-front park because of development and private property ownership. Indeed, this remains a concern given UBC’s increasing development of their campus lands, which “will put a lot of pressure on the park and in some sensitive areas of the park.” Development *in*

Pacific Spirit, however, Sokalski suggested, is not a concern—so long as the park remains a park:

It's a pretty modest park in terms of its development. We spend about 1.3 million a year operating the park. But in terms of capital developments since we've been there, it's a conscious decision not to spend a whole lot of intense capital development money because you don't know if you're going to have that land in twenty years time.

The suggestion that the Musqueam Indian Band would develop the park lands has been perceived as a threat looming since the 1970s. Victor Guerin recalled being at a public forum in the mid-1970s concerning the creation of the park and Musqueam's interests (pers. comm. March 17, 2013):

I remember one fellow standing up and talking about how they had concerns about the land being turned over to the Musqueam because, "you people are development-minded people and we think that you're going to just develop it all, you're going to cut everything down and develop it." And one of our people got up, I think it was my mom if I remember, but anyhow the statement is more important than who it was, stated back to them that, the land of the UEL is more valuable to us in its undeveloped state than it would be to us developed.

Indeed, in my questionnaire results, the few Indigenous respondents who participated all articulated a gratitude for *at least* having this small vestige of their traditional lands unmarred by concrete and housing. However, this sentiment was then used against the Musqueam Indian Band during the 2007 hearings regarding the golf course and land transfer, as Guerin related:

Interesting thing about that statement, is that it made it into a court challenge and, in recent years when the province was turning the UBC golf course over to UBC and Musqueam took that challenge to court, we were in attendance at the trial and the Crown lawyer used that statement to try and say that Musqueam should not be allowed to claim developed lands. We should only be able to claim undeveloped lands, and cited that statement as justification for this position.

In their rebuttal, Guerin described that the lawyer for the Musqueam Indian Band made the argument that "the Musqueam people are not museum pieces. They're not stuck in a single place in time. They have to find ways to function in a modern and developing society." This highlighted for Guerin the paradoxical position that Aboriginal peoples are placed in by settler society:

You often hear people making statements in editorial columns saying that if Aboriginal people want to claim back the land then they should go back to their old way of living, using all of their old technology and so on and so forth. But if you look at things realistically—for instance in the 1940s, my dad remembers my grandpa having to come back over here from the North Shore to go and take containers from my great-grandparents place to the gas station up at Dunbar to get water because the development upland from Musqueam had caused contamination of the well water, the water tables, so they couldn't use the well water anymore. You look at all kinds of different resources that have been depleted to the point where harvest is no longer practical. We can't go back to the old ways. A lot of work has to be done to restore the environment before that could be done. We all know that this was a land of plenty when the explorers first got here and in the span

of two centuries it's been reduced to the state where it is now.

For Musqueam people, then, cultural survival no longer depends on a traditional lifeway, for the environmental resources upon which their people subsisted for hundreds or thousands of years have been destroyed. Nearly two decades ago, past-Chief Joe Becker described this situation (BC Leg. Sess. 1996):

I think there is a recognition by Musqueam—and, hopefully, by the other first nations in the lower mainland—that there is no land. There is no land that we can tie ourselves to. The province and the feds have been doing an excellent job of alienating all of the free provincial and federal Crown lands... We recognize that there is no land available. We look for compensation for lost land, and we also look towards natural resources for our negotiations.

As an urban First Nation, the Musqueam community is relatively rare and, as discussed, they are pursuing a new economy in real estate. In doing so, however, they risk being considered “un-Aboriginal.”

This dynamic aptly illustrates a fundamental racism in the Western construction of the “other”: the category of “Aboriginal” necessitates *difference* from Western settler society (Culhane 1998:197). In the courtroom, this is what Dara Culhane (1998:261) describes as “law’s trap: difference constitutes evidence of failure to cease being Indian and thus to be ineligible for recognition as equal, rights-bearing legal subjects; similarity constitutes evidence of success in ceasing to be Indian and therefore ineligibility for recognition as distinct, rights-bearing legal subjects.” This was observed in the Musqueam Park court case, where the Musqueam Indian Band explicitly avoided a “special rights” legal position and relied on capitalist principles of market value instead—and lost the case (Hamilton 2009). In this unwinnable paradox, the result is the same: the erasure of the Aboriginal, a final conquering of the savage and, with it, finally settling the insecurity of the colony.

In conversation with Victor Guerin, I asked whether he felt the park is “a good thing” (pers. comm. March 17, 2013). In response, Guerin replied, “in the meantime, yes—

and perhaps for longer than just the meantime. As the statement was made in the 70s, it’s valuable to us in its undeveloped state and as a park it’s left in its undeveloped state to a certain extent. However, being a park, with groomed trails and everything like that, it makes it difficult for our cultural people to utilize it for that purpose. In its totally undeveloped state, there was a far greater expectation of privacy in there for cultural practices. Our spirit dancers still go in there for bathing and frequently they’re disturbed while they’re doing that. There are just so many people in the park all the time. I go on hikes in there and usually in the daytime but I have gone in at night because I’m so busy, sometimes that’s the only time I can get out there. And the first time I went out there in the darkness, I was surprised to find how many people were actually out there.

Indeed, in the discourse of saving nature, the threat of an ever-increasing population is often cited as the main concern. On one hand, this threat represents potential impacts on the environment and material landscape of the park; on the other, the presence of people in the park destabilizes its status as nature and

makes the park less desirable (Russell 1996:269). Thus there is a standstill: higher population means more need for the park—the need to escape the city and relax—yet more park visitors compromises the park as a place of escape and relaxation. The result is heightened anxiety with few places to go to forget and feel better.

### ***Natural Capital***

In November of 2010, the Pacific Parklands Foundation (PPF), which funds Pacific Spirit, organized a lecture by Dr. Faisal Moola, the Director of Science for the David Suzuki Foundation (DSF). This was held at the Vancouver Convention Centre and funded by both the Real Estate Foundation and Metro Vancouver. The lecture was based on a report coauthored by DSF and Sarah Wilson of Natural Capital Research & Consulting titled “Natural Capital in BC’s Lower Mainland: Valuing the Benefits from Nature” (2010), that was prepared for PPF. Because of PPF’s close relationship with Pacific Spirit, I attended this lecture to assess how the park is viewed and branded by one of its key financial supporters.

Moola defined natural capital as the “natural benefits that sustain health and well-being of our communities.” He discussed that cities drive the world’s economy and are growing, while other areas subside. Rather than framing cities as an “impact” on “natural capital,” Moola proposed that the forests, fields, wetlands and farmlands in the Lower Mainland are essential to the health and well-being of the city. He cited that 67% of the Lower Mainland is still forested, but that 40% of wetlands have been lost since the city began to “grow.” The “precipitous loss of wildlife” is the greatest threat because a loss of biodiversity affects the “production of economic commodities.”

The main thrust of Moola’s talk was that the “natural benefits that we receive from nature are worth a lot”—and moreover, that these could be quantified. For example, he suggested that farmland and greenspace is a veritable “bank of natural capital” and provides \$5.4 billion in “ecological services” each year, while forests and wetlands are worth \$4,000-7,000 per hectare in “ecological services”—although it was not clear how these figures were calculated—including cultural services, aesthetics, recreation, spiritual value, health, clean water, food production, and overall results in a “cleaner greener place.”

The goal of the natural capital report was to present the argument that “protecting nature results in cost savings for governments”—even just planting trees to filter water can save money, he said. In this manner, forests are “a storehouse of natural capital” as well as a “natural shield against global warming.” This economic frame in part resulted from David Suzuki’s reflection on the 2012 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change meeting, where questions of money, of how much it would all cost, dominated any discussion of the biosphere. Their solution was thus to speak the language of big business and government and frame ecology in terms of money.

The David Suzuki Foundation report (2010:7) provides the following orientation:

This report examines the extent of natural capital—the forests, fields, wetlands and waterways—in British Columbia's lower mainland region, and estimates the non-market economic values for the various services and benefits these ecosystems provide. We often do not recognize these benefits or pay directly for these services, so they are undervalued in our market economy. The intent of this report is to provide a preliminary assessment of ecosystem services in economic terms so decision makers and the public can appreciate the true cost of degrading our ecosystems and, conversely, the potential economic benefits of protecting and restoring the region's wealth of natural capital.

The authors suggest that environmental degradation is due to “its exclusion from our current measures of value and decision-making. Values not reflected in market prices are considered externalities” (2010:14). However, rather than challenging the “measures of value and decision-making,” the natural capital approach reframes the whole conversation in purely economic terms.

Similar to the findings of my research, Moola described that people gravitate to urban parks, that they are viewed as beautiful, peaceful, relaxing, uplifting, moving and spiritual; standing in a park, “you no longer feel like you're in a crazy urban hub,” and “just being in nature in a city just makes you feel better,” he said. The value of this is “measurable,” Moola claimed, citing studies connecting improved health with views of trees. Yet the solution he presented in order to “preserve” nature was “smart growth,” which is fundamentally about creating “dense, compact communities.” Moola used Vancouver’s Coal Harbour as a prime example of smart growth.

The epistemic and ontological ramifications of describing the relationship between people and nature in terms of dollars and cents is concerning. In light of how disconnected urbanites feel from nature already, and the correlation between dislocation and capitalism (Alexander 2008), it may be considered harmful to further this disconnection by *commodifying* all living things and the environment itself—making life into an exploitable object. Capitalism exploits the environment to devastation; merely translating environmentalist ethics into capitalistic terms does not change the bottom line, the bottom dollar, nor does it undermine the structure at the root of these problems (Rogers 2006:249). The first issue of *The Ecologist* (Allen 1970:36) predicted this commodification of nature 40 years ago:

There is not much room in the economic dogmas of expansionism and productivity for considering our relationship with the rest of nature, and sometimes one fears that environmental quality will continue to be frittered away until it can be quantified in terms of the cost-effectiveness of fresh air and birdsong and the discounted cash flow of our rivers and streams.

Further, conveying smart growth as “sustainable” signals how the environmental impacts that cities have on the environment are being externalized, disconnecting the core from the periphery; in this sense, the ongoing impacts of capitalism are pushed to the sidelines. However, not only is the concept of

urban densification completely at odds with studies into the health impacts of cities, Moola did not address the exclusive price tags associated with Coal Harbour. The question, then, is who actually benefits from smart growth—and the answer, I believe, lies in who sponsored this event: real estate investors, developers, and government. The PPF (2012) review of the event on their webpage confirms that “the room was filled to capacity with local politicians, practitioners, non-profit organizations, small business and many others”; photographs depicts mostly men in business suits. Meanwhile, there was no recognition of Indigenous interests or the value of nature to these groups for their cultural survival.

In sum, this event highlighted the tendency to adapt to the problem—to naturalize it and make it seem outside of or beyond one’s control—rather than root out its causes; this is quintessential ideology. The word “capitalism” was not uttered during this presentation, yet that was the core of Moola’s message: how to adapt to capitalist interests. By promoting denser cities, smart growth fails to recognize the cause of the anxiety that leads people into parks to reconnect and relax. Promoting natural capital thereby sidesteps the issue, further naturalizing capitalism and ensuring that its impacts remain forgotten.

### ***Reinscribing Heritage***

My research has demonstrated the important role that Pacific Spirit plays in the social, cultural, and economic composition of Point Grey. It has also highlighted how settler heritage is drawn upon in the social construction of nature and in community-building more broadly. This is true particularly for the University of British Columbia: Pacific Spirit buffers the university community from Vancouver, is used by its academic researchers, and is highlighted in promotional materials. Thus, the park and the university both play central roles in the creation of Point Grey; while the cultural transmission of heritage may be largely non-discursive, this dynamic shows how, in other cases, it is quite overt.

When conducting research into the historical narratives promoted throughout Point Grey, I encountered a report discussing UBC’s heritage and campus plan. In 2009, a group of ten architects, planners, and UBC historians came together to create a document intended to guide future planning of UBC’s Vancouver campus based on its history. The resulting 2009 document titled, “What do we value here? UBC Campus Historical Contexts and Themes,” presents the heritage values of the UBC community and is being integrated into the UBC campus plan policy. Heritage is central in the creation of landscape and it formed the prominent theme in UBC’s campus planning. As such, I considered this a microcosm through which to identify how history was selective and privileged.

I was able to interview UBC’s campus architect, Gerry McGeough, about this process. In his view of heritage as “what we’re about and where we’re going,” the physical environment both reflects and contributes to key themes in the community. McGeough felt the goal of this 2009 document and its

implementation in development policy was to strengthen both a sense of identity and a sense of place for UBC, drawing on the following heritage themes:

1. The Coastal Forest Clearing
2. Unencumbered Perspective
3. Commanding Position
4. Room for Research
5. Community Building
6. Extending Reach
7. Pioneering Spirit
8. Resourcefulness
9. Modern Openness
10. Cultural Expansion and Inclusion

Each of these themes relates to historical events tied to places in the UBC area. For example, Theme 7, “Pioneering Spirit,” is described as follows (UBC 2009:27):

The campus developed in a manner not atypical for any pioneering community in the province’s early years. A vision of a bright prosperous future fuelled the early steps to transform the clear-cut piece of land on the point of the mainland into a small city. The university is literally founded on an energy and optimism of a young and ambitious society...

McGeough interpreted this theme as reflecting British Columbia’s place as a place where people “escape” to and reground themselves—echoing prominent discourse in Pacific Spirit. He offered a sustainable “living” building under development as an example of the integration of this theme with the campus plan—a way of activating the landscape to reflect the values of its community.

In the UBC Campus Plan (2010), management strategies are identified to incorporate and build on the themes identified above. Of those, three were altered: “Extending Reach” was renamed in the campus plan as “Making an Impact”; “Pioneering Spirit” was combined with “Resourcefulness;” and “Unencumbered Perspective” was combined with “Forest Clearing.” Areas of campus and specific buildings are affiliated with the different themes. It is perhaps significant that the map depicting “cultural” areas (Figure 8.1) identifies only the Nitobe Garden, the Museum of Anthropology and the First Nations House of Learning—the implication being that the rest of campus is somehow *neutral* culturally, although it is clear from these two documents and a tour of campus that the rest of campus, architecturally at least, is distinctly British.

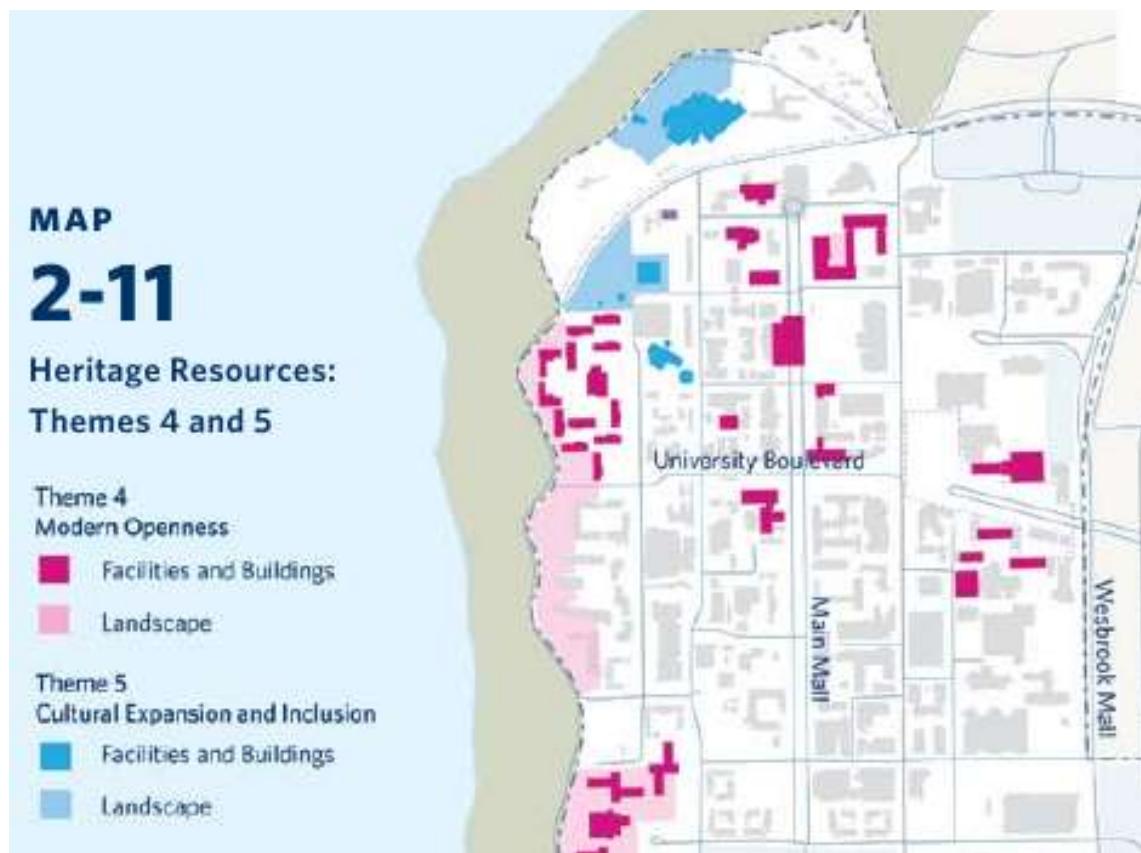


Figure 8.1. Heritage Resources map, depicting the areas identified as “Cultural” in blue.

McGeough noted two main deficits in the 2009 document that could be improved for its next iteration: an understanding of the historical ecology and environmental landscape, and Indigenous perspectives on the history of this place. He felt the project consultants did not have an adequate grasp of Musqueam history or the prehistory of the area, in particular, and McGeough had wanted to consider events pre-1871 (i.e., pre-Captain Vancouver) but time constrained this. The result, McGeough suggested, is that the heritage evaluation presents a “Eurocentric, white man’s version” of history and therefore risks being “an imperialist document.”

In this manner, history repeats itself, narrated through the built environment, recreated in a landscape celebrating the settler narrative of exploration, discovery, and progress while obscuring its flip-side as invasion, occupation, and exploitation. Here, heritage *is* ideology. This contemporary reinscription only further signals the insecurity of this story and the unsettling need to “feel better” about it.

In the campus plan, there are a few elements that map onto Indigenous history in the area—for example, the theme of “Commanding Position” recognizes the overlook position of the campus, particularly near the new Law building, where the Musqueam carved house-post mentioned earlier was recently erected to acknowledge their connection to this site as a lookout for impending raids. However,

“Commanding Position” likewise signifies the imperialism and militarism of the colonial nation-state and, by extension, of the university. Critically, the values articulated in this heritage document will govern campus planning over the next twenty years—planning that is recognized as increasingly supporting industry (Munro and Seidman 2013). Thus, the settler narrative of exploitation will be memorialized for the foreseeable future.

### **Discussion: The Nature of Pacific Spirit**

The emergence of North American “pleasure parks” in the late nineteenth century emerged from a kind of spatial economy of emparkment forms where exploitative social relations were normalized as part of a natural order through the specific emparkment practices of enclosures, preserves, reserves, and parks. The English countryside, inscribed with the power relations of the aristocracy, became a pastoral ideal for colonial parks in Africa and for urban parks in America, while North American pleasure parks provided a new model with which to administer the imperial legacy of “colonial” nature, which then could be experienced through white European eyes. Emparkment techniques rested at the very heart of the exercise of Western power.

Joe Hermer (2002:19-20)

In Chapter 1, I discussed several themes that emerged from studies about parks and place-making in colonial contexts, including conceptions of nature, heritage, community, democracy, and power. I suggested these constitute the core ideological values that are communicated through media, landscaping and events, reinforcing particular notions of what parks are all about. At the conclusion of my research into Pacific Spirit, I have demonstrated how these dynamics are at play in the ideology that is perpetuated in Pacific Spirit. In Western society, nature is touted as the heritage of all humanity; the transformation of natural spaces into public places such as parks lends to them a democratic sense of community. These concepts are internalized, rehearsed, reproduced and reconstituted by people, structuring their interaction with parks. Implied in all aspects of this dynamic is power—to define conceptually and spatially a place, and to police that definition, by force if needed.

However, while my review research on other parks in colonial contexts identified that colonialism was considered the central defining feature, capitalism was less discussed. My research suggests that it is instead capitalism that should be the central focus, as this is the prime mover behind colonialism and is what drives the continuous production of ideology, including the ideology of nature.

The story of Pacific Spirit is one of exploration, discovery, and the “progress” of civilization. Once viewed as transforming the landscape through urbanism, progress came to be redefined as conservation of “nature,” meaning without “culture.” Pacific Spirit came to represent the threat of declining environment through industrial capitalism and was therefore “saved” by a small group of people with enough social, economic, and political power to stop development—literally, to *park* it—in a small

area of the urban core. When viewed in isolation, this is a success story: the entire surrounding area has been transformed. While the park makes local residents feel better and makes the city liveable for them, this victory is an exception in the rule of the destruction of ecology—of relationships, between people, place, and heritage—through capitalism, continuing at unprecedented rates globally.

In this unfolding process, Indigenous peoples suffer most, and while the finger is often pointed at colonialism as the paradigm responsible, in fact colonialism is only the medium by which capitalism has been distributed and enforced (Smith 1999). Capitalism is the cause of the dwindling of environmental and cultural health and wellbeing—Indigenous in particular but settler as well—resulting in the loss of place, language, kinship ties, and independence. Over one hundred years ago, Point Grey was founded on a mass diaspora that resulted from deepened social inequality in Europe particularly, and its settlers continue to feel the weight of their loss and to justify their gains, struggling to find peace, to reconnect with others and themselves, and above all, to *escape*. Critically in this dynamic, there is no difference between capitalist elites and government, for government is comprised of elites, represents capitalist interests, and functions to ensure the smooth running of capitalist systems of oppression and regulation. While the victims hardest-hit are the most marginalized in society, all suffer under this system.

At the end of our conversation, I asked Victor Guerin what he thought about the future of the park and its connection with the Musqueam people. His response aptly tied together several of the central concepts I sought to illuminate in this research (pers. comm. March 17, 2013):

The Crowns, through both the treaty process and other initiatives, seek to devolve government's responsibilities to the First Nations but in doing so, they are reluctant or even refuse to restore lands to us so that we can accommodate our expanding population base—to restore resource access and management to us so that we can rebuild an economic base to support our governance...

In order for us to be self-governing, in order for us to have a presence on our land, we need those things. Without them, we'll be relegated to the dependent wards that we are right now...[We] come out of a tradition of millennia of people who were self-reliant. And that's another thing—that's taken only the space of a couple of centuries to impose upon our people.

To restore all of these things—it's taken the space of that two centuries to reduce our people to that state; it's going to take at least that long to bring them back out of it again. And the restoration of a land base and the resource access and, where our resources are no longer harvestable, development of business opportunities in order for us to rebuild an economy where we can be self-sustaining, are essential to helping to bring our people out of that state of dependency. And that, to me, is a set of steps in the direction of bringing our presence and visibility in our own land back into the public venue.

Guerin's comments highlight the complex relationship that exists between heritage and history, land and economy, culture and identity. In Point Grey, the colonial project of nation-building via resource

exploitation took place overtop the places of meaning and memory of First Nations; the result has been the collapse of cultural and environmental health. That this continues to be forgotten in settler myths of *terra nullius*, celebrating the invasion, occupation, and exploitation of Indigenous lands and peoples, reflects the depth of settler insecurity in the colony known today as Canada. Further, that this narrative has come to stand in for other cultural and personal histories, stories lost through diaspora and dispossession, signals that alienation, thus anxiety and the need to forget, may represent common ground between occupied Indigenous populations and oppressed working-class settlers. Loss through capitalism may, in fact, be a shared narrative, as is the desire to become independent.

The “nature” that has been saved in Pacific Spirit is a happy-ending for a story that is, in fact, still unfolding. Capitalist expansion, fuelled by an ideology of growth-as-progress, has invaded even the most remote areas throughout the world, destroying ecosystems, alienating people from their lands, and each other. Thus, through its landscape modification, its many events, and the every-day rituals performed in this place, Pacific Spirit communicates more than just a love of nature and the celebration of settler history. It reflects a deep-seated insecurity about this narrative, past and present, and about the future of this society. Fear over the potential for development in the park represents a widespread cultural anxiety over the loss of nature more broadly—a loss that has deep roots in Western mythology (Harlow *et al.* 2013; Nash 1967). In the context of modernity and capitalism, this anxiety is ever more warranted as worldwide ecosystem failure becomes more and more apparent.

In Pacific Spirit, the construction of nature has meant erasing one history to create another, more comfortable tale of exploration and settlement, and of a society that cares about the earth. In this story, there is no room for the tales of violence and destruction that attended colonization, just as there is no room to speak of the harsh realities of capitalism, social inequality, and urban life in the “most liveable city in the world.” Post-occupation British Columbia was and continues to be built on resource extraction, and logging was, after all, the first activity to take place in what is now the park; local log booms indicate the still very active forestry industry in the province. In this urban context, Pacific Spirit is manipulated to *represent* nature, a monument to an imagined landscape, reflecting a reality that is desired rather than realized. While people laud the park as preserved green space, the city continues to expand, while the natural world keeps shrinking. In this sacred landscape, as in all others, ritual aids forgetting as much as it does remembering.

However, I have illustrated in this chapter that new stories are being told in Point Grey that recognize Indigenous heritage and their ongoing connections to places like Pacific Spirit. Some speak to the resilience and survival of Indigenous peoples (Episkenew 2009), while others expose the history that has been “forgotten” in dominant narratives. While these stories remain limited to a radio interview and a few park signs in Pacific Spirit, more broadly they are being told and heard, and increasingly, attempts are

made to neutralize them by naturalizing imperialism—in business, government institutions, and in parks. Towards fulfilling an activist agenda, my research has served both to generate awareness of these stories, and identify other ways to mobilize this knowledge.

While colonialism and capitalism divides communities, my research suggests that there are shared values between many differently-situated groups, settler and Indigenous alike. In the early stages of the project, I spoke with representatives of the communities that particularly have some jurisdiction or authority over the park and/or have been vocal in media concerning its management—specifically, Musqueam Indian Band, Metro Vancouver, and the Pacific Spirit Park Society. I also spoke informally with various people attending local park events. I sought to identify issues the park community felt were important to address and to become connected with people who could influence change in Pacific Spirit.

These initial conversations all emphasized the importance of *community* and *communication*, resonating with the larger themes of disconnection and alienation through modernization discussed. Land claims, the Musqueam land transfer, and what this might mean in terms of development also featured in many conversations. While the media coverage of the Musqueam land deal had polarized issues and interests framed in terms of “Indigenous” and “non-Indigenous,” my conversations with people of various backgrounds highlighted that power is far more complicated. There is a tension between those who *use* the park and those who *manage* it, the latter viewed with suspicion by the former. Fear of development only exacerbated these existing tensions, again highlighting Pacific Spirit as a site of anxiety: what was felt, and feared, was a lack of control over all facets of one’s life. The unique role that the park plays for people in forgetting and feeling better made people feel more vulnerable because of the perceived threat to their much-needed escape from daily life.

As I have highlighted throughout this dissertation, Indigenous peoples have borne and continue to bear the brunt of imperial domination. Colonial authorities and settler society are responsible for the uprooting—the dislocation and displacement—of Indigenous communities and for imposing a capitalist system upon them. This settler population was also uprooted—willingly but often in desperation for “a better life”—creating a nation of diasporic groups dislocated from their homelands. Under the umbrella of contemporary capitalism, oppression is broadly shared, “it was [and is] not just indigenous populations who had [and have] to be subjugated” (Smith 1999:23). Disconnecting people from place, memory, and from each other, “‘development’ has meant the ecological and cultural rupture of bonds with nature, and within society, it has meant the transformation of organic communities into groups of uprooted and alienated individuals searching for abstract identities...to regain a sense of selfhood and control over their destinies” (Shiva 1993:99).

While the struggles by Indigenous communities and diasporic settler society to (re)root themselves in place are differently experienced, both are very strong. I suggest there is much to be gained

by recognition of both specific and shared experiences of oppression, for such empathy can engender whole movements of resistance; as Lilla Watson (1985) put it, “If you have come here to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together.” Shared values—heritage, community, and an integrated, ecological worldview—represent a platform for empathy, understanding, learning, and even action (Coates 2003). Indeed, the “Idle No More” movement is testament to the potential that forging these relationships of solidarity can have—there is real power there, if critical mass is attained. So long as an abstracted notion of “nature” trumps “culture,” these movements will fail; thus, the critical element is a holistic view of ecology bridging the nature–culture divide (Heller 1999).

Writing in the late 19th century, Frederick Engels suggested that the atomization of people, their disconnection from each other, was central to the ills of society; today, Bruce Alexander (2008) argues that this alienation goes further, destroying all relationships in the pursuit of capitalistic gain. The reconnection that people desire, that drives their need for Pacific Spirit, cannot be satisfied until nature and culture—two halves of an indivisible whole—are reconnected (Hermer 2002:119). To communicate the message of ecology—of being truly connected to other people, to places, to nature, and to all life—the ideology of nature in Pacific Spirit must be destroyed.

Perhaps, rather than viewing the park as a monument or preserve of nature, Pacific Spirit could be redefined as a cultural landscape, described by Canada’s Historic Places (2012) as “recogniz[ing] the complex relationship humans had or continue to have with the places they create and occupy,” which, in Pacific Spirit, would involve showcasing the history of these relationships and the changing values placed on the natural world. Ancient Indigenous culturally modified trees and shell midden sites, the stumps left in place after logging, the trails created by wealthy equestrians, the different stages of forest regrowth resulting from repeated clearance for development, the industrial and domestic dumping sites, the creation of the park itself, the restoration of the bog, the invasive species and the efforts today towards their removal, the manipulation of the landscape to look more natural—and contemporary Indigenous culturally modified trees: these features narrate the landscape as a place made and remade in the image of a changing society. For these counter-narratives to be effective, a critical analysis of *power* in Pacific Spirit must be foregrounded, not forgotten, for “those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it” (Santayana 1905:284). As Chaia Heller (1999:37) suggests,

Because we are social creatures, our understandings of nature will never be pure or free of social meaning or contingencies. Nature is not a thing from which we can separate ourselves and know completely, no matter how liberatory our culture or language may be. Instead of trying to grasp a romantic knowledge of a people-less “nature” through abstract love, protection, and contemplation, we must begin to know and reconstruct the social and political institutions that determine both social and ecological practices. By engaging in a life long process of politicized

critical self-reflection and action, we may become a society conscious of the historical origins of its own desire for “nature”; a socialized desire that begs to be developed in a truly radical direction.

Re-placing “Pacific Spirit” as a site of true nature–culture interconnectedness requires putting people back in the picture; however, the result of shattering the illusion of nature may be significant. It is often said that negative emotion prompts action in people where positive emotion results in complacency. If the nature of Pacific Spirit functions as an escape from the city that helps people forget and feel better, then the park is actually *enabling* the destruction of the environment by keeping people content and complacent, inactive. It provides a short-term fix—a stop-gap measure that relieves the anxiety produced through capitalism and thereby keeps the system going by preventing the radical change. Viewed as a symbol of hope, the park is debilitating, hindering people from acting towards change; and so the anxiety persists. Without such greenspaces, this anxiety has no outlet; as the 2008 land transfer demonstrated, the threat of losing greenspace is significant enough to inspire people towards immediate and sustained action. So perhaps rather than three meals, it can be said that we are only ever three walks in the park from revolution.

## Summary

The value—to activists—of a “liberated” staging ground—a public place—could not be clearer. The value—to liberalism—of *order* in public spaces also could not be more clear.

Don Mitchell (2003:105)

Pacific Spirit Regional Park is a culturally-constructed place embedded with historical narratives of nation-building and environmental conservation that emphasize the park as a place of community. While the social construction of the park as nature is illusory, since the park is quite apparently a very culturally-modified landscape, the need for the park as escape from the city is very real.

In this chapter, I discussed the dominant discourse of Pacific Spirit as a unique example of a wilderness park in an urban environment. Recalling the settler narrative of exploration, discovery, and nation-building, the park also signals an insecurity concerning the injustice of this selective history, which forgets the violence of colonialism and capitalism that remain ongoing today. Yet this forgetting is essential in order to cope with the harsh realities of modernity: in this dynamic, we all are dependent. As a venue where people escape to feel better and connected with nature, Pacific Spirit creates a population complacent in the continued destruction of the environment and social injustices committed particularly against Indigenous peoples. The park prevents action through the illusion that no action is required.

Pacific Spirit is therefore a hegemonic space, reproducing colonial relationships between First

Nations and settlers mediated by government and rendering social and economic class invisible. I related various counter-narratives that are being sought out and created concerning Indigenous history in Point Grey, citing these as platforms for resistance. However, just as these counter-narratives are being pursued, the park's ideology that naturalizes the social and economic order and reinforces elite power is likewise being reinforced at every turn. In the face of expanding global capitalism and increasing local population, the possibility of rebellion against this narrative is brought closer to reality as parks will soon not be enough to placate the anxiety that grows ever more pervasive. Perhaps to really save nature, the addiction to what are *illusions* of nature must be destroyed. Perhaps Pacific Spirit is a good place to start.

## CHAPTER 9: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Over the last century, parks have embodied a set of moral values that are viewed, often with great nostalgia, as representing the most enlightened impulses that we are capable of as a society. The idea of collectively protecting spaces, setting them aside in law for our own betterment and for the protection of “nature,” is often viewed as something that we have “gotten right” in a society routinely characterized as uncaring and self-interested. Ironically, parks make us feel human at times when our humanity often seems to be in question. That we have managed to get parks so wrong, that parks now act as extraordinary sites for regulatory forms that are complicit with widespread environmental destruction, is emblematic of the paradoxical character of the liberal mode of governance that has emerged at the end of this century.

Joe Hermer (2002:103)

All places are socially constructed. As such, all places (re)present very particular worldviews. My investigation into Pacific Spirit has demonstrated how cultural stories are rehearsed through the park. In this way, the park is both stage and medium, in an ongoing state of becoming a place.

Through my research, I specifically sought to better understand the “place” that is Pacific Spirit—how the park was and is conceived of by its authorities and users, and how these values are communicated through the material landscape in the features, monuments, and place names that characterize the area. I focused on the park as a cultural landscape constructed within the overarching paradigms of colonialism and capitalism, and therefore embedded with these cultural and class-based values. I discussed how these values become naturalized through everyday practice and are ideological, foregrounding the social construction of Pacific Spirit as a site that both masks and reinforces social power. My research involved using the tools of anthropology and archaeology to address this question, including documentary, ethnographic, and material landscape approaches to expose the power of this contemporary site. My ultimate goal was to use this project in an activist light, to identify dominant narratives and find ways to create counter-narratives with larger goals of social justice in mind.

As discussed in Chapter 1, I identified several themes in previous park studies and published literature that I felt would be relevant to my investigation. Specifically addressing parks in colonial contexts, these themes included the concepts of nature, heritage, community, democracy, and power. My research has confirmed that these are prominent themes in Pacific Spirit Regional Park as elsewhere; however, while colonialism was foregrounded in previous park research, capitalism was less directly addressed. My research suggests that capitalism that should foregrounded as the prime mover behind colonialism and other forms of neoliberal imperialism, driving the continuous production of ideology in the recreation of hegemonic relationships.

In Part I, I discussed the myths, histories, and origin stories of both Point Grey and Pacific Spirit Regional Park. My personal narrative as a member of settler society framed this discussion within larger

issues of colonization, diaspora, increasing affluence and, with it, the decrease of environmental health through industrial capitalism. Specifically, in Chapter 2, I drew upon archival records to provide a history of Point Grey. I discussed how the erasure of history in Point Grey through the creation of nature enabled the construction of a new cultural story in the settler narrative. The pioneer heritage of settlement, urban development, and community-building celebrates the history of resource extraction that resulted in the establishment of Vancouver. In this narrative, Indigenous history is ghosted to create nature as *terra nullius*, opening the land for development and justifying the project of colonization. Indigenous resistance to this project in the assertion of Aboriginal Rights and Title undermines these colonial efforts and is central in public perceptions of contemporary Indigeneity, providing the backdrop for the creation of Pacific Spirit.

In Chapter 3, I continued this historical review, discussing the shift in public attitudes away from development-as-progress towards a conservation ethic, resulting in the park's establishment. In this Western cultural worldview, nature is constructed as the opposite of culture, transforming the park into natural heritage. Viewed as a commons, the park is considered by settler society as the heritage of humanity, belonging to "all of us." References to Pacific Spirit as the "heart" of the Point Grey and university community draw on cultural ideals of democracy, wealth, health, environmentalism, safety, and recreation—features of affluence, yet presented as "ideal." As such, Pacific Spirit is a platform to communicate class-based values, ideals, and morality while concealing their origins in social inequality. The transfer of park lands to the Musqueam Indian Band was thus a threat to settler identity and environmentalist values, highlighting a pervasive fear of "losing" nature.

Together, these chapters established the ideology of the park—the stories told to conceal less desirable realities—that orients settler heritage and identity. In Part II of the dissertation, I shifted temporally to consider the present of Pacific Spirit. Captured in my personal narrative as a basement-dweller for whom the park represented escape into nature, I illustrated through the following chapters how the nature of Pacific Spirit operates as doctrine, communicated through the material landscape and performed ritually through daily practice by park users. I began in Chapter 4, discussing how representations of the park as people-less, naming trails after local flora, and the removal of those lands from urban development plans signal this space as *different*. Using official park documents, vernacular imagery, news media and various archives, I discussed how Point Grey's affluent society profits from nature, recreation, and education, and is in control of the social, political, and economic modes of production; the location of Pacific Spirit is formative in this affluence. Symbolically portrayed as wilderness, this urban park represents the domestication of the wild "other" that has remained so feared throughout European history. Fairytale stories of exploration and discovery are highlighted in representations of the park as nature, and celebrated through nationalism and militarism. Viewed as a

form of propaganda, park representations affirm Pacific Spirit as a site where colonialism and capitalism continue to unfold through the ideology of nature.

In Chapter 5, I discussed how, in the context of urban Vancouver, the park as a site of “nature” is reinforced by camouflaging any traces of “culture.” Relating the results of my archaeological landscape survey both on and off the trails, I demonstrated that signs of cultural use and historical manipulation are everywhere despite extraordinary lengths to make the park landscape appear natural. This cultural landscape reflects and perpetuates colonialism, accomplished by fixing this narrative of empty land and paternalist stewardship in the built environment of the park, itself a monument to *natural* heritage. Yet material culture reflects only the reality that is desired, not the one that has been realized; the park thus holds potential to be activated as a site of resistance, signaled in material culture reflecting “deviant” forms of behaviour.

In Chapter 6, I related my ethnographic experiences of the park, drawing on official events and activities in the park to consider how Pacific Spirit is performed by its community. I suggested that these performances celebrate the settler narrative upon which Canadian settler identity and reinforce the park as “nature” is sacrosanct, impervious to critique. The protection of the park as an environmental triumph is lauded as indicative of the morality of “civilized” society, and any threat to the park is thus a threat to spirituality, to morality, and to the heritage of *all* humanity. The ritual rehearsal of Pacific Spirit as nature is obsessive, reflecting a deep insecurity inherent in colonized contexts about the violence of invasion and occupation of Indigenous lands. It likewise communicates an anxiety shared by wider society about the ongoing exploitation of the natural world and the resulting ecological devastation. The adherence to comfortable narratives reflects an attempt to assuage these anxieties and “forget” them through ritual.

Together, those chapters captured the recursive relationship between park representations and performances, illustrating the overwhelming narrative of a culture-less nature that is central to Pacific Spirit’s construction. In Part III of the dissertation, I sought to access the worldview communicated by park users and considered how this space operates ideologically. As a typical park user, I was well-situated to assess the role of Pacific Spirit in society from an insider’s perspective; yet, as I articulated in the introduction to Part III, this did not prevent me from failing to immediately discern the nature of the park’s narrative. Towards this, in Chapter 7, I considered the results of an online questionnaire targeting the park community. This survey illustrated that people cope with this settler insecurity and pervasive anxiety by “escaping” into the nature of Pacific Spirit, which allows them to “forget” and “feel better.” This tremendous need overrides interests in history, and the park’s construction as “nature” requires that cultural history is not featured in the park, nor do many people feel it should be. The park is lauded as a public place for everyone, yet it is surrounded by evidence of extreme social and financial inequalities resulting from modern capitalism, and certain groups in society such as the homeless and Indigenous

peoples continue to be vilified as deviant to park values. As a necessary respite from reality, the park placates people into complacency, preventing divided communities from coming together to enact their values and affect change.

These factors combine to make Pacific Spirit a hegemonic space, using “nature” to hide “culture.” I examined this dynamic in Chapter 8, discussing how the park operates to hide power and thereby minimize resistance to it. Collective memory and forgetting are central to maintaining dominant narratives, yet anxiety remains, prompting the need to escape into nature, to forget and to feel better. This ensures the dominant discourse is not disrupted. To challenge this, I considered how counter-narratives that acknowledge injustice committed by colonial and capitalist forces are increasingly being vocalized. To challenge dominance requires a fundamental shift in perceiving parks as “nature” to viewing them as platforms to reconnect nature with culture. Telling uncomfortable stories is a necessary part of this, reconfiguring Pacific Spirit as an expression of the struggle with capitalism—a struggle that we are all connected to in differently situated ways.

My research has demonstrated the utility of combining the tools of anthropology and archaeology to evaluate ideology in contemporary cultural landscapes. I consider the “hybrid practice” approach of using documentary, ethnographic, and archaeological tools to be successful towards investigating ideology, for it is by definition evasive and dynamic. In particular, a focus on the visible material landscape of the park over the ancient, buried, and invisible history of the landscape was essential to consider how nature is constructed in the present, both conceptually and materially. In this way, the practices of archaeology and anthropology, which have long been implicated in the imperial endeavours of colonialism and capitalism, may be used to confront these projects. To do so requires a commitment to activism—to being explicit about one’s politics, to name the problems and dynamics and thereby be equipped *to act upon them*. As Allan Johnson (2006:9) suggests, “speaking out is, of course, a hard and risky thing to do, because receiving privilege depends on being accepted by other members of the privileged group. But it is not possible to both work to end privilege and hang on to it at the same time.” Taking an activist approach may help to ensure that existing power structures that perpetuate social injustice are not simply rehearsed, renamed, and re-naturalized, because they are identifiable and part of the discourse itself.

While I have tried to see myself as a political actor in the research process, I did not anticipate some of the roles that people saw for me: specifically, that I could act as an advocate for communities and in larger issues of human rights; that I might become directly involved as a volunteer for various projects in the park; or that I could be seen as a mediator between disparate communities, and my project as a way of “knitting” them together. These were encouraging responses to my project and elevated the importance of my involvement in park activities and events—as an active agent in this research. By exposing how

Pacific Spirit functions to naturalize power, this research has fulfilled the first step towards an activist agenda: recognition of the problem (Regan 2010). Sadly, I feel I missed opportunities to activate my politics and instead fell into the familiar and tired position of “anthropologist as observer,” despite attempts to orient my research as activist. While useful towards *understanding* culture, this role is limited in its ability to *change* culture, resulting in the production of the status quo.

It was also brought to my attention during my final doctoral examination that I have in this dissertation participated in the ideological practice of writing in a way that removes agency such that the actor(s) cannot be identified. For example, I wrote in Chapter 3 that “the cultural heritage and history of the park is silenced”; what would be more correct would be to say that Metro Vancouver *is silencing* the cultural heritage and history of the park. Similarly, in Chapter 8, I described “the dislocation and resettlement of Musqueam people from these lands, the alienation of lands as a park and an ecological reserve, the renaming of the territory, and the erasure of all Indigenous history from the park” without identifying who has and is doing the dislocating, resettling, alienating, renaming, and erasing—the nation of Canada, the province of Metro Vancouver, and the bureaucrats who support these institutions. In his discussion of ideology, John Thompson (1990:66) describes these tactics as passivization and nominalization respectively, both of which “delete actors and agency and they tend to represent processes as things or events which take place in the absence of a subject who produces them...[Both tactics] may, in particular circumstances serve to establish and sustain relations of domination by reifying social-historical phenomena.” Rather than rewrite these instances throughout my thesis, I draw attention to it here as an example of the challenge of recognizing ideology *and then acting upon that knowledge of undermine it*, even in products such as a dissertation where I have control over the end product.

Indeed, at the end of this research, I have come to question the extent to which truly activist research is possible within the confines of academia (see Graeber 2005). Not only does this structure inherently reproduce precisely the inequalities I have sought to position myself against (Dabulkis-Hunter 2002), but one of the central tenets to an anti-oppressive approach to research is the concept of “no research without relationships” (Potts and Brown 2005:263), meaning not “time-specific, beginning and ending, throw-away relationships” but rather relationships “for life.” As a graduate student, my ability to engage with community members in developing and producing this research was limited and, while I had hoped to have a dialogic aspect to the dissertation, the fact is that the thesis cannot be a coauthored product. Further, the few people with whom I formed relationships had limited time to devote to what could not be anything other than *my* project; this was particularly the case with the Musqueam community, with which I had hoped to work more closely. In part resulting from these barriers, my dissertation effectively “speaks back” to my own community—the settler society of Vancouver—by challenging celebratory tales of nation-building, but it contains little self-representation by the Indigenous

people who continue to be marginalized in these tales.

However, through this study, I have identified potential avenues for producing counter-narratives that might challenge the ideological nature of Pacific Spirit. To address historical and ongoing injustices, official public recognition of the extensive Indigenous history and continuing use of the lands today called Pacific Spirit is necessary, whether conveyed in signs, events, or other media. Critically, this must be accompanied by land repatriation, transfer of governance, and other forms of material compensation. Awareness of the trauma inflicted through capitalism and the resulting loss of heritage must likewise be raised to the level of public discourse, for this shared experience—“losing” heritage through displacement by capitalism—is a powerful platform for resistance. In this endeavour, anarchic forms of critical expression may be most important to thwart the hegemonic appropriation of counter-narratives.

The ideology of culture-less “nature” communicated in the park is central to colonial power and capitalist exploitation of “resources”—a project that implicates us all. While the park is for now off-limits to further development, the rest of Vancouver continues to be developed around it, and resources are imported from global sources to sustain the affluence of its population. Thus, the project of imperialism, today under the rubric of neoliberalism and globalization, is far from complete. Selective remembering and intentional “forgetting” are central to the ideological function of the park, and Pacific Spirit plays an essential role in forgetting difficult history and providing escape from the traumatic alienation of urbanism. This suggests that resistance to the dominant narrative is unlikely, for the park remains essential to surviving the unfolding crisis of modernity.

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## Appendix A: Area Map of Vancouver



Figure A.1. Map of Vancouver neighbourhoods, illustrating the University Endowment Lands, Pacific Spirit Regional Park, and the surrounding neighbourhoods of West Point Grey and Dunbar-Southlands. The main Musqueam Reserve is at the southern area of the Dunbar-Southlands but is not marked on this map (Map produced by Tschubby [2008], used here under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike Licence).

## Appendix B: BC Treaty Statement of Intent Maps

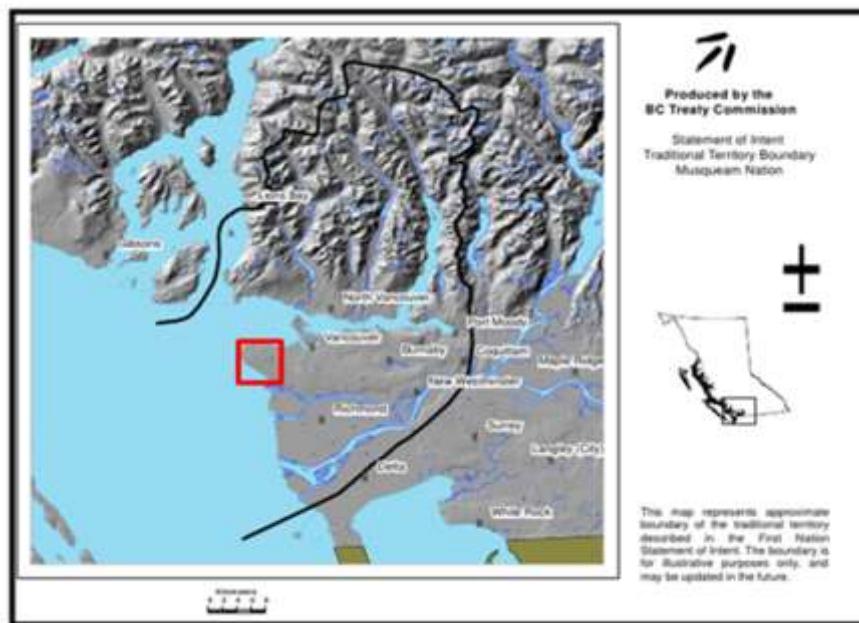


Figure B.1. Statement of Intent map created for the BC Treaty Process by Musqueam. The red box outlines the area of Point Grey and Pacific Spirit Regional Park.

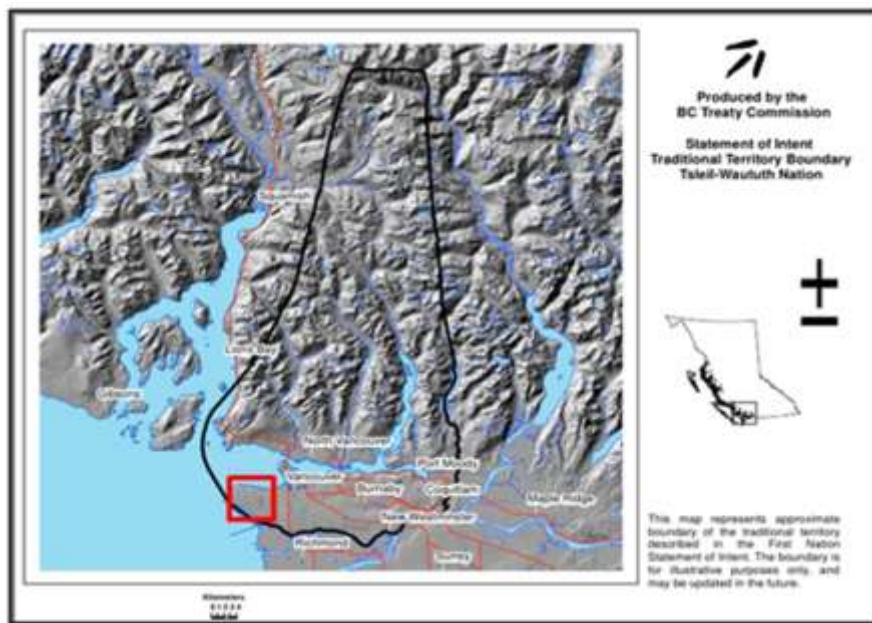


Figure B.2: Statement of Intent boundaries for Traditional Territory of Tsleil-Waututh Nation, produced by the BC Treaty Commission. The red box outlines the area of Point Grey and Pacific Spirit Regional Park.

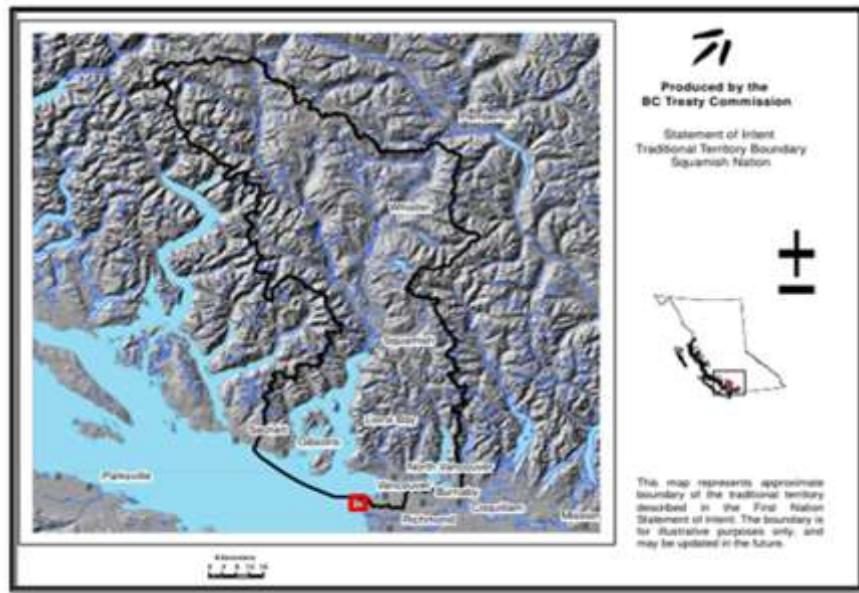


Figure B.3. Statement of Intent map created for the BC Treaty Process by Squamish. The red box outlines the area of Point Grey and Pacific Spirit Regional Park.

## Appendix C: Online Questionnaire

### Pacific Spirit Regional Park - history, meaning, and management

Page #1

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE This survey is part of a Doctoral project about Pacific Spirit Regional Park in Point Grey, BC. The results of the survey will contribute to the thesis report, due August 2012. The survey is anonymous and no names will be collected or retained in association with responses. Participants who might like to be involved in follow-up interviews can provide contact details at the end of the survey, which will be kept strictly confidential, and participants will not be identified by name in any final products of the research unless they prefer to be identified. Participation in this survey is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw the study at any time without repercussion. Your consent to participate is implied by filling out the questionnaire. It should take about 10 minutes to complete the survey. Thank you for participating! Student Researcher: Marina La Salle Project Supervisor: Susan Rowley (604) 822-0258 If I have questions or want further information about this study, I may contact UBC Professor Susan Rowley at (604) 822-0258. If I have any concerns about my treatment or rights as a participant in this project, I may contact the Office of Research Services at the University of British Columbia at (604) 822-8598.

**PARK USE & ACTIVITIES**

Pacific Spirit Regional Park includes both a large forested area, and surrounding beaches. Throughout this survey, 'the Park' refers to both areas together.

**How did you first become aware of Pacific Spirit Regional Park? (check all that apply)**

- I have never been to the Park
- School/university course
- Park/society websites
- Newspaper article
- Travel guide
- A friend/family member
- Live nearby
- Always known about it
- Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**What parts of the Park do you regularly visit? (check all that apply)**

- Camosun Bog
- Forest trails
- Acadia Beach vicinity
- Wreck Beach vicinity
- Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**What are your main reasons for visiting the Park? (check all that apply)**

- Tourism
- Recreation
- Research
- Education
- Transit (passing through)
- Cultural/spiritual practice
- Employment
- Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**If you use the Park for recreation, what kinds? (check all that apply)**

- Walking
- Cycling
- Dog-walking
- Horseback riding
- Jogging/running
- Swimming/sunbathing
- Picnicking
- Wildlife/bird viewing
- Part of a fitness club
- Geocaching
- Youth outdoors club
- Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

 If you are conducting or have conducted research in the Park, what kind of research are you engaged in?

---

---

---

 How often do you visit the Park?

- Daily
- More than once a week
- More than once a month
- A few times each year

 How long do you usually spend in the Park per visit?

- Less than 1 hour
- 1-2 hours
- 2-4 hours
- More than 4 hours

 What time of year do you most often visit the Park?

- Winter
- Spring
- Summer
- Fall
- Year-round

How do you travel to the Park? (check all that apply)

- Walk
- Drive
- Bike
- Bus
- Horse
- Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Who do you go to the Park with? (check all that apply)

- I usually go alone
- With my dog(s)
- On horseback
- With a friend and/or family member
- With a fitness group
- With an educational group
- Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**PARK EXPERIENCES**

Where do you get most of your information about the Park from? (check all that apply)

- I do not seek out information
- Park/society websites
- School/university course
- Newspaper article
- Travel guide
- Independent Research
- Posters on park noticeboards
- A friend/family member
- Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

When I go to the Park, I \_\_\_\_\_ go off the trails.

- Often
- Sometimes
- Never

I have seen people residing in the Park.

- Yes
- No

When I go to the Park, I \_\_\_\_\_ read the signs/posters about wildlife and ecology.

- Often
- Sometimes
- Never

I \_\_\_\_\_ attend events at the Park hosted by local organizations.

- Often
- Sometimes
- Never

Check the option that best describes how you feel about the statements below:

Strongly	Disagree	Disagree	Indifferent	Agree	Strongly Agree

It bothers me when people break trail-use rules (e.g., dogs off leash, cyclists on pedestrian trails).

I feel people who are living in the Park should be allowed to stay.

I feel my behaviour is too restricted by Park rules.

The Park feels like a welcoming and accessible place.

It bothers me that police patrol the beaches.

 **PARK HISTORY**

This section is designed to gauge public awareness of Park history. If you are unsure, please leave the field blank.

 **Who owns Pacific Spirit Regional Park?**

---

---

 **Who manages the Park?**

---

---

 **Where did the name 'Pacific Spirit' come from?**

---

---

 **When did the Park officially become 'Pacific Spirit Regional Park'?**

---

---

 **What did people use this area for before it became a 'park'?**

---

---

 **What were the BC Government's early plans for the park lands?**

---

---

 **Do you know of any controversies about the Park?**

---

---

 **PARK HISTORY**

This section is designed to assess public awareness of Park heritage. If you are unsure, please leave the field blank.

 **Which First Nation(s) assert the park lands as part of their traditional territory?**

---

---

 **Which First Nation(s) have an Indian Reservation adjacent to the Park?**

---

---

 **Who protested the 1989 opening of Pacific Spirit Regional Park and why?**

---

---

 **Which First Nation(s) now own a portion of what used to be Pacific Spirit Regional Park?**

---

---

 **Why was this park land transferred in 2007?**

---

---

 **Who protested the 2007 park land transfer and why?**

---

---

 **CULTURAL HERITAGE**

This section is designed to assess public awareness of Park heritage. If you are unsure, please leave the field blank.

 **What does the trail name 'Admiralty' refer to?**

---

---

 **What does the trail name 'Imperial' refer to?**

---

---

 **What does the bog's name 'Camosun' refer to?**

---

---

 **What does the trail name 'Sasamat' refer to?**

---

---

 **What does the trail name 'Salish' refer to?**

---

---

 **What salmon-bearing creek runs through the Park?**

---

---

 **What is the monument in the vehicle pull-out on SW Marine Drive (across from the Ecological Reserve) dedicated to?**

---

---

 **What other monuments or signs do you know of in the Park?**

---

---

CULTURAL HERITAGE

Are you aware of any archaeological sites in the Park?

- Yes  
 No

Have you ever found ancient artifacts in the Park?

- Yes  
 No

Are you aware of any historic sites in the Park?

- Yes  
 No

Have you ever found historic garbage dumps in the Park?

- Yes  
 No

Are you aware of cultural or spiritual sites in the Park that are used today?

- Yes  
 No

Where did you learn about the history of the park lands? (check all that apply)

- I have not learned about park history  
 Park/society website  
 School/university course  
 Newspaper article  
 Travel guide  
 Independent research  
 A friend/family member  
 Always known about it  
 Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**PARK MANAGEMENT**

Check the option that best describes how you feel about the statements below:

Strongly	Disagree	Disagree	Indifferent	Agree	Strongly Agree
----------	----------	----------	-------------	-------	----------------

I would like to learn about different cultural uses of the Park.

The Park's natural environment is more important than its cultural heritage.

Environmental conservation should be a major focus in Park management.

Cultural heritage should be a major focus in Park management.

I would like to see information provided in the Park about its history.

First Nations should have access to their cultural sites in the Park.

No one should have access to ecologically-sensitive areas of the Park.

First Nations should have access to Park resources (e.g., wood/bark, berries, shellfish etc.).

First Nations should be involved in decision-making about the Park.

The Park should be a public place and open to all.

I would like to see more information provided in the Park about its ecology.

Who should have control over the Park's management? (check all that apply)

- Federal government (e.g., Parks Canada)
- Provincial government (e.g., BC Parks)
- Regional government (e.g., Metro Vancouver)
- Local First Nations
- Local community organizations
- Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

The interpretive signs installed at Camosun Bog relate information on (check all that apply):

- I have not seen the interpretive signs
- Bog plants and animals
- First Nations' stories about the bog
- Volunteers at the Bog
- Cultural uses of bog plants and animals
- Geological formation of the bog
- Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**SURVEY PARTICIPATION PROFILE**

**A** Age

---

**A** Gender

---

**A** Cultural Background

---

**A** Area of Residence (e.g., UBC, Point Grey, Musqueam, Kitsilano, Burnaby...)

---

**A** What topics did this questionnaire not cover that you think are important to include?

---

---

---

**A** Please include any additional comments below:

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---

**PARTICIPANT INVITATION**

I hope to conduct some follow-up interviews with survey participants to go over some of the questions asked here in more detail. If you might like to participate, please provide your contact email below.

**A** I might like to participate in a follow-up interview. Please contact me at the below email address:

---

**A** THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS SURVEY!

## Appendix D: Online Questionnaire Results

Basic demographic information shows that 65% percent ( $n=120$ ) of respondents were female, and 32% ( $n=60$ ) male (Figure D.1). Ages ranged from “20 or younger” to “70+” with a fairly even spread across these categories. When clustered as follows, however, there is a trend towards more responses from people aged above 40 years, who account for 62% ( $n=123$ ) of respondents (Figure D.2).

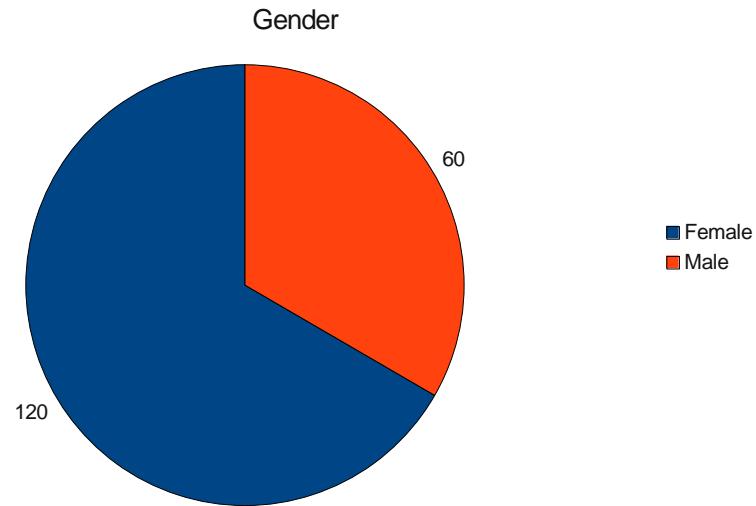


Figure D.1. Gender ratio of respondents.

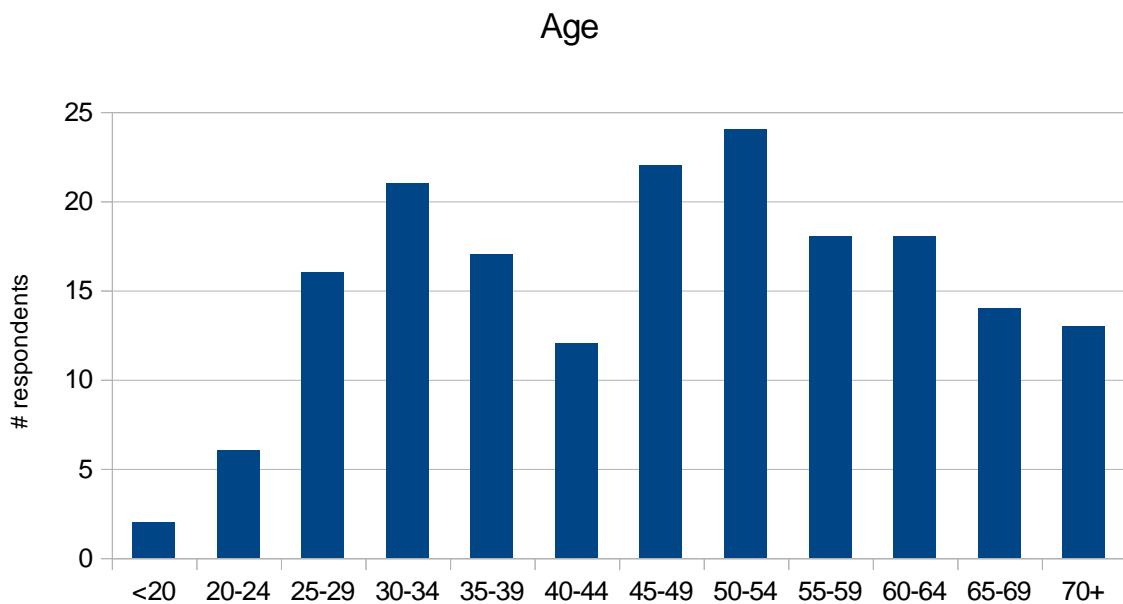


Figure D.2. Age distribution of questionnaire respondents.

Multiple responses (n=210) were provided by 169 survey participants to the question asking for their Cultural Background (Figure D.3). Their responses were categorized to allow for multiple categories. Of these, “White / Caucasian” (36%, n=61) and “European” (26%, n=45) represent the most common answers, with “Asian” next (5%, n=10); only five people who self-identified as Aboriginal or First Nations responded to the survey.

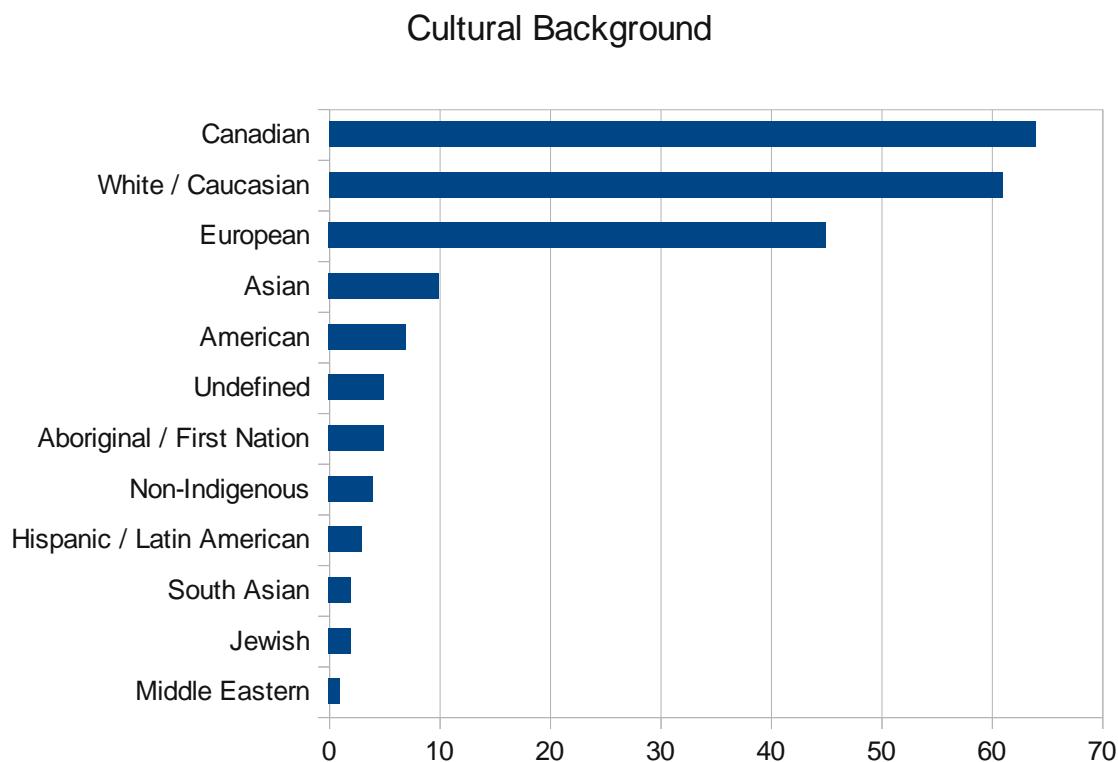


Figure D.3. Frequency of responses to the question of “Cultural Background” by self-identified groups.

Regarding Area of Residence, 180 survey participants responded, half of whom (51%, n=93) noted that they live in the immediate area, including Dunbar, Musqueam, Point Grey, Southlands, the University of British Columbia (UBC) and the University Endowment Lands (UEL). The second largest group (22%, n=40) reside in Vancouver West, including Kitsilano and Kerrisdale (Figure D.4).

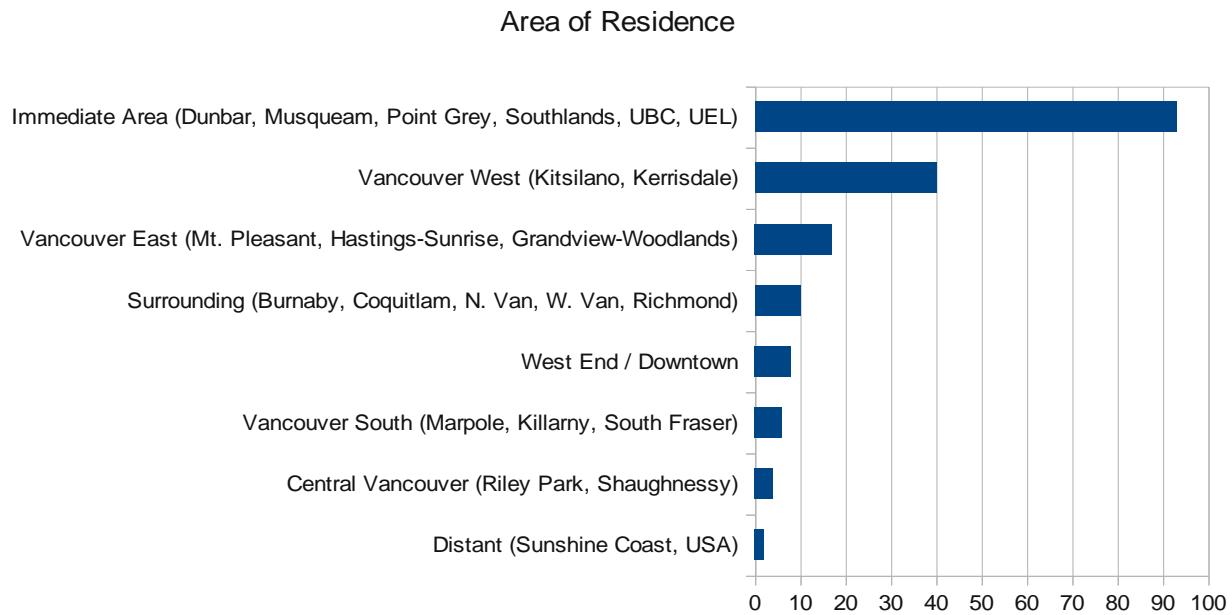


Figure D.4. Frequency of responses for area of residence for respondents.

Of the 174 people who answered the question concerning affiliation with park organizations, most (73%, n=127) are not involved in any park organizations, while 19% (n=33) are part of the Pacific Spirit Park Society, and 8% (n=14) are with Southlands Riding Club (Figure D.5).

### Do you or your family belong to any Park organizations?

(check all that apply)

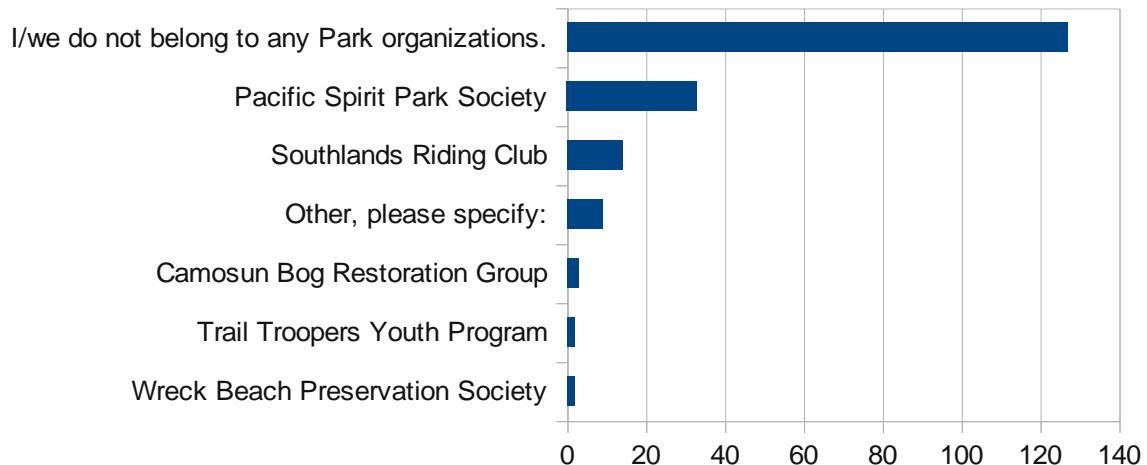


Figure D.5. Responses by frequency for park organization membership.

In responses identifying how people had heard about the park (Figure D.6), most of the 185 people said that they “live nearby” (58%, n=108) or have “always known about it” (34%, n=63)—likely reflecting the proximity of residents to Pacific Spirit. Of those who had been introduced to the park by a friend or family member (23%, n=42), predictably, the figure was higher amongst those who did not live nearby (31%, n=15).

### How did you first become aware of Pacific Spirit Park?

(check all that apply)

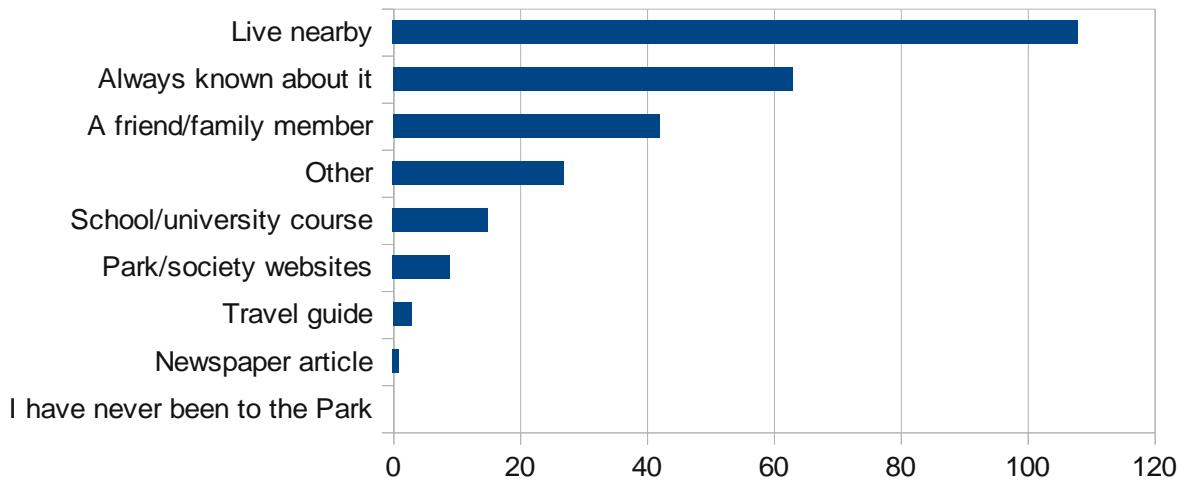


Figure D.6. Frequency of responses for first awareness of the park.

Walking was the most common method of transportation to the park (59%, n=109), followed by driving (43%, n=79) and biking (38%, n=70)—again, confirming that most respondents lived nearby. A smaller group responded that they took the bus (21%, n=38), and an even smaller group still said they arrive at the park by horse (11%, n=21) (Figure D.7).

Under reasons for visiting the park, an overwhelming majority of respondents (94%, n=173) listed “recreation,” followed by 21% (n=38) who said that they merely passed through the park while in transit (Figure D.8). Regarding specific forms of recreation (Figure D.9), the most common were walking (85%, n=154), cycling (38%, n=69) and jogging (35%, n=63). Also noted were dog-walking (32%, n=58) and wildlife or bird viewing (27%, n=49).

### How do you travel to the Park?

(check all that apply)

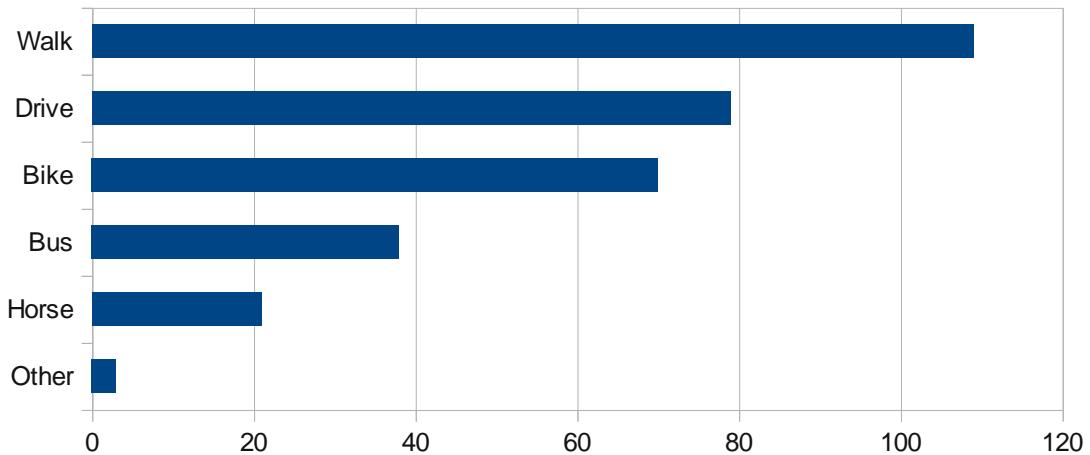


Figure D.7. Frequency of responses for how users travel to the park.

### What are your main reasons for visiting the park?

(check all that apply)

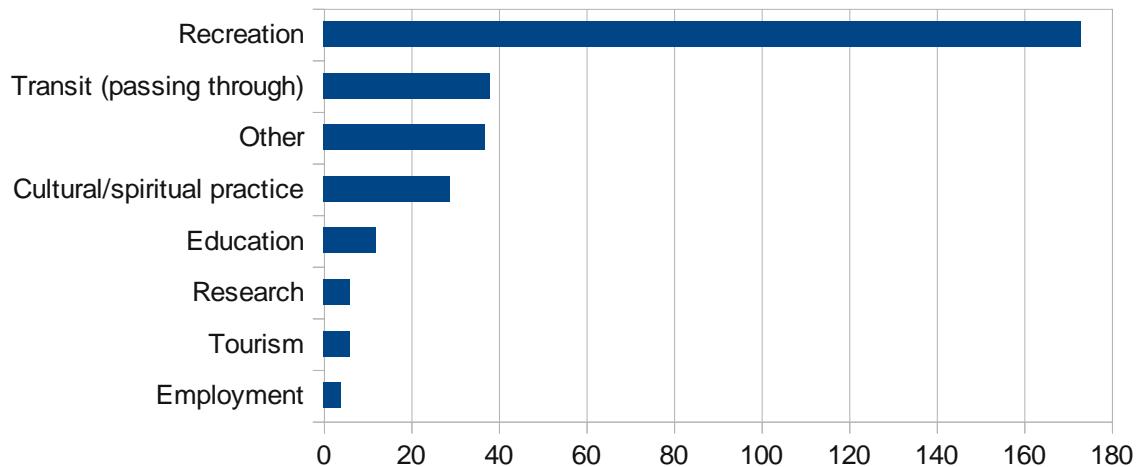


Figure D.8. Frequency of responses for reasons why people attend the park.

If you use the Park for recreation, what kinds?

(check all that apply)

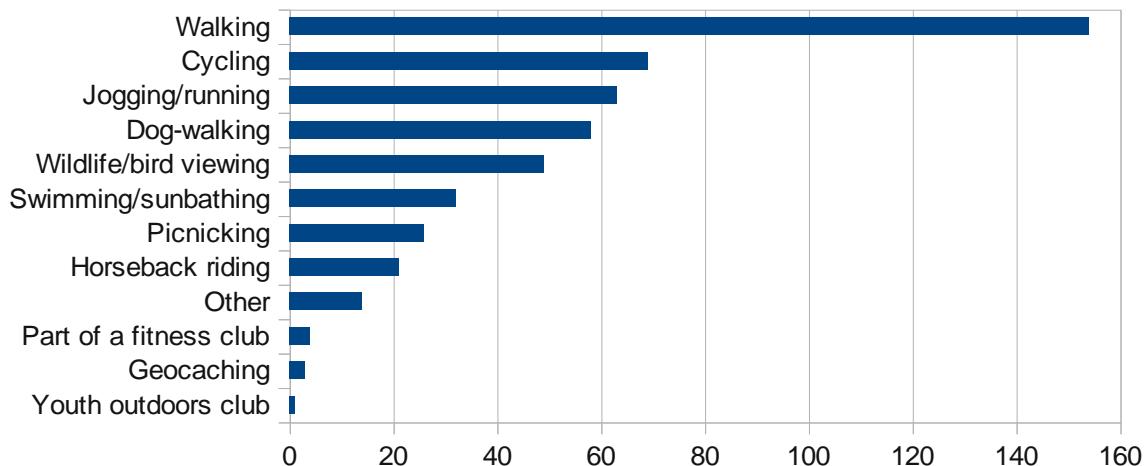


Figure D.9. Types of recreation indicated by respondents as their primary uses of the park.

In terms of where in the park people tended to visit (Figure D.10), the forest trails were noted as the most popular destination (85%, n=155), followed by Camosun Bog (29%, n=52) and Wreck Beach (27%, n=50), then Acadia Beach (21%, n=39). Amongst those who did not live nearby, Wreck Beach figured more prominently as a reason to attend the park (44%, n=20). Of all respondents, 74% (n=137) said they go to the park with a friend and/or family member, 28% (n=52) go with their dog(s), and 45% (n=82) usually go alone (Figure D.11).

Most respondents (64%, n=117) indicated that they visit the park year-round, while others (27%, n=49) specifically attend during the summer (Figure D.12). Responses were fairly tied between those who visited daily or more than once a week (35%, n=64), more than once a month (38%, n=69), and those who only attended a few times each year (27%, n=50) (Figure D.13). The latter figure was higher for those who did not live nearby (51%, n=23). Visitors tended to stay between 1-2 hours (52%, n=96), with 25% (n=45) of people staying for less than this, and 23% (n=42) staying longer (Figure D.14)—perhaps indicative of the form of activity engaged in while at the park.

What parts of the Park do you regularly visit?

(check all that apply)

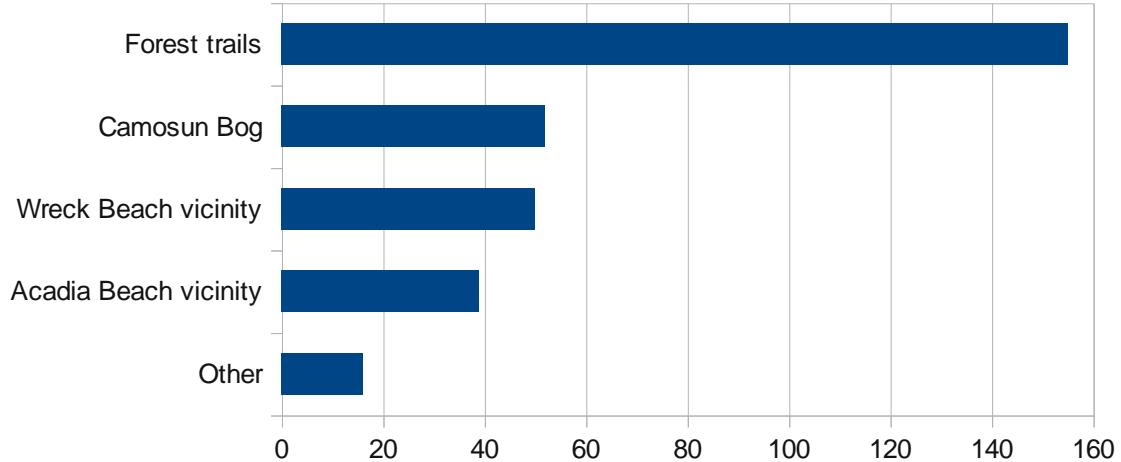


Figure D.10. Areas most visited by park users.

Who do you go to the Park with?

(check all that apply)

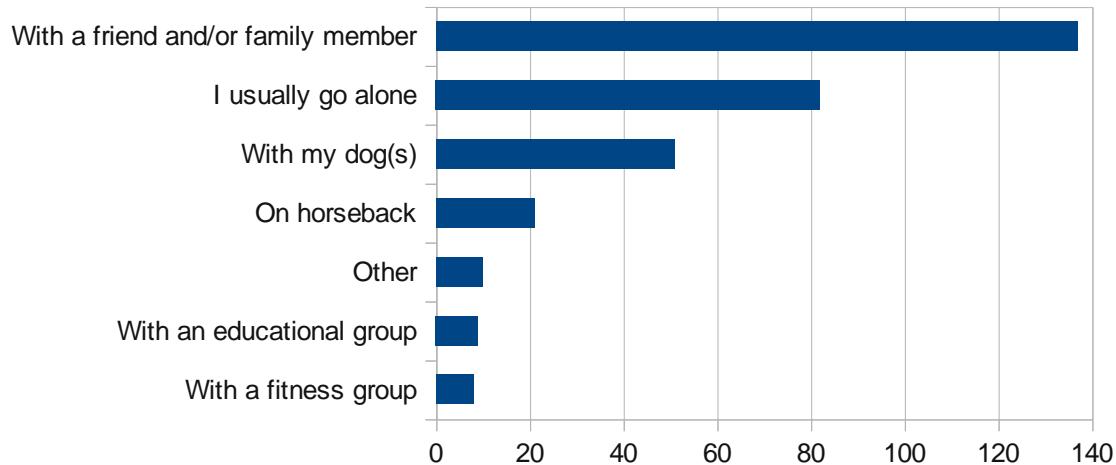


Figure D.11. Frequency of responses to the question of whether visitors attend the park alone or accompanied by others.

What time of year do you most often visit the Park?

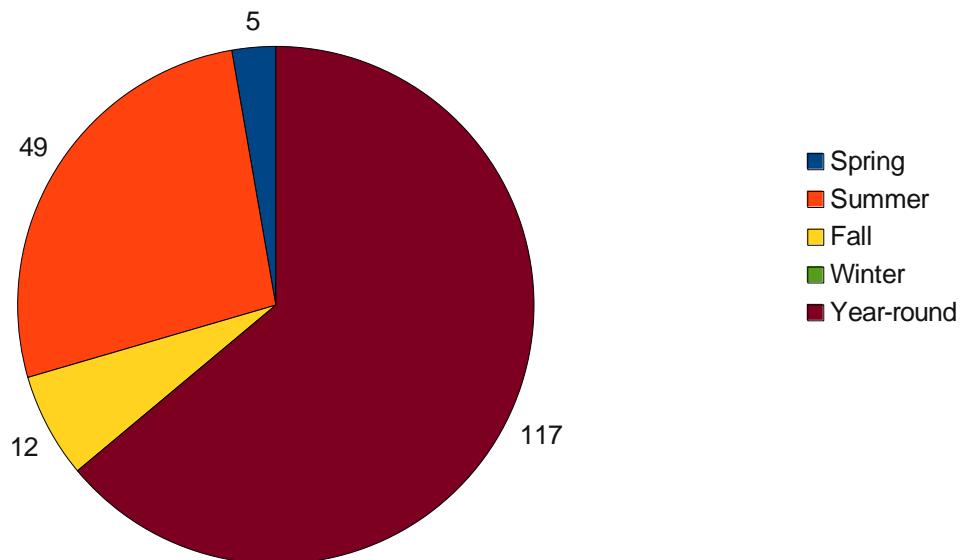


Figure D.12. Seasonality of visits by frequency of responses.

How often do you visit the Park?

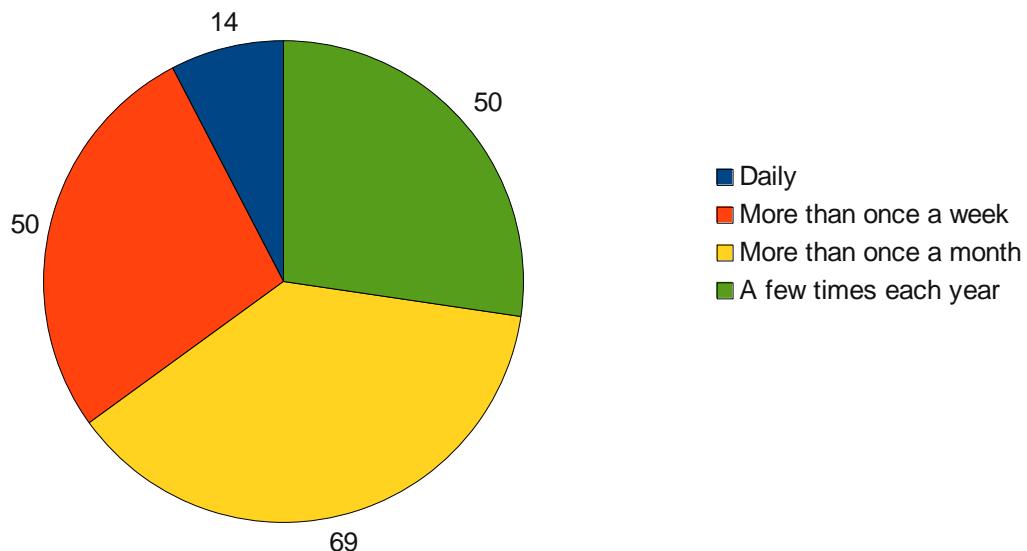


Figure D.13. Frequency of visitation by park users who responded to the questionnaire.

How long do you usually spend in the Park per visit?

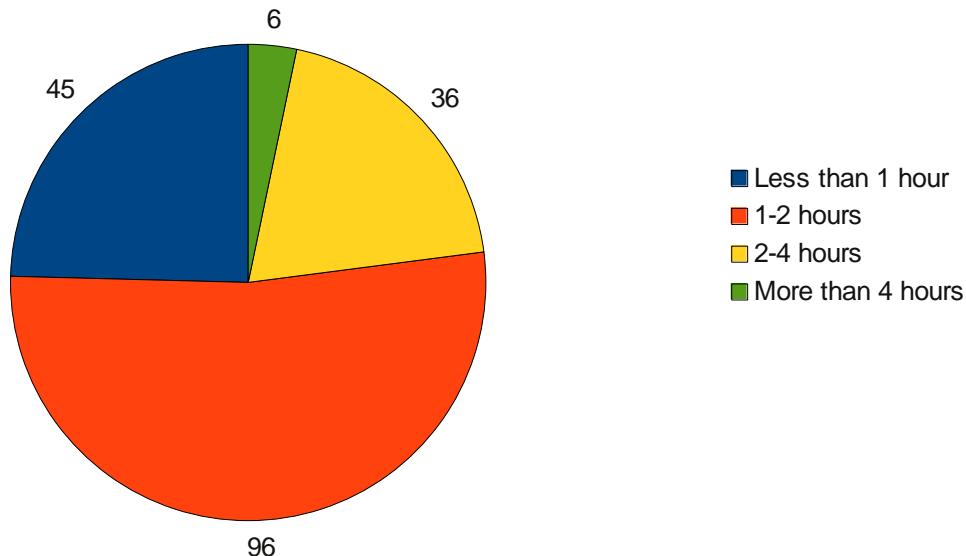


Figure D.14. Amount of time spent in the park by frequency of responses.

Regarding questions concerning deviant behaviours, 27% (n=49) of respondents said they “sometimes” go off the official trails, while only three people said they “often” stray from these paths. The majority of respondents (72%, n=132) “never” go off the trails (Figure D.15).

When I go to the Park, I \_\_\_\_\_ go off the trails.

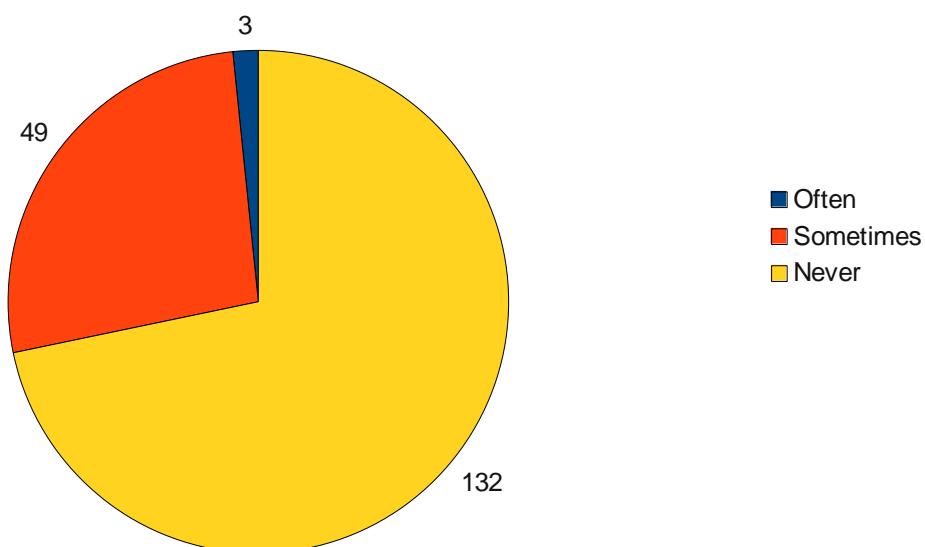


Figure D.15. Response frequency to the question of whether people went off the trails in the park.

74% (n=136) of respondents said they “agree” or “strongly agree” that it bothers them when people break trail-use rules. The majority of respondents at 74% (n=136) also did not feel their behaviour is “too restricted” by park rules (Figure D.16). Most respondents 64% (n=117) did not feel bothered by police patrols on the beaches, 22% (n=40) were neutral, and 13% (n=24) did feel bothered by the police presence on the beaches. These figures were slightly higher for people who did not live nearby.

When directly asked how safe they felt in the park, most respondents (84%, n=154) said that they felt “very” or “moderately” safe while in the park; only 11% (n=20) felt either “somewhat” or “very” unsafe (Figure D.17).

### When you are in the Park, how safe do you feel?

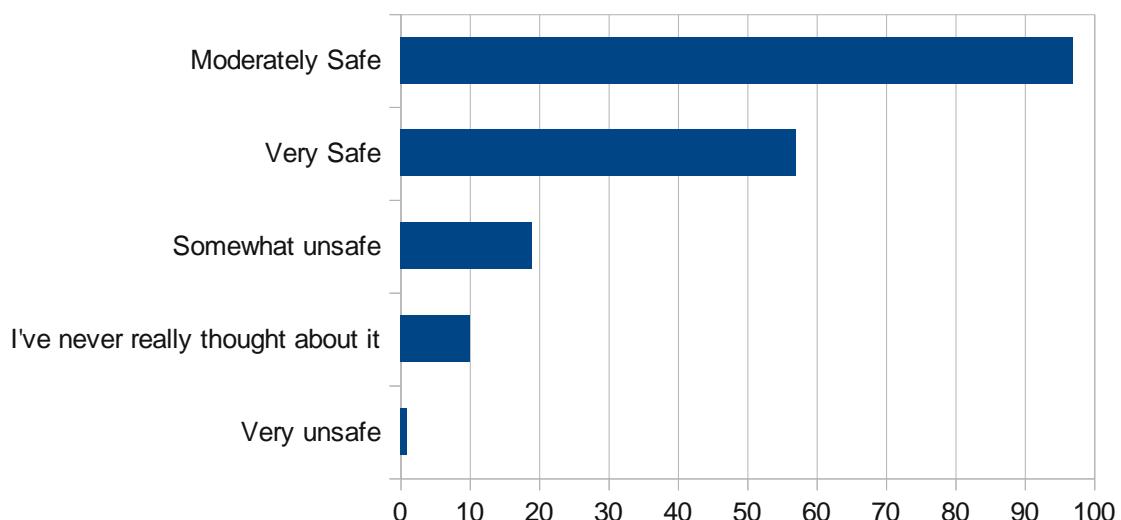


Figure D.16. Feelings of safety expressed by respondents by frequency.

Instead, 87% (n=158) of people responding to this survey felt that the park is “a welcoming and accessible place.” However, more men (52%, n=31) than women (21%, n=25) responded feeling “very safe” in the park, and this is obviously a gendered issue here as elsewhere in society.

The main reasons people provided for feeling unsafe (Figure D.18) primarily fell under two categories: being isolated or alone (27%, n=32) or because of media-reported violence (37%, n=43).

Check the option that best describes how you feel about the statements below:

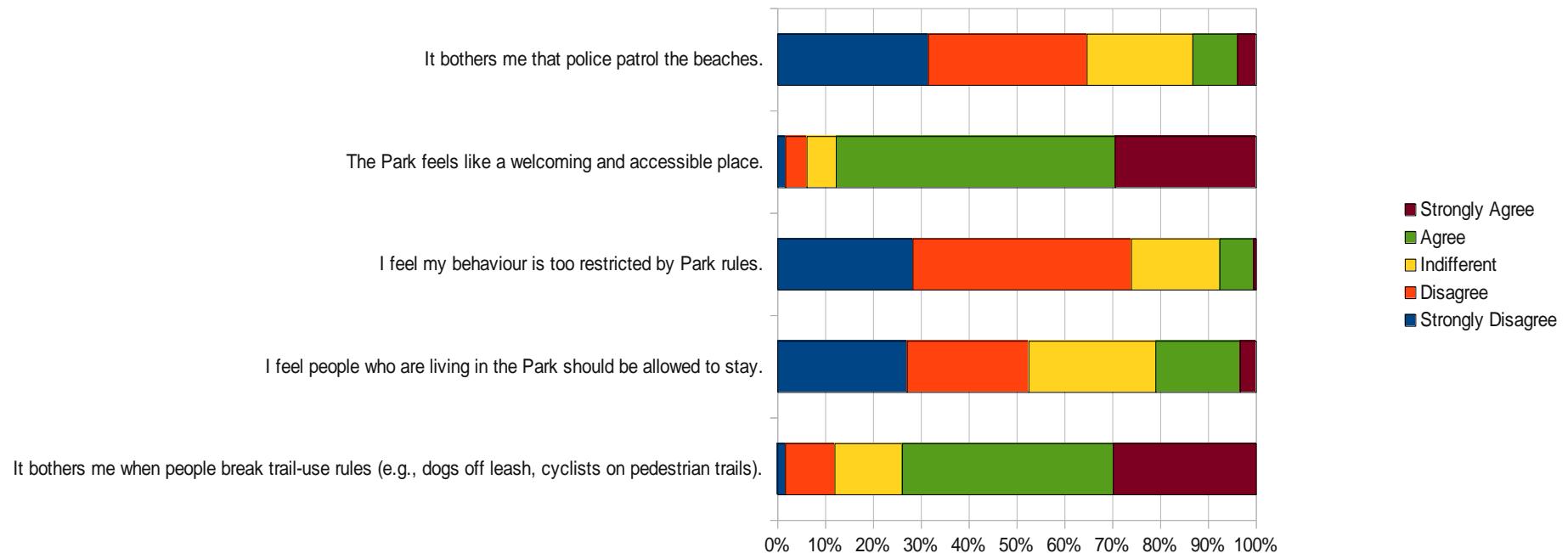


Figure D.17. Responses to a series of questions assessing how park users respond to rule adherence and deviance.

## What aspects of the Park might challenge your feeling of safety?

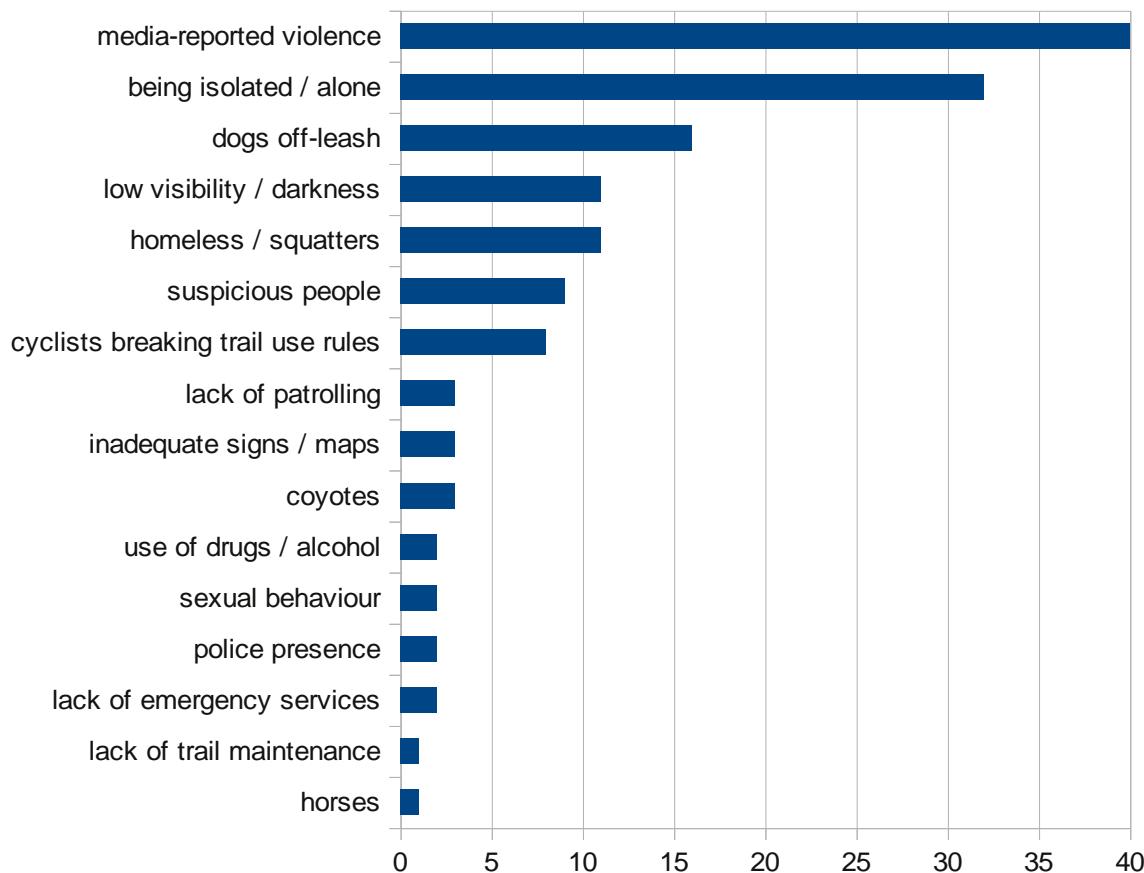


Figure D.18. Reasons provided for why people might feel less than safe in the park.

Fears of “suspicious people” (n=9), “homeless / squatters” (n=11) or illicit behaviours (n=4) all ranked below “dogs off-leash” (n=16) as challenges to safety, and were nearly on par with “cyclists breaking trail-use rules” (n=8).

In addition, most people (71%, n=130) said they have never even seen anyone residing in the park, while only 29% (n=52) reported that they have (Figure D.19). Of interest is that 21% (n=38) of respondents felt that people living in the park should be allowed to stay and 27% (n=48) were “neutral” on the issue; the other half (52%, n=95) responded that they “disagreed” or “strongly disagreed” with the statement.<sup>1</sup>

1 On the question of whether people living in the park should be allowed to stay, there was no significant difference in response rate between those who reported having observed people living there and those who had

I have seen people residing in the Park.

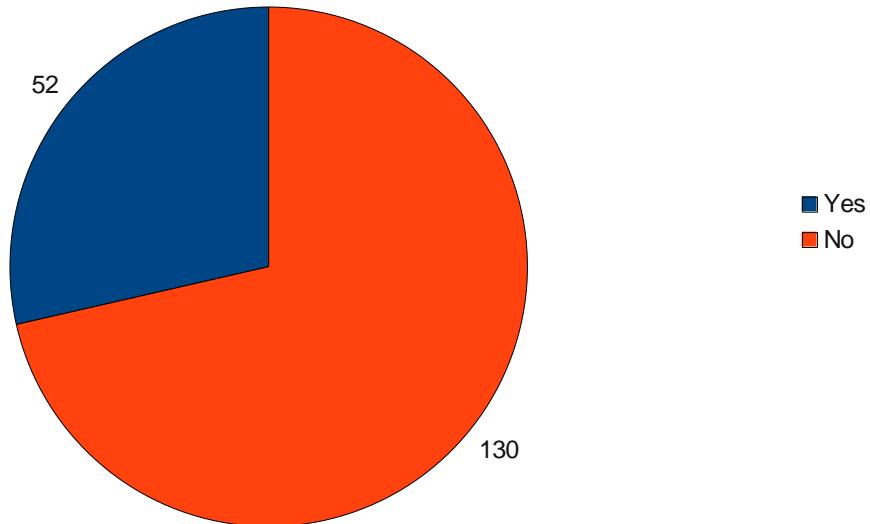


Figure D.19. Frequency of respondents who have or have not seen people living in the park.

In total, 168 people responded to the question of what they like about the park, describing both several features of the park that they enjoy and their emotional responses to being in that space (Figure D.20). Of all responses to the question of what people “liked” about the park, two stand apart from the rest: “accessible / proximity to city” (33%, n=56), “natural wilderness” (32%, n=55). The second cluster of most common responses includes “trails” and “trees” (each at 20%, n=35), “scenic beauty” and “recreation / exercise opportunities” (each at 16%, n=28). In particular, the beach was cited as a space for enjoying the scenic beauty and 10% (n=17) of responses included the beach as the main aspect enjoyed about the park. Other popular responses remarked upon the “green-ness” of the park (10%, n=18), its size (10%, n=17), the wildlife (8%, n=15) and the fresh air (7%, n=13).

Often, people commented on the park’s role as “escape” (10%, n=17). A sense of community (n=8), of history (n=5), and a spiritual connection (n=7) were noted by some as reasons why people “like” the park. Many respondents referred to the park as a place of “peace and quiet / relaxation” (23%, n=39), or of “freedom” (n=5).

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not. This suggests that observing people living in the park had no significant impact on attitudes towards this “deviance.”

## What specifically do you like about the Park?

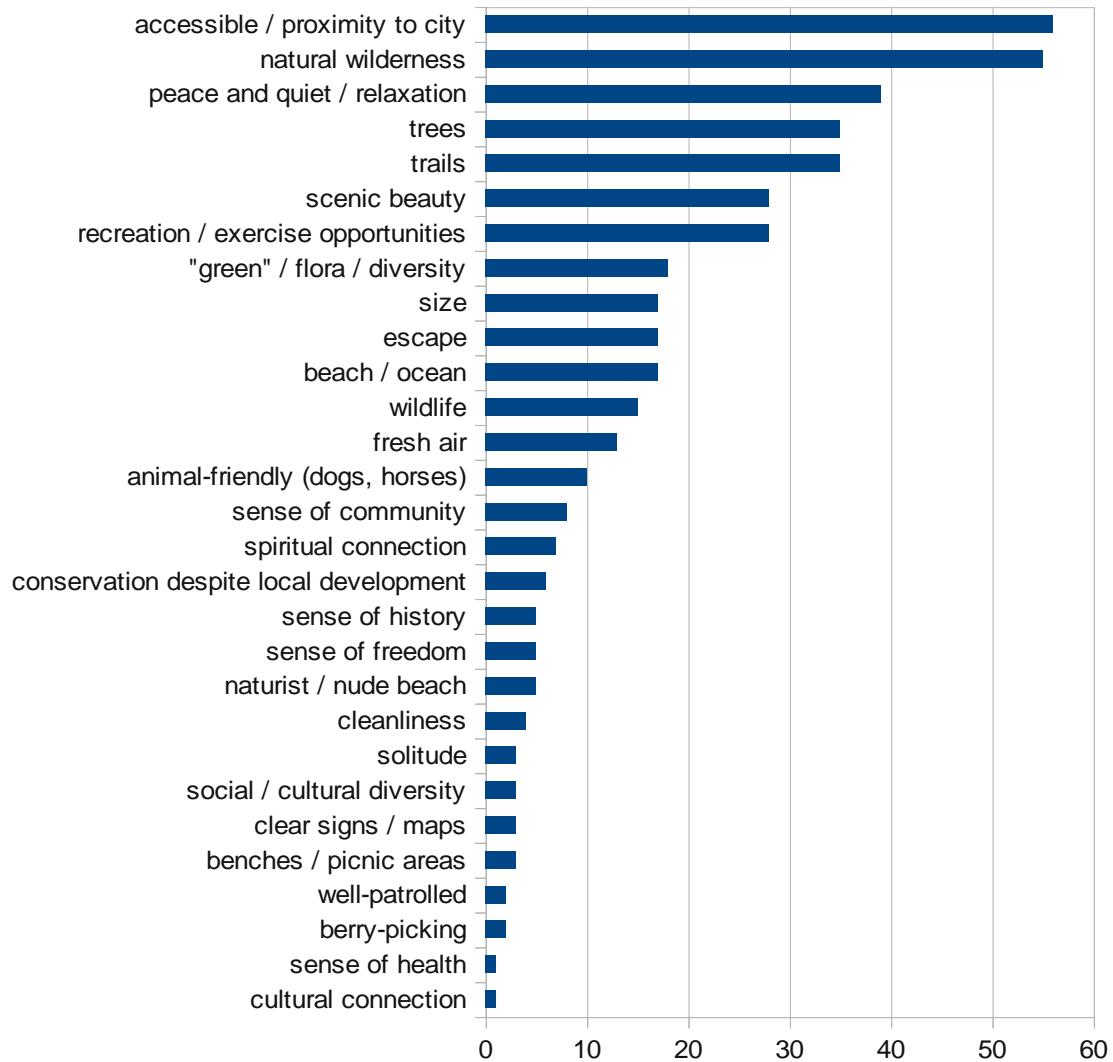


Figure D.20. Responses provided for what people specifically like about the park, grouped by common themes and displayed by frequency.

Of the 134 survey participants who responded to the question of what they dislike about the park, 21 respondents said there was “nothing” they disliked about the park. For the rest, responses tended to identify multiple concerns (Figure D.21). Many of the same topics as addressed regarding safety were

raised as well. By way of an overview, 29% (n=39) of people said that user-group conflicts—specifically, dogs, horses and cyclists—were the main thing they disliked about the park. This was followed by park users breaking rules (11%, n=16) and safety concerns (11%, n=15). Some respondents felt there were “too many people” in the park (n=14), and 10 respondents dislike the litter and dog or horse waste in the park.

### What specifically do you dislike about the Park?

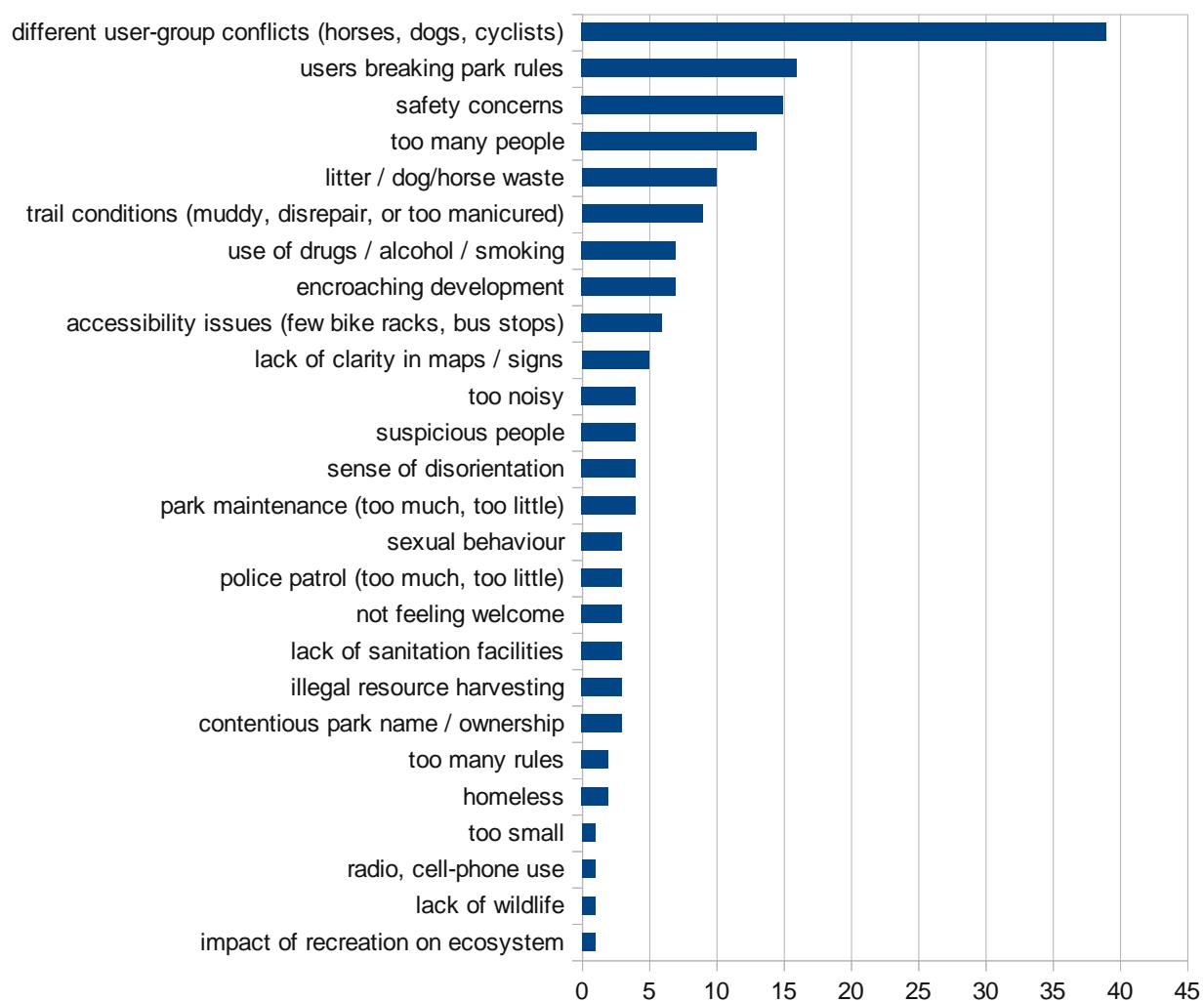


Figure D.21. Responses grouped together by common theme with frequency, to the question of what people dislike about the park.

Responses to the question of what changes people would make in the park addressed issues already raised and were, in many cases, repetitive (Figure D.22). Of all 115 responses, twenty respondents said they would make no changes to the park. For the rest, improving park infrastructure ranked top of the list of changes people would like to see made, with 21% (n=25) of respondents in support. This was followed by increased safety features (11%, n=13). Some commented that they would like more strongly-enforced trail rules (10%, n=12), although another 9% (n=11) wanted to see park rules relaxed (smoking, dogs off-leash, closing hours).

#### Are there any changes you would like to see made in the Park?

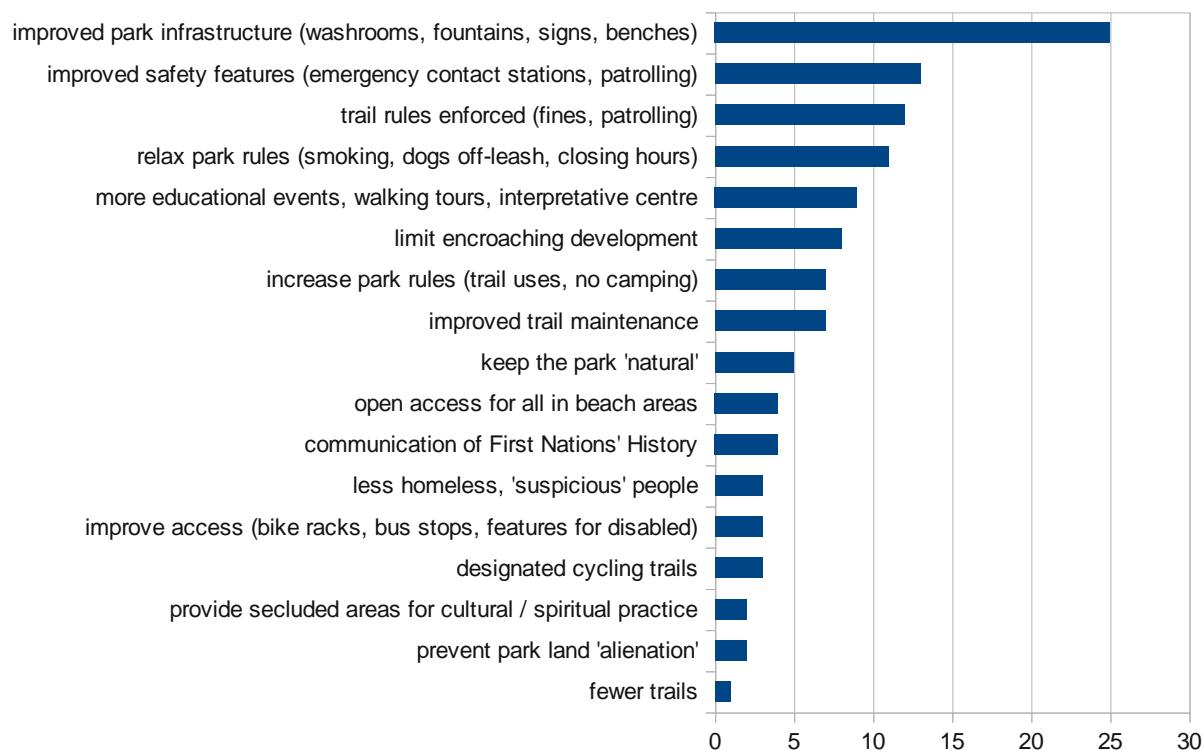


Figure D.22. Changes people would like to see in the park, grouped by common theme and displayed by frequency.

One question regarding the meaning of the park provided a list of statements for respondents to “agree” or “disagree” with (Figure D.23). From responses to the former question, several trends become apparent, reinforcing previous statements concerning what people liked about the park:

- 89% (n=163) agree or strongly agree that the park reconnects them “with the natural world”
- 5 people disagreed

- 15 people were neutral
- 95% (n=174) agree or strongly agree that they feel “relaxed” after visiting the park
  - no one disagreed or strongly disagreed
  - 8 people felt neutral
- 85% (n=153) agree or strongly agree that they visit the park “to escape from urban life”
  - 7 people disagreed or strongly disagreed
  - 20 people felt neutral
- 83% (n=151) agree or strongly agree that the park is “an important part” of their life
  - 8 people disagreed or strongly disagreed
  - 22 people were neutral
  - not living near the park was a factor in these responses

There was more variation in responses when people were asked the following:

- 61% (n=108) feel “a spiritual connection” with the park
  - 22 disagreed or strongly disagreed
  - 49 were neutral
- 49% (n= 91) felt that they were “part of a community” at the park
  - 14% (n=26) disagreed or strongly disagreed
  - 36% (n=66) were neutral
  - only 35% of those who do not live nearby felt they were part of a community

Similarly, when asked about how the park “feels” to them, respondents were divided:

- 66% (n=119) say the park feels like “wilderness”
  - 21% (n=38) disagree or strongly disagree
  - 13% (n=23) were neutral
- 49% (n=88) say the park feels like “a managed landscape”
  - 49% (n=86) disagree or strongly disagree
  - 20% (n=36) were neutral

Check the option that best describes how you feel about the statements below:

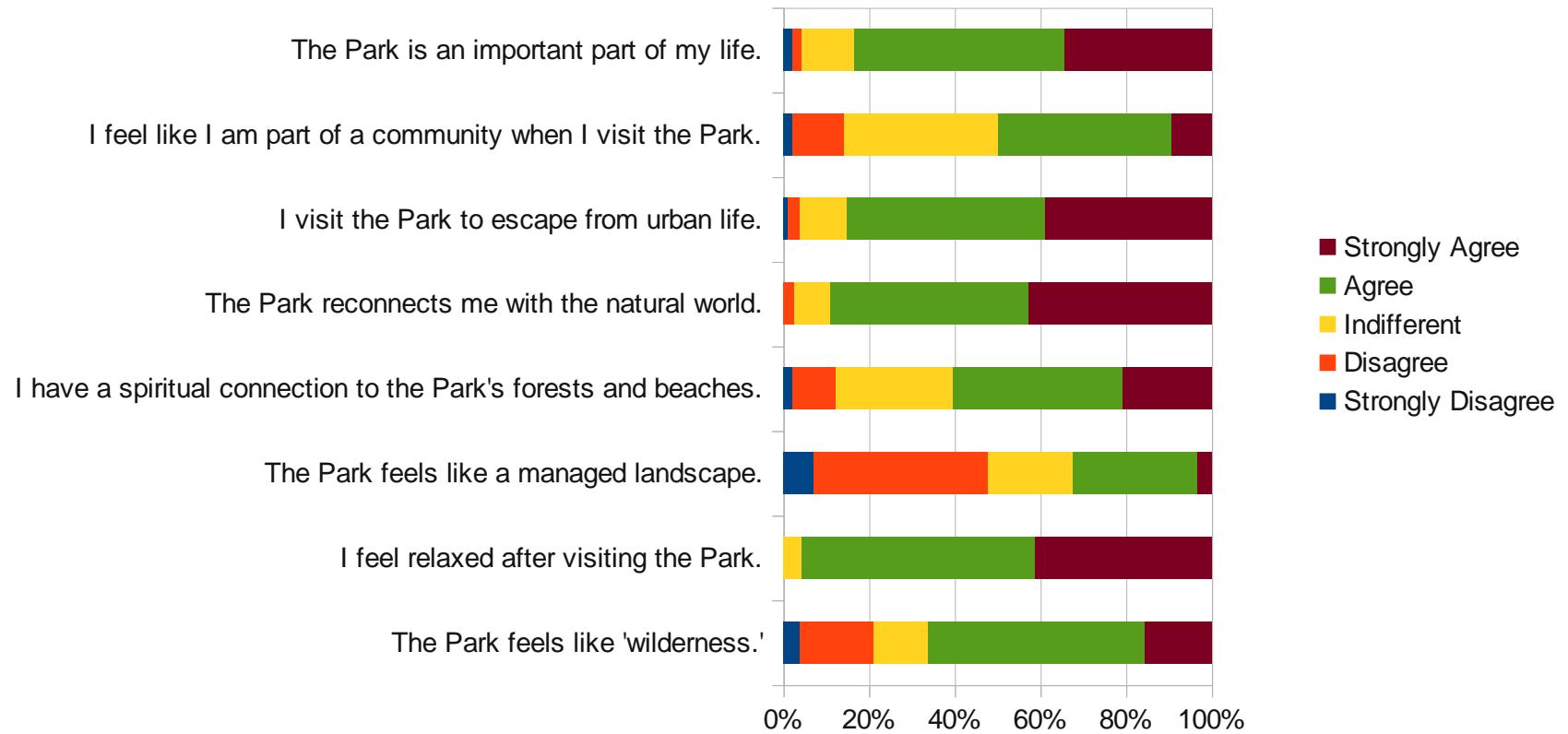


Figure D.23. A series of questions assessing the extent to which the park is viewed as “natural” versus “managed.”

When asked directly what the park meant to them, 143 people provided multiple responses that largely mirrored those for that people “liked” about the park (Figure D.24). Specific comments for each of these themes included natural wilderness (41%, n=60), accessibility or proximity to the city (16%, n=23), relaxation / tranquility (14%, n=21), and escape / refuge from the city” (11%, n=32).

In your own words, what does Pacific Spirit Regional Park mean to you?

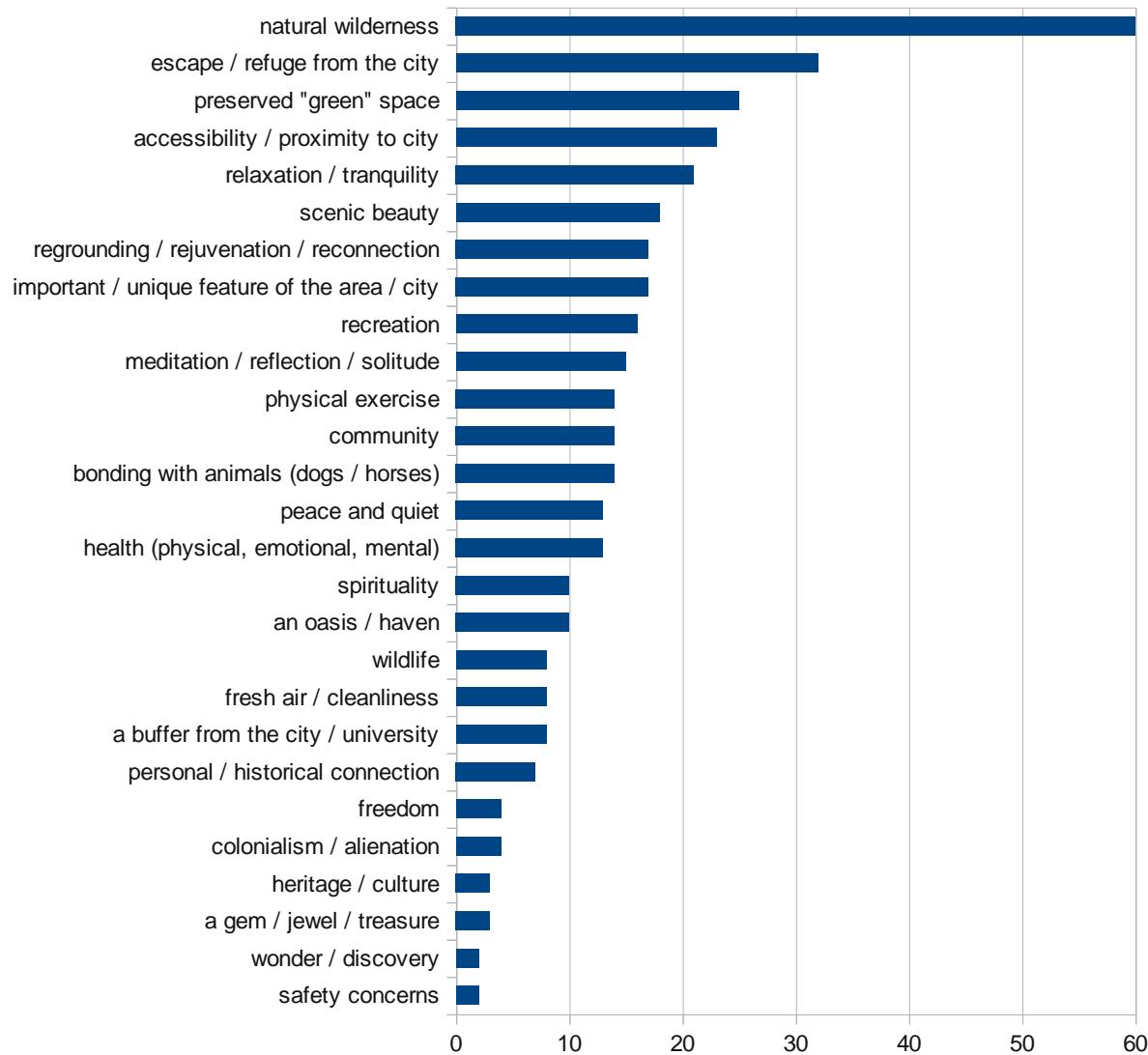


Figure D.24. Responses grouped by common theme, displayed by frequency.

A series of questions concerning trail names and heritage monuments in the Park were posed on the questionnaire. These received some of the lowest response rates of all questions in the survey, with an average of 39 people, or 21% of all 185 questionnaire respondents providing an answer. Concerning “deep” history, people appeared to have little knowledge of archaeological sites in the park (Figure D.25), with only 40 people suggesting they were aware of such sites, and only 10 said they had ever found ancient artifacts (Figure D.26).<sup>2</sup>

Are you aware of any archaeological sites in the Park?

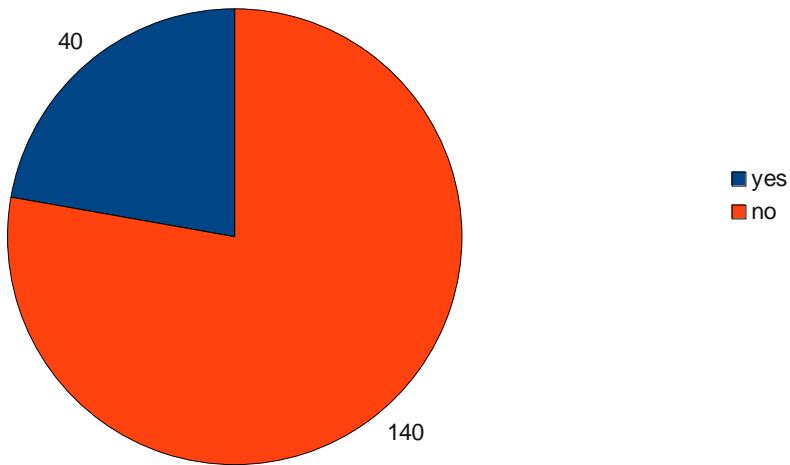


Figure D.25. Frequency of responses to whether people know of archaeological sites in the park.

2 As archaeological sites are generally unknown in any specific way by the public unless the focus of media attention (e.g., Marpole), this relatively high number of people claiming awareness of this deep history, and even of more recent sites, is interesting. I had circulated the survey to my own friends and family, some of whom are students of archaeology, as well as to the UBC Department of Anthropology, so there is the possibility that some of these responses are from people in some way or another “in the know.” The knowledge of sites both historic and more ancient by people who have never themselves found artifacts seems to me to reflect a “general awareness” of the cultural antiquity of the area or knowledge shared between friends. One possibility is that these responses reflect students with field experience in the park; 7 respondents said they learned about park history in university courses. Most cited a friend or family member as the source of their knowledge on park history.

Have you ever found ancient artifacts in the Park?

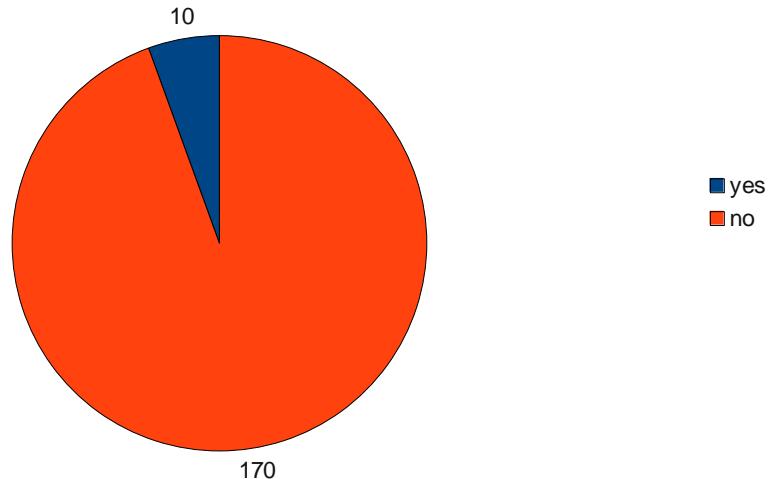


Figure D.26. Responses to whether or not people have ever found artifacts in the park.  
A slightly higher number of people (n=57) knew of “historic”<sup>3</sup> sites in the park (Figure D.27) although,  
again, few of these (n=15) had ever found historic dump sites (Figure D.28).

Are you aware of any historic sites in the Park?

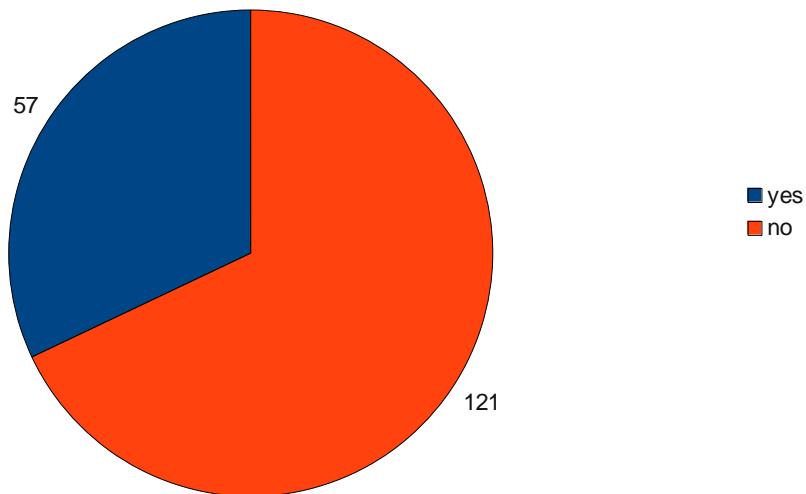


Figure D.27. Awareness of historic sites in the park by frequency.

Concerning the origins of trail names, the following summarizes the accuracy rate of the responses (note that more than one answer was provided by some people, hence the number of responses does not

<sup>3</sup> I did not define “historic” in the survey, preferring to leave it up to respondents to evaluate what this term means and reply accordingly. In common usage in North America, however, “historic” means post-European arrival and before “modern” times, both defined variously.

necessarily equal the number of respondents). Several people noted that the trail is named after the road, which did not really answer the question I was getting at. Similarly, some explained the area referred to by the name, rather than explaining the history of the name, which is likely due to the question phrasing. I have excluded these responses in the figures provided in Table D.1. Significantly, of the total 185 survey respondents, only 26 or 14% were aware of cultural or spiritual sites in use today (Figure D.29).

In sum, respondents were largely unaware of the details of park history, nor were they aware of the possible antiquity of cultural sites in the area. Given that more people seemed “aware” of such places in the park than had actually found evidence themselves, it is likely that respondents were drawing on stories they had encountered of the park’s antiquity. Excluding a possible bias in the respondent population, the overall picture is a dearth of knowledge about the cultural landscape, past and present, of Pacific Spirit Regional Park. This is not a surprise, and reflects my conclusions based on other avenues of research pursued for this project.

Table D.1. Responses to questions concerning the origins of trail names, park areas and creeks, and monuments in the area.

<b>Site/Placename</b>	<b>No. of Respondents (% / 185)</b>	<b>No. of Responses</b> • Answer (count)
Admiralty	37 (20%)	43 responses offered: • British Navy / Military (n=27) • colonial exploration (n=8) • George Vancouver (n=5) • trees logged in area to build ship masts (n=3)
Imperial	37 (20%)	22 responses offered: • British Empire / Navy
Camosun	34 (18%)	27 responses offered: • First Nations chief, name or village (n=23) • colonial history (n=4)
Sasamat	39 (21%)	33 responses offered: • First Nations chief, term or settlement (n=23) • tree or plant (n=7) • colonial history (n=3)
Plains of Abraham	65 (35%)	55 responses offered: • French/English battle site (n=52) • Biblical reference (n=2) • colonial history (n=1)
Salmon-bearing creek	45 (24%)	64 responses offered:

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Musqueam / Tin Can Creek (n=33)</li> <li>• Spanish Banks Creek (n=16)<sup>4</sup></li> <li>• Cutthroat Creek (n=10)</li> <li>• Acadia Creek (n=1)</li> <li>• Booming Ground Creek (n=1)</li> <li>• Ts'ata'lhm (n=1)</li> <li>• Sasamat Creek (n=1)</li> <li>• French Creek (n=1)</li> </ul>
SW Marine monument	32 (17%)	<p>34 responses offered:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Simon Fraser (n=19)</li> <li>• other European explorers (n=10)</li> <li>• war monument (n=5)</li> </ul>
Other monuments	30 (16%)	<p>35 responses offered:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NW Marine Drive plaque to Spanish exploration (n=10)</li> <li>• nature, information signs (n=9)</li> <li>• memorial benches, picnic tables (n=4)</li> <li>• plaque at Spanish Banks (n=3)</li> <li>• WWII buildings, gun emplacements (n=3)</li> <li>• memorial to Wendy Ladner-Beaudry (n=2)</li> <li>• park headquarters (n=1)</li> <li>• “natural” monuments (stumps, trees, flowers) (n=1)</li> <li>• grave site near Wreck Beach (n=1)</li> <li>• Iva Mann walk (n=1)</li> </ul>

Have you ever found historic garbage dumps in the Park?

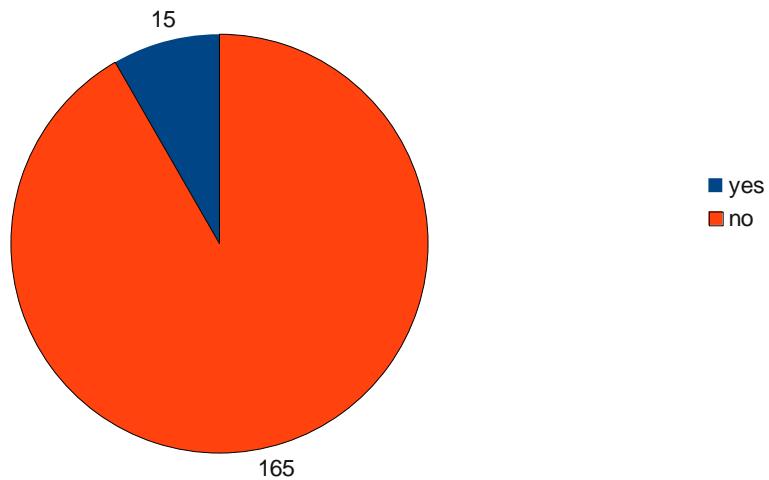


Figure D.28. Frequency of people who have or have not found historic dumps in the park.

4 Several respondents included in their answers areas in Point Grey that are not technically part of the park, in particular Spanish Banks. My impression is that park boundaries are defined in practice visually by “natural” boundaries such as the interface between forest or beach and roads or buildings, rather than by the legal or official boundaries.

Are you aware of cultural or spiritual sites in the Park that are used today?

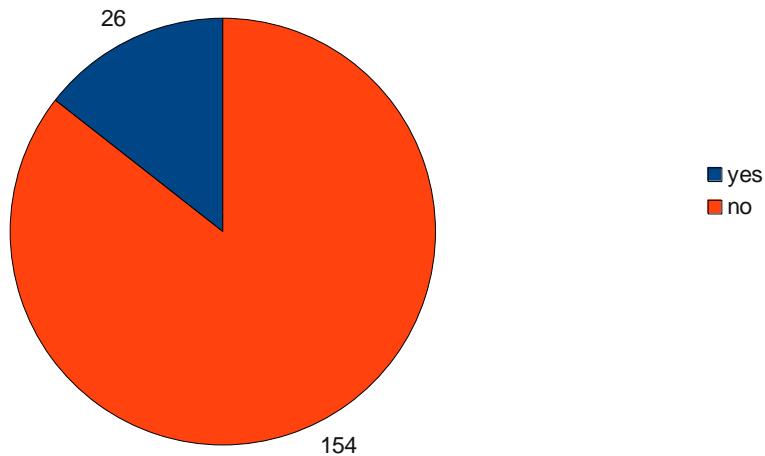


Figure D.29. Awareness of contemporary spiritual sites in the park by response frequency.

In relation to park management, I constructed a series of questions to assess respondents' perspectives on the dichotomy between culture and nature, attempting to tease out its margins (Figure D.30). When asked about the role that "culture" should play in the park:

- 89% (n=163) agree or strongly agree that they would like more information in the park about its history
  - 10% (19) were neutral
  - 2% (2) disagree or strongly disagree
- 74% (n=132) agree or strongly agree that they would like to learn about cultural uses of the park
  - 22% (n=39) were neutral
  - 5% (n=9) disagree or strongly disagree
- 57% (n=101) agree or strongly agree that cultural heritage should be a major focus
  - 26% (n=46) were neutral
  - 17% (n=30) disagree or strongly disagree
- this overall figure was higher (71%, n=30) amongst those who do not live nearby

Regarding the Environment, responses were strongly in favour:

- 94% (n=172) agree or strongly agree that environmental conservation should be a major

focus

- 4% (n=7) were neutral
- 3% (n=5) disagree or strongly disagree
- 79% (n=145) agree or strongly agree that they would like more information in the park about its ecology
  - 19% (n=34) were neutral
  - 3% (n=4) disagree or strongly disagree

Closely tied to the issue of cultural and environmental mandates is the concept of park management. The understanding of the park as a “public” place was overwhelmingly affirmed:

- 92% (n=145) agree or strongly agree that the park should be a public place and open to all
  - 5% (n=9) were neutral
  - 4% (n=6) disagreed or strongly disagreed

Many respondents also saw an important role for First Nations to play in the governance of the park (Figure D.31):

- 75% (n=134) agree or strongly agree that First Nations should be involved in decision-making about the park
  - 16% (n=29) were neutral
  - 10% (n=17) disagreed or strongly disagreed

Check the option that best describes how you feel about the statements below:

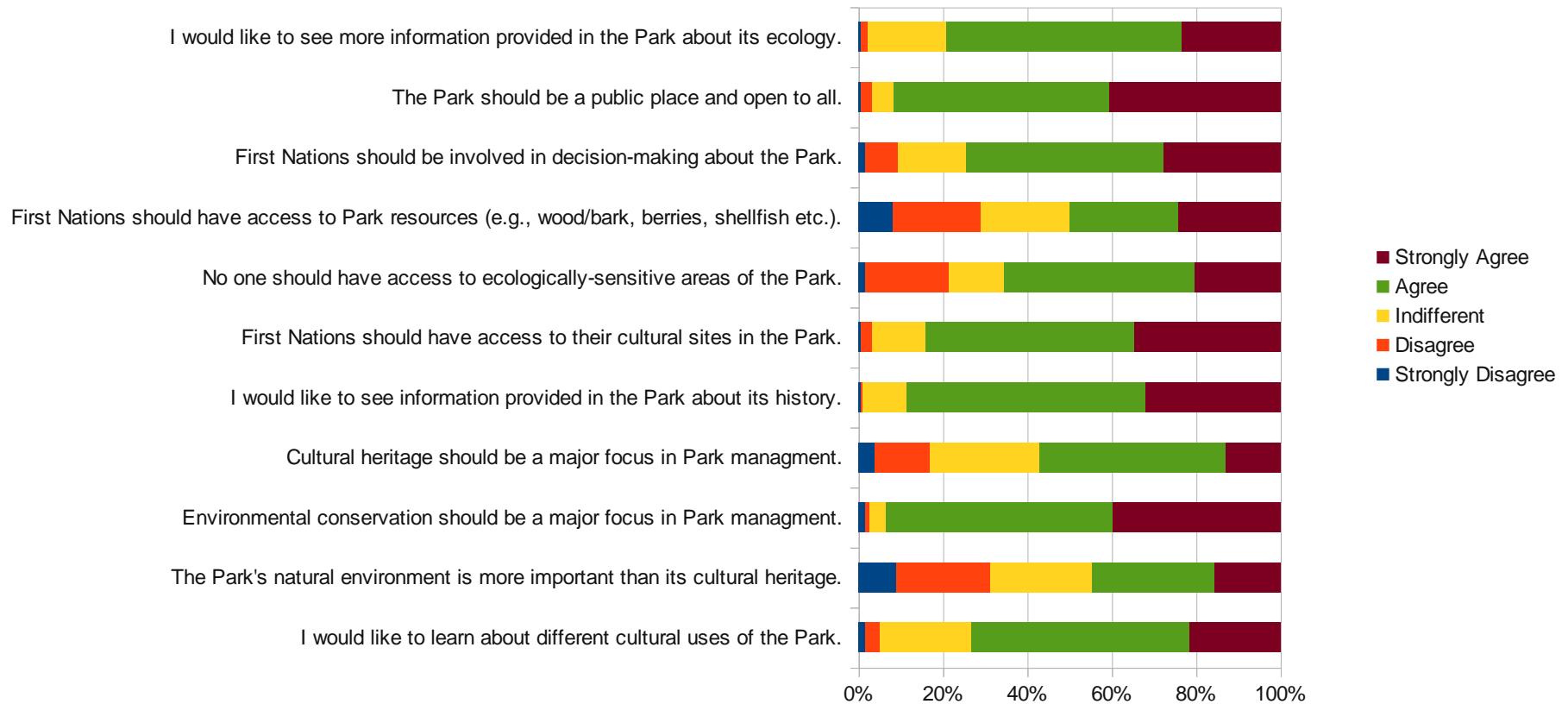


Figure D.30. A series of questions assessing how people feel about park management and focus, ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree.”

Who should have control over the Park's management?  
(check all that apply)

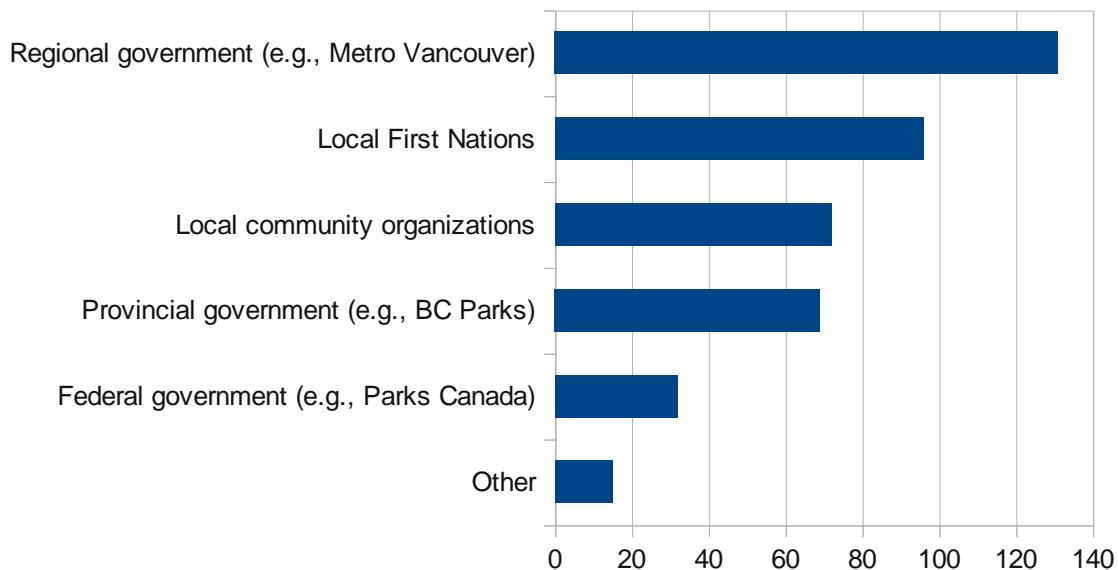


Figure D.31. Opinions on who should be involved in park management, by frequency.

Some of these values were challenged, however, in the following responses:

- 65% (n=119) agree or strongly agree that ecologically-sensitive areas should be strictly off-limits
  - 13% (n=24) were neutral
  - 22% (n=39) disagreed or strongly disagreed
- 51% (n=91) agree or strongly agree that First Nations should have access to park resources
  - 21% (n=28) were neutral
  - 29% (n=53) disagree or strongly disagree

The final question in this survey addressed the interpretive signs installed in 2010 at Camosun Bog. As discussed in Chapter 6, I was able to attend the sign-unveiling event and so took note (and photographs) of the signs. I then developed this survey question in order to assess, for those who had viewed the signs, which ones had made enough of an impression that they were remembered (Figure D.32).

Of the 177 people who responded to this question, only 41% (n=72) had actually seen the signs. Of these, the vast majority at 95% (n=69) recalled signs that conveyed information about bog plants and animals, while 47% (n=34) remembered signs about bog geology.

The interpretive signs installed at Camosun Bog relate information on  
(check all that apply)

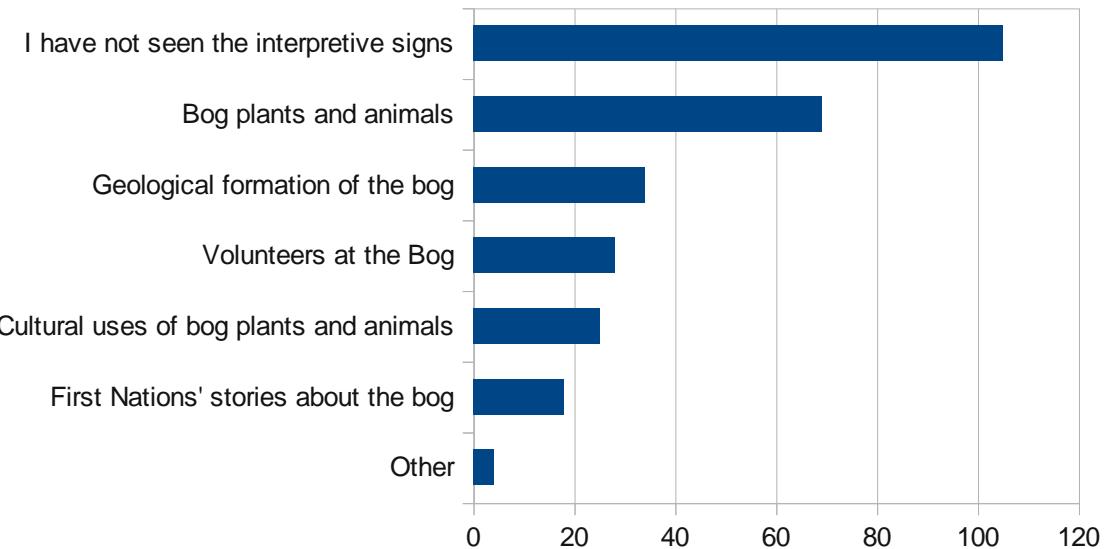


Figure D.32. Awareness of the recently installed interpretive signs along the Camosun Bog boardwalk.

Conversely, 34% (n=25) recalled mention of cultural uses of bog plants and animals, and 25% (n=18) identified First Nations' stories about the bog as a component of the signs. Signs that mentioned bog volunteers were noted by 38% (n=28) of respondents.

When asked where people had learned park history (Figure D.33), 61% (n=110) of respondents (n=180) that they had never learned park history, 34 people (19%) said they learned about the park history from family or a friend, while others had learned through newspaper articles or independent research (11%, n=20 and n=19 respectively). Many respondents noted that they read the posters on park noticeboards (42%, n=77) for information, or look at the park and affiliated group websites (32%, n=58) (Figure D.34). Although about the same number of people do not *seek out* information for themselves at all, about half (51%, n=94) of respondents “sometimes” read the signs about wildlife and ecology in the park while another 47% (n=86) “often” read them; only three people responded that they “never” read these signs and posters (Figure D.35). Of respondents surveyed, 54% (n=99) “never” attend park events, while 42% (n=77) “sometimes” attend and 4% (n=7) “often” go to park events (Figure D.36).

Where did you learn about the history of the park lands?

(check all that apply)

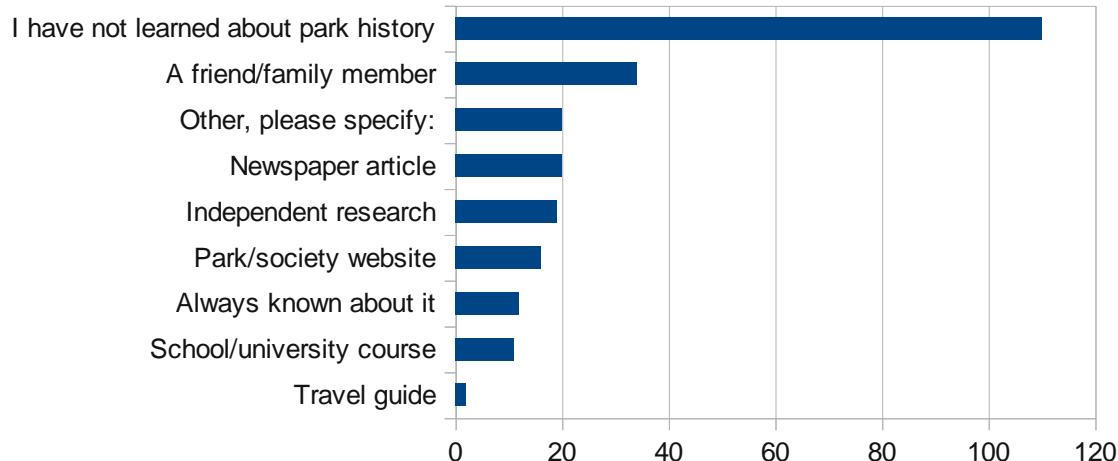


Figure D.33. Assessing how people have learned about park history, by frequency.

Where do you get most of your information about the Park from?

(check all that apply)

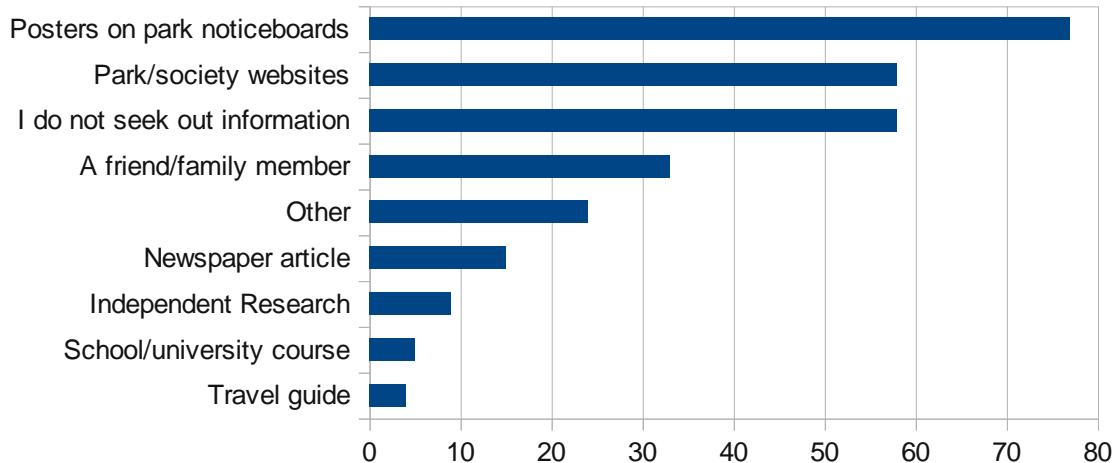


Figure D.34. Frequency of responses for where people receive park information from.

I \_\_\_\_\_ attend events at the Park hosted by local organizations.

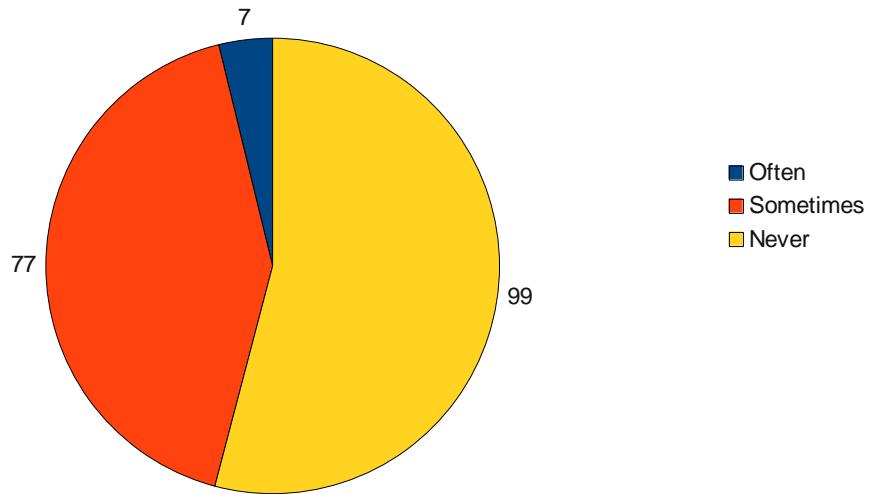


Figure D.35. The involvement of questionnaire respondents in park events.

When I go to the Park, I \_\_\_\_\_ read the signs/posters about wildlife and ecology.

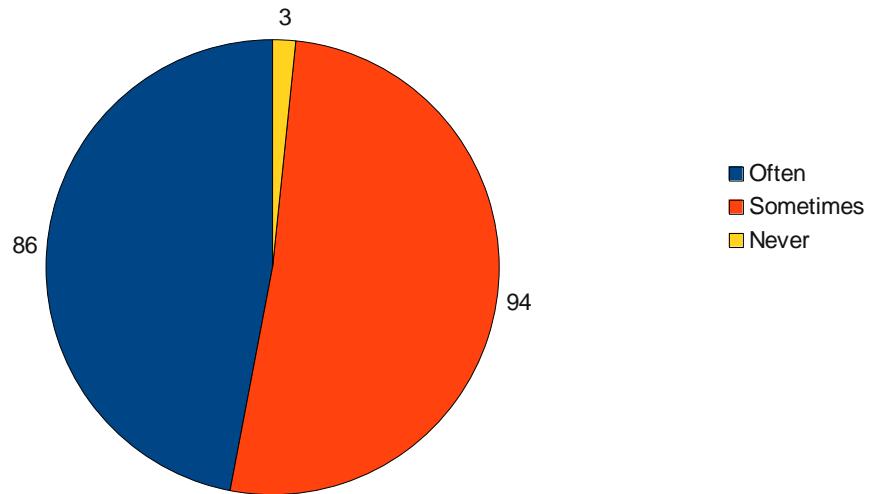


Figure D.36. Assessing whether information posted in the park is “received” by its audience.

## **Appendix E: A Bedtime Story**

In the Legislature on April 18th, 1989, Vancouver-Point Grey MLA Marzari related a bedtime story that she told to her six-year-old daughter the night before (1989a:6192-6194):

Once upon a time there was a people who lived at the place where the river joins the ocean. They lived happily there, and a young woman, who lived happily in the family, decided that she would leave to make her fortune and see the rest of the land. On her return to her place by the ocean, she found that the land on which her family had lived for years had been divided into three. She found that her family was living on the smallest part of that land by the river, and a large part of the land which her family had inhabited had been filled with tall buildings and filled with a different kind of people. She found that the large forest area that her family had used for many years had been parcelled off and called an endowment for someone other than her and her family.

She found that the rulers of this new land played games by tossing issues of social importance back and forth to each other across a room called a court. She found that in order to reclaim her land on behalf of her family, she had to go to—I called it for my children's sake—an ugly old gnome.

The ugly elf told her that in order to reclaim her land for her family, she had to do three things: the three famous tasks that most fairy stories seem to have enclosed within them. She had to do these things: she and her people had to prove traditional use of that land. “That's fine, I can handle that,” she said to the old elf. “I can prove traditional use. I can prove that we have been there for many thousands of years.”

The second task was that she had to prove that there were no treaties against that land, and that there was no law that would supersede her claim to that land. “I can do that,” she said. “My people and I have thought of this for many years. We know that there is no treaty against our land. We never claimed it; we never gave it away. We have no law that supersedes our claim to that land.”

“Third, “ said the old gnome, “and the third task is the hardest: you must prove that the land has not been given away without your consent. You must prove that the land has not been alienated. Then when you prove that to us, we may consider your claim.”

“Well, “ she said, “it may be true that the part of our land with the high-rise buildings on it has been alienated, but there are 2,000 acres of property still filled with virgin forest which we use. This land has not been alienated.” But even as she said these words, the elf turned and gave away the land to a happy group of people who only wanted to save the trees and save the forest.

The happy group of people had no knowledge of the thousands of years that the young woman had lived on the land. But the elf, knowing that he would firmly and irrefutably alienate the land, turned and handed it away in the middle of the third task being accomplished by the people. Both the friendly people who wanted to preserve the trees and the young woman had good will in their hearts. Using the court—using the game—they actually came to an agreement that the people who were using the land as a park would not alienate the land. They made that agreement using the court. But the old gnome decided no, he would not make that claim. He would not claim that the land would not be alienated when push came to shove.

So here we are three days before the grand party in the park—three days before the park is about to be turned over. Many of the hundreds of people who will be there will be happy. They will be victorious; they will be feeling festive. They will not be aware that what is happening in the process of that land being turned over happens in the middle of the third task for a family of people who have been asking for the reclamation of their family land for many years.

The situation that we find ourselves in today puts us in an interesting bind. We basically want to say: “Yes, we want to preserve the land; yes, absolutely. And the park may well be the way to go. The park is something to be proud of, something we fought for.”

At another level, not dissimilar to this story, the Musqueam have been engaged in their tasks. Those tasks have been given to them over the last 20 years by the courts and by governments. The courts have told the Musqueam that they must fulfil certain requirements; the federal government has told the Musqueam that they must fulfil certain requirements. The Musqueam are trying to fulfil those requirements. They are trying to say at this very moment that the UEL is their piece of unalienated property which constitutes their claim to having a claim in the first place.

Other bands, other families across this country, have been given the right to claim since ‘76. The Musqueam have not. This is an anomaly, because the forest lands stand there. They do have the possibility of making a comprehensive claim. This constitutes alienation. Here, perhaps, is the golden ring in our story. Here, perhaps, is the way for this government to deal with this situation in good faith. Here is the possibility that would bring together with good will the parks committee, the GVRD, the Musqueam and us. All that need be done is that within this act we incorporate a clause that says that this land is being handed over without prejudice to any land claim made by Musqueam. That is the golden ring; that is the bit of opportunity; that is the tiny window that exists.

Everyone has agreed. The GVRD has agreed that they will accept the land without prejudice. The parks committee understands somewhat what is going on and is sympathetic. The Musqueam understand that if it’s done without prejudice, they can proceed with their claim. All that remains is simply for this government to say somewhere in the body of this act that it’s happening, that the transfer is taking place without prejudice.

That is the reason I speak to the hoist motion. You don’t have to hold it up for six years; you don’t have to hold it up for six months. Six minutes will do to write in the appropriate words, and we will give you the words. We will probably give you those words tomorrow when this comes to committee stage.

I would ask the members of this House to consider this story. When I finished the story last night, my six-year-old said: “Why can’t they start again?” It’s a wonderful question from a six-year-old. Wouldn’t it be wonderful to start again? Wouldn’t it be wonderful not to carry this albatross of injustice around our necks?

We have the opportunity to start again simply by adopting a few words that say that this bill happens without prejudice to the Musqueam claim.

## **Appendix F: Pacific Spirit Brands**

Table D.1. Businesses and organizations using the “Pacific Spirit” brand in their company name. (All were accessed online during August 2011; URLs are provided in references.)

<b>Organization/Company Name</b>	<b>Area of Activity/Business</b>
Pacific Spirit Wear	embroidered clothing and products
Pacific Spirit Tours	travel arrangements
Pacific Spirit Whimsey	art cards and prints
Pacific Spirit Properties	real estate developers
Pacific Spirit Community Health Care	health clinic
Pacific Spirit School	private school
Pacific Spirit Choir	community choir
Pacific Spirit Hostel	hostel at UBC
The Pacific Spirit	botanical creams
Pacific Spirit Kindergarten & Daycare	daycare at UBC
Pacific Spirit Media	media group
Pacific Spirit Stone Designs	stone masons
Pacific Spirit Triathlon Club	athletic club
Pacific Spirit Horse Show	Pacific National Exhibition event
Pacific Spirit Place	concession area of Student Union Building at UBC
Pacific Spirit Collection	residential developments at UBC
BCIT Pacific Spirit Project	faculty workshop on sustainability and curriculum
Pacific Spirit Therapeutics	massage therapy clinic
Pacific Spirit Investment Management Inc.	investment managers
Pacific Spirit Photography	digital photography
Pacific Spirit Dental Centre	dental clinic
Pacific Spirit Guest House	bed and breakfast

## Appendix G: Street and Trail Name Etymology

Table E.1. A selection of street names in the Point Grey area near Pacific Spirit Regional Park; origins derived from Walker (1999).

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Historical Meaning</b>
Blanca Street	a Spanish military and state figure
Langara Street	a Spanish admiral
Tolmie Street	a Hudson's Bay Company surgeon
Trimble Street	a royal navy surgeon
Dunbar Street	a 19th century realtor
Discovery Street	Captain Vancouver's ship
Imperial Drive	Imperial Naval Reserve
Chancellor Road	university chancellor
Crown Street	Crown land
Sasamat Street	First Nations village near Port Moody

Table E.2. Some of the trail names in Pacific Spirit that connote local and regional history.

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Historical Meaning</b>
Admiralty Trail	British Admiralty, Royal Navy
Cleveland Trail	presume after Moses Cleaveland (?)
Clinton Trail	Clinton owned stables in UEL, 1920s
Council Trail	presume civic council (?)
Imperial Trail	Imperial Naval Reserve
Pioneer Trail	pioneer history of North America
St. Georges Trail	prominent military saint
Spanish Trail	Spanish exploration
Chancellor Trail	university chancellor
Sherry Sakamoto Trail	named the park "Pacific Spirit" in 1989
Camosun Bog	name of a First Nations village in Victoria
Plains of Abraham	French/English battle in Quebec 1759

Table E.3. Some of the trail names in Pacific Spirit that connote “natural” history.

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Deer Fern	Plant
Douglas Fir	Plant
Hemlock	Plant
Heron	Bird
Huckleberry	Plant
Lily of the Valley	Plant
Nature	Environment, ecology
Newt Loop	Frog
Salal	Plant
Sword Fern	Plant
Vine Maple	Plant

## Appendix H: Pacific Spirit Park Society Talk & Walk Schedule

Table F.1. The PSPS Talk and Walk series between 2010 and 2011.

Month	Event / Topic	Activity	Speaker / Organizer
January 2011	A Safe Place	Talk & Walk	Stacey Gibson, RCMP and Richard Wallis, Metro Vancouver
February 2011	Green is Healthy	Talk & Walk	Michael Meitner, UBC Forestry
March 2011	Understanding Coyotes	Talk & Walk	Phil Dubrullle, Stanley Park Ecology Society
March 2011	Changing of the Seasons	guided tour	Terry Taylor
March 2011	Night Quest	storytelling, self-guided tour	PSPS and others
April 2011	What is Natural?	Talk & Walk	Steve Mitchell, UBC Forestry
April 2011	Take Another Look	self-guided tour	PSPS
May 2011	Take a Walk on the Wild Side	fund raising talk and music	Bruce McPherson, PSPS
May 2011	Critter Capers	sleuthing / scavenger hunt	Trail Troupers
September 2010, 2011	Stories Along the Trail	storytelling tour	PSPS
September 2011	Unwelcome Guests: Invasive Plants	youth-led nature walk	Trail Troupers