

Shaking the Feathers: Canada's Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in the 21st Century.
Does native tourism strengthen communities and inform non-native people, or does it
reinforce negative stereotypes? An examination of Woodland Cultural Centre in
Brantford, Ontario and Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre in Mission, B.C.

By

Maureen Littlejohn

Submitted in partial fulfillment of Degree of Masters of Journalism

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ont.

© Maureen Littlejohn 2008



Library and
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-47530-0
Our file *Notre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-47530-0

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

■*■
Canada

Abstract

Aboriginal cultural tourism in Canada has had the potential to help preserve tradition, strengthen identity, create economic opportunities and introduce non-native people to native culture, both historic and contemporary. Alternately, it might have reinforced stereotypes and pushed indigenous people to fabricate experiences to meet tourists' expectations.

Media stories and travelogues from the 19th century have helped perpetuate negative stereotypes. Some recent articles might have done the same thing. In contrast, other modern stories might have fostered a better understanding of the aboriginal experience.

The limited assumptions of non-native tourists could be shifted by stories, as well as visits to sites. When aboriginal cultural tourism has been controlled from within, the attractions could have potentially corrected historical inaccuracies for visitors and aided communities.

My research included Woodland Cultural Centre, established in Brantford, Ont., in 1972 on Six Nations land and Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, opened in 1992 outside Mission, B.C. I also briefly examined NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre, in the Okanagan, B.C., and Great Spirit Circle Trail in the Manitoulin region of Ontario.

The question was if aboriginal cultural tourism's strengths outweighed its weaknesses. If so, aboriginal cultural tourism could benefit not only aboriginal communities, but also all of Canada.

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	v
<i>Introduction</i>	x
Chapter 1 Aboriginal Tourism in Canada Overview	1
Definition of terms	1
Ideas of identity and tradition	4
Back in the day	6
From Indian Act to partnerships	9
Government financial support	16
NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and Great Spirit Circle Trail	18
Conclusion	29
Chapter 2 Media Coverage of Aboriginal Tourism	31
The evolution of stereotypes	32
Native stereotypes	33
Relevancy	35
Knowledge, assumptions and reporting	36
Popular media stories and frame analysis	37
Case studies: <i>The Globe and Mail, Toronto Star, Maclean's, Canadian Geographic</i>	40
Avoiding fast but fallible conventions	57
Conclusion	57
Chapter 3 Woodland Cultural Centre	60
Background	61
Six Nations Tourism	62
History of the site	63
The program that launched the centre	63
Vision, mission, mandate and goals	66
Finances	70
Museum	73
Art gallery	79
Gift shop	81
Workshops	82
Educational tours	82
Public school programs	85
Special land claims programs	85
Events	86
Six Nations Tourism and Woodland Cultural Centre	87
Future	87
Conclusion	88

Chapter 4 Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre	90
Background	90
Pithouse	92
History of the site	94
Finding, protecting and sharing the scared	95
Story of the transformer stone	96
Ownership of the site	97
Visitors	98
Vision, mission, mandate and goals	100
Tourist Expectations	102
Finances	103
Partnerships	105
Job Opportunities	105
Longhouse visitors' centre	106
Artisans' centre	108
Gift gallery	109
Educational programs	110
Identity	110
Community teaching	112
Events	113
Stó:lo Tourism Commission	115
Future	117
Conclusion	117
Chapter 5 Aboriginal Tourism Ventures:	
Compared, Contrasted and Media's Role	120
NK'MIP Desert Cultural Center and Great Spirit Circle Trail	120
Aboriginal tourism and the media	122
Woodland and Xá:ytem: How they compared	124
Tradition	125
Identity	126
Economic opportunity	127
Informing non-native tourists	128
Woodland and Xá:ytem: Strengths, weaknesses and opportunities	131
Conclusion	133
<i>Appendices</i>	
<i>Appendix I - Aboriginal Tourism Media Stories, A-F</i>	135
<i>Appendix II – Six Nations Tourism</i>	164
<i>Appendix III – Stó:lo Tourism Commission</i>	170
<i>Works Cited</i>	174
<i>Additional Sources</i>	184

Preface

Why aboriginal tourism initiatives? I am not native, although my last name is one that is familiar in the native community. My background is Anglo Saxon, rooted in the United Kingdom through my grandparents. I came across aboriginal culture almost accidentally.

More than 20 years ago, I wrote for and edited a magazine called *The Music Scene*. It was an in-house publication of the Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada. The organization collected license fees and paid royalties to songwriters and composers.

An aboriginal lawyer vetted one article I wrote for the magazine about the aboriginal music scene. He pointed out the history of cultural appropriation and made me realize language could be loaded with assumptions and stereotypes. The incident hit home because the lawyer demanded many, many changes. That experience made me realize I had an unconscious, but deeply ingrained colonialist perspective. I perpetuated a superior attitude through my language and was not even aware I was doing so.

In the ensuing years I spent as a music critic and entertainment journalist, the subject surfaced again. I touched on it during interviews with the members of Innu group Kashtin, Inuit songwriter and performer Susan Aglukark, and Robbie Robertson, who is part Mohawk. The stories I did on them, as well as actors Adam Beach, who is Saulteaux, Gary Farmer, from Six Nations, and Tom Jackson, who is part Cree, were about inspiration, the creative process and their careers. When I asked about their childhoods, the reserve, or in Adam's case, how it felt to cut off his long hair, I was not really

conscious of my perspective as a reporter with a United Kingdom heritage.

In the past five years, I worked as a freelance writer for the Smithsonian's *National Museum of the American Indian* magazine. The assignments made me start to question my own cultural awareness. Millie Knapp, the editor of the magazine, first approached me through an Internet referral service for freelance writers. Based on my last name, she thought I was native. When we spoke over the phone and she found out I was not, she hired me anyway.

My first assignment was a 10-page piece about tribal colleges in the United States. It was a tough learning curve. I sloughed through reams of material about the genesis of the college system, mapped out where tribes lived, spoke with native college presidents, teachers, students and funding organizations over the phone. I had no idea before how many tribes there were in North America.

My interest in indigenous tourism awakened with an assignment to write about Bathurst Inlet Lodge in Nunavut. The lodge was co-owned by the local Kingaunmiut people and a retired Mountie and his family. I met the main families of the area and learned about their clothes, food and traditions, such as hunting caribou. A guide told me how he learned to build an icehouse, something not done often anymore. The 800 words I was allotted for the story was inadequate for anything but a superficial scan of the experience.

That story led to other assignments covering indigenous tourism ventures in Canada, the United States, Mexico, Nicaragua and Ecuador. The magazine's criterion was that a tourist destination must involve indigenous ownership, or co-ownership, and

have a cultural component that visitors could experience. Activities included guided tours, social gatherings in homes and cultural demonstrations. I also reported on native foods, indigenous artists and hand-made crafts.

Coast Salish tour operators on Vancouver Island, potters from the Pueblo of Acoma in New Mexico and a Hopi beadwork master who operated a children's art program in a Phoenix hotel featured in my stories. A native art market assignment led me to a prize-winning Northern Arapaho ledger book artist as well as a Mohawk quilter from Kahnawake in southern Ontario who told the story of her ancestors' steel-working through her stitches. In Mexico's Copper Canyon, a Raramuri long-distance runner told me about racing up mountains in open rubber sandals. High-energy Garifuna musicians and dancers demonstrated their talents to me in Nicaragua and an Achuar hunter invited me into his home in the jungles of Ecuador. I was an observer, reporting what I saw and taking part in organized indigenous cultural tourism tours. I was also engaging in new experiences and friendships.

Most of these tourism initiatives came from native groups or partnerships between native peoples and non-native interests. More importantly, the native people invited me, a tourist, in. They controlled what they shared. The Hopi bead master showed me a lovingly crafted pendant he had just finished making for his son's high school graduation. The Achuar hunter had as many questions for our group as we did for him: "What did we eat? Where did we come from? What were our families like?" My hosts were as curious about me as I them.

In my travels, I have made incorrect assumptions. I thought the Kingaunmiut in

Bathurst Inlet would eat hunted game occasionally, but that they would have a predominately urban-style diet with items like bread and green vegetables like broccoli. The people I met, however, ate caribou almost exclusively and got their vitamins from lichen tea. Everyone had their favorite part of the animal, including eyeballs, tongue and brain. The Achuar men hunted and the women farmed, but I learned the men did the weaving and the women were in charge of selling crafts. The Acoma potters I met did not use regular paintbrushes to make the designs on their pots as I assumed they would, but the stems of yucca plants. A Hopi dancer told me native men usually do the beading on their regalia and it can take hundreds of hours of painstaking work. These realities were a revelation. I was a journalist and knew I shouldn't assume, but I was still guilty of the practice. My travels allowed me to reflect on other cultures and contrast them to my own.

When I undertook this project, I wanted to dig a little deeper into my understanding of stereotypes. My comprehension of culture, I knew, was reproduced in my stories. I wanted to explore tourism as an experience with the power to enlighten and shift awareness.

As I delved into the research, I realized the power cultural tourism had on those who presented it. For some of the people I met, it was a reinforcement of what they already knew. Aboriginal cultural tourism provided a personal learning experience some participants would not have had otherwise. For others, it was about sharing with their own community. Many native people were glad to share with non-native people and correct some of the inaccuracies in recorded history.

In all cases, the tourism ventures offered a bridge between interested visitors and

native presenters who were willing to explain about their lives, beliefs and traditions.

The questions of motivation, economic sustainability and authenticity also came up during my travels. Who promoted the ventures? Who funded them and who benefited? Were they sustainable? Was what I seeing real, or manufactured to fulfill tourists' expectations? What was the impact, both culturally and economically, to the native communities that had invited these tourists in?

I had a good idea what the answers might be. It seemed that the people involved respected and preserved traditional culture and also represented contemporary experience, but did they really? A substantial research project exploring these areas appealed to me.

This thesis examined two cultural tourism ventures, the Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford, Ont., and Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, in Mission, B.C. The project allowed me to go into much further depth than an 800-word article. I surveyed the industry in general in Canada, and investigated some of the projects launched in the past few years.

I could have done reams more research, but time and resources confined my work. I hope that I can continue exploring this important topic in the future.

The writing of this thesis has been a journey of discovery and awakening for me. In the 1980s, when I wrote that first native music article, the “other” I had defined with my unconsciously colonial mindset was aboriginal. With this project, I have learned the other is me.

Introduction

Aboriginal cultural tourism has been growing in Canada. It has the potential to help preserve tradition, strengthen identity, create economic opportunities and introduce non-natives to native culture, both historic and contemporary. In contrast, detractors have said it reinforced stereotypes and pushed indigenous people to fabricate experiences to meet tourists' expectations.

Some critics have called aboriginal tourism an economic dead end, dependent solely on government funding. Other people said it has provided jobs and introduced historically accurate aboriginal experience to non-indigenous visitors through hands-on workshops and programs.

Stories published in the travel and business press have sometimes perpetuated negative stereotypes. But, also, they could serve a different role: to reflect an accurate picture of current and historical situations. These stories could reinforce true aboriginal experience and motivate readers to visit a destination.

Aboriginal cultural tourism, when controlled from within, has the potential to help communities in a number of ways. It also might adjust distorted assumptions of non-native tourists.

This thesis presents two major case studies: Woodland Cultural Centre, established in 1972 on Six Nations land in southern Ontario and Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, that opened outside Mission, B.C., in 1992. As well, some other native tourism ventures have been examined more briefly, including the Osoyoos NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre, in the Okanagan, B.C., Great Spirit Circle Trail in the

Manitoulin region of Ontario, Sasquatch Tours in southern B.C., a tourism-driven hunting expedition in Nunavut and some southern Ontario powwows.

I conducted the qualitative research in a variety of ways. At the Woodland Cultural Centre, Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre and Six Nations Grand River powwow, I gathered information in person. I interviewed indigenous cultural tourism operators at their sites, as well as over the phone and by e-mail. I also interviewed government consultants and department representatives in person, over the phone and by e-mail.

Department websites provided government documents. Other materials I garnered online, including the *Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Blueprint* at the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia corporate website. The Aboriginal Tourism Canada website and Aboriginal Internet Portal provided me with online access to indigenous tourism operations where I accessed background material. Other sources I used were mainstream press stories, books and journal articles.

This subject is timely because industry and pollution have eroded native peoples' traditional ways of life, including fishing and hunting. Indigenous peoples have started to look for alternate ways to make a living. In light of this, cultural tourism has allowed these traditions to be preserved and honoured.

Land claims issues too often have polarized native and non-native peoples. Tourism could address the inaccuracies of colonialist history, sensitize tourists to the true issues and reflect aboriginal realities in a non-confrontational way. This could contribute to a shift in attitude, especially those based on inaccurate and negative stereotypes of the

past. Perhaps, this could lead to better and less adversarial relations.

Constraints of time, space and funding have limited my research. It was impossible to visit as many of the tourism sites as I would have liked in person. Instead, I relied on telephone interviews with native operators, information from Internet websites and printed articles. The scope of the project, as a masters thesis, also limited the number of tourism initiatives I examined.

In the future, I would like to explore the many exciting developments in communities nationwide as part of a larger project.

The first question I tackled was the state of the industry. To what degree has it grown? British Columbia, compared to the seven other regional aboriginal tourism associations, is thriving. The Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia has more than 200 members, including both majority-owned businesses and community businesses that were not majority owned (ATBC).

Some provinces, such as Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, have no regional aboriginal tourism associations. Solid statistics were unavailable to measure cultural tourism in those areas. However, articles and documents suggested aboriginal tourism has grown in general all over Canada.

In the March/April 2008 issue of *Tourism*, a magazine published by the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC), the editor spoke of the burgeoning aboriginal cultural tourism sector (“What’s So Significant About Them?” 10). The magazine also presented a list of “Significant 29 Canadian Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Experiences” (11), selected by Aboriginal Tourism Canada and CTC.

A criterion for these endeavours was that they were market ready or almost market ready. Some, but not all, were majority aboriginal-owned. In the article, Daniel Paul Bork, president of Aboriginal Tourism Canada (ATC) described the selection process: “First we took on the responsibility to analyze our data bases and conduct research to identify product, and then we worked with the aboriginal tourism specialists in each province and territory” (ibid). The magazine also noted each had been vetted by Bork’s team as authentic and on-target for what consumers wanted (ibid).

The list included Metepenagiag Heritage Park and Metepenagiag Outdoor Adventure Lodge, in New Brunswick, and Destination Wendat and Cruise North in Quebec. Ontario initiatives were Great Spirit Circle Trail and Aboriginal Experiences – Turtle Island. British Columbia had the Haida Gwaii Heritage Centre, NK’MIP Desert Cultural Centre and Squamish Lil’Wat Cultural Centre. North West Territories had Aurora Village. Nunavut’s Bathurst Inlet Lodge has attracted tourists to that territory.

Surveys released by the CTC and documented in the magazine showed a growth potential for long-haul travel involving aboriginal tourism (Canadian Tourism Commission, “Aboriginal Tourism in Canada” 7). One report indicated that aboriginal travel was a “value-added” component of travel to Canada, not a driver. It stated that many tourists interested in Canada were also interested in visiting aboriginal attractions.

The Asia Pacific region, including Japan, Australia and Hong Kong could potentially generate up to 1.19 million travellers to British Columbia over five years, said a 2005 study in the ATBC’s *Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Blueprint*. Travelers from those countries, said the report, have often included aboriginal sites, events and

attractions in their trip itineraries (ATBC).

The same document noted:

To estimate the potential of aboriginal cultural tourism in B.C. for packaged travel, interviews were conducted with thirty-four (34) travel trade representatives representing over 50,000 travellers from Canada, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Mexico. These operators reported growing interest in authentic cultural experiences, interactive and hands-on “live it, instead of watch it” experiences, and high quality guided interpretation of local cultures and communities with package durations that can easily fit into existing packages. (ibid)

A report prepared for Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada in 2003 recognized growth in the aboriginal tourism sector. It said:

Canada’s aboriginal communities have become increasingly interested in the tourism industry in recent years. Cultural tourism has been identified by the World Tourism Organization as one of the hottest international tourism trends. This view is echoed by most in the travel industry worldwide. In Canada, it is recognized as having the potential to assist with many goals now being pursued by aboriginal communities. Cultural leaders also recognize the benefits of aboriginal tourism, ranging from contribution to a community’s economic development to preservation and revitalization of cultural traditions. (Bearing Point, *Aboriginal Tourism in*

Canada Part II 5)

Aboriginal tourism affected an estimated 280 industries across the country directly and indirectly, according to the 2003 study (ibid). It noted that aboriginal tourism businesses, including casinos, directly and indirectly employed 33,000 people nationally (ibid). Aboriginal tourism, it said, generated labor income worth \$693 million and gross domestic product in excess of \$944 million (Bearing Point, *Aboriginal Tourism in Canada Part I 4*).

The *Aboriginal Tourism Sector Strategy*, developed by the Indian and Northern Affairs in 2007, pointed out some of tourism's problems. It quoted a 2003 *National Study on Aboriginal Tourism in Canada* that said: "Demand for aboriginal tourism is outpacing capacity. There are relatively few market-ready products in the aboriginal tourism sector, particularly near gateway cities and major tourism routes" (15).

The strategy framework noted:

There is great potential to increase aboriginal tourism activities and at the same time contribute to the wealth creation, economic development and self-reliance of aboriginal people and communities in all provinces/territories in Canada. The Quebec Declaration clearly recognizes northern and aboriginal tourism as an emerging and important sector. Improving partnerships between aboriginal stakeholders, industry and government will require a better understanding of aboriginal aspirations and aboriginal culture in relation to market realities in an effort to evolve the aboriginal owned product offering. (ibid)

Aboriginal tourism could supply more economic opportunities and serve a possibly increasing market demand.

The thesis' timeframe is primarily from 1997 to 2008. Qualitative research examined how promoters have packaged aboriginal culture for consumption by visitors. True native identity, self-representation, and sustainable economic growth could still be issues, as well as how non-indigenous peoples have viewed the lives and experiences of indigenous peoples.

The industry, enabled by government seed money, grants and loans, author Valda Blundell said, could generate benefits for the state (38). Aboriginal tourism had the potential, she noted, to provide a means of economic development for marginal areas and disadvantaged groups who marketed themselves for tourism (ibid).

Aboriginal cultural tourism could encourage economic growth and independence. It could also encourage indigenous peoples to re-examine and re-claim their culture. At the same time, these cultural tourism ventures potentially could expand the tourists' awareness. They could help sensitize tourists to the indigenous population's situation as Canada's First Peoples continue to grapple with the challenges of existence in what has largely remained a Euro-centric society.

Chapter 1 lays the groundwork for the thesis. It defines terms and outlines the history of native people and colonists in Canada, starting in the 19th century. For example, early travelers, in memoirs and journals, described native peoples as the "other" and said they were on the verge of vanishing.

Obviously, that judgment was wrong.

An example of a tourist event that involved aboriginal people was Banff Indian Days. It began in the late 1800s and ran yearly until the 1950s. The event was controlled by non-native promoters and organized as entertainment to enrich the railway. Incentives, such as rodeo prizes, drew native participants.

The first chapter also outlines the critical theories used in the thesis, including Edward Said's Orientalism, Michel Foucault's theory on knowledge and discourse and Stuart Hall's theory about identity.

The chapter provides an overview of government programs and funding mechanisms. It also discusses two examples of recent tourism initiatives, the NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and Great Spirit Circle Trail. Key questions regard economic sustainability, reinforcement of identity and shifting attitudes of non-native visitors.

The second chapter examines whether media should shift from closed, stereotyped narratives to a neutral and open discourse. It probes media influence over national views and the need to acknowledge, reassess and reshape problematic media representations (Fürisch 57).

Chapter 2 also examines how the 19th century press might have aided and abetted Canadian stereotypes. The thesis presents aboriginal cultural tourism stories from 1997-2008 to see if modern framing and discourse might still reflect distorted images from the past. Articles are from the travel and business sections of *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, *Toronto Star*, *Maclean's* and *Canadian Geographic*. A central question is whether stereotyping has continued today. It also suggests how the journalists could have presented the subject more equitably.

Chapter 3 studies the Woodland Cultural Centre, the oldest in Canada. The centre includes a museum, educational programs, art gallery, workshops and special events. My research includes staff interviews, and their views of current functions and goals of the centre. Topics include the centre's economic situation, sustainability, employment and cultural programming.

A relevant issue is how the centre has controlled and preserved cultural, spiritual and traditional values as well as to what degree this has helped native programmers, presenters, tourists and other outside participants move beyond the narrow and negative margins of the past. The chapter also touches upon the centre's relations with another initiative, Six Nations Tourism.

Chapter 4 presents a case study of Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, near Mission, B.C., The centre, located at the site of one of North America's oldest native villages, has a longhouse, two pithouses, a sacred transformer stone integral to the region's traditional stories, a visitor's centre and gift shop. Tourists enjoy hands-on carving demonstrations and sift for archaeological finds such as projectile points. They could take part in educational programs, workshops, cross-cultural awareness seminars, language immersion and overnight programs. The chapter also assesses economic viability, preservation of tradition, cultural reinforcement of native presenters, cultural content and goals to attract more tourists.

Chapter 5 compares and contrasts the Woodland and Xá:ytem centres, as well as the NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre in British Columbia and Great Spirit Circle Trail in Ontario. Key issues examined include preservation of culture, identity reinforcement,

finances, economic opportunities and interactions with non-native visitors.

Also reviewed is how media could reinforce or dissolve stereotypes in stories about aboriginal tourism. Journalists should look for opportunities to frame articles in alternate ways and provide equitable coverage of native and non-native subjects.

The chapter assesses the hypothesis that aboriginal tourism could preserve culture, reinforce identity, be financially viable and introduce native perspectives to non-native people. It also studies tourism's weaknesses and strengths.

Problems definitely exist, but aboriginal cultural tourism's future, this final chapter concludes, looks brighter than ever.

CHAPTER 1

An Overview of Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in Canada

When I first told a group of non-native university colleagues about this project, they were puzzled. “What is aboriginal cultural tourism? Do you mean something like a recreated native village?” asked one. “Or some kind of manufactured wild west show?” asked another. My experience with aboriginal tourism was a little different, as I have outlined in the preface. After speaking with my colleagues, I realized the subject might be interpreted in many different ways.

My aim with this paper was to see if aboriginal cultural tourism could help preserve tradition, strengthen identity, provide economic opportunities and inform non-native people about historic and contemporary indigenous experience. Before I could do that, however, I needed to define my terms.

Definition of Terms

Sifting through my research, I came across some definitions offered by the government and aboriginal tourism associations. A 2002 review of Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada, a group formed under Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and Industry Canada, said, “The operating definition of aboriginal tourism for ATTC is any tourism business that is owned or managed by Indians,¹ Inuit or Métis people” (Indian and Northern Affairs/Industry Canada 2). It comprised the full spectrum of tourism products and services, traditional or contemporary. This included: accommodation, food and beverages, transportation, attractions, travel trade, events and conferences, adventure

¹ The document noted, “The use of the word ‘Indian,’ rather than ‘First Nations,’ was first proposed by ATTC so as to ensure off-reserve and non-status Indians were included” (Indian and Northern Affairs/Industry Canada).

tourism, recreation, and arts and crafts.

When the word cultural was added, the meaning was refined further. Robert Kelly, in Valda Blundell's paper "Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in Canada," said cultural tourism was the consumption of cultural experiences by individuals who were away from their normal place of habitation (38). Blundell honed the term further. She said it allowed tourists to experience cultural distinctiveness (ibid). These experiences included visits to museums, art galleries, cultural centres and historic sites, as well as interactions with ethnic populations.

Aboriginal cultural tourism, according to Aboriginal Tourism Association of Southern Ontario (ATASO), incorporated cultural experience in an appropriate and respectful manner true to the represented culture (Aboriginal Tourism Association of Southern Ontario). The association said native people must own and operate the tourism ventures.

The Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia's (ATBC) *Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Blueprint Strategy for B.C.* defined aboriginal cultural tourism as a cultural experience that was tied directly to an aboriginal person, or group of aboriginal people (20).

The blueprint strategy said cultural experiences must be authenticated in two ways:

- (1) As a direct result of permission provided through that person or person's Cultural Keepers, Elders or those designated with the authority to approve the sharing of the experience as it relates to that culture, or (2) As

a result of experiences relating to either traditional aboriginal culture or today's living culture as it is reflected through modern day lifestyle. (20)

The ATASO and ATBC's definitions seemed to be the most accurate. However, the latter's demand for authentication presented a problem. Authentic could be a sticky and contentious word. Authenticity, when linked with designated approval authorities, was clear enough but it became murky when undefined living cultures and modern day lifestyles were also thrown into the mix.

John Harp, in Blundell's paper, noted that Canadian tourism texts from the mid-1980s to early 1990s promoted less developed regions within a rhetoric of heritage as though only some idyllic past was authentic, something the urban dweller had lost (196). Blundell added that the authentic cultures promoted seemed to be traditional, non-urban peoples (39).

Authenticity for some tourism consumers could have reflected romantic stereotypes (ibid) with little concern for current realities, be they social inequities, or historical inaccuracies. Indigenous groups that catered to consumers' expectations might have provided a tourism product that had nothing to do with their own culture. Critics charged that in these cases, imaginary cultures commoditized for tourist markets were replacing those that expressed a group's own lived experiences (ibid).

Appropriate, native owned-and-operated tourism ventures that were true to specific native cultures have been deemed authentic by associations such as ATASO and ATBC. Many of the native organizations covered here, although not all, were members of these associations, so the definitions were appropriate.

Generally, I have not used the word “authentic” except when in a quote. However, I did use the word, “traditional.” Further into the chapter, critical theory and ideas of identity will establish a proper context.

Terms used to describe Canada’s indigenous peoples vary. They have included Indian, native, First Nations, First Peoples, Amerindian and aboriginal. However, before first contact with Europeans, these inhabitants never thought of themselves as a collective, said author Robert Berkhofer Jr., since many separate groups with very different cultures have always lived on the continent (3).

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) has listed 614 “First Nations communities” on its website (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada). It also has noted that aboriginal is an umbrella term that included First Nations, Inuit and Métis (ibid).² These names were rooted in the government’s Indian Act, but did not reflect what indigenous peoples called themselves before European contact. Thus, many views diverged on the correct language to apply when addressing indigenous peoples.

This paper has used the terms native, aboriginal and indigenous except when other words appear in a quote or a title. An example is the Osoyoos Indian Band (OIB). For people of other origins, I have generally chosen to be as specific as possible and used European and/or settler. When I needed a general, multicultural reference, I applied the terms non-aboriginal, non-native or non-indigenous.

Ideas of Identity and Tradition

Stuart Hall’s concept of identity was a major contributor to this chapter and to the

² According to the Indian and Northern Affairs Canada website, the Canadian Constitution recognizes three groups of aboriginal people — Indians, Métis and Inuit. It said, “These are three separate peoples with unique heritages, languages, cultural practices and spiritual beliefs” (Indian and Northern Affairs).

thesis in general. He stated that a stable identity formed through the interaction between a person and society. This delivered culture, values, meanings and symbols to the world the person inhabited (275).

The idea of tradition, a concept often referred to in indigenous cultural discourse, hinged on this same principal of stable identity. The word “tradition” adhered to Anthony Giddens’ definition:

In traditional societies, the past is honoured and symbols are valued because they contain and perpetuate the experience of generations.

Tradition is a means of handling time and space, which inserts any particular activity or experience within the continuity of past, present and future, these in turn being structured by recurrent social practices. (37)

Another appropriate notion was the post-modern shift, where structural and institutional change caused a fluidity of identity. Hall defined this historically, not biologically (277).

Identity, said Hall, fluctuated as systems of meaning and cultural representation multiplied (ibid). Dislocation was the result, according to Ernesto Laclau. He described dislocation as a recomposition of the structure around particular nodal points or articulations (40). These new articulations forged new identities, Hall said, and produced new subjects (279).

Indigenous culture has never been static, but evolving. Therefore, the types of self-representation linked to native tourism initiatives have fit Hall and Laclau’s post-modern theories.

Identity's connection with space and time, as outlined in Sherene Razack's introduction to *Race, Space and the Law* (3), was key when interpretive centres and tours tracked indigenous history. Government funds largely supported these ventures, which, some critics have said, supported settler mythologies (Razack 2).

Two such ventures could be NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre, operated by the Osoyoos Indian Band in British Columbia, and Great Spirit Circle Trail, a tour and marketing company based in the Manitoulin region of Ontario.

These cultural ventures offered situations where indigenous people could reinforce their own past and control the dispersion of carefully selected cultural experiences to outsiders. But, since they received government dollars, could they truly have strengthened or reclaimed culture (Lawrence 42)?

Woodland Cultural Centre on Six Nations land in Brantford, Ont., and Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, a Stó:lo venture in Mission, B.C., were two other places that might have faced the same question.

Jenny Cave's "Conceptualizing 'Otherness' as a Management Framework for Tourism Enterprise," and Chris Ryan's "Introduction: Tourist-Host Nexus – Research Considerations," have been helpful tackling this subject. They asked whether aboriginal ventures have provided merely what tourists stereotypically expected, or if they dispelled stereotypes effectively.

Back in the Day

Historians have traced aboriginal involvement in Canadian tourism back to the 19th century rail travel. As steam locomotives pushed their way across the country,

aboriginal people promoted railway ticket sales. They sold native handicrafts as souvenirs at the train stops and entrepreneurs featured native people on postcards. Events such as Banff Indian Days became popular tourist attractions.

In *The Imaginary Indian*, Daniel Francis noted that artist Paul Kane documented the vanishing “red man” in the 1840s (16). By the end of the 19th century, artist Edmund Morris and photographer Edward S. Curtis were among others who followed Kane’s footsteps. Francis pointed out:

They were accompanied by a veritable stampede of travelers, surveyors, sportsmen and missionaries, from Europe as well as Eastern Canada, attracted by the opportunity to see the wild “redskin” in his natural setting before he passed away into history. (44)

The native villages beside the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPR) mainline became goldmines for entrepreneurial photographers who captured images of the native people going about their daily activities and sold them to passengers wanting mementoes of their trip (ibid 179).

When floods washed out the CPR track in 1894, native entertainment was the quick fix. E.J. Hart in *The Selling of Canada*, pointed out that the marooned travelers were delighted when residents of the Stoney reserve at Morely arrived (59). At the invitation of the CPR, the native people performed traditional dances and competed in rodeo competitions. Dubbed Banff Indian Days, the popular event was held every summer after until the 1950s.

Photographs of 19th-century Banff Indian Days in an art show resource guide

showed non-native tourists posed beside natives dressed in war bonnets and other regalia (Doxtator 49). The caption under the photo explained:

The photograph is not for the Indian in his outfit, but for the visitor, so that at some later date he can show his friends, relatives and acquaintances that he was at the Banff Indian Days. Smiling, consciously posing in the centre of the picture, the visitors look as if they were standing beside a natural wonder or a man-made curiosity. (ibid)

The photograph verified the tourists' contact with an exotic native person. Romantic visions or a desire for bragging rights seemed to motivate tourists to attend the event and have their pictures taken.

More than half a century later, recreated villages became a popular tourist draw. Non-native promoters built and operated Niagara Falls Indian Village in Ontario. The attraction opened in 1960 and ran for 10 years.

Marian Bredin, in "Popular Memory and Aboriginal Heritage: A Case Study of the Niagara Falls Indian Village," noted:

The original investment in the site (\$40,000) went to construct a large log palisade enclosing several structures including Plains style teepees and two longhouses, one build from poles and bark and the other built from logs and housing Indian relics and wood carvings. As well, the owners acquired a 17th century log house from Ohsweken at the Six Nations reserve nearly 100 km away, had it moved to the palisade and reconstructed there. (5)

The village merged a number of cultures into one.

Visitors paid admission and watched demonstrations of beading, hide tanning and food preparation. They also viewed staged performances of the rain dance, snake dance, powwow dances and elders. The village performers were native, many from Six Nations and other tribes in southern Ontario. The guides were non-native high school students.

After Niagara Falls Indian Village closed, a severe windstorm destroyed many of the buildings. The owners eventually sold to Marineland, an aquatic tourist attraction that is still there.

From Indian Act to Partnerships

The railway brought tourists who wanted to see native people before they became extinct (Francis 44). But, the railway's main mission was to bind the country together and secure the government's power. That same need for national security also inspired the Indian Act of 1876. It demanded aboriginal people comply with strict rules. According to Bonita Lawrence, the government wanted to contain and eventually erase native culture (31). The Indian Act and the resulting unnatural view of indigenous peoples as sharply divided into Indian, Métis or Inuit (ibid 26) was extremely damaging. However, indigenous peoples and their cultures have survived (Statistics Canada).³

A little more than a century later, the government has recognized "otherness" as an economic opportunity. Ottawa not only acknowledged the cultures but also

³ Between 1901 and 2001, the aboriginal ancestry population increased tenfold, while the total population of Canada rose by a factor of only six. In the 2001 Census, 976,305 people identified themselves as North American Indian, Métis or Inuit (Statistics Canada).

encouraged an indigenous tourism industry.⁴ Promoting native culture has become part of a broader strategy aimed at increasing tourism in Canada.

Government leaders believed cultural tourism would expand rapidly in the future (Blundell 39). Tourism Canada financed research to prove that point. The *U.S. Pleasure Travel Market Study* of the mid-1980s concluded Americans could be attracted to Canada because it was foreign and could provide a culturally different experience.

Recommendations included capitalizing on the country's rich native and multicultural heritage (ibid 21).

Tourism Canada created an overseas advertising plan that studied Europe and Asia. Planners concluded native cultures were a valuable tourism draw. In keeping with the government's policy of reduced government spending, Tourism Canada moved away from direct funding of tourism projects to instead providing market research for Canada's tourism industry. The agency also sponsored advertising designed to cater to tourists' perceived tastes (ibid 196). The ads and promotional campaigns emphasized Canada's cultural attractions, including aboriginal cultures.

Various federal partners were involved in attempts to build an aboriginal-run tourism industry and provided diverse types and levels of support that were often regionally or locally focused. In 1990, stakeholders created the National Aboriginal Tourism Council. In 1992, it became the Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism

⁴ INAC Aboriginal tourism policy consultant Barry Parker noted that aboriginal tourism originally consisted only of arts and crafts, guiding and powwows. Early on, aboriginal communities were a major market share. "The most noted examples are in the north where the majority of travellers were aboriginal or travelled on aboriginal business. It was easy to get the market to "buy-Indian/Inuit" and this led to the development or acquisition of products to serve this market e.g. airlines and accommodation" said Parker in an interview (3 Oct. 2008).

Association. Led by its federal partners, Indian and Northern Affairs, Tourism Canada and Industry Science and Technology, the association supported studies and meetings aimed at defining an action plan to develop aboriginal tourism (INAC, *Tourism Sector Strategy 8*).

The private Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association's purpose was also to protect core values, as well as to identify common goals and concerns. The issues the association addressed included visitors' insensitive behavior toward aboriginal communities, ways in which non-aboriginal entrepreneurs commoditized aboriginal forms and how travel ads and tourist attractions continued to stereotype Canada's native peoples (Blundell 41).

Other concerns included promoters who ignored true native economic and political systems and who spoke of native people only in the past tense.

However, the federal partners' working relationships were ineffective, so the results were a disjointed approach to supporting development plans. In 1995, however, resources were available to support "Team Canada" models. Aboriginal Business Canada utilized this mandate as a vehicle to provide the core funding to industry-led tourism organizations.

The Liberal government launched Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada (ATTC) in 1996 with the objective of growing the industry and providing networking opportunities for regional associations (Indian and Northern Affairs/Industry Canada, *Review of Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada 1*). Industry Canada's website described ATTC as, "A partnership of business and government whose mission is to influence and develop

tourism policies and programs to benefit aboriginal people in Canada” (Industry Canada).

ATTC had five key components: industry development, community awareness and capacity development, marketing, human resource development and communications. ATTC's vision was to represent aboriginal people as “world leaders in tourism in harmony with their culture” (ibid). This was an interesting evolution. In the early 20th century, the government banned ceremonial regalia, as well as cultural and spiritual practices such as the potlatch and the sun dance (Lawrence 35).

ATTC situated itself as a vehicle in international venues and events and attempted to raise awareness about Canadian aboriginal tourism in world markets (Indian and Northern Affairs/Industry Canada, *Review of Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada* 16). At that time, the government thought a mythologized view of aboriginal culture fascinated Europeans, especially Germans (Notzke 117). A federal delegation researched the demand for indigenous tourism product in 2000 and created strategies to meet them (Canada, *Demand for Aboriginal Culture Products in Key European Markets* 3).

Sales worldwide needed preliminary organization, so Canada began the effort at home. Inside Industry Canada, Aboriginal Business Canada (ABC) was the supervisor of indigenous tourism ventures looking for economic support. ABC supported the development of Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada in 1996 and offered core funding to Regional Aboriginal Tourism Associations (RATA). Concurrently, the Canadian Tourism Commission established an aboriginal marketing department that lasted two years. Other federal partners committed only to finance projects.

The effort suffered some false starts. A sector strategy report published in 2007

reported that some RATAs did not get off the ground and others experienced short life spans due to ineffective planning and lack of buy-in from regional economic partners (Indian and Northern Affairs, *Sector Strategy* 9). Funding had not increased, so the remaining regional associations could not afford to provide services demanded of them, such as community awareness workshops and international marketing. The tourism industry and other partners were concerned about capacity and capability of these new organizations to deliver real service, noted the report (*ibid.*)⁵

Value, quality, service, physical properties and poor marketing were all reasons for worry. The strategy report pointed to the lack of specific criteria that would help create viable market-ready products. A domino effect ensued and quality issues affected partnership opportunities. Lack of product affected packaging and marketing options.

The aboriginal tourism organizations began to unwind.⁶ ATTC, which morphed into Aboriginal Tourism Canada (ATC) in 2005, needed to develop a national strategy. Aboriginal Business Canada sought more partners to provide core funds to stabilize these tourism organizations, but officials saw them as investment risks. Canadian Tourism Commission was the only entity to enter into an agreement with ATC, from 2003-2006.

The government phased out regional association core funding by 2006. However,

⁵ The report notes the National Study on Aboriginal Tourism (2002/03) found that the products being developed were not market ready (INAC 9). In the next chapter, Laszlo Buhasz also raised these issues in a 1997 *Globe and Mail* article.

⁶ Barry Parker, INAC aboriginal tourism policy consultant, said in an e-mail that another factor in regional aboriginal tourism associations' decline was poor leadership on their boards:

This was primarily because there was no 'Tourism Culture' within aboriginal communities. People did not really know what tourism was, how it worked, how to grow and nurture it, or how to address issues and opportunities. This has changed over the past few years but more needs to be done. (Parker 23 April 2008).

existing organizations were still eligible for project funding from all federal partners.⁷

Aboriginal Business Canada amalgamated in 2006 with Indian and Northern Affairs' economic development branch. The lead responsibility for tourism moved within Indian and Northern Affairs to the Sector Strategies Unit, according to the 2007 *Sector Strategies Report*.⁸

Aboriginal Tourism Canada lost its funding in 2008 (Parker 3 Oct. 2008).

Currently, eight aboriginal tourism associations operate across the country⁹ (Indian and Northern Affairs, "Memorandum of Understanding"). Each association has its own guidelines for membership. Many cite majority-owned native operations as full members and businesses owned by non-natives as affiliate members.

Some associations are simply part of a territory's larger tourism department, such as Northwest Territories Tourism. Others cover specific parts of a province, such as the Northern Ontario Native Tourism Association.

Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia is one of the strongest and most well organized regional associations. The association's *Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Blueprint Strategy for B.C.*, released in 2005, is a powerful tool used by groups across the country. Canadian Tourism Commission magazine's *Tourism*, refers to the document in the article "Community, Authenticity and Excellence," as one of the most detailed, well-

⁷ INAC and Aboriginal Business Canada contributed \$3.5 million a year to support aboriginal tourism associations, as well as enterprise development, in the past nine years, said Parker (3 Oct. 2008).

⁸ "The existing industry is just now grasping how much value aboriginal tourism can bring to the industry as a whole and government partners are now realizing that they need to do more to increase internal capacity to engage aboriginal tourism. The same is true for those who finance aboriginal economic development," Parker explained. (3 Oct. 2008)

⁹ They are the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia, Northern Ontario Native Tourism Association, Aboriginal Tourism Association of Southern Ontario, Quebec Aboriginal Tourism Corporation, Northwest Territories Tourism, Nunavut Tourism, Yukon First Nations Tourism Association, Aboriginal Tourism Association of Saskatchewan,

researched and thought-out aboriginal tourism marketing strategies in the world (5).

Six destination-marketing organizations also actively promote aboriginal tourism in specific areas.¹⁰ They include Great Spirit Circle Trail in the Manitoulin region of Ontario and Lennox Island Aboriginal Ecotourism in Prince Edward Island.

The Aboriginal Tourism Marketing Circle (ATMC) was formed in 2008 so associations, destination marketing organizations and provincial tourism representatives could tackle sales and marketing together. The group's national representative, Barry Parker, an INAC tourism policy consultant, noted:

The circle is being viewed with optimism as a viable vehicle through which federal partners can work with industry. It can be a true national voice for aboriginal people in the industry. The ATMC will be a forum for managers and focus on specific measurable objectives. The government lobbying approach used by Aboriginal Tourism Canada was old style and proved to be counter productive. (3 Oct. 2008)

The circle's focus, Parker said, would be sustainability (ibid).

To market and promote their products outside the country, aboriginal associations collaborated with the Canadian Tourism Commission. Two studies released by CTC in 2008 helped target their audiences. *Aboriginal Cultural Experiences While on Trips* was a survey of the U.S. travel market by Lang Research. The other was a report by Insignia Research, *Aboriginal Tourism Opportunities for Canada: U.K., Germany, France*.

More than six per cent, or 14 million adult Americans, engaged in an aboriginal

¹⁰ They are Six Nations Tourism, Great Spirit Circle Trail, Cree Outfitting and Tourism Association, Lennox Island Aboriginal Ecotourism, Eastside Sustainable Aboriginal Tourism, Northwest Manitoba CADS (INAC "Memorandum of Understanding").

cultural experience while on an out-of-town, overnight trip of one or more nights, concluded the Lang Research survey (2). Growth potential existed for long-haul travel involving aboriginal tourism, said the Insignia Research Survey (10). Insignia indicated that aboriginal travel was not a driver, but a value-added component of travel to Canada. Travelers interested in Canada who were also interested in aboriginal product were broken down by country: France, 85 per cent; Germany, 72 per cent; and the UK, 46 per cent (ibid).

Government Financial Support

Tourists' choices in Canadian aboriginal product include cultural centres. Funded by Indian and Northern Affairs' Cultural/Education Centres Program (CECP), there are 110 centres across the country.¹¹ Many offer museums, exhibits and programs that draw tourists. The oldest, Woodland Cultural Centre on Six Nations land in Brantford, Ont., opened in 1972.

The centres generally have two main missions, community support and outreach. Community-based objectives include reviving and developing traditional and contemporary cultural skills, conducting research, increasing use of traditional languages and developing culturally oriented educational curricula.

¹¹ The program originally received \$45 million in funding over five years from 1971-1972 to 1975-1976. Various funding adjustments have led to an annual budget of approximately \$8.4 million. Of this \$8.4 million, \$532,800 funds Inuit centres (administered by INAC headquarters (HQ)), \$7.261 million funds First Nations centres (of which \$2.871 million is administered by INAC Regions and \$4.390 million is administered by the First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centres (FNCCEC)) and \$595,454 funds two national organizations including Inuit Tapirisat Kanatami and the FNCCEC (administered by INAC HQ) (Indian and Northern Affairs, *Evaluation of the Cultural/Education Centres Executive Summary*).

Outreach objectives include developing mainstream education programs¹² and increasing access to new and more accurate information about First Nations/Inuit heritage. They provide opportunities for the public to become knowledgeable about, and sensitive to, the historical and current role of native and Inuit peoples (Indian and Northern Affairs, *Evaluation of the Cultural/Education Centres Program*).

Shifts in government, elections and changes to cultural and tourism priorities, have caused the centres' funding to dwindle considerably.¹³

Government financial support for native tourism ventures generally has come through Indian and Northern Affairs as well as Canadian Heritage (now bundled with Parks Canada). Aboriginal Business Canada spent \$5 million and Indian and Northern Affairs spent \$6.3 million for product development in fiscal year 2005/06, according to Industry Canada's *National Federal Tourism Expenditures* report (8).

In total, regional development agencies, federal partners, provincial and territorial agencies and aboriginal stakeholders have invested approximately \$50 million a year in aboriginal tourism, said Parker (25 April 2008).

The government has not tracked these contributions. According to the 2007 *Aboriginal Tourism Sector Strategy* report:

There has never been an overarching aboriginal tourism investment strategy outlining why the department thinks tourism is a good risk. No policies were developed to guide support to aboriginal tourism, nor was

¹² This is a large component of the work done at the two case studies, Woodland Cultural Centre and Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre.

¹³ From the *Evaluation of the Cultural/Education Centres Program*. Section 7 - Conclusions and Recommendations (Indian and Northern Affairs).

consideration given to measurable objectives. (9)

An assessment of the industry sector, along with a growth strategy naming attainable goals, it seems, would be the government's logical next step.

How aboriginal tourism programs could proceed, however, would be difficult to estimate. The sector strategy report suggested:

It is clear that it is now time to define a departmental vision, action plan, measurable objectives and accountability framework. It is also clear that INAC cannot develop a sector strategy on its own, it has to be developed in concert with federal partners, regional offices, aboriginal stakeholders, along with provincial and territorial governments and the balance of the tourism industry. (4)

Partnerships, said the report, were integral to progress. Collaborations such as those in Aboriginal Tourism Marketing Circle could be step towards a strategy that equitably addressed all stakeholders.

NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and Great Spirit Circle Trail

Aboriginal tourism ventures likely have different approaches, and government and other partnerships could play important roles. Enterprise, education and business goals might meld in some operations' methods to attract tourists.

The Osoyoos Indian Band opened NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre (pronounced Ink-a-meep) in 2005. Located in the Okanagan region of British Columbia, the band promotes the cultural centre with another tourism venture, Spirit Ridge Vineyard Resort and Spa. The band shares ownership of the resort with partner Bellstar Hotels and

Resorts. The resort and cultural centre, along with a new golf course, campgrounds and RV park, are marketed together as a family tourism destination (NK'MIP).

Great Spirit Circle Trail, a destination tour company and marketing association, launched in 2000. It represents eight native communities in Ontario's Manitoulin Island area and functions as tourism broker for member nations. The company is a tour operator/coordinator, and offers web advertising, event promotion and travel trade collateral such as an e-newsletter, photos and brochures. An onsite employee is available to answer questions for group tours and for special requests.

The Osoyoos Story

Chief Clarence Louie has been called one of Canada's most outspoken and economically-driven indigenous leaders (Wente). Elected chief in 1984 at age 24, Louie has taken the 440-member Osoyoos Indian Band (OIB) from bankruptcy to solvency.

Nine businesses owned by the band annually pump \$40 million into the B.C. economy (OIB). The businesses include a winery, a construction company, the new \$30-million Spirit Ridge Vineyard Resort and Spa and the \$9-million NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre.

The Osoyoos market the NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre's as a place to learn about the land and people. The website explained:

The mission of the NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre is to provide our visitors with an authentic and unique experience that promotes respect and understanding of the living culture of the Okanagan People and the desert lands that sustained them. (NK'MIP)

The Desert Cultural Centre, it seems, is the band's educational cornerstone for tourists.¹⁴

Jenny Cave has paired "otherness" with enterprise in her article "Conceptualising 'Otherness' as a Management Framework for Tourism Enterprise." The match was appropriate for Chief Louie and the OIB. Cave noted that a beneficial cultural learning experience could occur between the visited and the visitor when the host was able to protect and preserve spiritual values and traditions. In this interaction, Cave has defined the visitor as an involved person who wanted to learn about people, lifestyle, heritage and arts in way that genuinely represented the culture and its historical context (263).

Tourism enterprise, however, could create tension within a community, especially if a conflict arose between cultural and tourism values. Indigenous leaders had criticized Chief Louie for merging culture with business, noted columnist Margaret Wenté in *The Globe and Mail* (Wenté).

Another *Globe and Mail* article, by Roy MacGregor, mentioned some aboriginal leaders frowned on Louis for ignoring tradition. When MacGregor asked him about it, the chief's response was, "You're going to lose your language and culture faster in poverty than you will in economic development" (MacGregor).

Press stories might help or hinder tourism ventures depending how they have been written and how the public would perceive them. An examination of the constructs of identity would be useful here. Tradition, as articulated by Giddens, could be at risk if a band does not protect and control what it shared with tourists. If the band were to take measures to preserve and protect tradition, cultural identity should remain intact.

¹⁴ I called Chief Louie's office to arrange an interview, but he travels a lot on behalf of the band and was unavailable.

However, journalists might not always reflect this.

Chief Louie and members of the Osoyoos Indian band have become modern, successful business operators. They have functioned as cultural historians concerned with correcting past inaccuracies via the NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre. Their approach to business and culture has been to adopt multiple identities, as outlined by Hall (279).

Some critics argued that Louie was not as economically self-sufficient as he claimed since government funding helped build the Desert Cultural Centre. Money came from Western Economic Partnership Agreement, Industry Canada, Canadian Heritage, Infrastructure Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and the Softwood Industry Community Economic Adjustment Initiative, said Charlotte Sanders, the centre's general manager, in an interview (28 Oct. 2008).

"The centre was built with government and outside funding. But, we haven't received any operation money from the government since. Our yearly budget comes from our revenues and from the Osoyoos Indian Band," she explained (ibid).

Money from Canadian Wildlife Services assisted the site's rattlesnake research project (ibid). In 2007, Chief Louie introduced a Legacy Fund, aimed at attracting private and corporate sponsorships to help sustain the centre and its research (NK'MIP *Legacy Fund*). Sanders said approximately \$200,000 had been raised to date, but it was too early to assess the fund's success in meeting its goals (28 Oct. 2008).

The \$9-million centre has not yet started making a profit. "We still have a lot of debt. It will take at least five years to pay back the loans," said Sanders (ibid). She noted her goal, as well as the centre's 11 staff members, was a self-sufficient operation (ibid).

Sometimes other aboriginal groups have come to her for advice about starting a cultural centre. She has told them, “The motivation has to be right. We are not a moneymaker but we are doing what the community wants. We tell the story of the land, the Okanagan people and the Osoyoos Indian Band” (ibid).

The government’s initial financial support did not influence the cultural content at the centre, said Sanders:

Chief Clarence Louie worked on the research for a couple of years. We went to our elders and the other Okanagan bands to find the facts. The En’owkin Educational Centre on the Penticton Indian Reserve¹⁵ was very knowledgeable and helpful. (ibid)

The centre’s historical perspective, said Sanders, came from the indigenous experience of the Okanogan peoples (ibid).

The Desert Cultural Centre’s facilities included the Pithouse Theatre, where a multi-sensory experience recreates life in a traditional winter home. In the Chaptik Legend Theatre, visitors could watch a young woman in a film reconnect with her roots while visiting her grandparents on the reserve (NK’MIP). Tourists observed desert creatures in the Critter Corner, including the endangered Western Rattlesnake.

The Inkameep Day School Gallery displayed work by NK’MIP children who attended the reservation school in the 1930s and 1940s. OIB children were not sent away to residential institutions, but instead attended the reservation school under the

¹⁵ The En’owkin Educational Centre is a culturally sensitive training centre for aboriginal people. It was established in 1981 by seven bands that form the Okanagan Nation Alliance. The bands are the Southern Okanagan, Northern Okanagan, San Poil, Colville/Kettle, Similkameen/Methow, Arrow Lakes and Slocan (Sanders 28 Oct. 2008).

supervision of an “eccentric” Irish teacher (ibid).

Outdoor attractions included an art gallery and the Living Lands garden where visitors could dig for artifacts or take part in storytelling in a tipi. A traditional village with life-sized sculptures by Spokane-based indigenous artist Virgil “Smoker” March featured traditional aspects of life, such as heating rocks for a sweat lodge.

The centre’s Wall of Discovery, also outdoors, has color-coded time lines that detail significant geological, historical and human events from the band’s perspective. Sanders said, “Our chief, Clarence Louie, is a keen historian and we worked on this for two years to get it right” (28 Oct. 2008).

The Wall of Discovery suggested that indigenous tourism initiatives had the ability to share a native point of view and challenge historical inaccuracies.

Tourists at the centre were drawn to the band’s nearby resort, winery and sampling cellar. A successful operation, the winery has won many awards (NK’MIP). This is a very different scenario from the 19th century, when laws made it an offence to supply native people with intoxicants (Mawani 60).

Alcoholism has long been a reality for some native people (Health Canada). For others it could be a stereotype. In the case of Osoyoos, the winery seems to be a moneymaking enterprise that has run counter to the stereotype.

Louie defended the winery with an argument of economics. “You could take all the vineyards off the reserve and the alcoholism rate would go up especially because you’d take away these high-paying jobs” he said in an *Indian Country Today* article by Matt Ross, “Winery Quashes Alcohol Image and Creates Jobs” (Ross).

Media stories such as Ross' can question stereotypes. Others might reinforce them. How the public has continued to view aboriginal tourism ventures could be influenced, positively or negatively, by media coverage.

Economic self-sufficiency no doubt has driven OIB tourism initiatives. The band has benefited from government programs that helped build the cultural centre (Osoyoos Indian Band). However, success for larger ventures such as the winery and resort has come from long-term business planning and partnerships with non-native corporations.

The OIB has created an attractive and successful tourism destination where tourists learn about indigenous history. Because the cultural centre has received support from outsiders, including the government, self-censorship could be an issue.

The band's economic self-sufficiency, however, could provide a solid foundation for the future. The Legacy Fund and other financial strategies might supply the stability and solvency the centre has needed to continue its work.

Chief Louie has organized a survival strategy of economic priorities. The NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre, situated on band land and designed, managed and operated by the OIB, indicated the community's commitment to sharing its history and traditions. This initiative provided members of the OIB with a vehicle to reinforce their own past and explore current self-representation in their own space.

Great Spirit Circle Trail

Great Spirit Circle Trail, an indigenous destination marketing association and tour company, has seen sales increase steadily since 2005. It was touted in *The Globe and Mail* as a growing tourism venture in 2006's downward market (Rinehart).

“Four years ago when we offered our experience program we sold 86 tickets to our cultural programs. In 2008 we sold 900 tickets,” said manager Kevin Eshkawkogan in a phone interview (28 Oct. 2008).

Great Spirit is a partner with eight native communities on Manitoulin Island and in the Sagamok region of Northeastern Ontario.¹⁶ The company has offered nature-based and cultural tourism from an aboriginal perspective. Packages, including powwows, soft adventure, wilderness eco-adventures and educational interpretive tours, have promoted advertising opportunities for members in Canada, the United States and Europe (ibid). Every year, on behalf of members, staff has attended the ITB Berlin travel trade show, the largest of its kind in the world (ibid).

Great Spirit Circle Trail illustrated the economic issues surrounding cultural appropriation and control over the distribution of indigenous experience, history and knowledge. The start-up funding came from two federal agencies, FedNor and Industry Canada (ibid).

Seventy-five per cent of Great Spirit’s budget was government money (ibid). Currently, FedNor has provided the bulk of the company’s \$175,000 operating budget and Aboriginal Business Canada has annually contributed part of an \$80,000 marketing budget (ibid). “The government requires our equity contribution to the budget increases every year. At the same time, the government’s contribution decreases yearly. The rationale is to make us self-sufficient,” explained Eshkawkogan (ibid).

Great Spirit Circle Trail has continued to receive its government funding via

¹⁶ The eight native communities are: Aundeck Omni Kaning, M’Chigeeng, Sagamok Anishnawbek, Sheguiandeh, Sheshegwaning, Whitefish River, Wikwemikong Unceded Indian Reserve and Zhiibaahaasing (Great Spirit Circle Trail).

Waubetek Business Development Corporation in Birch Island, Ontario (Waubetek). Eshkawkogan, a former employee of Waubetek with a business background, said the aboriginal-owned-and-controlled organization has delivered FedNor and Industry Canada business financing and economic development services to native entrepreneurs in northeastern Ontario (28 Oct. 2008).

Great Spirit Circle Trail started in 1997 as a regional marketing strategy. Endorsed by native councils, the strategy was implemented in 2000 and the company began to promote aboriginal tourism businesses, special events and historic sites (Industry Canada, “FedNor”). Member businesses have grown to 25 and Great Spirit’s tour division has targeted great lakes cruises, motorcoach groups and independent travelers. Staff has included two full-time people and three interns throughout the year, augmented by five to 10 tour ambassadors hired during the summers.

Cultural tourist attractions of the eight community members have included the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, with museum, art gallery and retail store. Programs such as craft workshops, traditional dance exhibitions and storytelling sessions portrayed cultural values (Great Spirit Circle Trail). The Sheguiandah First Nation, associated with the company, has offered tourists trips to a traditional roundhouse and living heritage park (ibid).

Great Spirit Circle Trail has sparked enterprise for its members. “A new tracking system shows that overnight stays in the region have increased by 63 per cent in the last year,” said Eshkawkogan (28 Oct. 2008). He noted the company has begun collaborations with three communities to build a 60-room hotel (ibid).

Tourists have been attracted to the company's website through pictures of indigenous people in ceremonial regalia. "Our most popular program is the Intertribal Dance powwow. It helps to educate tourists about who we are. All our programs are a true reflection of the history and culture of the region and its original inhabitants," explained Eshkawkogan (ibid).

Eshkawkogan, a M'Chigeeng member from Manitoulin Island, said weekly dance performances have correctly represented the area's culture:

Powwows are social gatherings, celebrations of getting together. We tailor the presentation and engage the tourists. We show them the dance styles, explain the regalia and teach them to do the dances. Tourists aren't just spectators, but participants. (ibid)

Great Spirit Circle Trail has long offered weekly powwow-style demonstrations to meet tourists' demands for regalia-clad native people, but the company considered them more educational sessions than competitive dances, said Eshkawkogan (ibid).

The format, while not purely powwow, he said, has not betrayed native culture: "What we do helps educate people about who we are. Our programs are authentic and abide by cultural integrity guidelines" (ibid). Elders helped outline the policies. "We don't share what is inappropriate and we do not sell any spiritual ceremonies or medicines," explained Eshkawkogan (ibid).

In contrast to the regalia-clad performers on the website, the indigenous guides and tour leaders were pictured in T-shirts and jeans. Along with tour descriptions, a glossary of terms translated to member nations' languages to English, and included a file

of media stories that gave tourists an idea of what they could experience (Great Spirit Circle Trail). The company seemed to portray itself as belonging both in the traditional and modern worlds.

The cultural tourism activities aimed to teach new ways of thinking about the indigenous experience. Eshkawkogan noted:

People who come are willing to learn. An elder told me there are four colours of people on the earth. Red, brown, white and yellow. He said we have to bring the four races together if we are to achieve true harmony. I think native people and non-native people have a lot to teach each other.
(28 Oct. 2008)

Eshkawkogan's words departed from the mythologized Euro-Canadian narrative once prevalent in Canadian school textbooks.

NK'MIP compared to the Great Spirit Circle

Tourism at both NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and Great Spirit Circle Trail have offered opportunities to honor culture, build bridges and provide income. As Ryan noted:

Tourism is increasingly viewed not simply as a force for the creation of a stereotypical image of a marginalized people, but a means by which those people aspire to economic and political power for self-advancement and as a place of dialogue between and within differing world views. (4)

But, NK'MIP and Great Spirit Circle Trail also have been driven by economics as well as culture. They offered a place where tourists spent money, but could also learn and

interact with native people.

The aboriginal partners in both NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and the Great Spirit Circle Trail had multiple identities as business people, keepers of culture and disseminators of a redefined history delivered from their own perspective. Rather than remaining in a historically defined stereotype, the actors flowed with the demands of their operations (Hall 279).

Conclusion

The way indigenous communities have collaborated to launch these tourism enterprises pointed toward cultural reclamation (Lawrence 42). The operations were post-modern explorations that merged present experience with traditions. This merging of past and present has created opportunities for new articulations to arise, as posited by Laclau (40). Sites offered tourists the chance to learn about the past but also connect with native guides who could tell them about contemporary life. The guides articulated both tradition and modernism.

NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and the Great Spirit Circle Trail have provided places where indigenous peoples could reinforce their own past and be in control of dispersing cultural experiences to outside visitors. They have offered the opportunity for positive, redefined self-representation.

Government and local communities have supported aboriginal tourism. Self-sufficiency has been a long-term goal for the operations. Both ventures presented solid, stable, community approved cultural experiences to outsiders. By doing so, they preserved tradition, reinforced cultural identity and introduced non-native people to an

aboriginal perspective.

Some tourists have had romanticized expectations. However, their hosts were in control and have likely rerouted some people to the reality of contemporary existence.

Still, on the one hand, the native people pictured on the Great Spirit Circle Trail website could have reinforced stereotypes for tourists who wanted to see feathers and beads. But, on the other hand, when guides explained the regalia and dances to visitors, some stereotypes no doubt have dissolved.

At the same time, the authoritative roles the guides played has reinforced their own cultural identities. Native owned-and-operated tourism initiatives have exposed non-native tourists and native guides to perspectives both sides might otherwise have missed.

Many years have passed since the railways brought tourists to see the vanishing indigenous peoples. Since then, traditional stories in native-run tourism operations have presented native culture authentically and have correctly reflected aboriginal identities.

Aboriginal tourism has affected native communities positively, directly or through the media. Perhaps, in the long run, tourism could assist native people and non-native people to gain more equitable footing.

Yet, the stereotypes have survived. The question is why. One possible answer could emerge if people critically examined news, magazine and broadcast media.

Historically, how have the media portrayed, and continued to portray, Canada's native peoples?

The next step toward equality, intercultural understanding and the end of stereotyping might be as near as a newsstand, a TV set, or a radio.

CHAPTER 2

Media Coverage of Aboriginal Tourism Ventures

The public media have covered aboriginal people as tourism subjects since first contact. Memoirs and travelogues depicted encounters with native people by various explorers, missionaries and adventurers. The Canadian Pacific Railroad encouraged travel out west by promoting sightings of native people and events such as Banff Indian Days (Francis 179; Hart 59).

Since then, native people have taken cultural tourism into their own hands. Modern media have covered these ventures via travel and travel business stories. Compared to early colonial coverage, these mainstream stories have reflected, or not reflected, a change of perspective.

Euro-centric views of Canada's aboriginal people in the press are rooted in the government's actions more than 100 years ago. In 1876, the British/Canadian colonial government placed Canadian native peoples under a strict set of rules called the Indian Act. The act, still in effect, maintained the government's dominant power and control over aboriginal people, including the land and resources, as Bonita Lawrence pointed out in *Real Indians and Others* (31).

The Indian Act, written in language that implied the superiority of the civilized colonialist government over uncivilized indigenous peoples, has had many revisions (Indian and Northern Affairs *The Indian Act and Indians*). By ascribing native peoples lesser status under the law, it effectively sanctioned racism. "Our Indian legislation generally rests on the principle that the aborigines are to be kept in a condition of tutelage

and treated as wards or children of the state,” noted an 1876 government report (ibid).

Canadian news stories since colonial times appear to have used the stereotypes that stemmed from these state-reinforced racial views. The question was whether the media from the late 1800s to the present had evolved. Did they rely on the discourses of the past, or did they report stories about aboriginal tourism that were unbiased and culturally accurate?

The Evolution of Stereotypes

French printer Fermin Didot created the term “stereotype” for a printing process that used papier mâché molds in 1794 (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 1054). The molds, made from pages of handset type, produced duplicate cast-metal plates. Using these plates, newspapers and books could be printed on several presses at the same time without the need to set individual pieces of type (ibid).

Stereotype technology multiplied output and evolved into mass print production. By the industrial age, media dominated transference of information and firsthand experience lost ground as a source. Ultimately, media replaced personal connections and created easily consumable, industrially generated, substitutes for intimate knowledge (Ewan and Ewan 3).

American journalist Walter Lippmann, borrowing from Didot, introduced stereotypes to contemporary vocabulary. He described them in his classic 1922 study, *Public Opinion*, as maps of the world that formed a repertory of fixed impressions in the mind. These maps provided order and were pictures of possible worlds. “In that world people and things have their well-known places, and do certain expected things,”

explained Lippmann (60).

A stereotype was neutral. The meaning bestowed upon it by the collective popular mind made a stereotype positive or negative (ibid).

Native Stereotypes

When North America was first colonized, people were separated into categories such as Christians and heathens; civilized and savage. This cultural hierarchy stemmed from interpretations of Charles Darwin's book *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle For Life*. The popular Euro-centric view Darwin's book triggered, noted author Robert Berkhofer Jr., was that progress and physical anatomy, measured by European standards, delineated superiority among human groups (56-57). These attitudes and ideas implanted themselves firmly in the minds of settlers who placed themselves above the native people they encountered.

Aboriginal stereotypes historically stemmed from three actions said Berkhofer in *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. They were: (1) ascribing the traits of one tribe to all native people, (2) judging native people in terms of white society and (3) examining native peoples with moral judgments (Berkhofer 25).

Robert Harding compared British Columbian news stories of the 1860s to stories of the early 1990s in "Historical representations of aboriginal people in the Canadian news media" (231). He concluded stereotypes such as childlike, inferior, noble savage, savage and susceptible to corruption, created identity frames that were prevalent for more than a century-and-a-half (209-211).

Stereotypes used in modern tourism stories also trace back to the 19th century when travelers, missionaries and sportsmen rode the rails to western Canada. Their travelogues, preludes to the modern travel story, were devoured by audiences back home, curious about native life, noted Daniel Francis in *The Imaginary Indian* (44).

English writer Douglas Sladen treated native people as a tourism spectacle. He wrote in 1895 in *On the Cars and Off*, “The Indians and the bears were splendid stage properties to have at a station where both the east and west bound trains . . . stop for lunch” (306).

Romanticized paintings by Paul Kane and stories by James Fenimore Cooper, who wrote *Last of the Mohicans* in 1826, stoked the imaginations of travelers who found real native people did not live up to their expectations. “I was disappointed in these Indians. They too much resembled commonplace Europeans,” wrote the Earl of Southesk about his encounter with a band of Saulteaux at Pembina in 1859 (28). Southesk dismissed them as ugly, hard-featured, dirty, gypsy-like people that were neither handsome and interesting nor picturesque (35).

Authenticity and a tourist’s expectations were issues for British traveler Edward Roper who described the Blackfoot he saw at a Canadian railway station in 1890. “Some few had good faces, but the ideal Red Man was not there,” he said in *By Track and Trail: A Journey Through Canada* (118). Later, when he saw native people in paint, feathers and decorated clothing, he said they were much closer to what he anticipated (120). He also observed colonial inhabitants’ attitudes, “The Canadians seemed to regard them as a race of animals which were neither benefit nor harm to anyone, mentioning that they

were surely dying out and that when they were all gone it would be a good thing” (118). The readers of these 19th century travelogues were British. Canada was a British colony, however, so the authors’ prevailing outlooks were likely similar to those of Canadian readers.

Modern travel and travel business stories about aboriginal tourism initiatives have changed in tone since colonial times. But, the degree to which stereotypes influence contemporary business and travel journalists remains an issue.

Relevancy

Media of all genres (news, travel, business, entertainment) have played a role in perpetuating stereotypes. They have reinforced the public perception of indigenous peoples as “problem people” (Hill).¹ Michael Meadows, in *Voices in the Wilderness*, noted, “The role of the 20th century press has been paramount in constructing images of Indigenous populations in Australia and North America – they have been patronized, romanticized, stereotyped and ignored by most of mainstream society” (50).

Travel journalism has reflected the images and stereotypes prevalent in popular culture. “The very conventions and practices of journalism have worked to reinforce that popular – and often inaccurate – imagery,” said Mary Ann Weston in *Native Americans in the News: Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press* (163).

Biases are a common human trait. However, responsible travel journalists have

¹ Jamie Hill, who is Mohawk and based in Toronto, is the CEO of Aboriginal Voices Radio Network. He is also head of marketing and sales for Knapp Media, a company contracted to provide editorial content and advertising for the Smithsonian’s *National Museum of the American Indian* magazine. He believes the “problem people” construct stems from society’s elite, including media owners. “They want to maintain control of land and resources that are threatened by aboriginal claims,” he said in a phone interview (30 Apr. 2008).

always had the choice to inform and educate audiences as well as themselves and not simply reflect dominant, sometimes racially biased, ideology. Reporters should make conscious decisions when they use language because their stories could powerfully affect readers. “Not only have the media influenced the public, they have influenced First Nations peoples’ own self-image,” said Millie Knapp, the Mohawk managing editor of *National Museum of the American Indian* magazine, in an interview (15 Aug. 2008).

Knowledge, Assumptions and Reporting

Tuen van Dijk posited that the strategy of discourse applied by journalists was often “fast but fallible” (15). Journalists assumed audiences have a shared common knowledge and embodied this in their text. Knowledge, noted van Dijk, was tied to the epistemic community in which it was defined (18). Outsiders often assumed a community’s beliefs were an ideology. However, those within a community have embraced ideology as knowledge, not a mere belief (ibid 18).

How and why journalists chose their frames and modes of discourse has been an important study. Their published words have had the capacity to harm or help subjects. As Ewan and Ewan pointed out, “Within recent history, the role of the media, and their capacity to spawn mass impressions instantaneously, has been a pivotal factor in the dissemination of stereotypes” (3).

Writers of travel stories have often told readers about the world before the reader experienced it. Readers, through words on a page, imagined a situation. They developed preconceptions. Unless education had made a reader acutely aware, these preconceptions governed the whole process of perception (Lippmann 59).

The travel stories studied here contained discourse that yielded a particular kind of analysis Todd Gitlin has defined as media frames. These are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers have routinely organized discourse (Gitlin 7).

Gitlin's definition has echoed Michel Foucault's challenge against thinking that relied on assumptions. Foucault, in his book *Archeology of Knowledge*, noted that the history of ideas has been concerned with insidious thought (137). Although reality frames have flowed anonymously between people, Foucault noted, they have not been reliable (ibid).

Popular media stories and frame analysis

The section that follows this one will present and analyze travel and tourism articles from several popular publications. I have used frame analysis to see if the writers have relied on assumptions that reflected a "naturalized" discourse of stereotypes. Certain coverage might have been driven by what Foucault called "The analysis of opinions rather than of knowledge, of errors rather than of truth, of types of mentality rather than of forms of thought" (137).

The articles that used negative stereotypes could reinforce a naturalized assumption by Western society that it was superior to "the other." Edward Said argued in his book *Orientalism* that imperialism was at the root of Western society's need to be dominant over races from the East (42). European journalists transferred this anti-Oriental attitude, according to Harding, to Canada's post-colonial news media (225). Potentially, stereotyped stories contain the same power to damage aboriginal self-

identity.

Orientalism in modern travel articles might be unintentional. For example, author Laszlo Buhasz used the phrase “whooping young Indian braves.” Regardless of motive, he was practicing what Frances Henry and Carol Tator, in their book *Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press*, called “democratic racism” (36), an existing body of social and ethnic images a society has assumed to be correct.

Popular culture and discourse could perpetuate democratic racism, said Henry and Tator. “These frames of reference are a largely unacknowledged body of beliefs, assumptions, feelings, stories, and quasi-memories that underlie, sustain and inform perceptions, thoughts, and actions,” they noted (36).

However, if reporters become more aware of how frames influence text, they could stop using stereotypes based on unacknowledged beliefs. By doing so, a reporter could contribute to a shift in understanding that would eventually make stereotypes irrelevant.

Debbie Lisle has long been a critic of cultural travel reporting. Both Foucault and Said, Lisle wrote in *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, have shown that post-colonial Euro-centric attitudes have influenced travel writing. She wrote that travel writing was central to the apparatus of Orientalism and in many ways reinforced colonial rule (1). Many authors today, she said, have carried on the tradition. Canada’s colonial roots could have fostered a Euro-centric lens, such as Lisle described, through which writers have observed indigenous people.

Travel writing, however, had the ability to go beyond peddling a colonial mindset, said Lisle. Stories could address and engage more explicitly with debates over cultural difference, she pointed out. Elfriede Fürsich's "How can global journalists represent the 'Other'?" suggested open texts and multiple representations to combat the media's often unconsciously superior perspective (57). The propositions put forth by Lisle and Fürsich can help analyze the sample articles in the next section to assess whether a dominant attitude was apparent and if there were any indications of a shift towards a more open and equitable presentation.

Some articles below follow Orientalism and an unconscious use of negative stereotypes. The question is, to what extent? Have these recent post-colonial business and travel texts reinforced colonialist stereotypes, or do they contain indications of a paradigm shift?

The following samples from the mainstream press include the *National Post*, *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star*, *Canadian Geographic* and *Maclean's* (for full text see Appendix I). The stories fit into either cultural travel or travel business categories. They cover a wide range of indigenous tourism initiatives, including the NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and Spirit Ridge Winery and Resort in the Okanagan, powwows, and an independent cultural tour operator in British Columbia.

Discourse analysis and frames will analyze the binary opposites of superior versus inferior, civilized versus uncivilized and morally upright versus corrupt and licentious. Other opposites include paternal versus childlike, law abiding versus criminal, urban consumer versus noble naturalist and ordinary versus exotic.

The segments below will assess historical context and examine key phrases and paragraphs of the samples.

“Pow Wow (sic) Know-How: Going Native,” *The Globe and Mail*

“Pow Wow (sic) Know-How: Going Native,” by Laszlo Buhasz, ran on the front page of *The Globe and Mail*'s travel section in September 1997.² The story was datelined Calgary and compared aboriginal tourism ventures in southern Alberta with others in the West. It was not a traditional destination piece that chronicled the adventures of the writer, but looked at the economics of the industry in the western provinces.

The headline “Pow Wow (sic) Know-how: Going Native” set what seemed to be a benign tone. Powwows were drumming, dancing and feasting celebrations (Curve Lake). Held in native communities, powwows were open to tourists and produced entirely by native peoples (Blundell 44). “Pow Wow (sic) Know-how” seemed to refer to the knowledge base needed to organize a successful powwow.

The Oxford dictionary has defined know-how as practical knowledge and technical expertness (556). The first part of the headline indicated strength in organizing and facilitating powwows by aboriginal peoples.

The second part of the headline was “Going Native.” The Oxford dictionary defined the phrase as when a “white person” adopts a less civilized mode of life of natives where one lives (674). This part of the headline introduced a subtle “us versus them” opposition. It was more complex, however, than an oppositional binary since the story, as a travel piece, targeted non-native readers who might have wanted to partake in

² See Appendix I, section A.

an unfamiliar aboriginal cultural experience. According to its advertising kit, the newspaper's readers were well educated, influential and affluent Canadians (*The Globe and Mail*).

“Representing the other is the *raison d'être* of the work,” said Fürsich about travel journalism (60). However, the phrase “Going Native” had historic Orientalist overtones. These were rooted in the colonial gaze of the superior, the strong versus the weak partner (Said 40). The phrase reinforced the “less civilized” stereotype.

The headline was layered in collective knowledge, a kind of socially shared belief represented in long term memory and partly used and applied in short term memory (van Dijk 11). The stereotypes used by the writer of the headline were complex and could not be called strictly colonialist. “Going Native” conjured images of ignorant or culturally unaware non-aboriginal people taking part in a powwow. However, the term was paired with “Pow Wow (sic) Know-How.” This indicated a cultural tourism business savvy on the part of native organizers who might have been targeting that audience. The message was mixed.

The article's lead sentence read, “On most weekends this summer, a band of whooping young Indian braves brandishing spears and bows, dressed in buckskin and feathers, galloped bareback over the top of a southern Alberta hill after a small herd of stampeding buffalo” (Buhasz). “Whooping young Indian braves” harkened back to colonial “civilized vs. savage” (Harding 225). However, it was hard to gauge if this was what Foucault called a “naturalized” stereotypical interpretation by the author. It might have been an attempt to convey a post-colonialist, even post-modern, feeling of absurdity at watching a re-enactment

performance for tourists. Buhasz gave little context or explanation about the traditions or culture of the aboriginal participants other than that the braves circled in a victory lap to celebrate a successful hunt.

The paragraph went on to say:

It was the final performance in a 90-minute program that included rodeo events and wild-horse racing near Head-Smashed-In-Buffalo Jump, a United Nations world heritage site where natives slaughtered buffalo for thousands of years by driving them over a cliff. (Buhasz)

The statement, at face value, was true. However, the word “slaughtered” paired with “driving them over a cliff” implied an “otherness” linked to savagery. The *Oxford Dictionary* listed slaughter as the killing of animals for food (994). Slaughter, said the dictionary, also meant the killing of many persons or animals at once or continuously, carnage, massacre (ibid).

The sentence lacked context. For example, it did not explain that Plains people used every part of the buffalo (*Buffalo Tracks* 4). Instead, it implied mindless decimation. The author did not mention the buffalo went from an estimated 60 million head at the time of first European contact (ibid 9), to near extinction when Europeans killed them for sport. Harding said this gap was “Canadian society’s general amnesia about the country’s colonial history” (206).

The use of language was nuanced and its meanings were layered in historical misinterpretations. It was doubtful the author knowingly framed these passages to support colonial ideologies. However, since context was missing, the passage might assume knowledge and attitudes that van Dijk noted were partly controlled by underlying group ideologies (19).

The travel section featured the story on its front page. From a business perspective, the

piece gave voice to native and non-native tourism. The author discussed reserve politics and rivalries that complicated the fates of some small and mid-sized enterprises in western Canada. He included ventures that failed due to sabotage from “rival” chiefs and demands from band councilors for free tickets and special treatment. These examples reinforced the “susceptible to corruption” stereotype.

One paragraph listed six successful ventures, but most of the 3,000-word article focused on industry problems. Buhasz quoted non-aboriginal industry experts who said it was a difficult sell due to the market’s emphasis on timeliness and reliability.

Buhasz’s frame was benevolent and paternal, with quotes from non-indigenous tour operators and sales managers. These included:

“Personally, I have a great passion for the native cultures of Western Canada,” said Gale. “But we have to help them prepare the right products for the right price.” (ibid)

and

“Everyone [in the Western tour industry] would love to see [an operator] be the hero and take the lead in really promoting aboriginal tourist attractions,” said Gale. “Maybe we’ll be the hero.” (ibid)

The news frame recalled a heroic-white-man-saving-primitive-aboriginal-people from Harding’s article (210). Buhasz’s frames were not as strident as Harding’s 1860s’ examples, but his article contained Orientalist attitudes that reinforced some of the same early stereotypes.

“Pouring Dollars Down the Porta-potty,” *National Post*

The next article,³ “Pouring Dollars Down the Porta-potty: Half the native businesses either missing or dead,” was a business piece by Stewart Bell that ran in the *National Post* in November 1999. The title’s negative construct triggered images of the government as a paternal power squandering money on unreliable or “missing” native people who were unable to manage their businesses. The article targeted a number of tourism ventures.

The words “missing or dead” implied native people were wayward. It also subliminally echoed newspaper stories about the murders of native people such as Pamela George in 1995 (Razack 123) and Helen Betty Osborne in 1971 (ibid). The piece exposed a “string of flops,” including Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada expenses for a tourism workshop and funds for a cultural centre at Manitou Mounds (Bell).

The author used quotes from aboriginal interviewees to reinforce his point. One grant recipient said, “I’m on welfare right now and I’m trying to figure out what I want to do next. . . . I’ll do the native aboriginal thing again and see about getting a log truck . . . for about \$5,000” (Bell). The story did not delve into the background of the speaker, but used him to indict the government for wasteful spending.

The article introduced an “us versus them” binary opposition a little later:

Aboriginal companies already enjoy advantages that should give them a competitive edge in the business world. If they operate on a reserve, employees don’t pay income taxes and native customers don’t pay sales taxes. They also have preferential access to federal government contracts. And while eligible for all the other business programs available to

³ See Appendix I, section B.

Canadians, they have an additional taxpayer-funded program of their own.

(Bell)

The special status of native people, the author implied, was unfair to non-native people. Preferential treatment from a paternal government put non-aboriginal businesses at a disadvantage. They lost out on potential opportunities, he suggested.

An unspoken question that emerged from the discourse, as per van Dijk's concept of ideology, belief and knowledge, was "why are we not all treated equally?" and "why won't native people assimilate?"

The article's real target, however, was the government. Stereotypes of dependence, waywardness and unreliability from the 19th century were used by the author to illustrate his point that wasteful spending was unfair and hurt taxpayers. There was also an underlying question about special treatment. He used native peoples and excluded historical context. No explanation of the Indian Act or the loss of traditional livelihoods was supplied by the author. Nor did he give positive examples of native businesses, such as the tourism initiatives that were not "flops."

As Harding pointed out, the cure the 1990s press suggested for the "Indian problem" was to treat everyone the same (228). Bell's article suggested the government should help assimilate native businesses into the mainstream and ignored issues of state-imposed inequality the Indian Act had imposed. His story was an example of what Harding, referring to David Spurr's book *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing and Imperial Administration*, called contemporary journalism's general amnesia about colonial history and its connection to the current state of affairs (229).

The article used aboriginal businesses, including tourism ventures, to criticize the government for a poor job. In doing so, Bell constructed an us-versus-them binary frame. Bell used negative stereotypes to imply the government was wasting taxpayers' money.

“An Aboriginal ‘Glasnost,’” *Maclean’s*

The next example was a business story that ran in *Maclean’s* magazine in September 2007. “An Aboriginal ‘Glasnost’; Fewer handouts, less social aid: a radical fix for native woes,” was written by Nancy MacDonald and was about the Osoyoos Indian Band in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia.⁴

Glasnost, in Russian, means “openness” (Highbeam). The word came into the West’s lexicon when Russia’s Mikhail Gorbachev introduced a policy that acknowledged the long-buried atrocities of Russian leaders in the past. Glasnost indicated thawing relations between the East and the West (ibid).

The first part of the title suggested openness and a willingness to correct a historically problematic relationship. But, the second part fed into stereotype of dependency and the final words implied a generalized knowledge of “native woes.” This relied on a stereotype of how native people have lived in Canada. The media, as noted by Meadows earlier in this chapter, have perpetuated the understanding.

Words that echoed native stereotypes, “housing shortage” and “poverty,” appeared in the first two lines of the article: “There is no housing shortage on the 13,000-hectare Osoyoos reserve, tucked deep in B.C.’s bone-dry interior. Nor are there any apparent signs of poverty” (MacDonald). Historically, Canadian aboriginal peoples have

⁴ See Appendix I, section C.

had a lower standard of living than the mainstream, but just the same, the author's wording reinforced a dependency stereotype.

She noted the band's school and health centre were more architecturally advanced than anything in neighboring Oliver or Osoyoos. "Truly, the 440-member band puts the surrounding towns to shame – a cheerful inversion of the Canadian standard," said MacDonald. Her use of stereotypes suggested the Osoyoos band was an exception to a norm.

Before the band's chief, Clarence Louie, came to power in 1984, the group was in trouble (MacDonald). MacDonald wrote:

Like most native bands, they were marooned on marginal land, and crippled by welfare dependency and sky-high unemployment. Health problems as well as social pathologies – corruption, violence – were rampant. (ibid)

These images were the naturalized "aboriginal reality" usually presented by the press and rooted in colonial perspectives (Harding 209).

MacDonald ruptured Osoyoos' stereotypes, but she reinforced them for others. Her story contrasted the Osoyoos people to "most native bands" and trumpeted their award-winning winery, a \$30-million hillside resort and a new \$9-million cultural centre (MacDonald). The piece also implied reverse racism: "'We're no longer the ghetto next door,' says Louie, 47, nodding toward two non-native women sweeping the NK'MIP winery's brick patio" (MacDonald).

The story was political and promoted a view similar to the colonial push for

assimilation.⁵ It said survival meant that native peoples must integrate into the mainstream economy (ibid). The message was to adapt and take control rather than be absorbed into non-aboriginal businesses.

MacDonald quoted Louie:

Every year, \$9 billion is spent on aboriginals. Two per cent of that goes toward economic development. The rest goes to social spending. That's been the formula for 100 years. Where has that gotten us? Absolute poverty. (ibid)

The quote framed a call to action against the paternalism that has reinforced aboriginal dependence.

This was not the type of framing seen in Bell's piece, which attacked government programs. Instead, MacDonald portrayed a financially successful aboriginal leader. She kept the stereotypes in Bell's article, but turned them upside down. However, the piece was missing something. Just as Bell omitted historical context, she neglected to mention that some native people have argued that tourism was a cultural sell-out (MacGregor). She did not note that a number of partners, including the government, built the cultural centre (NK'MIP). These gaps framed the piece as an uncontested aboriginal business success story.

A photo highlighted the band's success. In the picture, Chief Louie held a glass of wine. The shot recalled the long-standing, naturalized view that native people should not drink (Mawani 51). It was refreshing to see a native leader in a confident and non-

⁵ As Daniel Francis notes in *Imaginary Indian*, Canadians at the turn of the 20th century thought native people's only hope for survival was to assimilate and cease to be "Indians" (59).

stereotypical way. The wine in his hand indicated his control of a fruitful business, not inebriation. However, the author's choice to omit the cultural context, as well as her support of an economic integration model, indicated that dominant ideology was her frame of reference.

“Hot on the Trail of the Elusive Big Foot,” *Toronto Star*

The following travel story, “Hot on the Trail of the Elusive Big Foot” ran in the *Toronto Star* in September 2007.⁶ Written by Katharine Fletcher, the piece had a different tone than the previous articles and positioned the “other” as romantic and desirable.

In the story, the author relayed the tale of her four-hour “Sasquatch Tour” of Harrison Lake, British Columbia. The title suggested an adventurous chase after a mythical ape-like being described in the traditional stories of many native peoples.⁷ The Chehalis name for the creature was *sá sq’ets*, according to Chehalis author Rosaleen George, but many other native people have different names (Bunting). Officials made the creature into the mascot Quatchi of the 2010 Olympic games.⁸ Fletcher’s editor chose the anglicized Big Foot in preference to a native name.

⁶ See Appendix I, section D.

⁷ Writer Kieffer Bunting noted:

The Cree call it Nabagaboo the Ojibway know it as Sasquatch. One of our community street names is called Nabagaboo, which means Bigfoot in Cree. Bigfoot is a common legend among many different ancient tribes of First Nations peoples. Each had variations to the story to reflect their own living realities. The Ojibway called them Sasquatch. Some believe that Bigfoot still roam the forests today. (Bunting)

⁸ The Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games website described the derivation of their mascot, named Quatchi, as follows:

The sasquatch is a popular figure in local native legends of the Pacific West Coast. There is both a legendary ‘woman-of-the-woods’ (a slightly fearsome figure whose stories are told to discipline young children) and a ‘man-of-the-woods’ (a shy giant who lurks in the forests). The sasquatch reminds us of the mystery and wonder that exist in the natural world, igniting our imagination about the possibility of fantastical creatures in the great Canadian wilderness.

Fletcher's story focused on Chehalis tour operator Willie Charlie, who taught her about Chehalis culture and highlighted their belief in the elusive Sasquatch. Charlie welcomed her to his Chehalis homeland with a song that transported her to the realm of magic and mystery (Fletcher). The use of "Chehalis homeland" was counter to colonialist ideology, and framed the experience as exotic and away from the familiar.

Charlie himself was an almost other worldly being:

Mother Earth is in trauma. If we are to restore a balance, we all need to come together at the same table. Each race of people is different. We all have a gift to share. (ibid)

Fletcher thus raised Charlie nearly to the status of shaman. This noble savage stereotype reflected what Daniel Frances called "The new Vanishing American, the Indian as spiritual and environmental guru, threatened by the forces of consumer culture" (58).

Charlie's relationship with the mythical Bigfoot was at the heart of Fletcher's adventure. She quoted him:

My people believe in Sasquatch. We do not require proof because we know he exists. Seeing one is considered a great gift. My brother Kelsey and a companion saw two in 2005: It was an adult and its little one. He watched the adult drinking from the creek and offering water to its young, using its hand.

Referring to their huge (up to 42-centimetre) tracks, Charlie says, "I've seen their footprints but I've never seen a Sasquatch. Because they can transform themselves into anything they want, they can never be caught."

(ibid)

Fletcher portrayed Charlie as an intermediary between the mythical beasts and the modern world.

The story described pictograms at the lake's edge. Charlie explained the nautilus-shaped spirals and said, "This is my people's timeline signifying the interconnectedness of all beings and transformation. We transform ourselves into the spirit world during our ceremonies" (ibid). Charlie's words, as framed by Fletcher, implied that his people's ability to transform into the spirit world was "other" to her experience.

Fletcher saw a Sasquatch in the pictograms and said she was "transfixed" (ibid). "Clearly delineated as an upright being, the red-smear stick image depicts the shapeshifter I've been seeking, walking on its two legs, like a human being" (ibid). Her framing indicated that possibly she, too, could enter Charlie's mythical realm.

However, a vandal quickly returned her to civilized realities:

Charlie smiles, nods, but then points to a scar where vandals recently carved a pictogram from the rock. "This place is sacred, but some individuals don't respect this. That's why my family started Sasquatch Tours, to teach others to protect the land before we lose it all." (ibid)

The story reinforced their differences. Charlie was the protector of nature and Fletcher was his student. Her role was to spread Charlie's message.

The headline on the newspaper's turn page, "Tour teaches others to protect the land" reinforced Charlie's position as instructor in the story. Fletcher was the "other." The piece was brief, 760 words, and was imbued with a wide-eyed romantic reverence

that worked in reverse of the colonial superior/inferior stereotype.

Fletcher offered little historical context. The piece hinged on the fantastic. Clearly, Charlie was the leader and Fletcher was the follower, but the story was not a parody. Fletcher framed Charlie with respect.

In some ways, the article was an example of Lisle's "profound opportunity" (278) that addressed and engaged more explicitly with the debate over cultural difference. The story employed a romantic stereotype, but it also contained aspects of what Lisle called successful resistance (ibid). The story honoured aboriginal values that embraced myth, imagination and storytelling (ibid).

"Rhythm of Nations," *Canadian Geographic*

An example of resistance to stereotype was "Rhythm of Nations" by Drew Hayden Taylor in the July/August issue of 2004 *Canadian Geographic*.⁹ Unlike the Buhasz piece, the title did not refer to civilized versus uncivilized. Instead, the word "Nations" identified the story's aboriginal subjects as sovereign.

Taylor described a photograph of a powwow dancer in the first paragraph: "He is dressed in traditional Ojibway regalia, including an impressive feathered bustle on his back, a leather vest and breechcloth and a multi-coloured roach adorning his head." The words invoked a stereotypical "performing Indian,"¹⁰ but Taylor deftly deflated the image in his next sentences:

In his hand is a can of Pepsi, and he's also wearing some pretty cool

⁹ See Appendix I, section E.

¹⁰ Francis devotes an entire chapter in *Imaginary Indian* to this practice, starting with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, and including Hollywood's hodgepodge representations that reduced the complexity of native cultures to a few familiar stereotypes (107).

sunglasses. I bet his stomach is full of Indian tacos that he chewed with non-native fillings in his teeth. He is a contemporary powwow dancer, with a moccasined foot in two worlds. (Taylor)

Taylor, a member of the Curve Lake First Nation, wrote the 1,879-word story in first person and second person. It was a reflective memoir of his childhood days at powwows. The piece was constructed as an oppositional “we” versus “you” story and cautioned powwow goers not to call dancers’ colourful regalia “costumes” (ibid).

Taylor described powwow food including buffalo burgers, corn soup and deer stew. He pointedly told non-indigenous readers:

Contrary to popular belief, the vast majority of native people, especially those who live in urban areas, do not stock their refrigerators with wild meat. It is a delicacy for many of us, as it is for most people of European ancestry. (ibid)

Accurate cultural information peppered the piece, as did Taylor’s particularly aboriginal sense of humour.

He noted that the majority of powwow-goers were non-native: “Why they come to powwows is a mystery to me. Is it to look at all the exotic native people? I hope not. To tell you the truth, we’re not that exotic” (ibid).

Taylor poked fun at the noble savage/spiritual shaman stereotype. Powwows usually ended around 6 p.m., he said, “That’s what we call ‘Dinner Time,’ an aboriginal tradition mired in mystery and ancient teachings” (ibid).

He put his non-native readers in the position of the “other” when he told

aboriginal readers: “You will giggle at all the sunburned white people, until you realize that your arms are beginning to sting And you will hold your head high, because you are celebrating the culture and spirit of your people” (ibid).

The piece ended the same way it started, by marrying past with present: “The days of the buffalo hunts are long gone, replaced by minivan sojourns. But the spirit lives, as do the power and memory of the dances and drum songs” (Taylor).

The tone of “Rhythm of Nations” suggested Taylor was targeting a predominately non-native audience. The story referenced history, however, its real strength lay in an inversion of stereotypes. Taylor gazed and giggled at readers. They became the “other.” He squashed romantic views and encouraged readers to consider indigenous experience as a modern reality.

“Riding the Floe Edge,” *Canadian Geographic*

A first-person travel story by Margo Pfeiff that ran in *Canadian Geographic* in September of 2006¹⁰ reinforced the difference between Euro-centric sensibilities and Inuit culture. The title, “Riding the Floe Edge, Dining on Caribou Eyeballs, Waiting for Narwhals,” conjured images of Arctic ice, rarely seen marine life, and Caribou eyeballs, a foodstuff that non-Inuit readers would find extremely “other.” The story, however, did not make one culture superior to the other.

At the start, the author recalled encountering narwhals on previous trips to the Arctic. Her tone was romanticized:

I have encountered the sea creatures on previous trips to the Arctic, the

¹⁰ See Appendix I, section F.

narwhals either frustratingly distant or just metres away but shrouded in thick fog, their moist, syncopated gasps surrounding me as if the ocean itself were breathing. (Pfeiff)

Pfeiff presented the mammals as mysterious, ethereal creatures she knew little about.

In the next paragraph Pfeiff, who told me in an interview she was not indigenous (4 May 2008), juxtaposed her narwhal prose with a description of the Inuit's' practical relationship with the creatures. "A single whale yields 300 to 350 kilograms of the much-loved delicacy of maktaaq and meat, with the added bonus of up to \$350 to \$650 a metre for a single spiral tusk" she said. "By August, when the narwhal migration peaks, hunters in boats dye the water with blood." In that one sentence, Pfeiff neatly ruptured the romantic frame about oceans that breathed and introduced the practical reality of Inuit hunters stalking narwhals for food.

The story focused on a hunting trip Pfeiff took with Inuit guides from Pond Inlet, Nunavut. Although the quest for narwhal meat was not fruitful, the party was successful with seal, caribou and snow geese. Pfeiff described her guide:

Sam is one of the few men in Pond who supports his extended family in the traditional manner, not with a "town job" but by hunting for food and bringing in cash by guiding visitors, from Japanese cinematographers to American trophy hunters who come North every March for the commercial polar bear hunt. (Pfeiff)

His attitude, she noted, was remarkably calm, and he exuded an experienced hunter's unhurried confidence.

Pfeiff touched on cultural differences with the majority culture. For instance, during the outing she listened as an Inuit father told his son to stop taking potshots at passing geese:

The lack of tension between adult and teen is notable, in sharp contrast to the fights I've witnessed in town, brought on by booze and overcrowded housing. It is a good example of what Mattias's wife Lily had told me days before: "We are closer on the land – husbands, wives, children. We are more open with one another." (ibid)

She concluded the story and said, "If there is one thing I learned from Sam on this trip, it is that you take what the land is ready to give" (ibid).

Pfeiff was as much the "other" to her guides as they were to her. Yet, she positioned her Inuit guides as the ones who knew the land and its bounty. She was a respectful observer. The noble savage stereotype was absent, as was the Orientalist attitude of European superior versus the inferior.

Pfeiff, however, touched on the drunken, impoverished stereotypical Inuit when she referenced "booze" and "overcrowding." This pointed out the dominant power structure had changed the Inuit way of life.

Although Pfeiff positioned herself as a student, learning from the Inuit guides, her tone was not romantic. She described the guides in a straightforward way, not as nature gurus. Sam had "unhurried confidence" as a hunter. Pfeiff's article had shifted away from reinforcing dominant ideology. Instead, she utilized open discourse that did not rely on inferior versus superior stereotyping.

Avoiding “Fast but Fallible” Conventions

These case samples suggest a need for more nuanced, modern methods to depict aboriginal people. Articles were narrow and harmful that relied on colonial stereotypes or fell back on van Dijk’s “fast but fallible” knowledge conventions. Media images helped shape contemporary views of self, noted *American Indian* magazine editor Millie Knapp. Journalists who have critically reflected on the cultural impact of their work should, in the future, construct more positive, equitable native images (Fürsich 81).

Intentional or not, stereotyping in most articles did not depend on crude language or factual inaccuracies. Rather, it came from the ways writers, and their editors, had organized and written the stories and headlines (Weston 163). Writers tended to exclude historical and cultural context that would have fully explained the meanings of events.

Pfeiff, in contrast, avoided stereotypes and used the subject’s voice. She followed Fürsich’s advice to use an open discourse rather than a closed, dominant narrative (Fürsich 80). Pfeiff put herself on equal footing with the subject, which avoided Orientalism’s inferior-superior frame.

Unfortunately, no story except Taylor’s, questioned stereotypes. Proactive journalism could have helped readers become aware of their own assumed, incorrect, knowledge.

Conclusion

Most of the articles in this chapter relied on stereotypes in one way or another. However, the binary opposites were more complex than those of the 19th century. The journalists, in fact, occasionally ruptured the Orientalist frame. Some stories showed

signs of a shift towards more equitable representation. The changes were small but relevant. They indicated that mainstream travel and travel business articles could reflect contemporary aboriginal experience not steeped in stereotype.

Media played a role in the shaping of self-identity, said magazine editor Knapp. If this was so, journalists' fast but fallible assumptions might have damaged others.

Tourism writers, in short, need to be aware of how they should use language.

Aboriginal tourism ventures have often courted the media through press releases and invitations to events. In some cases, they have worked with regional associations or governments that host junkets for travel writers (Pfeiff 3 May 2008). They have encouraged stories to draw tourists and generate revenue (ibid).

Two such ventures are Woodland Cultural Centre, in Ontario, and Xá:yetm Longhouse Interpretive Centre in Mission, B.C. These sites represent different aboriginal cultures, but both attract tourists and offer cultural programs that teach their community perspectives.

Unless native peoples consciously promote inter-cultural understanding, some of their tourist ventures might actually contribute to negative stereotypes. For example, intercultural celebrations such as powwows tie native communities together and publicly showcase native regalia and dances. But, tourists' pre-conceptions might filter what they see, as though they and their aboriginal hosts have attended different events.

Consequently, these two "others" might leave with entirely different views.

Reporters could possibly make a difference, but the resolution ultimately depends on both media and the aboriginal tourism promoters who could provide context and

meaning. Native peoples and media alike must be committed to re-writing Canadian history proactively.

CHAPTER 3

Woodland Cultural Centre

From the street, the Woodland Cultural Centre was not visible. A winding driveway flanked with trees and a neatly kept lawn beckoned. I proceeded down the drive, and an imposing, two-storey Victorian structure sprang into view. It was red brick, with a large white porch and a cupola perched on the roof. I pulled the car up to a historic plaque planted in front of the building and read:

The Mohawk Institute

The Mohawk Institute was established in 1831 for children of the Six Nations Iroquois living on the Grand River. Pupils from other native communities in Ontario attended the school as well. Like all Canadian residential schools, the Mohawk Institute tried to assimilate its students into the rapidly growing Euro-Canadian society. To that end, it disregarded native cultural traditions and stressed instead Christian teachings, English-language instruction and manual labour skills. This building was constructed in 1904 after fire destroyed the previous school. When the Institute closed in 1970, the building reverted to the Six Nations of the Grand River. It then became a centre for the renaissance of First Nations cultures. — *Ontario Heritage Foundation, an agency of the Government of Ontario* (Woodland Cultural Centre)

Kitty-corner to the former institute was a smaller, one-storey building. The architectural design of the structure looked more modern than the former Mohawk

Institute.¹ Dark, diagonal planks of wood covered the building. Above the front door, it said “Museum.”

Two bronze sculptures of wolves sat protectively on the lawn. To the left of the door were weathered wooden poles placed together in the shape of a tipi. Grass and flowers spilled out from the middle of the tipi.

I parked the car and headed towards the museum.

Background

The Woodland Cultural Centre is a non-profit organization located in Brantford, Ont. The centre, a two-hour drive from Toronto, sits on land that belongs to nearby Six Nations Reserve. Built in 1904 as a residential school, the former Mohawk Institute houses the cultural centre’s language and education departments, as well as a library. The centre rents extra space to local businesses including a native audio video production company. In the smaller building are a museum, administrative offices, a gallery and performing space.

Woodland Cultural Centre is the oldest native-run cultural centre in the country (Indian and Northern Affairs, *Evaluation of the Cultural/Education Centres Program*).² The centre’s funding comes from the Cultural Educational Centre Program, administered by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, as well as grants, admission fees and facility rentals.

¹ The museum building was originally built as part of the residential school in the 1950s. It was turned into a museum, gallery, performance space and administrative offices, when the Woodland Cultural Centre came into being in 1972 (Montour).

² There are 110 such, government-funded cultural centres across the country. They are part of the Cultural/Education Centres Program, established in 1971 and funded through Indian and Northern Affairs Canada to “preserve, develop, and promote First nations and Inuit culture and heritage.”

Three native bands support the centre: the Mohawks of Wahta at Bala, Ont., Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte at Tyendinaga near Belleville, Ont., and Six Nations of the Grand River, south of Brantford, Ont. The centre's purpose is to strengthen cultural traditions within these communities and introduce outsiders to their way of life. A museum and art gallery draw tourists. So do public performances, workshops and events.

The educational department teaches Ontario school children about the country's indigenous peoples.³ Student groups and researchers use the centre's library, one of the largest native book collections in Canada. Foreign students, university classes, church groups and tourists also take part in the department's programs.

I explored the museum, interviewed staff about the educational programs and used the library for research on two visits in May and June, 2008. Some follow-up interviews I did by phone and e-mail.

Six Nations Tourism

The Woodland Cultural Centre is one of the destinations that Six Nations Tourism has promoted.⁴ Six Nations Reserve, a 15-minute drive southeast of Brantford, Ont., occupies approximately 46,500 acres.⁵ Its population is 11,297. On and off reserve, there are 22,294 enrolled band members (Six Nations).

The reserve's tourist attractions include Chiefswood, the home of Mohawk poet Pauline Johnson and the Mohawk Chapel, built in 1785 by the Iroquois who fought alongside the British during the American Revolution. Events include the Grand River

³ Native studies are mandatory in the Ontario curriculum for elementary, middle school and high school.

⁴ See Appendix II for more information on Six Nations Tourism.

⁵ Lands granted to Six Nations by the Haldimand Proclamation in 1784 were approximately 950,000 acres. Six Nations has been reduced to less than five per cent of the original deed. Land claim challenges to the provincial government include the on-going protests in Caledonia, Ont. (Six Nations, "Land Claims")

Powwow, held in July, the Six Nations Fall Fair and Powwow held in September and the annual Arts and Crafts Bazaar held in November.

A Six Nations map and tour guide in Woodland Cultural Centre's lobby outlined these attractions and events. Alan Emarthle, Six Nations Tourism's manager, said in an interview the brochure was available in retail outlets, gas stations and the City of Brantford's tourism office. Also, he has distributed it at powwows and trade shows (Emarthle).

History of the Site

Woodland Cultural Centre was once one of many government-run residential schools for aboriginal children in Canada. Founded by the New England Company between 1828-1834, the former institute taught English, liberal arts and Christianity to native peoples (New England Company).⁶ The Department of Indian Affairs signed a lease with the New England Company and agreed to continue and maintain the Mohawk Institute as an educational institution for native children in 1922 (Cohen Highley).⁷ The department closed the school in 1970 (ibid).

The Program that Launched Woodland Cultural Centre

Woodland Cultural Centre was born from the federal Cultural/Education Centres program (CECP). Launched by the government in 1971, the program's mandate was to

⁶ The original name of the New England Company was The Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America.

⁷ Cohen Highley, a London, Ont.-based legal firm, represented native clients who applied for the Common Experience Payment for Former Students Who Resided at Indian Residential School(s) from the Canadian government.

fund cultural centres for native and Inuit peoples.”⁸ This was to counter Canadians’ views that native cultures were historical and essentially static. “Canadians thought we stopped evolving at first contact,” Amos Key Jr., Woodland Cultural Centre’s language director, explained in an interview in his office (28 May 2008).⁹

The new cultural centres and museums were established as an appropriate means to display native accomplishments and re-educate the public about Indians, noted Deborah Doxtator in her 1983 masters thesis “Iroquoian Museums and the Idea of the Indian: Aspects of the Political Role of Museums” (41). Woodland Cultural Centre, in 1972, was the first of 110 locations where aboriginal staff have controlled, reinforced and disseminated traditional stories (Key 28 May 2008).

Today, the program provides financial and other supportive assistance to native and Inuit communities to develop and deliver programs and services that will preserve, develop and promote culture and heritage (Indian and Northern Affairs, *Evaluation of the Cultural/Education Centres*). The centres pursue any or all of the following objectives (ibid):

- 1) Revive and develop traditional and contemporary cultural skills of First Nations people and Inuit;
- 2) Conduct and/or facilitate research in First Nations/Inuit heritage

⁸ The Liberal government’s 1969 White Paper, *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* called for assimilation. In response, groups such as the National Indian Brotherhood (forerunner of the Assembly of First Nations) encouraged native peoples to take control of their own education and culture (Woodland Cultural Centre). The cultural education centre program grew from their efforts. An Inter-Departmental Committee of the Federal Departments of Indian and Northern Affairs and the Secretary of State established CECP with funds appropriated from Treasury Board. The Secretary of State discontinued its participation in the program in 1973.

⁹ Even though it is in the former Mohawk Institute building where many Six Nations students endured abusive treatment, Key said his office doesn’t hold bad memories for him personally as he never attended the residential school (28 May 2008).

- and culture;
- 3) Increase First Nations/Inuit knowledge and use of their traditional languages;
 - 4) Develop First Nations/Inuit linguistic learning resources;
 - 5) Develop and test culturally oriented education curricula, methods and materials for use by established and other programs;
 - 6) Promote cross-cultural awareness in mainstream education programs and institutions;
 - 7) Develop and increase access to new and more accurate information about First Nations/Inuit heritage;
 - 8) Improve the opportunities for the public to become knowledgeable about, and sensitive to, the historical and current role of First Nations people/Inuit in Canada.

Some of these objectives link to tourism, such as the seventh point to increase access to information about native heritage. Perhaps the final point is strongest. Centres can disseminate information to tourists that teaches them about native peoples' roles both in history and in contemporary society.

Not all cultural centres are tourist attractions. However, the centres that choose to pursue tourism-related objectives might fit the description. Offering gift shops, museums, public workshops and performances could be part of their mandate to attract visitors. Some native cultural centres could be tourist learning-based attractions, similar to the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.

In addition, various tourist attractions offer visitors deeply native experiences. For example, Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, located in Mission, B.C., was created to protect and share an ancient and sacred site (Xá:ytem). Xá:ytem and other centres also offer life-size historical reconstructions of dwellings and/or community buildings.

Vision, Mission, Mandate and Goals

The Woodland Cultural Centre's vision, mission and mandate statements were listed in its 2006-2007 annual report: (Woodland Cultural Centre *Annual Report*):

Vision: The Woodland Cultural Centre was founded to be a leader and the foremost resource, locally, regionally, nationally and internationally, in First Nations cultural education, museology, arts, languages and histories for all societies to enjoy.

Mission: The Woodland Cultural Centre will demonstrate the highest standards of excellence in the practice, presentation, interpretation and collection of resources in education, museology, arts, language and cultural heritage in order to foster an appreciation of the intellect and promote an accurate image of First Nations in Canada and abroad.

Mandate: The Woodland Cultural Centre is a First Nations educational and cultural centre. It was established in 1972 to protect, promote, interpret and present the history, language, intellect and cultural heritage of the Anishinabe and Ongwehon:weh. This mandate is from our member Nations: Wahta Mohawks, Six Nations of the Grand River and the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte.

The centre's goals were (ibid):

- 1) To provide a professional environment, leadership and excellence in all programs, projects and partnerships undertaken by the Woodland Cultural Centre;
- 2) To continuously provide museum exhibits of First Nations culture, history, heritage and themes from a First Nations perspective;
- 3) To maintain and increase the museum collection in a professional museological manner;
- 4) To maintain and increase a library collection in a professional manner and to standard;
- 5) To undertake research and advocate for the intergenerational transmission of languages within First Nations;
- 6) To design, produce and deliver cross-cultural training and professional development that promotes increased understanding of First Nations cultures and societies, both past and present;
- 7) To establish and maintain professional networks and scholarly links between the Centre and other institutes;
- 8) To continuously promote, market and monitor the Woodland Cultural Centre as a "Centre of Excellence" using all forms of media, guided by principles of dignity, integrity and respect.

The words that stood out were: "present," "promote," "for all societies to enjoy," and "promote an accurate image of First Nations in Canada and abroad." These implied

Woodland's Cultural Education Centre's goals have included cultural tourism.

The centre offers a museum, art gallery, and a schedule of public events and workshops that promote native culture to tourists. During the 2006/2007 fiscal year, the museum attracted 9,722 visitors, said the centre's executive director, Janis Montour, in an interview (28 May 2008). "The majority were non-natives from Ontario. International visitors came next, then from out of province, the United States, and finally our own supporting native communities," noted Montour, a Mohawk from Six Nations of Grand River (*ibid*). In addition there were 3,871 people on customized educational tours, bringing the centre's total number of visitors to 13,539 (Woodland Cultural Centre, *Annual Report 21*).

The majority of the centre's group visitors, 81 per cent, came from schools (*ibid*). Non-school tour groups have decreased by almost 20 per cent in the last fiscal year (*ibid 19*). This has been a problem the centre has wanted to address: "Museum education initiatives and appropriate marketing need to be developed to accommodate and attract public groups, however solace can be found in that public tour numbers are dropping throughout the region and not solely at the Woodland Cultural Centre," noted the 2006-2007 *Annual Report (ibid)*.

The centre has never been just tourist-based. This has been an advantage, according to Tom Hill, former centre director (Nakamura 237). Hill's argument was that at tourism-based centres, visitors only wanted to taste a sample of the culture (*ibid*). A site might have offered an attraction to meet tourist's needs and expectation and not stayed true to the culture, for example, a dance performance truncated to meet a bus

schedule.

The centre struggled with tourism expectations, said Montour:

How do you give the general public visitors what they want without being squished into a stereotype? A lot of the bus tours that come through want to see native dancing. But, we don't have dancing every day. We do at some events, but we're not going to get dressed up in feathers and beads just to please them. Ours is more of an educational experience, not entertainment. (28 May 2008)

Montour was happy, she said, to accommodate visitors who were part of larger packages when special events were taking place: "We don't have dances or theatre presentations every day because the market isn't there" (ibid).

In addition, visitors often asked her why the centre has offered no children's activities on weekends. "We do have them, but not enough visitors come through on the weekend to validate having that program," she explained (ibid).

Tourist demand might not have been evident at Woodland Cultural Centre on a daily basis, but according to 2008 surveys commissioned by Canadian Tourism Commission, the demand for aboriginal cultural tourism was higher than the products available (Insignia 10; Lang 2). If the centre shifted its schedules, this could lead to more tourists. If the centre increased communication with tour operators, the surveys indicated, it might be able to gauge market potential.

An aggressive marketing campaign might help. However, finances have been limited. Montour indicated the focus has been primarily to please the supporting

communities and to maintain current services and programs.

Although Montour and Hill were concerned that certain tourism-based programming could reinforce stereotypes, Laura Peers, in her book *Playing Ourselves*, presented another view:

Despite being shaped to meet the expectations of non-native audiences, performances have allowed native people to communicate information about their cultures to foreign audiences, to express pride in their heritage and traditions, to make a living, and to survive emotionally and culturally within a colonial context by infusing overtly stereotyped and constrained images with inner, intimate meanings. (44)

Peers pointed out positive reasons to promote tourism. If programming presented culture from native people's perspective, communities could preserve and communicate their traditions to native and non-native audiences at the same time. Additionally, such activities could help presenters and communities affirm their identities, create economic opportunity and counter stereotypes (ibid).

Finances

The Woodland Cultural Centre is a designated charitable organization with a board of governors made up of two members from each of its three supporting native communities. The centre commissions an annual external audit of its revenues and expenditures and publishes an annual report on program activities.

The facility was running at a deficit when Janis Montour took on her role five years ago. The deficit has shrunk, she said, but this has not been enough: "We're never

really making a profit” (28 May 2008).

Much of her core budget goes to repair the buildings, “These buildings are old,” she said, “Even though the land and buildings are owned by Six Nations of the Grand River, they don’t put any money into actual operations and maintenance” (ibid).

Both the museum building and the former Mohawk Institute need new roofs that could cost up to \$2 million: “These costs are inhibiting our programming,” she said (ibid).

A decrease in federal core funding is part of Montour’s problem. Originally, CECP had \$15 million a year to divide among the centres. That amount dropped to \$6.5 million in 2006 (Woodland Cultural Centre, *Annual Report 4*).

A 2005 CECP evaluation report by the federal government found that the original method of allocating funds based on population was inadequate. The smallest centres, said the report, lacked revenue to meet the needs of their communities (Indian and Northern Affairs, *Cultural/Education Centre Executive Summary*).

Six Nations’ 22,000 people make it the largest native group in the country. Woodland Cultural Centre has been under funded but, according to the population-based CECP formula, it continued to do better than many other centres.¹⁰

Expenses were \$1,174,108, revenues \$1,395,449, and net income \$221,341, said the 2007 Woodland Cultural Centre statement of operations (*Annual Report 28*). Wages and benefits for a full-time staff of 10 totaled \$590,685 (ibid). The net income figure was

¹⁰ The other two bands supporting Woodland Cultural Centre are smaller than Six Nations. The population of Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte is 2,200 and Wahta population is 679. This would make the population of the centre’s entire supporting communities a little less than 25,000 (Indian and Northern Affairs, “Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte”; Indian and Northern Affairs, “Wahta Mohawks”).

in the black, however, Montour explained that upcoming costs, including the roof repairs, would put the centre in debt (28 May 2008).

The Cultural Educational Centre program contributed 54 per cent of the centre's funding (ibid).¹¹ Twenty-five per cent came from museum and other grants (ibid). The rest came from admissions, facility rentals, education tours, extension programming, administration fees, donations, public programming, deferred contributions and amortization of deferred contributions relating to capital assets. In 2006, the centre had received \$173,927 from the Assembly of First Nations (ibid).

As a non-profit organization, the centre is not self-sustaining. It depends on government grants to survive. However, with shrinking funding, new sources of support might be appropriate. Capitalizing on tourism could increase revenues in the future, however, it would take considerable strategic planning.

Partnerships with corporate sponsors could be beneficial. Montour has yet to pursue this because she believes local dollars are already taken: "We are competing against galleries in Brantford that have been established for years. There is an attitude that we should approach Six Nations about being a sponsor, but there I'm competing with minor sports" (28 May 2008).

Rather than targeting local businesses, Woodland could consider approaching national corporations. Sponsorship dollars might be available for a single event, for building renovations, or possibly new construction. Other mainstream arts complexes that receive both government funding and corporate sponsorship could provide examples. For

¹¹ Montour said the government allocates a certain amount of cultural funds to native bands. The CECP support money for Woodland comes from the cultural money allocated to its three member groups (28 May 2008).

instance, Harbourfront Centre in Toronto receives funding from the Government of Canada, Canadian Heritage and Ontario Arts Council as well as EnWave Energy, Sirius Satellite Radio, Nestlé, Aquafina, Molson and Omni Diversity Television (Harbourfront Centre). Research into how other institutions fundraise and draw corporate sponsorships could help attract new revenue to the centre in the future.

Local businesses that work with Woodland, such as printers and insurance companies, have donated money and materials to events and conferences. Montour said the gifts show potential: “Our strategic plan is to get someone on board to do extra fundraising for us. But, we have to get a lot of issues in order before we go that route. Our deficit is what we have to deal with first” (28 May 2008).

Currently museum admission is \$3 for children and \$5 for adults. The guided tour for groups costs an additional \$2 per person. Full-day educational programs add an additional \$3 fee per person. To generate more revenue, the centre could increase admissions fees. Also, it could collaborate more aggressively with neighboring attractions in Brantford to attract visitors. Montour plans to appoint a fundraiser to the board in the future (ibid). Possibly this would amplify its tourism offerings and lead to self-sustaining programs that would generate revenue on an on-going basis.

The centre is in a precarious financial position, Montour said, considering the upcoming repair expenses it faces (ibid). Many non-native arts institutions across the country face similar funding shortages. A key question Montour said she wanted to answer would be how the more successful ones have managed to keep revenues flowing.

Museum

One of the main reasons tourists visit Woodland Cultural Centre is to see the museum's collection of more than 35,000 artifacts. Managed and administered by native people, it is one of the largest facilities of its kind in Canada. The collection includes archaeological specimens, ethnographic materials, historical material, furniture, fine crafts, documents, paintings, sculptures, photographs, graphics and installation pieces.

At the front desk, I picked up a self-guided museum tour booklet. The centre's educational co-coordinator, Tara Froman, wrote the guide.¹² To accommodate visitors from as far away as Europe and Asia, the guide was also available in a number of languages including Japanese, Chinese, Hungarian and Polish.

The guide outlined the museum's nine segments: A Prehistoric Neutral Village; Contact: History Begins; Two Worlds Collide; The Fur Trade; Wampum and Wampum Belts; Gifts of the Forest; The American Revolution and Iroquois Dispersal; The Longhouse; The 19th Century; and The 20th Century.

The first exhibit in the museum was a diorama called Life in the Village. A boy in a loincloth with a shell around his neck, stood beside an old woman making pottery. The background was a painted stream and grassy woodlands. It was an exhibit of the Neutral Iroquoians during the Woodland Period 600 year ago, before the arrival of the Europeans. The plaque detailed the division of labour:

Women remain in the village caring for children, raising corn, beans, squash and sunflowers, making clothing. Men prepare the fields and journey away from villages to hunt and fish, or perhaps engage in war. By

¹² "Basically it's the same as the guided tour I give groups," Froman said. (20 July 2008)

the time the first Europeans set foot in the area, women had a primary voice in all matters concerning the welfare of the village, although public business and dealing with other nations remained the responsibility of the men. (Woodland Cultural Centre, Museum)

The historical role of women, the display informed tourists, was significantly different to that of European women.

In the next room, where recorded history began, hung a striking mural by artist Bill Powless. The mural showed a 1615 scene of Souharissen, a powerful and respected chief, when he stepped out to greet Etienne Brule on a mission to Susquehanna for Samuel Champlain. Below the mural a plaque said:

The Algonkian and Iroquoian Nations neither feared nor felt inferior to the Europeans arriving in the New World. The Algonkians enabled the early French explorers to survive and succeed. (ibid)

The description presented native people and Europeans as equals.

A figure in a brown robe stood on one side of the room. Checking the guidebook, I learned it was Father Joseph de la Roche Daillon, a Recollet priest from France sent to the New World to convert the native people to Catholicism. The guidebook said the priest left the Huron and the Sault Ste Marie mission and traveled south to convert the Neutral people. The Huron feared they would lose their position as fur trade intermediaries, and told the Neutral people priests were witches who had caused so many people to die from disease after the French arrived. The guide went on to explain:

Thus began the tragic history between the French clergy and most of the

Southern Iroquoian nations as priests began to be executed as witches and Native people were memorialized in letters as savages and heathens for martyring these priests. Many of the stereotypes prevalent today were initiated due to these misconceptions regarding actions and events of early contact. (Woodland Cultural Centre, *Self-guided Tour 2*)

This correction of a historical inaccuracy helped tourists understand the origins of some aboriginal stereotypes.

The two worlds collide exhibit was housed in a beige room with pine ceiling and pine display cases. The focus was on the fur trade and how Europeans traded manufactured items such as metal tools, glass beads, copper pots for beaver and other pelts. The guide explained that a handful of glass beads would buy a beaver pelt:

In terms of money, this was not a fair trade, but as the native people had never possessed anything similar to money, they would not have thought in these terms. The First Nations people understood work and time and it took much less time and work to prepare a beaver pelt for trade than it would take to create a handful of their own shell, clay, wood, bone and stone beads. (ibid 3)

Wampum beads were hand-formed from clamshells explained the exhibit. This was extremely labour intensive. A single bead had to be meticulously removed from the shell, then ground, bored, sawed, and drilled. Craftspeople did this with stone tools. Often, the fragile bead would break before it was finished (Woodland Cultural Centre, Museum).

Beliefs, customs and traditions of Europeans differed dramatically from those of

native peoples. Each of the museum's exhibit rooms gave tourists perspectives other than those found in Euro-centric classrooms and history books. For example, when I was a girl, teachers told us the Europeans purchased land and furs with beads, but the lessons never provided timeframes or context. We did not know how hard and long people must work to create a single shell bead.

Current land claim issues in Caledonia, Ont., have seldom been presented from the perspective of aboriginal history. Tourists could learn about the root of the problem in one exhibit. It explained how Iroquois Captain Joseph Brant and his warriors sided with the British during the American Revolution. For his loyalty, the King granted Brant and the Six Nations Confederacy six miles of land on either side of the Grand River. The resulting Haldimand Deed of 1784 granted far more land than the current Six Nations reserve allotment. A map showed the original land tract.

One display was of a partially carved "Hadui" medicine mask still in the trunk of a tree. Described as one of the most sacred traditions of the Iroquois, the mask was for healing (ibid). The guide noted that a finished mask would be sacred and not for public view (Woodland, *Self-guided Tour* 5). It also said sacred ceremonial information was not appropriate to share with tourists (ibid). A sign on the wall asked tourists not to take pictures (Woodland Cultural Centre, Museum).

I asked Montour later about the museum policy on sacred objects. She told me:

Once, in our annual juried art show, we had a submission where a Hadui mask was shown. The artist was upset with us, but we said even if the image is portrayed in artwork we would not show it. (28 May 2008)

According to Montour, the policy was strictly adhered to both in the museum and gallery (ibid).

The museum explained spiritual conversion and assimilation programs introduced to native peoples by missionaries and residential schools. However, the information did not specifically include the Mohawk Institute. Tourists must go over there separately for tours.

An area dedicated to the 20th century outlined the evolution of Iroquoian men as high construction steel workers culturally, as well as economically. When the government encouraged the men to take up farming, said the exhibit, they declined because they considered it women's work. Instead, they built skyscrapers. The guide noted, "Risking life and limb, traveling from one corner of the continent to its opposite reaches, and garnering the acclaim of the community was in line with the traditional Iroquoian role of men – warriors" (8).

One interesting display in the museum showed popular culture items. An inscription beside a wall full of beer mugs, children's toys, sports pennants, car ads and movie posters read:

To be Indian was to wear a war bonnet, sit in front of a tipi, wear fringed clothing and speak in monosyllables. This is not surprising since the stereotyping of one group of people by another is an act of power and control. (Woodland Cultural Centre, Museum)

The display showed tourists that non-aboriginal entrepreneurs have used native images for years to sell products. Such false images have damaged nearly every aspect of native

life and continue to exist into the 21st century, said the guide (8). Organizations such as the Woodland Cultural Centre have fought against these pervasive images (ibid).

The final exhibit taught tourists about pan-Indianism from 1900 to the present. Native people, it said, often mistakenly adopted the symbols of aboriginal cultures that were not their own. On the positive side, the mixing of cultures has created a new and stronger sense of “Indianness,” said the guide (9).

Inside the exhibit’s colourful case of regalia an inscription read, “To dress like an Indian today is to wear a Sioux war bonnet, Navajo turquoise jewelry, beaded belts and western-styled jackets, trousers and skirts” (Woodland Cultural Centre, Museum). Modern native people, it suggested, could consciously meld traditions and still be in control of their own cultural identity.

The museum was not flashy. However, it contained powerful information and visuals. The displays preserved and protected traditional practices, celebrated contemporary native people’s identity and presented an accurate view of history. For non-native people, it offered insights and perspectives not available in mainstream venues.

Walk-in visitors took a self-guided tour. If they could access live guides, the experience could possibly have an even deeper impact. All the same, the museum was an intellectually stimulating place for non-native tourists to learn about native peoples’ history and present day experience.

Art Gallery

The art gallery, dedicated to contemporary work, was in the same building as the

museum. On display was *First Nations Art*, a juried show that has been held annually since 1975. In the centre of the gallery sat a creation featured on promotional posters and flyers I saw in the lobby. The three-dimensional artwork looked like a birthday cake swathed in red ribbon. Haldimand deed references were written on the ribbon, and toy bulldozers and a candle topped the cake. The artist, Kelly Greene, titled it *Ode to Caledonia II (with no resolution in sight): Multi-layered red-tape birthday cake*. The price was \$650.

The show's 59 works included photographs, paintings, prints, beadwork, fibre art, pottery and blown glass. Some pieces used traditional designs and themes, such as John Dodsworth's painting *Bear With Salmon*. Others, such as *Ode to Caledonia*, had a contemporary message. The art, done from a native perspective, gave tourists a glimpse of ironic humor, celebration and solidarity.

Judy Harris, from Six Nations, headed the gallery as well as the museum. She said in an interview that *First Nations Art* was important because it gave up-and-coming artists, as well as established artists, a place to highlight their new works (29 May 2008).

The centre mounted approximately five exhibits a year. In 2008, these included shows on traditional native medicine, fashion and the Mohawk Institute residential school. Harris explained, "The exhibits do not have to have a particular message other than to get the public information on our people. If we provide interesting exhibits we can bring them in" (ibid).

Harris locked in exhibits four years ahead and sometimes brought in contracted curators to manage shows. Approval came from the centre's board of directors. The

upcoming schedule included *Iroquois Baseball*, *Pauline Johnson*, *Joseph Brant*, *Hero or Villain?*, and *Historical Misrepresentations*. A National Portrait Gallery painting of four native leaders who went to England in 1710 inspired *The Four Kings*, another future exhibit.

Shows such as these exposed tourists to native themes that did not get a lot of play in mainstream society. “Our exhibits make people think. They don’t say this is it. We keep it open. We don’t tell people what to think,” said Harris (ibid).

Gift Shop

The centre’s gift shop connected to the lobby. Handcrafted goods such as moose hide moccasins, gloves and beaded jewelry filled the store. Pottery, painted with a mixture of traditional and contemporary designs, lined the back shelves. Displays of baseball caps with Oneida, Mohawk, Tuscarora and Seneca stitched on their crowns sat by the cash register. In the spirit of pan-Indianness, there was a case of turquoise jewelry associated with the tribes of the American southwest.

The goods were a combination of traditional and contemporary. Some, such as the moccasins, preserved tradition. The painted pottery was more modern and designs reflected artists’ heritage and personalities. This type of cultural “otherness” likely appealed to tourists. The items mirrored some of the facts and experiences presented in the museum. Goods were attractive to buyers who had learned something about native people’s history and industry through the various displays.

This store had potential to be an even bigger tourist draw. An outside company owned it, though. The only revenue the centre received was rent for the space (Froman 20

July 2008). In the future, the centre might consider taking over the shop to generate more income.

Workshops

Tourists not only wanted to buy crafts, but they liked to make their own items at workshops throughout the year. A survey of the member communities determined what kind of workshops people wanted. A nominal fee covered supplies. Ribbon shirt making, pottery and moccasin making were offered in 2007.

“Sometimes we’ll have an artist come in. These workshops are open to the public. They are advertised and attendance is usually overflowing,” said Harris (29 May 2008). Participants, she said, have included Wilfrid Laurier University students, native community members and local non-native people.

Educational Tours

Tara Froman, from the Cayuga Nation, has been museum education co-coordinator for the last eight years. She also edits the Cultural Centre’s newsletter *Wadrihwa* (Cayuga for spread the word). “The nature of the museum is that everyone has to know how to do someone else’s job. I catalogue in the library, help with the collection, do tours, whatever is needed,” Froman explained in an interview (20 July 2008).

Froman’s department worked predominantly with school children, but she also scheduled groups of adult tourists. The adult programs relied on lectures. “Adults don’t want to be questioned,” explained Froman, adding, “They don’t want to risk being wrong” (ibid). Tourist groups were pre-scheduled and assigned a guide by the centre. Froman led some of these groups, and noted that walk-in visitors usually took the self-

guided tour (ibid).

The tourist groups she serviced were often young adult English-as-a-second-language groups and church groups. Froman noted:

I think church groups come because they feel guilty about the residential schools. They are compelled to come and confront what their religious organization was responsible for. A lot of them have personal guilt, which isn't theirs, but still they feel it. (ibid)

She said the church groups specially request tours of the former Mohawk Institute (ibid).

Froman has been with the centre for 20 years. Her jobs have included serving as a cultural interpreter and assistant museum education co-coordinator. She has a bachelor of arts degree from McMaster University where she majored in physical anthropology. "My degree has nothing to do with what I do now," she said (29 July 2008).

Leaving the museum one day, I overheard a visitor speaking to the native woman at the front desk. "I am ashamed to be white," she said. When I told Froman, she responded:

We don't want that. We are not trying to say, "You did this to us." We were victimized, but I personally, and the people working in the museum, don't want to be seen as victims. This place is a celebration of our culture. When people come out saying they feel bad, they've misinterpreted what we've put out. That shows us we have to reinterpret how we've exhibited. I don't want our visitors leaving feeling guilty. I want them to look at our culture without making comparisons. (20 July 2008)

The museum may have been a celebration, but it also corrected historical inaccuracies and exposed past injustices. It would be difficult to present native peoples' stories without pointing out what Euro-centric powers did.

The exhibits did not place one group above another. However, for some tourists, the facts might have caused some guilt. For others, they might have inspired fresh thinking and dissolved negative understandings. Froman, who worked closely with Harris, said they intended the exhibits to be neutral: "We want visitors to make their own determination about what was wrong or fair or unfair" (ibid).

The centre's cultural interpreters, or guides, were usually from Six Nations and trained by Froman. She had one part-time interpreter on staff and hired students through government grant programs. "I prefer to hire First Nations so people can see us as a living, viable people who are sharing our stories. It's real," she explained (ibid).

Working at the centre has been a growth experience, she said (ibid). A cultural interpreter, Ivan Bomberry, has been one of her recent teachers. "He is a faithkeeper in the traditional belief system. He knows what is to be given out and what is to be held back," she explained (ibid).

Froman learned about cultural sensitivities when she first became an interpreter at age 16. She said:

I had a really good grasp of the history and I'd tell people how the Confederacy of the Five Nations was formed. I would use the actual name of the Peacemaker, the man who formed the confederacy. Then the assistant education co-coordinator told me his name was sacred. She said,

“You have to just call him the Peacemaker.” (ibid)

After learning on the job, Froman passed the information on to others, including tourists. Her own cultural knowledge grew stronger because she shared it with visitors, she said (ibid).

Froman also learned from native visitors on tours of the former Mohawk Institute:

I’ve met with the survivors and gone through the building with them. It’s my job to pass on their stories to make sure people know how horrible that was for them. (ibid)

She usually relayed this information to tourists who asked specifically about the topic, she said (ibid).

Her job at the centre helped Froman contribute to cultural awareness of other guides and reinforce her own identity. As she learned more about sacred tradition, she said she was able to help preserve it by passing it along to other interpreters.

Public School Programs

School children, not tourists, comprise most of the centre’s group tours.¹³ Generally, groups from Grade 3 to Grade 6 tour the museum and participate in pottery, leather pouch and clan necklace workshops. Other programs include traditional woodland games (such as longball, lacrosse, or snowsnake) and library research.

Special Land Claims Programs

Groups of tourists, however, can request educational programs, including those that focus on current issues, such as the land claims issue in Caledonia, Ont.

¹³ In contrast to 26 tours by tourists in 2006-2007, there were 81 educational tours (*Woodland Cultural Centre Annual Report*).

The museum had an exhibit dedicated to the history of the claim. The Six Nations Confederacy received 950,000 acres on the Grand River by the King of England in 1784 in return for allegiance during the American Revolution. The Haldimand deed was displayed to show that it included the Caledonia property (Woodland Cultural Centre, Museum). Six Nations' Reserve has shrunk to 46,500 acres and the people are challenging government about their loss of land.

Froman has approached the issue with a game. Participants would divide into 10 groups and stand on beach mats. The facilitator reads the history of the Haldimand tract and explains how the colonial government mortgaged the land. "As each piece of land is mortgaged off, a mat is removed and all the people standing on it have to move to another mat," explained Froman (20 July 2008). Eventually the whole group has to fit on one mat at which point, she said, "We tell them, 'now you understand about overcrowding on the reserve.' The game is a really effective teaching tool" (ibid).

Events

Every year the centre presents a snowsnake tournament and smoke dance contest as well as a Christmas craft fair and indoor performances by native dance and theatre groups. Open to the public, the events are advertised by a signboard outside the centre but are not promoted widely for tourists (Montour 28 May 2008).

The snowsnake event is at the end of January. Iroquoian men throw poles called "mud cats" and "long snakes" down a track dug from the snow. The team that throws its poles the farthest wins. The tournament has not drawn many tourists, though, and Froman said this is because it takes place outdoors during wintertime (20 July 2008).

But, the smoke dance contest in May also has not attracted many visitors. “The dance contest is two hours, it’s very rare a bus group would come for that long,” Froman explained (ibid).

The tournament and dance contest seem to preserve tradition for community members. They are also an opportunity to draw tourists, but few attend. A restructuring of schedules could appeal to tourists as well as participants. Demonstrations and festivities presented either before or after an event might draw paying visitors for that segment and even attract corporate sponsorship.

Six Nations Tourism and Woodland Cultural Centre

Six Nations Tourism works to promote aboriginal events in the region. But, Woodland does not work closely with the organization, said Froman (ibid). In the past, the two groups have experienced poor relations (ibid).

This was true, said Alan Emarthle, manager of Six Nations Tourism in an interview. The former board of directors wanted to move too fast, he explained. “They weren’t communicating properly, especially with Woodland Cultural Centre,” said Emarthle (29 July 2008).

If Six Nations Tourism and Woodland Cultural Centre could strengthen their ties, it might benefit both parties. A marketing and promotional strategy that also included a larger partner, such as the city of Brantford, could help increase opportunities and attract new business for both operations.¹⁴

Future

¹⁴ See Appendix II for more information on Six Nations Tourism’s relationship with the city of Brantford.

Woodland's executive director Janis Montour spent part of 2008 working at Harbourfront Centre in Toronto. She was planning an arts festival called Planet IndigenUS (Montour 20 Aug. 2008). The festival has been scheduled to open at Harbourfront in the summer of 2009 and at Woodland Cultural Centre the week after (Harbourfront).

Montour's experience with the festival might be helpful planning future events at Woodland. This could lead to an increase in tourism and economic opportunities.

A possible project on Woodland's horizon is *The Northern Thunder*, or *TNT*, an aboriginal living, performing and theatre arts centre (Woodland Cultural Centre *The Dream Begins*). The \$11-million plan has percolated for five years, said Amos Key Jr. (28 May 2008). His vision for the arts centre began during his 30-month tenure as Woodland's acting executive director. It has included a state-of-the-art, 600-seat theatre, an atrium for outdoor festivals, workshops and mentoring opportunities for native youth.

An outside firm has conducted a feasibility study and business plan, said Key (ibid). The plan was dropped, however, when Montour took over as executive director and focused on the deficit.

Early in 2008, the idea came back to life, said Key: "Dave Levac, our local MPP, climbed the three flights of stairs to my office and made a personal visit" (ibid).

Levac has planned to utilize the feasibility study, said Key (ibid). The future of Key's dream theatre would be hard to predict. If it went ahead, it could provide exciting possibilities for native performers.

Conclusion

Woodland Cultural Centre's biggest tourism attractions were the museum and gallery. Historic exhibits gave tourists accurate information about the past from a native perspective. The museum's popular culture exhibit displayed appropriated native images used on everything from cars to ashtrays. The gallery's art shows such as *First Nations Art* provided tourists with a powerful reflection of contemporary native thought and experience. Exposure to these thought-provoking exhibits would very likely dispel stereotypes for visitors.

Tourists could also learn about historic and modern issues through the educational programs. Staff members, including Tara Froman, shared their perspectives with visitors at the centre. At the same time, Froman pointed out, they reinforced their own cultural identity.

Respectful policies and approval processes helped preserve tradition at the centre. A strict policy protected the museum's sacred objects and ceremonies. Shows and exhibits received approval from the board of directors. Thus, tourists could only consume content deemed appropriate by the member communities.

Financial structure was the centre's weakest link. Government grants were shrinking. If the centre were to research how other institutions raise funds, attract corporate sponsorships and garner alternative funding, perhaps it could adapt these strategies and move toward a more solvent future.

CHAPTER 4

Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre

The sky was cloudy and there was a slight chill in the air. It was the middle of June and I was in the Fraser Valley, driving along the Lougheed Highway to Mission, B.C. My destination was Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, the site of one of North America's oldest villages and an ancient transformer stone, a huge rock that local native legend said started out as human beings. I had never seen a transformer stone before and knew little about them.

I pulled into a large parking lot with a series of low, square buildings clustered at one end. Trees and grassy hills poked out beyond the buildings.

A sign on the wall of the first wooden structure said "Xá:ytem Entrance, Tours and Gallery." Under the sign was a painting of three human silhouettes in a canoe. Behind them were mountains and a large yellow moon.

The three figures, I found out later, were connected to the ancient rock.

Background

Xá:ytem (pronounced Hay-Tum) means "sudden transformation" in Halq'emeylem,¹ the language of the Stó:lo people.² The Stó:lo, a Coast Salish cultural group, live in the Fraser Valley.³ The 10-foot-high transformer stone, I learned, was once

¹ This spelling is taken from a official Xá:ytem information kit. Later in the thesis, a quote from the historical plaque spells it Haiq'eméylem.

² Stó:lo is spelled with a long dash over the last o at some official websites. This thesis uses the same spelling as the Xá:ytem material referenced.

³ "The Stó:lo people live from around Yale down to Musqueam territory where Vancouver is now. We're one of the tribes in the Coast Salish group. Many tribes in the Northwest all have the same culture and traditions so we're grouped as the Coast Salish people. Our cultures and traditions are really similar. But our language has different dialects." – Chief Frank Malloway, Stó:lo Nation (Xá:ytem 6)

the Stó:lo's ancestors. "Xáls, the Creator, turned these men and women to stone in the course of reshaping the landscape and teaching ancestral communities a spiritually appropriate way to live," explained Xá:ytem's information kit (9).

Gordon Mohs, a Stó:lo who is an archaeologist, discovered the rock in 1990. His team found thousands of artifacts nearby as well as the remains of a dwelling scientists radiocarbon-dated to almost 6,000 years ago. Further archeological excavations indicated the area was a village that dated back 9,000 years.

The government of Canada declared the property a historic site in 1992.⁴ A year later, the province stepped in and bought the land from the owner, a subdivision developer.

In 1995, Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre opened at the location. Initially, the centre was a small cedar longhouse and visitors' shelter. Over the next 10 years, the facility grew. Builders extended the longhouse and added an archeological sifting station, gift shop, two pithouses, canoe shed and artisan centre.

Currently, the site offers guided tours, artist demonstrations and educational programs for school children. Workshops for the public include basket making, drum making and Salish weaving. The centre also offers cross-cultural awareness seminars, language immersion and overnight programs.

I chose Xá:ytem as a case study because it contrasted Woodland Culture Centre. Established more than 20 years later, it featured an archeological attraction. The culture is West Coast, very different from the woodland peoples.

⁴ Xá:ytem is the first native spiritual site to be given this distinction (*Xá:ytem Information 4*).

I spent a day at Xá:ytem exploring the property and interviewing staff. Once back in Ontario, I followed up by phone and e-mail. I am especially grateful to Linnea Battel, the centre's director. Her warm welcome, personal guided tour and careful answers were invaluable. Battel's galvanizing energy, I discovered, was crucial to the centre's success.

The Pithouse

I met Battel in her office, in a low-slung building next to the visitor's centre. After a brief chat, she led me out to a grassy hump behind the buildings. "The ancient village would have had summer homes by the river, but their winter homes would have looked something like this," she explained (17 June 2008). As we got closer, I could see a small doorway carved into the hillside.

We bent down to enter. "The original pithouse's entrance would have been lower. They would have had to crawl in. That was for security as well as to keep out the draft," she explained (*ibid*).

I was expecting to see a dark, earth-packed space. Battel clicked on an electric light and I was astonished to be in a cozy, round room lined with large cedar logs. Large benches circled the room and on the wall hung cedar weavings and animal skins. There was a fire pit in the centre and a ladder led to a small opening in the roof.

"We came in the women's entrance. The one in the ceiling was for the men," explained Battel, picking up a drum (*ibid*). She gestured for me to sit and began to pound the drum and sing. Her voice was powerful and resonated throughout the space. Afterward, she explained it was a Stó:lo welcome song.

The \$12 admission price for adults, \$9 for children, included an interpretive tour

of the site. A staff of four to eight interpreters took tourists through all year round. Battel did not usually give tours. She was too busy running the day-to-day operations of the centre. However, I was an exception.

Sitting down on the bench, Battel explained about the site's discovery:

Gordon Mohs found it by accident. He was picnicking nearby by and saw this rock in the middle of a field with a bulldozer sitting beside it. He asked the driver what they were going to do with the rock. "We're going to blow it up tomorrow," he was told. Gordon thought it was a sacred transformer stone. The bulldozer operator told him it was supposed to have been blown up the day before but it was raining too hard to light the fuse. Gordon asked permission to investigate the site, which he got from the developer who planned to build a housing subdivision there (ibid).

Mohs, with the help of other Stó:lo people and volunteers from the area, uncovered articles such as stone tools, as well as evidence of a house, 8 by 12 metres squared. The University of British Columbia sent in an archeology field team later and found thousands more artifacts. The number of items from daily life and evidence of more house posts confirmed that an ancient village had once stood there (ibid).

There was a direct link to the Stó:lo of today, pointed out the information kit:

The woodworking artifacts help us understand how integral the forest – especially the cedar – was to Stó:lo life. To this day, the Stó:lo use cedar in the construction of canoes, houses, house posts, grave-houses, basketry, and many other implements of daily life. (*Xá:ytem Information 8*)

Battel said the findings gave her a wonderful snapshot of the people who lived there 6,000 years ago:

They ate salmon. They used cedar, and they liked to play. We found hundreds of game balls. We also found paint, ocre, so they had time for ceremony. They were a rich society. (17 June 2008)

Vegetation has overgrown the original archeological site. Battel hopes to one day uncover it (3 Nov. 2008), but nothing was outwardly visible when I visited. To illustrate for tourists what the early dwellings might have looked like, she had two pithouses built in 2001. “We didn’t have any plans, but the Shushuap had a crew that built them so I called them,” she said (17 June 2008).

The province owned the site; bureaucrats were soon at her door. They demanded that the builders use 21st century technology to reinforce the structure for safety, so the crew brought it up to code. “Behind these logs are concrete walls,” Battel explained (ibid).

Built larger than traditional designs, the pithouses accommodated the centre’s growing number of visitors. “We were in education before. As soon as we got more room we invited the general public in, and suddenly we were into tourism,” said Battel (ibid).

History of the Site

Mohs’ and the UBC team’s excavations suggested native people had been living in the Fraser Valley for at least 350 generations. The centre’s information kit said the dwelling was the most ancient house site in British Columbia and one of the oldest in North America (*Xá:ytem Information 7*).

Ancestral Stó:lo were settling into complex village life before many of the world's ancient recorded civilizations began (ibid). The village's early inhabitants, semi-sedentary hunters, fishers and gatherers, had a well-developed woodworking industry, led a complex ceremonial life and participated in regional exchange networks (ibid 8).

Finding, Protecting and Sharing the Sacred

After discovering the stone, Mohs called Kenny Moses, a Stó:lo medicine man, to come and have a look. Moses confirmed it was sacred: "There's a song trapped in the stone, the type of song our Spirit Dancers sing," Moses said. "I see a young man, an artist, sleeping on the rock, and getting that song" (ibid 9).

Moses also helped find the dwelling. "A lot of people wondered how Gordon Mohs was so lucky in finding that house, but he was instructed by the medicine man where to find it," explained Stó:lo chief Frank Malloway, (ibid 8). The dwelling they uncovered measured 64 square metres, a hybrid of a semi-subterranean pithouse and an above ground longhouse. A wall of gravel surrounded half the structure (ibid).

Stó:lo territory contained more than 350 prehistoric sites and more than 200 sacred sites that are not open to the public (*Xá:ytem*). Battel noted:

There were 200 transformer stones before first contact. Only 100 are left due to development and the railway. Ours is the only transformer stone that the Stó:lo elders would allow public access to. They saw it as a good place to teach. Since it wasn't blown up and destroyed, they say it takes care of itself. (*Xá:ytem Information 8*)

This might explain why the elders have not been reluctant to share the site with outsiders.

Story of the Transformer Stone

Stó:lo elder Bertha Peters was a girl when her elders told her the tale of the rock.

She shared the story at the site's opening ceremony in 1991:

I heard this story from a man from Chilliwack Landing. When the Creator was walking this earth putting things right, he met three chiefs at this place. He gave them knowledge of the written language to share with the people. But, when he came back, he found they hadn't done what he had instructed them to do, and so he threw them into a pile and changed them into that rock. (*Xá:ytem Information 10*)

Xá:ytem guides told tourists the same story on the guided tour.

Battel and I walked to the rock, a short distance from the pithouses. It stood around 10 feet tall, and had moss growing on top. I touched the smooth, dark surface.

In the story, the chiefs, known in the Stó:lo language as *sf:ya:m*, or respected leaders, each took an attribute into the rock. "One started crying, one started singing and one started teaching people very fast. That song is still trapped in this rock," said Battel (17 June 2008). As we walked back toward the visitors' centre, she explained, "We are like the third *sf:ya:m*, teaching people very fast about our culture and our spirituality. That's what we do at *Xá:ytem*" (ibid).

The Stó:lo opened the transformer-stone to the public to share their belief in spiritual realities. Battel said that the decision to do so came from the rock itself:

The transformer stone at *Xá:ytem* is not just a stone; it's a manifestation of the sacred in the natural physical world; it's a storehouse for the spirits of

human ancestors who became part of the forest-and-river-world that surrounded them; it's a divine message written in stone, encouraging the sharing of what one knows or owns; and it's a spiritually-charged classroom for Stó:lo elders who want to pass on oral history and point out for others the lessons written into the landscape." (*Xá:ytem Information 9*)

The stone, she said, helped to link tourists to the Stó:lo people's beliefs.

Not far from the rock was a national historic plaque that read:

XeXa:Is, prominent figures in Stó:lo oral history, taught three sf:ya:m (respected leaders) how to write the Haiq'eméylem language, and instructed them to share this knowledge with the Stó:lo. When they did not, XeXa:Is transformed them into stone. This rock called *Xa:yetm* (literally "sudden transformation") is said to contain the "shxweli" or "life force" of the three sf:ya:m and exemplifies the importance of preserving Stó:lo history, culture and spirituality. The archaeological evidence is further physical testimony of long term Stó:lo presence along the Fraser River.⁵ (Government of Canada)

The plaque's Stó:lo words seemed to indicate a respect for the site on the part of the government. The story, the same as the one the Stó:lo's written guides has told, informed tourists about the region's aboriginal cultural history. The plaque reinforced the message for tourists who wanted to linger on their own.

Ownership of the Site

⁵ Some of the spellings on the plaque were different from the spellings in the *Xá:ytem* information kit.

In 2006, the provincial government transferred the ownership of Xá:ytem to the Stó:lo Heritage Trust Society. Incorporated in 1993, the non-profit organization's sole project was Xá:ytem (*Xá:ytem Information 6*). The society comprised 10,000 Stó:lo from the 24 Stó:lo communities. Membership in the society was restricted to Stó:lo, but non-Stó:lo people were allowed on various committees (*ibid*). The Xá:ytem information kit noted:

The Society's objective is to preserve and present Stó:lo history, culture, spirituality and archaeology, and to act as a vehicle for heritage and cultural projects. Xá:ytem carries out this objective by operating highly successful hands-on tour programs for students and visitors. (*ibid*)

A board of directors governed the society and worked directly with Battel (17 June 2008).

Visitors

The centre preserved and shared Coast Salish culture with the rest of the world on the Stó:lo peoples' own terms, (*Xá:ytem Information 5*). More than 15,000 tourists visited each year (*ibid*).

Stó:lo control was crucial to Battel's mission. When non-native tourists asked if the site was open only to native people, her reply was, "No. Our purpose is to provide information and awareness to the whole world. Once you get to know us, you'll like us" (17 June 2008).

The centre conducted a *Visitor Experiences and Profiles Survey* for Tourism British Columbia starting in June of 2008. Battel's staff returned it to Tourism British

Columbia at the end of September. Questions included where visitors were from, how many nights tourists would be away, time spent in the Fraser Valley, primary modes of transportation, and types of accommodation (*Visitor Experiences*). The survey also asked how much time tourists spent at the site, if the site was important when tourists made their plans, other attractions visited and how much money tourists spent on the trip (ibid). Battel was not sure when the results of the survey would be available, however she planned to use the feedback in future marketing plans (3 Nov. 2008).

Chronology of the Centre

Linnea Battel has championed the site since its first discovery. Her roots in the community go deep. She was born and raised in Mission, B.C., and her parents were from the Interior Salish Shuswap and Samahquam nations. Before accepting the post at Xá:ytem, she was executive director of Friends of the Fort, an organization that supported operations at Fort Langley National Historic Park. In 1991, she led a campaign to preserve Mission's historic railway station. Her conservation work on these and other projects earned her a B.C. Heritage Award in 2000.

Battel became Xá:ytem's director in 1993. Her mandate was to develop both an archaeological heritage site and a place to educate the world about Stó:lo culture (*Xá:ytem Information 4*). Before she took the job, she consulted spiritually with her ancestors (17 June 2008). "I needed to know if they wanted the public gathering on their ancient village site," she said (ibid). Battel asked her ancestors if they wanted the site preserved and if they wanted her to act on their behalf. "What they told me," she said, "was 'Get to work' " (ibid).

Battel's first commitment was to lead the campaign that saved the Xá:ytem site from becoming a housing subdivision. "We formed Friends of Hatzik Rock Society.⁶ It was an intense campaign. We were in *The Globe and Mail*, the *Wall Street Journal* and on CTV. An election was called in the middle of it and we made it an election issue to save the rock," she said (ibid).

Her efforts were rewarded. The Canadian government declared Xá:ytem a national historic site in 1992. The following year the B.C. government purchased the land from the developer. A committee was set up to manage the cultural resource, headed by Battel. The plan was to turn the overgrown farmer's field into a venue where the world could meet both the ancient offerings of the Xá:ytem site and local contemporary Stó:lo culture (ibid 5).

The committee spent the next nine years installing basic infrastructure (water, power and telephone lines) and constructing the longhouse, pithouses and gift shop. In 2006, the provincial government transferred the ownership of Xá:ytem to the Stó:lo Heritage Trust Society (ibid 4).

Unlike Woodland Cultural Centre, Xá:ytem has not been part of the federally supported Cultural Education Centres program. Much of Battel's job has been to raise funds.

Visions, Mission, Mandate and Goals

⁶ The word Hatzik was described in "Native Elders Replace Name Rooted in Jokes" in the *Vancouver Sun*. Part of the article, posted on the Internet by nativenet, said: "Hatzik was the name given to this area because of roots traditionally gathered there," said Gordon Mohs. "The roots were shaped like a penis, and jokes were made about measuring the penis-like roots, hence the name Hatzik."

"The elders felt a name based on measuring genitalia wasn't appropriate, so they provided the word Xá:ytem, which means 'transformed into stone,' " said site coordinator Linnea Battel." (nativenet)

“We are not a museum. We are a cultural program with an educational experience,” Battel said (17 June 2008). The *Xá:ytem* information kit centre clarified the centre’s mandate (3):

Mission: *Xá:ytem* is a sacred site and ancient aboriginal village nurtured and presented by the Stó:lo and our friends to share and celebrate the wisdom and culture of the Coast Salish while educating the world – especially our children – transforming attitudes and perceptions and honouring the rightful place of the Stó:lo. This project furthers the mission by finding another way of presenting *Xá:ytem*’s cultural heritage to the visitor.

Vision: As a key cultural destination in B.C., *Xá:ytem* will be a world-renowned interpretive centre through the increased involvement of and influence on volunteers, staff, visitors and donors, by celebrating a culture that transcends time resonating with a universal life force within us, by collaborating with tourism and education and by enhancing facilities and programs.

Social Goals:

- To preserve and present Stó:lo culture, history, archaeology and spirituality to the world. To overcome negative perceptions of First Nations people and society and to instill appreciation of the rich, complex culture of First Nations by offering dynamic cultural interpretation programs.

- To provide a safe and inviting environment for First Nations people to rediscover their cultural heritage.
- To offer capacity-building opportunities to First Nations people, through hiring policies and project and program development initiatives that focus on providing valuable experience for students and youth.
- To generate increased economic opportunities through tourism, education, marketing, commercial enterprise, and training.
- To offer employment, training and career opportunities to First Nations people.

Aboriginal cultural tourism, according to Xá:ytem's mission and goals, had the potential to preserve tradition and reinforce the cultural identity of native participants. Tourism ventures such as this could also possibly correct historical inaccuracies, inform non-native visitors about indigenous experience, create jobs and provide economic opportunities.

Tourist Expectations

Hands-on activities at the centre ensured tourists had an opportunity to learn about indigenous experience through native interpreters and artists. Interactive educational programs showed students the practical value of traditional ways. "We do it in a fun and interactive way," Battel explained, adding, "The kids come and have a great time. At the end they say, 'Look how smart First Nations are; how resourceful.' Tourism is a good way to learn" (17 June 2008).

During my visit, a group of students and their teachers connected with presenters. They exchanged stories and asked questions. The children were excited to help dig out a canoe and twine cedar into a rope. This was real because they could feel it in their hands. The people to whom they were talking were real, too.

Battel said tourists sometimes asked questions that raised old stereotypes (ibid). The interpreters' training included handling such questions positively. "We want to help change any negative misconceptions that people have about First Nations people," explained Battel (ibid).

Presenters dressed in contemporary clothing: "Visitors need to know our history but also who we are now. Our guides wear clothing of today, they don't wear traditional regalia that would only promote stereotypes and mislead visitors into believing that we dress and live that way today," Battel said (O'Neil). Thus, native interpreters taught tourists about past traditions, but included a contemporary indigenous perspective.

Finances

Tourism at Xá:ytem provided opportunities for the operators to teach, as well as to generate revenue. A little more than a third of the centre's income came from tourism in the 2006-2007 fiscal year, said the financial statements (Stó:lo Heritage Trust Society 5). Revenues were \$294,224 and the facility received \$117,827 from workshop and tour fees (ibid). Workshop and tour fees were down \$8,000 from the previous year, when \$125,041 had been collected (ibid).

Profit from the gift shop was \$38,581 (ibid). The tourism dollars generated were

respectable, but not enough to offset a deficit of almost \$90,000 in 2006-2007 (ibid).⁷

Expenses were \$382,984 and the lion's share, \$253,516, covered wages of eight full-time staff (ibid).

One third of revenue, or \$110,938, came from grants (ibid 8). Canadian Heritage gave \$35,000 and the Stó:lo Nation awarded a job development grant of \$35,531 (ibid). Government wage subsidies and student grants totaled almost \$10,000 (ibid).

Accounts payable was separate from revenues and expenses. This comprised \$263,599 to the Stó:lo Nation and \$8,798 to other trade accounts (ibid). The financial statements noted the Stó:lo Heritage Trust Society held title to the land and buildings through a 2006 crown grant (ibid 9).

Xá:ytem has struggled financially. After the province severed its operation support in 2004,⁸ it was up to the centre to source its own funding (Xá:ytem Business Plan). Battel said it was a challenge that took up most of her time: "At the beginning, I had big visions. I wanted a world class, \$12 million dollar centre along the lines of the one at Head-Smashed-In-Buffalo-Jump. That's changed. We're working slowly, in phases. Each phase we add one building or one program" (3 Nov. 2008).

A \$5,000 grant from VanCity Credit Union has helped the centre draw up a

⁷ The gift store started in 1999 with \$15,000 in inventory (Xá:ytem Business Plan). In 2007 inventory was worth more than \$80,000 (Stó:lo Heritage Trust Society).

⁸ The centre's 2006 business plan noted:

Until March 2004, the site was supported by the Provincial government (the property owners) through the Heritage Branch who provided an operating fee, maintenance costs, small capital projects (under \$15000) and heating and municipal utility costs that added up to \$80000 annually. Through the devolution process of all BC Heritage properties, they ceased this support in March 2004. Until devolution, the site broke even financially or experienced a surplus. Finding \$80000 plus annually proved to be a challenge for the Xá:ytem Management Committee that is responsible of day-to-day operations of Xá:ytem. (Xá:ytem Business Plan)

business plan in 2006 to organize growth in measured phases (Xá:ytem, *Business Plan*). Projects in each phase would cost around \$250,000 and the centre's fundraising, therefore, would occur one phase at a time, said Battel (4 Nov. 2008).

Partnerships

Marketing is one way to increase tourism, but dollars have been scarce. "We rely on word of mouth and the media. In addition, we partner with regional tourism associations. Without the partnering we wouldn't be able to do it," explained Battel (17 June 2008). The centre's partners have included the Stó:lo Tourism Commission and the District of Mission with which the centre bought joint ads (*ibid*). In addition to her position at the centre, Battel co-chairs the Stó:lo Tourism Commission.

Xá:ytem has received a boost from Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia. The association has promoted the centre on its website and included it in brochures distributed throughout the province and at international trade shows. Collaborations such as this have allowed the centre to have a wider reach and make the most of very limited budgets. These partnerships, Battle said, have seemed like a smart way for Xá:ytem to improve its sustainability (17 June 2008).

Job Opportunities

The centre has hired extra people in the busy summer tourist season. The core staff of eight, including four interpreters, have worked year round. Government programs provide funds to hire two or three students every summer.

New hires receive on-site training. An instruction manual that Gordon Mohs and Battel wrote has outlined the cultural details. Since 1993, more than 120 native people

have participated in the centre's training programs (*Xá:ytem Information 3*). Skills taught at the centre include tour guiding, marketing, volunteer coordinating, construction, retail management, grounds keeping, administration, tourism and event planning (ibid).

The centre has provided valuable job skills and cultural knowledge to its native employees, however core funding has been unstable. It seemed the centre's financial situation could not grow many job opportunities. This has threatened the centre's ability to build a sustainable tourism business. Without a solid, dependable source of revenue, *Xá:ytem's* jobs might suffer in the future.

Longhouse Visitors' Centre

Half the staff members have worked as cultural interpreters in the longhouse. They carefully teach tourists about the native world. Their mission might fail, however, if the centre does not increase tourist turnout or receive alternate sources of funding.

Inside the longhouse, in the visitor's area, I saw a few glass cases. In one corner, were framed poster boards. These contained text and photographs. One showed photos of the archeology sifting frame, a tent and the digging team. Another frame presented black and white photographs from the turn of the last century. Titled *People of the River:*

History of the Stó:lo people on the Fraser River, the text read:

The Stó:lo . . . are Coast Salish people: our language is Haiq'eméylem.

Stó:lo means "people of the river" and is the collective name we use when we speak of all the Haiq'eméylem-speaking people who live along the lower 170 km of the Fraser (Stó:lo) River in southwestern British Columbia. (*Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre*)

The poster boards contained valuable information. However, they were tucked in a corner and easy to overlook.

One glass case titled “Visitor Findings” showed a variety of objects discovered at the archeological sifting station. The findings included projectile points, the correct term for arrowheads. As well, there were cobble choppers, chopping tools made from pebbles or rocks and used for woodworking. Tourists and school groups found the items outdoors, between the transformer stone and the interpretive centre. A wooden roof covered the station’s oblong of sandy dirt. Wire mesh frames hung at waist height and groups sifted through the earth for artifacts.

The centre’s focus was activities led by the interpreters, not museum-style displays. The glass display cases were informative, but sparse. Learning took place during the demonstrations. Battel said she believed touching, feeling, talking and doing would leave a longer lasting impression on both adults and kids than simply reading (17 June 2008).

Stronger museum-style displays in the centre could provide an enhanced jumping-off point for tourists before activities. This would give the site more historical context and help inform international tourists, in particular, who might not be familiar with the region. The need for improved displays and increased signage was mentioned in the 2006 business plan.⁹ If they were installed, they might help visitors who did not have time to take the entire tour.

⁹ The business plan noted the centre had turned away hundreds of visitors over the years because they didn’t want a guided tour. “We need a solution to capture those visitors. The obvious method would be offering our guests the opportunity for a self-guided tour. This could be accomplished by providing relatively inexpensive didactic signage to key cultural and educational areas to Xá:ytem’s story” (Xá:ytem *Business Plan*)

Artisans' Centre

A high point for tourists was the artisan's centre, housed in a new building, the Canoe Shed. During my visit, Tom Patterson, a Nuu-cha-nulth from Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island was demonstrating woodcarving.

His wife, a Coast Salish woman, now lived in her territory, which was why he was there. He explained he was making a house post designed in the area's tradition. "I also do Nuu-cha-nulth and Kwakwaka'wakw style carving. My teacher was Kwakwaka'wakw," he said (17 June 2008).

Outside the shed I saw a 16-foot-long Western Red Cedar log from the Vancouver Island's west coast. Patterson said he planned to carve the log into a totem pole in the West Coast style (ibid).

A boisterous class of around 30 Grade 4 students came into the shed. Patterson showed his tools and carved a piece of wood. He also showed a mask and passed along a story his parents had told him about the Lady of the Mountain, a giantess who collected stray children in a basket. Parents told the story, he said, so their children would not wander into the woods where wolves or bears might eat them (ibid).

Patterson and other resident artisans created original artworks, answered questions and guided visitors through their artistic processes. Patterson shared with the students his draft designs for the house post he was carving and explained, "In this area, house posts are done to go inside a home. They are like a family heirloom of who you are" (ibid).

Tourist workshops at the centre included basketry, drum making, beading, block printing, and making deer hide rattles. Costs were \$10 to \$400 and sessions ranged from

one hour to three days. These workshops were booked on demand. The most popular season, Battel told me, was spring (Oct. 8 2008).

In future, Battel said, tourists would get the chance to work alongside the artists and learn how to carve, paint, draw and craft jewelry. “We welcome any artisan who would like to be on site and interact with the visitors,” said Battel, who completed the schedule in October of 2008 (ibid). She said the centre pays artists to share their skills. Their finished pieces are sold in the gift shop (ibid).

The artisan’s centre was a stimulating place in which to interact and learn. The guides explained how traditional ways and stories had influenced contemporary experience. Patterson told the students that he carved a totem pole outside the Chamber of Commerce in Mission. He mentioned he was also working on one for Mission’s sister city in Japan. “I sometimes do carving demonstrations in the foyers of schools. It is a cultural sharing. I want to carry on the tradition in the proper way, and be a positive role model,” he said (17 June 2008). Chatting with artists such as Patterson taught tourists how contemporary aboriginal cultures have perpetuated traditional beliefs and practices.

Gift Gallery

Another popular spot was the centre’s gift shop. Inside, I saw large cedar beams that held up the ceiling. Log walls made the space warm and inviting. Local carvings, weavings, prints and paintings were displayed throughout the store. Books, CDs and other souvenirs also filled the shelves. Hand-made items such as masks and medicine bags hung on the walls, and glass cases held gold and silver handcrafted jewelry.

Attractive and welcoming, the gift gallery was an effective place to display the

work of local artists. According to the financial statement, sales were roughly double the cost of inventory. The gallery, a financial strength of the centre, could grow further if tourism increases.

The gallery was promoted on the Xá:ytem website, however high tech marketing could help move more inventory. One idea for the future would be to introduce authenticated art works online. This could increase sales and gallery profits for the centre.

Educational Programs

Each year more than 11,000 students have come to Xá:ytem to learn about the traditional Stó:lo way of life, partly because British Columbia has mandated First Nation's curricula. Most of the visiting students have been from Grades 4 to 7 (17 June 2008).

During my visit, a Grade 4 group was hollowing out a large cedar log to make a canoe. In another room, students were weaving wool on small looms. They were emulating native people in the area who used to weave mountain goat hair and that of a specially bred dog (ibid). Other activities included pounding cedar bark into thin fibres for clothing, and twining cedar bark into ropes and bracelets.

The archeological sifting area, a strong attraction, was not in use that day. There, Battel said, students could comb through the soil for ancient fishhooks, spear points and woodworking tools. "It is just like a treasure hunt. They've found some beautiful things, plus they get to know who the Stó:lo are," she said (ibid).

Identity

Beatrice Pennier, a Chehalis¹⁰ woman in her 20s, sat behind the sales desk in the gift gallery when I visited. She said she had worked at the centre for three years, helping with the educational groups as well as the shop. “I have learned about my culture here. I was fostered out as a baby so I didn’t grow up with it,” she said (17 June 2008).

Much of Pennier’s knowledge came through the interpreters’ training book. The manual covered the culture presented at the centre, including carving out a canoe, twining cedar and weaving, she said. Battel explained later that she and Gordon Mohs wrote the manual in consultation with Stó:lo elders (ibid).

Pennier felt connected to the site because of her uncle. “When Gordon Mohs did a ceremony with a medicine woman here, my uncle attended. The medicine woman could see an umbilical cord connecting my uncle to this place,” she explained.

Josette Jim, an Interior Salish woman in her 40s, started working at the centre as an interpreter in May. She told me during my visit that the job helped reinforce what she already knew (17 June 2008). “I grew up with my mom and uncle doing cedar clothing – the twining and weaving of the cedar bark. I used to do gill net salmon fishing with my dad, so I grew up with that knowledge, too” she explained (ibid).

In traditional life, Jim noted, everybody has a specialty. “The fisherman knows the species, woodcutters know the woods, midwives know birthing. Everybody has an expertise. Since I’ve been here I’ve learned there are five species of salmon” (ibid). Jim, exposed to a wide breadth of knowledge at the centre, said she was proud to live the culture (ibid).

¹⁰ Chehalis are one of the Coast Salish peoples.

“The staff get to know the culture when they come here to work. Then they teach the world,” explained Battel (17 June 2008). Part of her mission has been to build the capacity and confidence of her staff. “I want them to be proud of themselves and their rich heritage” she said (ibid).

The centre has reinforced existing knowledge for interpreters such as Jim. Beatrice Pennier, in contrast, was building her understanding from the ground up. Through their jobs, both women were helping to strengthen their own identities. In addition, they were sharing what they learned with non-native tourists. Through them, the centre was achieving some of its goals.

Community Teaching

Chief Malloway noted that the site also helped Stó:lo youth:

The transformer stones carry the history and heritage of our people . . . they have a lot of importance for the young people in helping them really believe what the old people are telling them. Our whole lives are built on stories and legend. However, our young people are running into a lot of problems because they do not believe a lot of the legends and stories that were left to us by our ancestors. The stories that were left for us to teach us look after each other. (*Xá:ytem Information 9*)

Xá:ytem’s transformer rock has become a place where elders, he said, could reclaim their teachings and pass them along.

Elder James Louie said much the same:

I am very happy to see the people come up to Hatzik to see this rock and

this place here where a long time ago the Indians used to live. There are a lot of places where the Indians used to stay. I'm glad that someone is doing something for our people. All you young people do not understand how the Indian people lived long ago. (ibid)

The site had the potential to instill pride in Stó:lo history, both men said.

Tourism did not seem to be a conflict for them. Without the campaign to preserve the rock, the media attention and the government intervention, the site might have been destroyed (ibid 4). Battel's mandate in 1993, with the approval of the Stó:lo people, was to develop an archaeological heritage site as a place to educate the world. At the same time, the Stó:lo could preserve a powerful teaching tool for their own people.

Events

Summertime has been the centre's busy tourist season, however, events have been scheduled all year round. Wintertime activities scheduled to draw visitors in 2008 included *Tales in the Pithouse*, a series of storytelling sessions. The centre has set \$12 as the price for one afternoon or \$40 for the series. Chehalis chief Chris Thomas said that this winter he would be one of the storytellers (Battel 3 Nov. 2008).

In November, the centre was one of 15 sites highlighted for the annual two-day Fraser Valley Bald Eagle Festival involving the entire region. Xá:ytem presented the ecological play *Eagle Eye*, as well as native arts and crafts sessions and tours of the property. More than 50 sponsors supported the event, including Xá:ytem (*Fraser Valley Bald Eagle Festival*).

Rivermania was a two-day event held in September that drew 800 people to the

site (Battel 3 Nov. 2008). Xá:ytem co-hosted the gathering with Fraser Heritage Park. The centre offered workshops. Also, aboriginal groups performed, including the Young Eagles Pow Wow (sic) singers and drummers, Fraser River Drum Group, and Kwakwaka'wakw Dance Group. Additionally, the celebration featured Métis Jiggers and Scottish Dancers (ibid). The event was advertised as a multi-cultural evening, with Indian Tacos and a free salmon dinner (*District of Mission* "Rivermania"). Sponsors were Stó:lo Tourism Commission and District of Mission on the Fraser Economic Development (ibid).

In June at the centre, Stephen Hume, a poet and journalist, presented an evening that highlighted the explorer, Simon Fraser, after whom the region was named. The event was listed on the District of Mission website. Sponsors were New Pathways to Gold Society, BC150, *Vancouver Sun*, Harbour Publishing and Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre (District of Mission "Simon Fraser").

Partnerships are a key to Xá:ytem's events. These have helped attract new visitors. The 800 people who took part in Rivermania likely have promoted the centre by word of mouth. This would help, Battle said, to achieve her goal to increase awareness through partnered events both now and in the future (Battel 3 Nov. 2008).

Multicultural events could be especially fruitful. Some people came for the Scottish dancers, but they also caught the Young Eagles Pow Wow (sic) singers. Dancers in feathers might have reinforced an Indian stereotype for some tourists. However, following the dancers was a modern native rock band that helped shatter tourist's stereotypical views of native people steeped in the past.

These events were not big moneymakers, said Battel, but they helped boost Xá:ytem's profile in the community (ibid). The centre could further its reach and attract more tourists if it updated its website listings. For example, in October 2008 the site did not mention the Fraser Valley Bald Eagle Festival scheduled for November.

Stó:lo Tourism Commission

Xá:ytem has worked closely with Stó:lo Tourism Commission¹¹ to raise its profile in the region. Formed in 2003 by the Stó:lo Nation's community futures department, the commission has promoted aboriginal tourism throughout the Fraser Valley. Along with Xá:ytem, attractions include Shxwt'a:selhawtxw (House of Long Ago and Today), Sasquatch Tours, native art shops, galleries, campgrounds and accommodations.

The commission's initial focus has been to build alliances between the aboriginal and non-aboriginal tourism stakeholders and to develop a comprehensive strategy and marketing approach beneficial for tourism participants and local communities (Stó:lo First Nations "Community Funding"). "The commission's purpose has provided mentoring and workshops to tourism entrepreneurs. It also has marketed the tourism products in the region," explained Battel (3 Nov. 2008).

The Stó:lo Tourism Commission's website confirmed this and listed its goals: "To showcase the existing Aboriginal Tourism Products and Services in the area; to communicate to Aboriginal People in the Stó:lo Territory the opportunities that exist in the Aboriginal Tourism Industry; to offer resources to existing businesses and those

¹¹ See Appendix III for more detailed information on Stó:lo Tourism Commission.

wishing to start their own businesses (Stó:lo Tourism Commission).

One of the commission's recent projects was the *Aboriginal Business Directory and Map*, published in summer 2008. The guide listed 19 tourism-related businesses and provided a map of the territory. BC Hydro, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and Western Economic Diversification Canada were listed as sponsors (ibid *Aboriginal Business Directory*). The commission also has promoted the region's attractions through special events, DVDs, its website and trade shows.

The relationship between the commission and Xá:ytem has been close. A dedicated commission staff member, Paula Cranmer-Underhill, also sits on the Xá:ytem Resource Development Committee. Cranmer-Underhill has helped provide the centre with long-term planning and fundraising.

However, the commission has limited resources. Cranmer-Underhill, the commission's co-coordinator, said, "One of the commission's goals is to build and support tourism infrastructure through local workshops and mentoring programs" (3 Nov. 2008) This has included presenting the Trail Blazers Tourism Training Program in partnership with Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia. The area's first six-week program in November 2008 trained cultural interpreters and frontline staff for aboriginal tourism ventures. The program will take place again, she said (3 Nov. 2008).

Events and trade shows have been part of the Stó:lo Tourism Commission's mandate to promote Xa:ytem. At the shows, the centre has been featured in the commission's sales booths. Other initiatives have included workshops for tourism entrepreneurs in the region, which Battel has helped to oversee. Through their combined

efforts, Battel and Cranmer-Underhill hope to increase tourism at the centre and in the area generally (Cranmer-Underhill).¹²

Future

Xá:ytem would like to focus entirely on tourism initiatives. However, funding has been its immediate priority. “We can hardly sustain ourselves. It is very difficult,” Battel said (17 June 2008). She hoped to tackle the problem, she said, by strategizing with the centre’s partners, including VanCity Foundation. “They are going to help us go out and find possible new sources of revenue,” said Battel (3 Nov. 2008).

Conclusion

Xá:ytem has developed into an important heritage attraction with a knowledgeable staff and talented artisans. The centre’s programs are informative and engage tourists. During my visit, I was pleased to chat with interpreters and artisans such as carver Tom Patterson, whose passion along with that of the other staffer members, has helped to foster understanding and respect for Coast Salish culture.

Xá:ytem has been meeting its goals to preserve tradition, instill pride in its staff and teach non-native people about the Stó:lo Nation. The financial situation, however, has been troublesome. Among other measures, Battel has been working with partners such as VanCity Credit Union to source new streams of revenue.

Over the years, Xá:ytem has forged ahead, despite its financial struggles. The centre has celebrated and shared Coast Salish culture with 15,000 visitors a year, mostly people from the region, said Battel (17 June 2008).

¹² See Appendix III for information on the commission’s many projects.

Online tactics could draw more visitors. The website needed updating and an Internet campaign targeting native art collectors could help raise the centre's profile internationally via the gift shop.

To prosper, Xá:ytem must draw more tourists from beyond the region, including niche markets such as international tour groups. Battel said she would review the results from the B.C. Tourism's *Visitor Experiences and Profiles Survey*. The survey, she said, could help develop future nationwide and international marketing plans.

A partial solution could be to collaborate with package tour operators to find out what kind of programs would fit their needs. This could lead to a more dynamic plan to reach larger groups of adult visitors. Providing walk-in visitors who did not want a tour with more signage and a self-guided booklet such as Woodland Cultural Centre's could also be helpful. Xá:ytem has potential to grow into a world-renowned aboriginal cultural tourist destination. This, however, likely will not happen until it becomes economically sustainable.

Second to the transformer rock, Battel was the centre's most powerful asset. She was responsible for much of the centre's success to date. However, Battel said she cannot do the job forever: "I want to retire some day. I've told them they need to find the right person. Actually, it will take more than one. They'll need an operations manager, a marketing manager, and a grant writer and development officer" (3 Nov. 2008).

Battel has mentioned this to the Stó:lo Heritage Society and the VanCity Foundation, which has tried to help. The Foundation has started to look for people who could fill her shoes (ibid).

A designated heritage site, Xá:ytem is important to the Stó:lo people. The government of Canada also has protected it. The centre has preserved tradition, strengthened the identity of its native employees and informed non-native people about historic and contemporary indigenous life. If Xá:ytem resolves its financial concerns, no doubt it will flourish and abundantly meet its goals.

CHAPTER 5

Aboriginal Tourism Ventures: Compared, Contrasted and Media's Role

In the preceding chapters, my premise was to discover if aboriginal tourism could help preserve tradition, strengthen cultural identity, provide economic opportunities, correct historical inaccuracies and inform non-native people.

I also asked if aboriginal cultural tourism reinforced stereotypes and damaged communities. Supporters said native-controlled tourism has countered stereotypes. However, critics said cultural tourism could push indigenous people to sell experiences fabricated to meet tourists' expectations (Ryan 4; Hinch 251). Others frowned on melding culture and business (Wente).

I examined the history of aboriginal cultural tourism initiatives, government support, media coverage, stereotypes and some current ventures. These included NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre in British Columbia. They also included Great Spirit Circle Trail and Woodland Culture Centre in Ontario. The question was how aboriginal cultural tourism genuinely affected the native people who controlled, managed and participated in them. As well, I wanted to see how these ventures might affect tourists.

It would be useful to compare and contrast the first two ventures I researched.

NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and Great Spirit Circle Trail

NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and Great Spirit Circle Trail offered tourists different experiences. However, their core operations were similar. Native people controlled the two attractions and cultural offerings received approval from supporting

communities. Each venture covered aboriginal history. The traditional culture and information came from native peoples' points of view.

NK'MIP's Wall of Discovery, for example, chronicled dates and timelines so visitors could learn about Okanagan native peoples' achievements. Great Spirit Circle Trail's tours featured native knowledge and activities. Its programs included performances of dancers wearing feathers and beads, but also presented an accurate cultural context. Additionally, guides wore contemporary clothing so guests would see beyond the stereotype and would discover the past in light of the present.

In both cases, community collaboration suggested that cultures had not only been preserved, but revitalized (Lawrence 42). Cultural offerings for tourists went beyond memories of the past. Programs and exhibits honoured tradition and acknowledged contemporary existence. This created a fresh articulation of identity (Laclau 40).

Native presenters at the sites gained as much as the tourists. "When guides present our cultural programs, they are reinforcing their knowledge," said Kevin Eshkawkogan, Great Spirit's manager (28 Oct. 2008). The ventures did not push stereotypes or sell experiences inappropriately labeled authentic. Rather, they provided a place where native peoples could reinforce their own past and control the cultural experiences.

Both NK'MIP's and Great Spirit Trail's major funding has come from the government. That could change. The Osoyoos Indian Band's Legacy Fund, gathered through private donations, has helped sustain the NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre and its rattlesnake research. Such sources in the future could decrease government dependency.

Great Spirit Circle Trail had increased its own income through tourism fees and

other sources. Each year, it has relied less on government funding (Eshkawkogan 28 Oct. 2008). Staff members have attended annual domestic and foreign trade shows, which have maintained the company's profile in the tourism industry. A future venture, a 60-room hotel, could help build business and increase its ability to accommodate tourists.

Still, both NK'MIP and Great Spirit Trail are short of funds. Both could consider collaborating with non-native tourist attractions, connecting more strongly outside tour operators and attracting corporate sponsors. The long-term financial futures would be impossible to predict. However, both ventures have created local jobs and attracted paying visitors. If profits grow, these sites would thrive.

The Osoyoos Indian Band has gone beyond supporting NK'MIP Desert Cultural Centre. One project, the winery, has drawn tourists to sample the wines. This has provided income and helped to counter the stereotype that aboriginal people, including the Osoyoos, could not handle alcohol (Ross). Chapter 2's image in *Maclean's* magazine of Chief Louis enjoying a glass of wine in the band's vineyard projected a man in control of a flourishing business (MacDonald).

Thus, NK'MIP and Great Spirit Trail have corrected historical inaccuracies and presented native peoples' perspectives.

Aboriginal Tourism and the Media

Most of the 20th and 21st century articles in Chapter 2 relied on newspaper and magazine stereotypes in one way or another. However, modern stereotypes have been more complex than in the 19th century. Chapter 2's discourse analysis indicated that many reporters have relied on fast but fallible terms and frames that did not allow for

historical context (van Dijk 15). Perhaps media stereotypes have sometimes been unconscious (ibid), but reporters have often excluded native perspectives.

Contemporary headlines such as “Pow Wow (sic) Know How: Going Native” still relied on phrases like “going native” that placed indigenous peoples in the position of “the other.” This particular headline was not necessarily negative, since travel writers have long explored the exotic. However, some modern writers have suggested Canada’s aboriginal “other” is inferior. For example, Stewart Bell’s “Pouring Dollars Down the Porta Potty” framed native subjects as dependent and unable to manage their businesses.

Responsible reporters and editors must resolve the problem. How writers use language should be conscious. Stereotyping has resulted from the ways writers and editors have written and organized their stories and headlines. It has also come from the concepts and data writers have both used and left out (Weston 163).

For example, the first line of “Pow Wow (sic) Know-How: Going Native” said, “On most weekends this summer, a band of whooping young Indian braves brandishing spears and bows, dressed in buckskin and feathers, galloped bareback over the top of a southern Alberta hill after a small herd of stampeding buffalo” (Buhasz).

“Whooping young Indian braves” harkened back to colonial savages. Another example was Nancy MacDonald’s article in *Maclean’s*, “An Aboriginal ‘Glasnost’; Fewer handouts, less social aid: a radical fix for native woes.” The title’s first words signified openness, but the rest fed the historic dependency stereotype.

However, a shift toward more equitable representation is taking place in Canadian travel stories. Some writers, such as Drew Hayden Taylor, have accurately shown

contemporary native experience and helped correct historic inaccuracies.

Media have the power to influence self-image, said Jamie Hill, a Mohawk and the chief executive officer of Aboriginal Voices Radio Network (30 Apr. 2008). On the positive side, some print stories have encouraged native self-identity, such as in Margo Pfeiff's "Riding the Floe Edge," that showed a calm, confident Inuit hunter looking for narwhals. Newspaper and magazine articles such as this describe traditions, beliefs, etiquette, protocols and appropriate methods of sharing. Not only do accurate articles reinforce cultural self-identity, they motivate tourists to pay admission to learn about aboriginal realities.

For those readers who stay home, such stories have offered true context and real indigenous experiences. In addition, if aboriginal social and political issues were to arise, both tourists and non-tourists alike would be more knowledgeable about the roots of the problems.

Woodland and Xá:ytem: How They Compared

Woodland Cultural Centre has twice the population base of Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre. Woodland's three communities total slightly less than 25,000. The Stó:lo Heritage Trust Society, which owns Xá:ytem, represents 10,000 community members.

Woodland Cultural Centre is 36 years old, three times the age of Xá:ytem. One of Woodland's two buildings is more than 100 years old. The buildings and land belong to its members, the Wahta Mohawks, Six Nations of the Grand River and the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte.

Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre, 13 years old, sits on a protected historic site with an ancient transformer stone. The main structures are the longhouse, two pithouses and a new canoe shed.

I visited these centres. They were distinct from one another, however, they both employed native staff and offered cultural displays, programs and events for tourists. Each centre charged admission and gained revenue from gift shops.

At least four priorities measured the centres' success: traditional knowledge, cultural identity, economic opportunities and the methods by which each centre informed non-native tourists.

Tradition

The need to preserve, protect and share traditional culture was integral to both centres' mission statements.

Woodland Cultural Centre accomplished its mission to preserve and protect traditions by following strict policies regarding sacred objects. For example, on my visit, I noted the centre exhibited a partially completed Hadui medicine mask because a finished one would have been too sacred for public viewing. The museum provided some descriptions but excluded ceremonial details and prohibited photographs.

A board of directors from the three supporting communities approved what Woodland shared at the centre, Judy Harris said (29 May 2008). This included events and activities that preserved tradition such as a show on traditional medicine, a moccasin-making workshop, the snowsnake tournament and the smoke dance contest (ibid).

My visit to Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre showed that it preserved

tradition in geographical and cultural ways. The transformer rock was a tangible, spiritual and cultural icon that connected present day Stó:lo people throughout the region to their ancestors. Guides told tourists the rock's mythical story, with the Stó:lo Heritage Society's approval. Each time the guides retold the tale they strengthened it in their own minds (Battel 17 June 2008).

I visited the new pithouses, built in a traditional style, where tourists could imagine what the original dwellings of the site's ancient village were like. Staff demonstrations in the longhouse have helped maintain tradition. Cultural presenter Josette Jim's family, for example, still gill fished and made cedar clothing. When Jim shared this with tourists, she said she reinforced her own knowledge (17 June 2008).

Artists such as Tom Patterson, a carver, also honoured past practices. His Stó:lo designs were true to the region. Like Josette Jim, Patterson said his employment at the centre reaffirmed his work as a traditional carver (17 June 2008).

Both Woodland's and Xá:ytem's communities approved their programs. This process helped native peoples protect what should and should not be shared.

Identity

Patterson and Jim came to Xá:ytem with cultural knowledge. But, tourists' questions also motivated them to learn more. Jim's knowledge expanded as well, she said, when she watched other interpreters demonstrate their cultural skills (17 June 2008).

The training manual was a great source of information for presenter Beatrice Pennier who, unlike Jim, came to the centre with very little cultural knowledge. Pennier's job, she said, allowed her to learn and take pride in her heritage (17 June 2008). Working

at the centre increased Jim's and Pennier's abilities and confidence. Xá:ytem's mission to help native people rediscover their heritage, for them, was accomplished.

Likewise, Woodland Cultural Centre achieved its mission to foster an appreciation of native people's intellect, especially amongst staff. Tara Froman has worked at Woodland since she was a summer student. History has long been her specialty and she was able to share her knowledge with her employees. One of the cultural interpreters at the centre, in turn, taught her about Six Nations' traditional belief system (Froman 20 July 2008).

Some of Woodland's special events, although not yet attractive to tourists, have reinforced cultural identity for native participants. The snowsnake tournament and smoke dance contest, based on a traditional game and dance, were popular with members of the supporting native communities.

Each centre promoted native peoples' perspectives. Staff members were able to refine their cultural expertise. This, in turn, strengthened their native identities.

Economic Opportunity

Revenue for each centre I visited has come from a variety of sources. Both charged admission. The fee at Xá:ytem included a site tour, but at Woodland, it did not.

Workshops and tours have provided one third of Xá:ytem's revenue. Woodland has received a little less than one-tenth of its revenue from a combination of admission fees, rental space, public programming and educational group tours.

Government grants have supported both centres. Woodland received a little less than half of its revenues from a Cultural/Education Centres program (CECP) grant.

Xá:ytem, not part of CECP, received a third of its funding from the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Woodland has depended on CECP since it opened 36 years ago. But, Xá:ytem has not received the same type of support since the province stopped providing operating costs in 2004. Xá:ytem's financial situation seemed more tenuous than Woodland's.

Xá:ytem's deficit was \$88,760 in 2007 and Woodland showed a net income of \$221,341. Montour told me this figure was misleading (28 May 2008). She estimated upcoming building repairs would total up to \$2 million. Woodland's looming repair costs have placed the two centres on equally unstable financial ground.

Each centre, though, has created economic opportunities. Xá:ytem's gift shop has been profitable (Stó:lo Heritage Trust Society 9). Woodland has received revenue from renting space to local aboriginal and non-aboriginal businesses (Montour 28 May 2008). Both centres have encouraged local artists to sell their work at the galleries (Harris; Battel 8 Oct. 2008). Job training has given other workers transferable skills (Froman 20 July 2008; Xá:ytem Information 3). Neither centre has been financially self-sustaining. However, they have provided opportunities that have the potential to grow.

Informing Non-native Tourists

Annual visitors to Woodland Cultural Centre numbered around 13,500 in the 2006-2007 fiscal year. Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre attracted 15,000. This included walk-ins, tour groups and school groups. Both centres had a slight decrease in public tours.

The main attractions for tourists visiting Woodland Cultural Centre were the

museum and gallery. Tourists went to Xá:ytem to see the transformer rock and the pithouses. They also went to watch cultural demonstrations, such as weaving and carving. Both operations could tailor educational programs for visiting groups. Special events throughout the year also drew tourists.

At Woodland, walk-in tourists visited the museum and gallery, enjoyed the exhibits and learned history from an aboriginal point of view. A self-guided tour booklet was available to assist walk-in visitors. The centre assigned cultural interpreters to groups that booked in advance.

However, Woodland's self-guided tours did not include native guides, so their experiences were passive and intellectual. The self-guided tour took between two and three hours to examine the chronological history and exhibits in the museum.

Xá:ytem's admission fees included a guided tour of the visitors' centre, longhouse, pithouses and transformer rock. Tour leaders in the pithouse sang a welcome song in the Stó:lo language. As tourists sat on benches, guides related the Stó:lo story and told how they have lived in the area for thousands of years. The tour leaders explained that cedar and salmon, their most ancient resources, have remained important today in their lives and sacred ceremonies.

Guides led tourists to the transformer rock, a short walk from the pithouses. There, they told them of the three leaders' spirits embedded in the stone. Groups were encouraged to ask questions and touch the rock. The tour concluded in the canoe shed with an artist's demonstration. When I was there, Tom Patterson demonstrated his carving skills. He explained the cultural significance of totem poles and house posts,

related a mythical story connected to a mask and fielded questions. Tourists touched the wood, felt the tools, looked at design drafts and chatted with Patterson.

Woodland's museum successfully corrected historical inaccuracies. The displays carefully explained the political systems, beliefs and values of the native people who lived in the region, as well as of those who came with Joseph Brant after the American Revolution. The self-guided tour booklet was helpful and provided insightful additions to the descriptions in the museum.

However, Woodland could improve its tours if it were to keep guides available to interact with all tourists, self-guided or not. The museum's displays would have more impact and would contribute to a complete understanding of contemporary aboriginal life.

At Xá:ytem, a display in the visitors' centre told the full story of the Stó:lo people, starting before European contact. Interpretive guides discussed historical inaccuracies and filled in gaps in tourists' knowledge. However, the exhibits were not prominent. If the centre's displays were featured more strongly, this would add to the guided experience. Publication of a self-guided tour booklet like Woodland's could help attract tourists who didn't want to take the tour in the future.

The sessions I saw helped to rupture stereotypes (O'Neil). For example, the guides wore modern clothing rather than feathers and buckskins. They explained past traditions and history, but they were living in the present.

Woodland's museum and gallery have helped tourists appreciate the intellect, complexity and resourcefulness of native people in Canada. Historical events have

followed native communities' perspectives rather than the one-sided inaccuracies in mainstream textbooks. The activities and displays have detailed the regions' complex political systems, values and belief systems.

The exhibits and activities I saw at each centre offered information and experiences that eliminated stereotypes. Woodland's self-guided tour was intellectual and passive, while Xá:ytem's tour was active and thought provoking. However, both centres introduced native realities to non-native tourists.

Woodland and Xá:ytem: Strengths, Weaknesses and Opportunities

The Woodland Cultural Centre's strength was its museum and gallery. The historic and contemporary exhibits were useful and fascinating. But, Woodland's ability to organize events to attract tourists has been a challenge. Tournaments and dance contests must stay true to their cultural roots, but events that proactively welcome both native participants and tourists might attract new business.

Perhaps, the centre could work with local and national tour operators. Together, they could come up with packages to serve tourists as well as local native communities (Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia, *Blueprint Strategy* 41).

Additional promotional campaigns might help. Relations with Six Nations Tourism could be re-examined to build a stronger collaboration that would help stretch marketing dollars. Woodland could explore partnerships with local non-indigenous tourism businesses as well.

The centre has barely broken even and upcoming repairs could put it in the red. Woodland urgently needs new strategies that should include, for example, a professional

fundraiser (Montour 28 May 2008). Higher admission fees could raise revenue for the centre. Xá:ytem's guided tour cost \$12 (Xá:ytem). Woodland might consider charging the same amount, but it would require assessing the cost of guides.

Like Woodland, Xá:ytem has faced financial challenges. It has run at a deficit and depended heavily on grants for survival. Increased tourism could boost revenues. The centre could consider increasing its marketing partnerships with organizations such as the District of Mission and the Mission Regional Chamber of Commerce to promote tourist festivals. Events such as Rivermania or the Fraser Valley Bald Eagle Festival have been popular and potentially could draw even bigger crowds.

Also, niche markets should be tapped. If the centre collaborated with tour operators and customized its programs, it might draw more group tours (Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia, *Blueprint Strategy* 41).

Xá:ytem has delivered a strong heritage experience. Its staff and artisans are assets in the tourism industry, where service and knowledge are paramount. Like Woodland, a strategy to work with package operators could benefit the centre.

The future holds promise, said Battel (3 Nov. 2008). Results from the provincial government's *Visitor Experiences and Profiles Survey*, she said, would be used to create a strategic marketing plan (ibid). Partnerships with Stó:lo Tourism Commission, Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia and Fraser Valley regional districts could evolve, once the survey has provided the specific tourist data.

A small but important immediate fix would be to update the website. In October 2008, its events section presented the Winter Tales program but said nothing about

November's Fraser Valley Bald Eagle Festival. Complete, current listings could encourage tourists to attend.

The gift gallery was a financial bright spot for the centre. It has turned a profit each year. The centre, however, could market the gallery more aggressively, for example, on the Internet, just like other galleries that sell artists' work (Legends).¹ This would increase revenues and help raise the centre's profile.

Xá:ytem is a jewel. If it attracts more tourists and gains a solid financial foundation, it could grow and flourish. Xá:ytem has preserved tradition, instilled pride in its staff and taught non-native people about the Stó:lo Nation. But, the centre still needs to implement a self-sustaining income strategy that focuses on tourists. The centre's strongest human asset, Linnea Battel, has sourced the centre's grants and maintained the operation. However, Battel has planned to retire soon (3 Nov. 2008). The centre has started to search for a replacement with the help of VanCity Credit Union (ibid). This likely would take awhile, Battel said, because her successor, or better yet, her successors, would need to cover more than one job (ibid).

Conclusion

Aboriginal cultural tourism initiatives hold the key to perpetuate and strengthen cultures. Modern ways have eroded native peoples' traditional livelihoods, such as fishing and hunting. Tourism has offered alternate ways to make a living and help preserve traditions.

Controlled from within, aboriginal cultural tourism has aided communities. It has

¹ Legends Santa Fe is a gallery that actively promotes and sells works by native artists on the Internet (Legends).

helped strengthen cultural identity and has countered stereotypes among tourists. Financial stability has been more elusive. Tourism ventures have provided jobs and economic opportunities, however, the centres have depended heavily on government grants.

Shrinking government dollars have meant organizations must find alternative methods to attract revenue. This will not be an easy problem to solve. Strategic business plans, the hiring of fundraisers, corporate partnerships and fair admission fees could help.

Cultural tourism has communicated native peoples' perspectives. They have addressed the inaccuracies of colonialist history and have provided tourists with information about politics, beliefs and value systems.

Historically, tourism has capitalized on otherness. Travelers in Canada, starting with adventurers at the turn of the 20th century, have been attracted to the exotic and unfamiliar. Modern tourism, operated by native people, has used this to its advantage. Operators have been able to draw visitors and share their traditions in an appropriate manner.

The examples in this paper have suggested that aboriginal cultural tourism has benefited not only aboriginal communities, but all Canada.

Once these ventures have addressed their economic issues, they have the potential to thrive. Most importantly, they can change national attitudes and help put all Canadians on an equal footing.

APPENDIX I

Aboriginal Tourism Media Stories, A-F

A)

The Globe and Mail, Toronto, Ont: 27 Sept. 1997. Pg F1

Pow Wow (sic) Know-how: Going Native

Culture and the environment are key elements in the many aboriginal tourism projects sprouting in Western Canada. Some have thrived, but others are held back by reserve politics and the cautious approach of mainline tour operators.

By Laszlo Buhasz

Calgary -- ON most weekends this summer, a band of whooping young Indian braves brandishing spears and bows, dressed in buckskin and feathers, galloped bareback over the top of a southern Alberta hill after a small herd of stampeding buffalo.

The thundering spectacles ended when the buffalo were driven into a rodeo arena and the braves circled in a victory lap to celebrate a successful "hunt." It was the final performance in a 90-minute program that included rodeo events and wild-horse racing near Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, a United Nations world heritage site where natives slaughtered buffalo for thousands of years by driving them over a cliff.

The show was operated by Sundance Traditional Tours, owned by Pat Provost, a rodeo-stock contractor and a member of the Blackfoot Nation's Pii-kun-ni tribe on the vast Blood Reserve near Fort MacLeod. It is an example of one of the more creative small tourism enterprises to spring up in Alberta this year. Provost hopes to eventually draw larger groups with expanded attractions that will include bed-and-breakfast accommodation and trail rides.

If Sundance manages to expand and, most important, attract some of the bused-in groups that are the meat and potatoes of western destinations, Provost will have hurdled the toughest barrier faced by aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs in this part of the country.

"Unfortunately, aboriginal tourist attractions in Western Canada are one of our best-kept secrets," says Edmund Oliverio, president of Calgary-based Aboriginal Tourism Authority Inc., a not-for-profit conference organizer and marketing agent for 38 native tourism projects in Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. "The mainstream industry has absolutely no idea what's happening in the aboriginal community."

He says many travellers to the region miss out on the native option.

"In southern Alberta, for example, on practically every weekend from the middle of June to the middle of September there is an Indian cowboy rodeo, powwow, or celebration going on in some native community.

"And, in most cases, the events are free, or for a nominal cost. As truly authentic western attractions, they are among the most accessible and affordable."

He contrasts this to the Calgary Stampede, which attracts hundreds of thousands of visitors annually, offers expensive rodeo tickets for sale almost a year in advance, and features an Indian Village so crowded it's difficult to mingle with the natives.

"The Tsuu T'ina Nation reserve just south of Calgary holds a great powwow the last weekend of each July. You can drive out there with your whole family to see a good rodeo for about \$7, talk with the elders, and experience native culture right up close."

Small, underfunded aboriginal tourism enterprises may be struggling to find their place in the sun, but there's no arguing with the success of others in the West, many of which do not stress native culture.

Examples include the Slave Lake Sawridge Cree, one of the most successful bands in the country, operating The Sawridge Group, a collection of 20 companies that includes five hotels in Alberta and B.C. The Tla-O-Qui-Aht First Nations on Vancouver Island developed the spectacular ocean-front Tin-Wis Resort Lodge on Long Beach near Tofino. Also in Tofino is the House of Himwitsa, a combination restaurant, art gallery and lodge with views of Clayoquot Sound. Native-operated Quaaout Lodge is a beautiful and popular resort on B.C.'s Little Shuswap Lake. Banff's Luxton Museum of the Plains Indians, operated by the native Buffalo Nations Cultural Society, is popular with visitors, as is a heavily attended Tribal Days fund-raiser for the museum held in late August at the Rafter Six Ranch Resort west of Calgary. In southern Saskatchewan, the White Bear First Nations has put together a first-class, multi-million-dollar vacation destination that includes a casino, lodge, golf course, cultural camps and a range of family-oriented outdoor activities near Moose Mountain Provincial Park.

While the notable successes have moved smoothly into the ranks of mainstream tourism, the fate of some small and mid-sized enterprises have been complicated by reserve politics and rivalries.

Frustrated by his inability to get band financing for his wild-horse show and buffalo chase near Head-Smashed-In, for example, Pat Provost and his family decided to start Sundance Tours on their own, buying 10 yearling buffalo, training 25 young riders, leasing the land for their show, and hiring a Granum firm to help with the marketing.

"The political process," he says quietly, "is a tough thing to handle. I guess they just didn't think I could make it work." Others suggest that he also may not have had the right

family connections to secure funding for a risky venture.

On the Stony Reserve west of Calgary, Nakoda Lodge is a 50-room wood-and-stone structure, with a separate conference centre and banquet hall that opened in 1981. It's nestled in a postcard setting on the eastern shore of Chief Hector Lake near Banff, and many thought it would become the core of a tourism showcase.

"You'd think that by now it would be a gem," said Oliverio. "Geographically, it's been blessed with that beautiful lake, the mountains, the foothills and its proximity to Calgary.

"A multi-million dollar venture like that should have been expanded to twice the size by now."

On a sunny mid-week afternoon this summer, the lodge, conference facility and dining hall appeared deserted. At the height of the tourist season, when most comparable accommodations nearby were booked to near capacity, it had a dusty, disused air about it. Many believe the lodge's appeal has been hurt by a storm of controversy around calls for an inquiry into the reserve's substandard social conditions and accusations of financial corruption. The reserve has about 3,300 residents but, despite \$50-million in revenues last year in federal tax dollars and gas royalties, the Stony tribal council is facing a \$5.6-million deficit.

Some industry observers say projects initiated by individuals, or a particular chief and his councillors, can face neglect and even abuse when a rival chief and his own group of supporters are elected.

Oliverio tells a story about a person on a nearby reserve who came up with an idea for a small tourist rodeo.

"He went to the band council for support and they gave him about \$900. Then, during the weeks leading up to the event, the chief asked for free tickets for himself and his family. Band councillors also wanted free tickets. At the rodeo, they all wanted the best seats, free hot dogs and soft drinks. By the time the organizer got through with the show, he ended up losing about \$900. Next time, he plans to go it alone."

The biggest hurdle facing native tourism operators is establishing stable, professionally presented attractions that will appeal to mainstream tour operators.

"Major airlines and tour operators in Canada have been hesitant to deal with aboriginal tourism," says Oliverio. "Often there haven't been strong assurances about the stability of attractions. Tour operators spend a lot of money organizing and promoting their trips as much as a year ahead. If they see an exciting product this year, they need to know that it will be available, and professionally mounted, the next season before they commit to bringing in the buses."

Larry Gale, Brewster Transport Company's general manager for sales, agrees.

Banff-based Brewster is one of the largest tour companies in Western Canada, with branch operations across the country. It "touches," says Gale, on some aspect of travel for almost a million tourists each year through 1,500 organized group trips and the arranging of as many as 50,000 independent-travel itineraries. About 60 per cent of their customers are Asians, who expect a high degree of organization.

"Personally, I have a great passion for the native cultures of Western Canada," said Gale. "but we have to help them prepare the right products for the right price. Everyone wants to buy into it, but right now it's a difficult sell."

For an aboriginal product to fit into the typical seven- and 14-day tour itineraries, he said, it has to be of consistent quality, be available every day of the season, fit into the rest of the program's route, and be priced to allow organizers a decent return on investment.

Other industry experts stress that there is a tremendous emphasis on timeliness and reliability, especially in the European market where there are tough legal guarantees to ensure that a tourism product lives up to its advertisement.

"Everyone [in the Western tour industry] would love to see [an operator] be the hero and take the lead in really promoting aboriginal tourist attractions," said Gale. "Maybe we'll be the hero."

Despite the problems, many are convinced the aboriginal tourism industry, not just in the West but all of Canada, holds tremendous potential for sustainable income and is simply going through the same growing pains faced by the mainstream sector 40 or 50 years ago.

"We're trying to show the bands that tourism can be a tremendous kickstart to their local economy," says Oliverio. "In the summer it can employ a lot of their people. Unlike other ventures they are getting into, such as oil and gas, where they have to send their people off to college for three or four years of training, tourism training is less intensive and doesn't require as much infrastructure. You can put up a tepee village and interpretive centre, or organize guided nature walks for relatively little money."

Dr. Claudia Notzke, an assistant professor in the faculty of management at the University of Lethbridge, is not convinced it's as simple as that.

Notzke, who teaches a course called "business enterprises and self-governing systems of Indians, Inuit and Metis," says there are a lot of programs at universities and colleges that can teach natives how to run a hotel or deal with tourists, but few about the nature of the tourism "beast."

"It's a volatile industry that can easily get out of hand and assume a life of its own," she

said. "You really need to know what you're getting into, particularly with aboriginal tourism where so much of the focus is on culture and the environment. Both are fragile resources. It's not something you want to rush into."

Notzke, who is researching the development of aboriginal tourism in Canada for a book, says native groups, and individuals who don't educate themselves about the industry in general, sometimes view tourism as a panacea to solve all their economic problems.

"It's very important that, if [native groups] do get into tourism, they consider it as only one aspect of their overall economic strategy. It is seasonal, and is not always a stable market."

At the national level, the federal government recognized native culture's importance to Canada's appeal three years ago with the creation of an Aboriginal Program within the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC).

The program has focused most of its energy and \$1.4-million annual budget, around a theme called "Live the Legacy," which promotes aboriginal cultural attractions. Last May at Rendez-vous Canada 1997, the country's largest travel trade show, the aboriginal tourism theme headlined Canada's travel products. The program has also published *Live the Legacy: A Guide to the Aboriginal Experience in Canada*, a glossy, full-colour directory of 133 "exportable" native attractions with significant cultural content across the provinces and territories. The guide, which has already been distributed to about 45,000 travel agents, tour operators and wholesalers in Europe, is now available in English and French and should be translated into German and Italian by October.

Sebastian Ieria, who has managed the CTC's aboriginal program since it was started as a pilot project, says the main thrust of the program has been to raise awareness about the wealth of Canada's aboriginal culture.

"What we've done during the last three years is plant the seeds," said Ieria. "But we have to maintain the momentum, keep the ball rolling."

Ieria believes that if aggressive marketing is continued in Canada's traditional European markets, and if development training continues to increase the number of dependable attractions, "aboriginal tourism can become the icon of Canadian offerings" within the next decade.

This year, for the first time, an attempt is being made to finally pull together the bewildering array of government, industry and professional bodies involved with native enterprises. Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada (ATTC), will be a standing committee of representatives from private and government organizations with a mandate to develop and market aboriginal tourism. Core funding for ATTC is coming from Aboriginal Business Canada, a division of Industry Canada, and its projects will be paid for by

Indian and Northern Affairs. Based in Ottawa, it is expected to be operational by January. While its budget has not yet been made public, a search is under way for a general manager.

Aside from marketing, ATTC's mandate will include collecting a national inventory of aboriginal tourism businesses, forging a national strategy for developing aboriginal tourism products, and coming up with an accreditation system based on cultural content.

Joe van Koeverden, Tourism and Trade Co-ordinator for Aboriginal Business Canada, says authentic cultural content is especially important in the European market.

"About 77 per cent of German visitors to Canada, for example, express interest in seeing at least some aspect of aboriginal culture during their vacation," he said.

Barry Parker, former president of the now-defunct Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association, says efforts to focus the development and marketing strategy of various government and private organizations is a golden opportunity.

"Many sectors of the native industry have been working in isolation in different political jurisdictions and we haven't been making the best use of our resources," said Parker, who is now a consultant.

"The effective marketing of the aboriginal component can really enhance the entire Canadian tourism product. Other countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, have recognized, and have benefitted from, the aboriginal tourism sector," said Parker.

"We have tremendous potential to do the same."

He estimates there are about 2,000 aboriginal tourism operations in Canada, ranging from seasonal fishing camps to sophisticated year-round resorts.

"They generate about \$250-million a year in revenue, and at least one study indicates the potential market is three times as large."

Parker agrees with Ieria that a major challenge is the development of international "brand recognition" in the marketing of the aboriginal sector's cultural content. This, he admits, is a difficult task considering the diversity of Canada's aboriginal communities. "But we're not out there to sell and exploit those cultures, just to share them with respect."

Parker predicted that an emerging issue will be how the marketing-budget pie should be divided. Of the CTC's \$66.8-million "core budget," only about \$5-million is spent on domestic promotion, and only a fraction of that is allocated to aboriginal tourism.

"It's sexier to market internationally," said Parker, "and the thinking has been that

Canadians wouldn't understand if more of their tax dollars were used to sell them on their own attractions."

"We have a fantastic country, yet many Canadians are not aware of the wealth of aboriginal culture and attractions available in their own back yard. That's a debate we haven't had yet."

IF YOU GO Sampling of native enterprises. Contacts:

Tin-Wis Resort Lodge (managed by Best Western), 1119 Pacific Rim Highway, Tofino, Vancouver Island, B.C.; phone (604) 725-4445 or toll-free direct (800) 661-9995, or Best Western at (800) 528-1234; fax (604) 725-4447.

House of Himwitsa, P.O. Box 176, 300 Main Street, Tofino, B.C. V0R 2Z0; phone (800) 899-1974 or (604) 725-2017; fax (604) 725-2361.

Quaaout Lodge on Little Shuswap Lake, P.O. Box 1215, Chase, B.C. V0E 1M0; phone (250) 679-3090 or toll-free for reservations (800) 663-4303; fax (250) 679-3039

Aboriginal events in B.C. include the Squamish Nation Pow Wow, North Vancouver (beginning of August), phone (604) 980-4553; the Squamish Nation also has annual war canoe races (usually in early July) in conjunction with the North Vancouver Canoe Club, phone (604) 980-4553; Vancouver Aboriginal Friendship Centre holds an annual Aboriginal Cultural Festival in September at the Pacific Coliseum, phone (604) 251-4844.

West-coast based, native-owned outdoor adventure companies include See-Quest Adventures, Box 115, Waglisla, B.C. V0T 1Z0, phone (250) 957-2611 or toll-free (888) 905-2611; and Wild Spirit Wilderness Adventures Ltd., P.O. Box 2825 Vancouver, B.C. V6B 4A6, phone (604) 874-3782 or toll-free (888) 945-3774, E-mail: wildspir@intergate.bc.ca .

Sundance Traditional Tours, Pat or Jenny Provost, Box 2258, Fort Macleod, Alta., T0L 0Z0; phone (403) 965-2156, or (403) 737-2834.

Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, Box 1977, Fort Macleod, Alta., T0L 0Z0, phone: (403) 553-2731

Luxton Museum of the Plains Indian, Box 850, One Birch Avenue, Banff, Alta., T0L 0C0; phone (403) 762-2388; fax (403) 760-2803; E-mail: luxton@agt.net . Tribal Days will be held at the Rafter Six Ranch in 1988 on Aug. 23. For information, call (403) 760-2892. For tickets, call Travel Alberta (800) 661-8888, or Ticketmaster (403) 777-0000. For reservations at Rafter Six Ranch, call (888) 26RANCH.

Tsuu T'ina Nation Tourism office phone (403) 974-1400, reservation museum (403) 238-2677.

Nakoda Lodge, Box 149, Morley, Alta., T0L 1N0; phone (403) 881-3949 or (403) 881-3951; fax (403) 881-3901.

White Bear Tourism, P.O. Box 1258, Carlyle, Sask., S0C 0R0; phone (306) 577-4943 or (888) 577-4943.

Information:

Canadian Tourism Commission, Aboriginal Program, 235 Queen Street, 4th Floor, East Tower, Ottawa, Ont. K1A 0H6; phone (613) 954-3815.

Information on tourism in all provinces and territories is available on the Canadian Tourism Commission's web page: <http://www.ic.gc.ca:80/Tourism/Canada> .

Aboriginal Business Canada, 1st Floor, West Tower, 235 Queen Street, Ottawa, Ont. K1A 0H5; web site: <http://www.vli.ca/abc> .

Aboriginal Tourism Authority Inc. at P.O. Box 1240, Station M, Calgary, Alta., T2P 2L2; phone (403) 261-3022, fax (403) 261-5676, E-mail: oliverio@istar.ca; web site: <http://www.aboriginalnet.com> .

The Aboriginal Tourism Network of Ontario offers a number of conventional as well as educational, cultural vacations and special-interest vacations such as holistic healing and spiritual cleansing. Their Web site is: www.atno.org/ .

All material copyright Bell Globemedia Publishing Inc. or its licensors. All rights reserved.

B)

National Post. Don Mills, Ont.: 6 Nov. 1999. Pg B1 FRO

“Pouring Dollars Down the Porta-Potty: Half the native businesses either missing or dead”; [National Edition]

By Stewart Bell

At a ribbon-cutting ceremony on Akwesasne territory last week, Mohawk leaders officially opened Turtle Island Coffee, a new tribal business venture they hope will lead to franchises across Canada and help invigorate the economy on the southeast Ontario Indian reserve.

The coffee shop, which will roast its own beans imported from indigenous people in Guatemala and sell coffee and pastries in a cafe decorated with Mohawk art, was financed by Aboriginal Business Canada, a federal program that gives away money to help natives become entrepreneurs.

In the past three years, the Industry Canada program, funded by taxpayers and overseen by an Alberta Indian chief, has poured more than \$100-million into native-run companies such as Turtle Island, but the results have been mixed at best.

Although the federal government has boasted of the program's "history of success," the *National Post* took a closer look at some of the ventures in Ontario. Records released under the Access to Information Act show that many of the business ventures had collapsed, or at any rate no longer existed, and some had never even been started.

The program has, in truth, financed a string of flops. Not untypical was a portable toilet-rental company that went under shortly after receiving tens of thousands of dollars in federal assistance. The government also picked up the bill for a powwow and a tulip festival, and it provided funding to native companies that, despite their pleas for government assistance, were able to contribute as much as \$1,700 to the Liberal Party.

Comparable data for the rest of Canada have not yet been released. But if Ontario is any guide, Aboriginal Business Canada has poured money into native-run companies that failed to produce any long-term benefits. On the plus side, some of the companies may have created jobs. No all of them lasted.

"I'm on welfare right now and I'm trying to figure out what I want to do next," said Clyde Dalton, who received a \$1,500 grant to finance a business plan to buy a car wash but never went through with it.

The Kapuskasing, Ont., man said he backed out of the deal at the last minute because he

became suspicious after the man he was to buy it from wouldn't show him the accounting books. Now he says he wants to apply for more money to buy a truck to haul logs.

"I was talking to my uncle. He says I don't need my trucker's licence, I just buy a truck, hire someone else to drive it. I'll still make money. ... I'll do the native aboriginal thing again and see about getting a log truck, a used log truck for about \$5,000."

Likewise, a bowling alley, a pool hall, an organic ginseng farm, a rice factory, a car rental company, a laundromat, a fast-food outlet, a trucking firm and a host of other enterprises financed through the program are not in business. A number of others had no telephone listings and could not be found, suggesting that they too are defunct.

Another program that handed out money to business, called the Transitional Jobs Fund, has been the subject of extensive debate, focusing on the money given out in the Quebec riding of Jean Chretien, the Prime Minister. But there has been scant attention paid to a similar program for aboriginals only.

Formed in 1989 to develop "an economy based on traditional aboriginal values, led and managed by aboriginal entrepreneurs and managers," Aboriginal Business Canada claims to have provided financing to 3,500 "projects" across Canada since 1996 totalling more than \$100-million.

But these numbers overstate the true picture. A single business can be counted a half-dozen times on the list of "projects" -- once for each lump of money handed over. Travel, conferences and school field trips are also counted as "projects." The number also includes funding to Indian bands to, for example, start a school-busing service, as well as money for seasonal summer jobs for students.

By the time these are taken out, it leaves only a handful of actual businesses that receive assistance -- no more than a few hundred in Ontario in the 1996-97 fiscal year. Of those, the Post examined a sample of 35 companies and confirmed that 12 were out of business, while another eight had no telephone listings and couldn't otherwise be found. In other words, more than half are either missing or confirmed dead.

"I don't know really what happened with that," a spokesman for the Sheguiandah First Nation said when asked what happened to the "bowling centre" it received \$11,250 to open in 1996. "There's no bowling centre."

Similarly, a pool hall in Hearst, Ont., that records show received approval for \$27,000 in program financing was behind the eight ball. "They went out of business a long time ago," said a receptionist at the local band office.

Asked why so many of the businesses have not survived, Joanne Spanton, the manager of program relations at Aboriginal Business Canada, said her data showed that 95% of the

projects had been successfully completed. "So it's a fairly high rate of where things go and get implemented as they should," she said. "I don't know how that can be explained and whether that was an exception or something, because we certainly have lots of clients, and more coming in the front door."

Aboriginal companies already enjoy advantages that should give them a competitive edge in the business world. If they operate on a reserve, employees don't pay income taxes and native customers don't pay sales taxes. They also have preferential access to federal government contracts. And while eligible for all the other business programs available to Canadians, they have an additional taxpayer-funded program of their own.

The Canadian Taxpayers Federation opposes the "race-based" business program. "It's taking money from successful businesses and giving it to businesses that are not always necessarily going to be successful," said Mitchel Gray, the federation's Alberta director. "The government is choosing winners and losers, and they don't have a very good track record at that."

One such loser was Dew Mar Toilet Rentals. Incorporated on Dec. 4, 1996, in Deseronto, Ont., the company got approval that fiscal year for \$4,125 in federal assistance to put together a business plan. Ottawa also agreed to finance \$87,000 of the \$135,000 capital costs, government records show.

But the company was already foundering the following month, when the Royal Bank placed a lien on its assets. A second lien came in March and Dew Mar eventually collapsed. "He wasn't servicing the customers," said one competitor. Bob's Portable Toilet Rentals, a company in nearby Shannonville, bought the federally financed port-a-potties from the bank.

A spokesman for the aboriginal business program said federal financing for Dew Mar actually equalled \$7,500 initially and then another \$75,000 -- the maximum amount that does not have to be paid back. She said privacy rules prevent her from disclosing whether the company repaid the government money.

The aboriginal business program approved financing for 1,075 "projects" totalling \$33-million in 1996-1997, \$36-million for 1,257 projects in 1997-1998 and \$31-million in 1998-1999 for 1,242 projects. Some financing was as much as \$1.2-billion, but most businesses received much smaller amounts, handed over to individuals to pay for ventures such as trucking services, car washes or stereos for a disc-jockey service.

Some of the largest grants went to Liberal campaign supporters. The Metis National Council Secretariat Inc. donated \$100 to the Liberals in 1997 and \$1,655.99 in 1998. At about the same time the council received \$50,000 for a Web site, \$22,000 for a youth Web site and \$9,200 for a "youth entrepreneur banquet." The following year, the council got \$186,000 for "economic development planning" and \$7,600 for another "youth

entrepreneur banquet."

The National Association of Friendship Centres donated \$710 to the Liberals in 1998, the same year it received \$54,000 in federal funding under the aboriginal business program to hold a focus group to examine "youth access" and \$35,000 to host a "national youth business advisory committee." Three other companies that received significant financing through the program also made donations to the Liberal Party, according to Elections Canada.

A large chunk of the money was paid not to launch businesses but for grants to aboriginal-rights groups such as the Assembly of First Nations and the Union of Ontario Indians and frills such as conferences and awards dinners, including:

- \$20,000 "to organize field trips for aboriginal students."
- \$200,000 to "produce 1997 national aboriginal achievement award."
- \$42,400 for the Inuit Broadcasting Corp.'s "participation to the Tulip Festival."
- \$50,000 for "marketing" the 1998 Sky Dome Pow Wow.

The program is overseen by the National Aboriginal Economic Development Board, which is chaired by Roy Whitney, chief of the Tsuu T'ina First Nation in Alberta and a former Liberal candidate. (Mr. Whitney was in the news last year after a former band councillor wrote to Jane Stewart, then Indian affairs minister, alleging financial mismanagement on the Tsuu T'ina reserve. Mr. Whitney responded with a defamation suit.)

The board gives priority to proposals that have "broader community benefit" and involve market expansion, tourism, innovation and youth. Money is also available for economic research and advocacy. Clients are supposed to be "fully involved in a management capacity on a year-round basis."

A study released by the government in 1996 concluded the program, then in its seventh year, was highly successful: "After one to five years of operation, 71.9% of assisted businesses remain active. Projects assisted by ABC have led to the establishment of a large number of jobs. The vast majority of these jobs has been filled by aboriginal people, many of them youth." But that means almost a third of the government-financed businesses had failed.

A more recent study conducted by Statistics Canada found entrepreneurial activity among aboriginal people had increased 170% between 1981 and 1996, although the unemployment rate among aboriginal people was 24% in 1996 compared to 10.1% for the general Canadian population. Average incomes were also lower for aboriginal people

at \$17,382 in 1995, compared to the Canadian average of \$26,474.

"Independent studies into the performance of the program's past clients show they are running profitable enterprises," Industry Canada says in its promotional material.

In April, the federal government announced it would spend \$20- million on an Aboriginal Business Development Initiative. The sum is in addition to the roughly \$30-million a year already spent on native businesses.

Rosa John hopes soon to be among the successes. The bank employee from Wallaceburg, Ont., bought a laundromat next door to her office, after using \$5,625 in 1996 to develop a plan, then another \$44,634 to help buy new washing machines.

Three years later, the business still isn't making money, but she's optimistic. "It's hanging in there ... I don't know how it'll work but we've met our commitments so that money will become part of our ownership." She has kept her bank job.

She said Aboriginal Business Canada offers a "good program. Their success rate is pretty good because they do offer after-care if they need it. We didn't need it but a lot of people don't have the management skills. They have the business sense. They know how to build the thing."

Anthony Towedo hasn't done so well. After receiving \$6,750 in 1996 to start a business selling funeral caskets with traditional native designs, he couldn't come up with the capital to make it work. "I'm still looking for funding. It's a good project though. You could have a lot of jobs all over."

Greg Sarazin, chief negotiator for Algonquin land claim, got \$5,700 in 1997 to develop a business plan for a wild-rice processing facility, but it didn't go ahead either. "My proposal hasn't been successful," he said. "I did a business plan and I began the preliminary steps on it and ... I had to set that aside for now. I needed the capital and there was a couple of other conditions that were difficult. It doesn't mean that it's dead forever, it means that I've had to back off on it and shelve it for now."

Victor Mitchell of Moosonee, Ont., got \$3,750 in 1996 to set up a car-rental company. "It's still on the table," he said. "I did the funding part, I'm just doing the survey part. I've been working full- time so I've been trying to keep in touch with it and hopefully get it going one of these days."

The program financed a \$6,188 study for a laundromat in Sault Ste. Marie, but it didn't go ahead because there was no water where it was to be located on the reserve.

Likewise, Roy Decaire's organic ginseng farm, financed with \$81,750 in aboriginal business funds, didn't make it, although Mr. Decaire said all the money has been repaid.

"We kind of went out of that business," said Mr. Decaire, now a financial planner.

A Wiarton, Ont., computer and office-supply company that, according to documents, received financing totalling \$9,413 for a business plan and \$13,770 for "marketing computer equipment and office supplies" is not currently operating.

Wendel Nadjiwan said he had to shut it down, for now, because he ran out of capital and has no equity for a bank loan. "It was quite a good business," he said. "It had to go to sleep for a while but I have every confidence that it will be back. Programs, they're kind of made to fail." What are needed instead are nation-to-nation trade agreements between Ottawa and Indian bands.

Despite the series of government-financed failures, Turtle Island Coffee may actually have a chance. Unlike many such proposals, it has the backing of a tribal council, as well as a large potential market of band offices, reserve schools and businesses.

Taxpayers spent \$20,000 to send the Mohawks of Akwesasne on a "project-scoping mission" to South America to make the initial business contacts that led to the business, and another \$61,600 for capital and marketing.

"The idea behind this cafe is eventually to become a franchise for other First Nations," said Vaughn Sunday, director of economic development for the Mohawks. The coffee shop can be customized depending on its location, so that a franchise on Cree land would feature Cree art works. "We're just in the final stages so we're all fairly pleased and excited."

WHERE THE MONEY WENT

The Aboriginal Business Canada program has spent more than \$100- million in the past three years helping companies run by Indians, Inuit and Metis. Here's where some of it went:

Organization Project Cost

Aboriginal Business Network Develop Web site \$80,800

Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada Various expenses, including a workshop and a trip to Germany \$824,020

Assembly of First Nations "Establish a chiefs' committee on economic development" \$40,000

Canadian Aboriginal Festival "Marketing: SkyDome Pow Wow 1998" \$50,000

Canadian Council for Aboriginal "Coordinate economic renewal "

Business conference \$50,000

Kanata Traditional Village Inc. "Iroquois village and interpretive centre" \$270,959

Lake Superior First Nations Various projects including a youth

Development Trust conference and trip to Denver \$605,158

Manitou Mounds Foundation "Establish cultural/historical centre" \$325,500

Metis National Council "Metis rights conference" \$25,000

Metis National Council Various, including "economic

Secretariat Inc development planning" \$274,435

Mohawk International Lacrosse "Expand: Mohawk

National Aboriginal international lacrosse" \$25,000

Achievement Foundation Awards and career fairs \$545,000

National Association of Friendship Youth workshops \$246,619

Centres 3426084 Canada Ltd. "Tourism video" \$59,760

(Copyright National Post 1999)

C)

Maclean's. Toronto: Sept. 3 2007. Pg. 27-28**"An Aboriginal 'Glasnost': Fewer handouts, less social aid: a radical fix for native woes"**

By Nancy MacDonald

There is no housing shortage on the 13,000-hectare Osoyoos reserve, tucked deep in B.C.'s bone-dry interior. Nor are there any apparent signs of poverty. In fact, some of the fanciest facilities in this corner of the Okanagan Valley are on band land. The Osoyoos Indian Band's school and health centre are more architecturally advanced than anything in neighbouring Oliver or Osoyoos—a tourist town that swells from 5,000 to 20,000 during summer. And the adobe-style Spirit Ridge resort, perched high above Lake Osoyoos, offers the best views, by far, of desert and turquoise waters. They've even got the best public art: massive metal sculptures by U.S. artist Virgil "Smoker" Marchand. Truly, the 440-member band puts the surrounding towns to shame—a cheerful inversion of the Canadian standard.

Blame it on the chief. When Clarence Louie was first elected in 1984, at age 24, the Osoyoos were bankrupt. Like most native bands, they were marooned on marginal land, and crippled by welfare dependency and sky-high unemployment. Health problems as well as social pathologies—corruption, violence—were rampant. Two decades on, the tiny band is a regional powerhouse, pumping an annual \$40 million into the B.C. economy. It owns nine businesses, including an award-winning winery, and is the biggest employer in the south Okanagan. And its tough-talking chief and CEO is fast becoming a national icon. "We're no longer the ghetto next door," says Louie, 47, nodding toward two non-native women sweeping the Nk'Mip winery's brick patio.

"Across the country, Aboriginal leaders know: if you want to start a development project, you go pay Chief Louie a visit," says Liberal-era Indian affairs minister Bob Nault, who is still firmly plugged into the Aboriginal community. "He probably gets more phone calls than any native leader in the country."

Louie spends one week of every month on the road, preaching the business gospel to mixed audiences. On this day, there are 50 speaking invites piled on the desk of his woodpanelled office in the band's modest corporate headquarters, near Oliver. "I don't give the usual Indian speech: that we fly with the eagles, run with the buffalo, swim with the salmon and beat with one heartbeat," he says. "I want to talk about creating jobs and making money." Blaming government? That time is over, he tells cross-country audiences. Join the real world. Get off welfare. Quit your sniffing. If your life sucks it's because you suck. Our ancestors worked for a living; so should you. To the irritation of some band members, diluted versions of these mantras—such as "Real Warriors Hold A Job!"—are posted on burgundy-and-white signs across the reserve. Louie is a provocateur;

he lives to offend.

But there is a broader verse here. Louie is part of an emerging group of distinguished Aboriginals and native leaders who are advocating a complete native mind shift. Echoing the critic and wit H. L. Mencken, these dissenters, who include Patrick Brazeau, national chief of the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, and Vancouver lawyer and businessperson Calvin Helin, argue that economic independence is the only freedom worth a damn. They call for an end to the system of federal dependency that has crippled Aboriginal peoples, and advocate progress through integration into the mainstream economy.

Helin, for one, calls for an Aboriginal "glasnost," after the policy of openness and freer information initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in late-Soviet Russia. To Helin, a Tsimshian raised in the coastal village of Lax Kw'alaams and educated in Victoria and the Lower Mainland, nothing should be off-bounds. Aboriginal self-governance? "Meaningless," he says, so long as it is federally funded. The timing is right: Helin sees a crisis on the horizon. The Aboriginal population is growing seven times as fast as the mainstream population. Meanwhile, the Métis are winning court challenges that establish the same rights and benefits as status Indians. He says Canada can't sustain the current level of funding to the growing Aboriginal population at a time when a third of the Canadian population is set to retire; there has to be another way.

The Osoyoos present a shining alternative. From the start, Louie's kept eyes trained on the bottom line. His first major success came early, when he turned around the band's small but heavily indebted vineyard. For a year, Louie let the operation bleed while he quietly analyzed it. He pinpointed its structural flaws, fired its ineffectual manager, and in 1986, the winery announced its first profit. In 1987, as the vineyard doled out its first round of employee benefits, Louie launched a construction company. Ten years later, the Osoyoos were rolling out the big-ticket businesses: a \$30-million hillside resort; a \$9-million cultural centre, which offers rattlesnake interpretive sessions and hiking trails through the hills; a \$3-million destination winery overlooking Osoyoos Lake; a golf course and a ready-mix concrete plant. (The band has also partnered in the Mount Baldy ski development, and its 400-hectare vineyards supply grapes to vintners such as Jackson-Triggs and Mission Hill.) "It would have been easier to do what a lot of bands do, and just chase federal government grant programs," says Louie. It's tougher running businesses. But we're going from welfare to work."

Not all bands are located on tourist tracks like Napa North. Still, a quarter of First Nations should be pursuing his strategy, says Louie. "Some oil-money bands bring in tens of millions in royalties. But their people are sitting at Great Depression unemployment rates, year after year." Instead of doling out billions in "negative spending"- on jails, alcohol treatment centres, healing lodges- we have to get the economic wheel turning, he says.

Two years ago, Louie made it to an Assembly of First Nations meeting, his first in 20 years as chief. "I only went because it was the first time the grand chief was hosting a

conference on economic development. Every year, \$9 billion is spent on Aboriginals. Two per cent of that goes toward economic development. The rest goes to social spending. That's been the formula for 100 years. Where has that gotten us? Absolute poverty."

Helin would agree. In *Dances with Dependency*, a book he published last year, he blasts the so-called Indian industry, the lawyers, consultants and government bureaucrats who prosper from Aboriginal misery. But his real venom is reserved for native chiefs. He alleges a great many aren't interested in anything but keeping the federal gravy train rolling. "Right now, all the chiefs ask is: who are we going to blame for this? That's not a solution. At this stage of the game the useful question is: what are you going to do about it?"

To Patrick Brazeau, it is a problem of "too many" chiefs. He argues that Canada's 633 native communities should be slashed to 60. The Indian Act? Scrapped, and the \$9 billion in annual Aboriginal spending redirected. Right now, the lion's share is funnelled to onreserve natives; meanwhile, 51 per cent of status Indians live off-reserve. Brazeau backs the Tories- remarkable for a native leader. Since becoming national chief of CAP in 2006, the 32-year-old has been stepping on some toes. "In Ottawa there's only one Aboriginal organization that means anything," says Nault. "Patrick Brazeau is changing that."

He is a thorn in the side of Phil Fontaine, grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations. The two organizations have been at loggerheads since 2001, when CAP supported the controversial First Nations governance bill, which would have required bands to adopt minimum standards of accountability, such as holding regular elections and publishing financial records. The split deepened in 2005, when CAP opposed the failed Kelowna accord because accountability structures weren't built into the \$5-billion deal.

"We need that governance act reintroduced," Don Sandberg, Aboriginal policy fellow for the Frontier Centre for Public Policy, says from remote Saskatchewan. He is partway through a two-year Aboriginal governance survey for the Winnipeg-based think tank. A Canadian first, it's not winning him friends. In July, he was ordered off the St. Theresa Point First Nation, a 3,000-member northern Manitoba community. Sandberg says its chief, who functions as band mayor, police chief, judge and jury, didn't like his line of inquiry. This is not the first time Sandberg has felt the strong arm of a chief. Ten years ago he was thrown off his home reserve, the Norway House Cree Nation, for speaking out against the dysfunction and corruption he witnessed. He has no rights in Norway House; he cannot access social services, or vote.

For a long time, he was just a voice in the wilderness. No more. "The mavericks are coming at this from different angles, but they're all saying the same thing: the status quo isn't going to get them anywhere," says Nault. "And they're right."

(Copyright Rogers Publishing Limited Sep 3, 2007)

D)

***Canadian Geographic*. Ottawa: Jul/Aug 2004. Vol 124. Iss.4; Pg. 54
"Rhythm of Nations"**

Families meet up on the powwow trail under the spell of drum and dance

By Drew Hayden Taylor

ON MY WALL is a photograph of a man at a powwow. He is dressed in traditional Ojibwa regalia, including an impressive feathered bustle on his back, a leather vest and breechcloth and a multicoloured roach and a multicoloured roach adorning his head. He looks quite magnificent, proud and utterly aboriginal. In his hand is a can of Pepsi, and he's also wearing some pretty cool sunglasses. I bet his stomach is full of Indian tacos that he chewed with the non-native fillings in his teeth. He is a contemporary powwow dancer, with a moccasined foot in two worlds.

The powwow. It is fabulous and fattening, and every weekend in the spring, summer and fall, somewhere in this country, there are a couple happening. In my travels, I've been privileged to see powwows from the Okanagan to the Ottawa valleys, from Oklahoma to the halls of Yale University. Every one is different, yet each is familiar. That is the nature of powwows. Some might argue it's a state of mind. When I was growing up on my reserve, Curve Lake First Nation, two hours northeast of Toronto, the highlight of every summer was the powwow. And the highlight of every powwow was the challenge of sneaking into the grounds without paying the entrance fee. Summers were boring on the reserve.

Once inside, we would eat ourselves silly - all the fried foods an eight-year-old tummy could hold. There was nothing more exciting than comparing the hamburgers from three different tribal nations and, of course, watching all the strangers flood into our community. Our reserve practically doubled during the powwow. Visitors came from all over, checking out the arts and crafts and asking, "What kind of dance is that?" Different native people from across the land in gorgeous, bright outfits (do not call them costumes!). That was back in the days of bottled pop, and all of us kids would scour the grounds looking for the precious, empty, returnable bottles that were as good as cash. Today, they're plastic, and many native people are predisposed to diabetes. The times, they have certainly changed.

ON THE POWWOW TRAIL, I've heard many stories and rumours about the origins of powwows. One has it that the birthplace of the modern powwow was Oklahoma, where, during the Depression, hungry and poor Indians managed to scrape up a few meagre dollars by putting on a show for the few tourists who wandered by. Others have suggested the powwow traditionally began before the arrival of the white man, when family groups would meet in spring after the harsh winter. There, they would trade, arrange marriages, celebrate their survival and sing and dance in the warm summer sun. I

think I like that story better.

Today, the reasons First Nations people go to powwows haven't changed all that much. For most of those who are not involved in the actual planning and running of the gatherings, it's essentially a chance to hang out, meet old friends, maybe make some new ones and revitalize their T-shirt collections. And where else can you get a buffalo burger, some corn soup and maybe some deer stew in today's fast-food world? Contrary to popular belief, the vast majority of native people, especially those who live in urban areas, do not stock their refrigerators with wild meat. It is a delicacy for many of us, as it is for most people of European ancestry.

Oddly enough, it seems that the majority of powwow-goers are non-native. Easily one-half to two-thirds of the audience are white, with a sprinkling of African-American, Asian and other bits of humanity. Why they come to powwows is a mystery to me. Is it to look at all the exotic native people? I hope not. To tell you the truth, we're not that exotic. Whenever I'm on the reserve, I watch "Friends" and "Star Trek" while eating potato chips. Maybe they go to watch the dancing and listen to the drumming. I sometimes go for that. Yet I'm fairly sure that many of the people who are interested in native dance seldom go out to see some of their own uniquely cultural dances such as ballet, for instance. Granted, powwow tickets are cheaper, and at the risk of being accused of cultural bias, I would rather see some jingle-dress dancing than a production of Swan Lake (and I work in theatre). But that's because I grew up with this kind of dancing. It's home. It's comforting.

Most powwows in Canada call it a day around 6 p.m. That's what we call "Dinner Time," an aboriginal tradition mired in mystery and ancient teachings. But in Oklahoma, the party doesn't start until 5 p.m. and goes on into the wee hours of the morning. I wondered why these people chose to powwow in the dark until I actually stood in an Oklahoma field at one o'clock in the afternoon. You do not want to be jumping up and down clad in leather and feathers in that hot sun. It would be an awfully short and hazardous powwow.

Whatever powwow you may attend, you can be guaranteed some universal observations. Even if you're at the Gathering of Nations in New Mexico, chances are, you'll bump into someone you know. Maybe even a relative. This is not idle boasting; it is gospel in the native community. You could conceivably see some old girlfriends (or boyfriends) and definitely some potential new ones. You will eat too much. You will browse through the vendors' booths and comment on all the different kinds of dream catchers that are made in the world. You will giggle at all the sunburned white people, until you realize that your arms are beginning to sting. And you will hold your head high, because you are celebrating the culture and spirit of your people.

So regardless of the powwow's origins or its nature, you can expect that practically every Friday and Sunday on this continent we call Turtle Island, indigenous caravans will be making their way from aboriginal community to aboriginal community in search of

summer powwow freedom. The days of the buffalo hunts are long gone, replaced by minivan sojourns. But the spirit lives, as do the power and memory of the dances and drum songs.

As the powwow MC might say, "Ho, that's a good one."

SIDEBAR:

Dusk falls On the powwow grounds at Carry the Kettle, where visitors bunk in their trailers or in teepees set up by the community. The small Nakota (Assiniboine) reserve, about 100 kilometres east of Regina, is the site of one of Canada's oldest powwows. The powwow has been held here every year since at least the early 1900s, says its president Timothy Eashappie. There are probably as many stories about the powwow's origins in North America as there are aboriginal groups. The term "powwow" is a European adaptation of the Algonquian pau wau, meaning "he/she dreams," and alludes to rituals that took place during healing ceremonies. It was also once used to refer to tribal gatherings. By the early 20th century, it was attributed to the music and dance styles of the northern Plains. Many modern powwows have evolved into commercial and competitive events, but at heart, they are still, says Eashappie, an opportunity "to enjoy fellowship among young and old and to bring nations together."

'APOWW IS A PLACE WHERE YOUNG WILL LEARN FROM THE ELDERLY AND THE ELDERLY CAN BECOME YOUNG AGAIN FOR ONE MORE DANCE.'
Bob Boyer, First Nations University of Canada, Regina

(Copyright Canadian Geographic Enterprises Jul/Aug 2004)

E)

***The Toronto Star* Toronto: 6 Sept. 2007. Pg. T01**

**“Hot on the Trail of the Elusive Big Foot;
'My people believe in Sasquatch. We do not require proof because we know he exists' ”**

By Katharine Fletcher, Special to the Star

HARRISON LAKE, B.C. Nepal has the Yeti. Scotland has the Loch Ness Monster. North America has the Sasquatch.

Sightings of these legendary creatures provoke fierce debate. Are they hoaxes, figments of overactive imaginations, culturally based metaphorical symbols or are they real?

Hoping to find an answer, we're sitting in Sasquatch Tours' high-speed jet boat on Harrison Lake, a two-hour drive east of Vancouver. The four-hour tour teaches about Chehalis' culture, highlighting their belief in the elusive Sasquatch, and includes a trip down Harrison River to a group of rare pictograms.

We gaze at the snow-capped, forested mountains ringing the lake while Sasquatch Tours' owner-operator Willie Charlie welcomes us to his Chehalis homeland.

Accompanying himself on a drum, his song reverberates along the 60-kilometre-long lake. It's a blue-sky day, and the drumbeat, songs and mountain views transport us to the realm of magic and mystery.

Setting his drum aside, Charlie says, "Kla-how-eya! Welcome!

"Everything you see is sacred to us: the land, sky, earth and water. Just as sacred are our stories and legends. They connect us all to the beginning of time."

As we approach Stone Island, Charlie introduces us to two transformer stones. Chehalis people believe the rocks were once human beings who fell from grace.

"Sasquatch is a slalocum," Charlie explains. "These supernatural beings can shapeshift into anything. Sasquatch has the ability to walk the two realms, both the physical and spiritual.

"My people believe in Sasquatch. We do not require proof because we know he exists.

"Seeing one is considered a great gift. My brother Kelsey and a companion saw two in 2005: It was an adult and its little one. He watched the adult drinking from the creek and offering water to its young, using its hand."

Referring to their huge (up to 42-centimetre) tracks, Charlie says, "I've seen their footprints but I've never seen a Sasquatch. Because they can transform themselves into anything they want, they can never be caught."

Entering the mouth of the Harrison River, which joins the Fraser River, we near the pictogram site.

"The Transformer Era is over: we lost our ability to shapeshift because of personal greed," says Charlie. "We call this slowah - a lack of respect for the land and people."

With a sweep of his arm, he adds, "Mother Earth is in trauma. If we are to restore a balance, we all need to come together at the same table. Each race of people is different: we all have a gift to share."

Bald eagles soar above us. One plunges into the river, emerging with a salmon. Another suddenly dive-bombs it, making it drop its prey. The aggressor snatches the booty, mid-air, and flaps away. Screaming indignation, the first eagle resumes its search for lunch.

"You should return in salmon spawning season," says Charlie. "Hundreds of eagles congregate to feast here in November. Sasquatch migrate, too, you know. My grandfather said they come from the Oregon coast and travel to the interior - so, we're on the Sasquatch trail."

Berthing the boat on a sandbar, we walk to a rock rising from the earth like a frozen wave, whose crest shelters many red-ochre pictograms.

"This is the largest concentration of paintings we know of," explains Charlie. "Pictograms are the way my people documented things. We are a water-based people so these sites resemble ancient billboards."

We notice several nautilus-shaped spirals.

"This is my people's timeline signifying the interconnectedness of all beings and transformation. We transform ourselves into the spirit world during our ceremonies."

I stand transfixed. There, ahead of me, is a Sasquatch. Clearly delineated as an upright being, the red-smearred stick image depicts the shapeshifter I've been seeking, walking on its two legs, like a human being.

Charlie smiles, nods, but then points to a scar where vandals recently carved a pictogram from the rock.

"This place is sacred, but some individuals don't respect this. That's why my family started Sasquatch Tours, to teach others to protect the land before we lose it all."

Katharine Fletcher is a Quyon, Quebec-based freelance writer. Her trip was subsidized by Aboriginal Tourism B.C.

(Copyright 2007 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.)

F)

Canadian Geographic Ottawa: Sep/Oct. 2006, Vol. 126 Issue 5, Pg 78-86

“Riding the floe edge, dining on caribou eyeballs, waiting for narwhals.”

My week on the land with the unicorn hunters

By Margo Pfeiff

IN THE DINGY stockroom behind Toonoonik-Sahoonik, the co-op store in Pond Inlet, Nunavut, squeezed between pallets of soft drinks and disposable diapers, Chris Mitchell hands me a narwhal skull. Protruding from a heavy chunk of bone are two parallel ivory tusks as long as pool cues. It looks to be the remains of some fantastic prehistoric creature that appeared miraculously from the toe of a receding glacier. Mitchell, the store's general manager at the time, punctures that vision.

"Someone shot it a year or two ago," he shrugs, impatiently twirling keys around his index finger. "Dunno. Twenty-five thousand bucks, and it's yours."

I am not quite sure what to make of Mitchell's blasé attitude toward the rare narwhal double-tusker. The Arctic whale, after all, has intrigued mortals to monarchs for centuries, since its single ivory tooth was introduced as evidence of the existence of unicorns. In the 16th century, a narwhal tusk was worth the price of a castle. I have encountered the sea creatures on previous trips to the Arctic, the narwhals either frustratingly distant or just metres away but shrouded in thick fog, their moist, syncopated gasps surrounding me as if the ocean itself were breathing.

For Mitchell and others, though, narwhals are valued for much more practical purposes. A single whale yields 300 to 350 kilograms of the much-loved delicacy of maktaaq and meat, with the added bonus of up to \$350 to \$650 a metre for a single spiral tusk.

Because of this, the residents of Pond Inlet, a predominantly Inuit community of 1,200 on the northern tip of Baffin Island, consider the arrival of the narwhals one of the highlights of the summer. In late July, when the last melting sea ice is swept out, the whales move in great numbers through Eclipse Sound, right past Pond Inlet en route to their summer feeding grounds around Milne Inlet. The waterfront glows with gunfire aimed at the first pods. By August, when the narwhal migration peaks, hunters in boats dye the water with blood.

But now, in late May, a narwhal is a rare sighting indeed. Hunters are bringing in seals and the season's first snow geese, but no one has yet seen a narwhal on the edges of the ice floes far from Pond Inlet. In the hamlet itself, the long sunny days of spring have turned the muddy roads into impassable torrents of melting snow and have coaxed the first tiny purple flowers of ground-hugging saxifrage. Posted on the co-op's bulletin board

are satellite photos showing the extent of the frozen sea, highlighting the leads cracked open in the crescent of ice connecting northern Baffin with Bylot Island, 25 kilometres away. At this time of year, the buzz in Canada's third most northerly settlement is all about ice: "Where's the edge?" "How wide are the leads?" The floe edge to the east and north of town seethes with migratory birds, seals, walrus, whales and polar bears. Hot on their tails and flukes are Pond's hunters, who use the two-to-three-metre-thick ice as a short-lived but vital highway to an open air supermarket. I've been travelling in and writing about the Arctic since 1992. Exploring it and meeting the people have become compulsive. But I've never been on a hunting trip, never actually seen a narwhal. This time, I aim to do both.

FOR DAYS, I SEARCH UNSUCCESSFULLY for someone to take me along to the floe edge and, show me what, camp life is like atop a frozen ocean. Try the radio, Mitchell suggests as he locks away the double-tusker. For several hours every day, CBC North turns the microphones over to Nunavut's individual hamlet offices. Having a yard sale? Want to announce a baby's birth? Get on the local radio. As I step into the hamlet office to hand in my "Hunter Wanted" announcement, I hear on the radio that "House 236 has extra seal meat if you want some."

I do not have to wait long. Within 30 minutes of my broadcast, I am tagged as "the lady who wants to go out on the ice" and offered translation services and phone numbers for men heading out that weekend. Two hours later, I sit in a tidy living room opposite Sam Omik, who lounges on a sofa beneath a giant velvet mural of Jesus. His wife Ruthie sits on the linoleum kitchen floor with a half-moon knife called an ulu, rhythmically scraping clean the pelt of a two-metre-tall polar bear she shot several days earlier.

Sam is one of the few men in Pond who supports his extended family in the traditional manner, not with a "town job" but by hunting for food and bringing in cash by guiding visitors, from Japanese cinematographers to American trophy hunters who come North every March for the commercial polar bear hunt.

His weathered and deeply tanned face contrasts with his pale neck and arms. At age 54, Sam is remarkably calm, exuding an experienced hunter's unhurried confidence. He and his younger brother Matthias are setting off by snowmobile the next day for their cabin eight hours northwest of town. After overnighting, they plan on continuing north to the floe edge to hunt. We finish discussing the supplies I will bring when Sam leans forward and asks, "Do you have a lawyer?" I am confused. "We need to get married fast," he chuckles. "You will be wife number two while we're away." Ruthie laughs from the kitchen. Sam's English is halting at best, but he flirts fluently.

Mid-morning the following day, I meet the brothers out on the ice, a cluttered parking lot of snowmobiles, qamutiit -- the indispensable Arctic sleds -- and howling dog teams. Sam is anxious to get out of town before the Friday-afternoon snowmobile-fuelling lineups at Pond's single gas pump. We take off toward glacier-streaked Bylot Island, with

Matthias and his 13-year-old son Celab behind us. Lashed to the qamutiik is a large box for hauling supplies and passengers; stencilled on the side of the box is "Pond Inlet, two bedroom apartment." I ride in it atop the foam mattress that will be my bed.

We cross half a dozen leads less than 30 centimetres wide, a span easily skipped by snowmobile and sled. When we reach a metre-wide strip of open water, Sam disconnects the rope pulling the qamutiik and tosses it over the dark gash pulsating with jellyfish. He backs up and accelerates, flying over the lead. Reattaching the line, we are on our way again. By using this technique, hunters can cross cracks as broad as 12 metres. Leads may appear harmless, but with currents roiling, even the slimmest opening is deadly. Many people have been swept under the ice to their death after a careless step.

When we arrive at Sam's simple wood cabin, I am so exhausted from the ride that I pitch my tent on the stone beach. But rest does not come easily. In the perpetual daylight of early June at 72° north, the action never stops. Throughout the night hours, snowmobiles arrive, tents are pitched and dogs bark, as relatives and friends arrive for the weekend. At 7 a.m., I peek out of my tent and meet two teenagers, Levi and Elisha, sitting bleary-eyed after travelling all night with their great-uncle. Ham Kadloo is a spry 67-year-old with a dashing moustache, crinkly smile and quick laugh. He has brought along a qamutiik box full of Inuit sled dogs -- "for the bears," he explains. They will be an early warning of nanook prowling at the floe edge.

By 9 a.m., we are sledding up frozen Navy Board Inlet with snowmobile-pulled qamutiit, one loaded with dogs, another with a motorboat to be launched in the event of a narwhal sighting. When a flock of snow geese, invisible against the white sky but for the black wing tips, flaps overhead toward their breeding grounds on Bylot Island, Sam grabs his 7mm Ruger rifle with scope and drops a pair with two shots.

The arrival of the geese signals lunchtime. Sam quickly prepares the birds and lifts out a translucent, ready-to-be-laid egg. Sixteen-year-old Levi snatches up the small fist-sized stomach lying on the ice among the mound of guts. He cuts a thin slice from the muscle, pops it into his mouth and hands me his knife. "I love it," he says. "Not tough, not too soft." I do the same and find it mildly flavoured, delicious and disconcertingly warm.

No one seems in a hurry to move on. Matthias adjusts the sights of his rifle, while Celab, in his fur-trimmed parka and yellow sunglasses, watches closely. Ham lets Elisha try his luck at taking the snowmobile up a steep incline. There is no verbal instruction but it is clear that Elisha is a keen observer. Ham watches wordlessly as Levi takes several potshots at passing geese. Then he says quietly, "Stop. Too late now." The lack of tension between adult and teen is notable, in stark contrast to the fights I've witnessed in town, brought on by booze and overcrowded housing. It is a good example of what Matthias's wife Lily had told me days before: "We are closer on the land -- husbands, wives, children. We are more open with one another."

An hour later, we stand off the northern tip of Borden Peninsula before a narwhal hunter's nemesis: a spectacular but impenetrable mass of jumbled ice chunks and slabs, towering icebergs and bergy bits pushed against the floe edge by an onshore wind. When it is "clean," the floe edge is an icy white line against the indigo sea. On this day, the narwhals remain safe from the hunters in a strip of open water at the foot of distant Devon Island. The hunters gauge the wind and watch the clouds. The wind from the north can stoke currents to break up the ice or cause slabs to ride up over one another. Should the wind shift and blow from the south, the floe edge could break off and send us adrift on an ice pan.

After a long silence, Sam turns to me with a devilish grin, the sun sparkling off his single front tooth. "What do you think we should do?" he asks. I defer to the more ice-savvy. 13-year-old beside me, who pronounces with great economy: "Camp. Wait."

As it turns out, the time in camp is put to good use. While we backtrack to a sheltered stretch of beach, Matthias breaks the front torque bars on his snowmobile and barely gets the machine back. He and Sam tip it on its side; they smoke, speak quietly, stare and drink tea. Finally, Matthias strolls down the beach. He returns an hour later with a metre-long piece of driftwood that he and Sam chisel and carve throughout the afternoon and evening. They fashion a cradle from two pieces of wood, then bolt them together to hold the broken metal bars in place.

As the qamutiit are unpacked, I notice the only food they contain is tea, sugar, flour and baking powder for bannock, and instant-soup packets. At 8 p.m., the stove still holds only the teakettle; we have eaten nothing since the snow goose lunch. "This is where the food is," Sam says, motioning to the vast black- and white-spotted landscape as he straddles his snowmobile. "We just have to go find it."

Three hours later, he is welcomed back with shouts of delight when the teenagers see a caribou draped across the passenger seat. Sam looks exhausted. There is no bravado on his face, just weary satisfaction. The caribou is swiftly skinned and becomes the focal point of a lively midnight dinner party. Celab neatly cuts away the cornea, leans over and sucks out an eyeball with a loud slurp. "My favourite," he says, offering his knife. "Wanna try?" It is an impish 13-year-old's dare, plain and simple. He wins.

We settle into camp routine, with much hammering and sawing, snowmobiles being tuned up, knives sharpened, qamutiit repaired. Other hunters join us, until the beach camp is a noisy tangle of uncles, brothers-in-law and nephews. Several times a day, everyone gravitates toward the green two-burner Coleman stove that is the Inuit campfire. The battered teakettle steams continuously. Sam reminisces about shooting his first polar bear at 13, when he could barely lift the heavy gun. He grew up near Igloolik, living in igloos during winter hunts and in a sod house in summer. He moved to Pond Inlet in 1969 "for the women," he smiles. Almost always, the conversation comes back to narwhals. The older hunters recall that narwhal tusks were so plentiful in their grandparents' time, they

were used as tent poles.

Days pass at a leisurely pace as we watch a wind that never lets up. Ham's dogs and their puppies snooze in the sun. Damp mitts and felt boot liners are spread out to dry. Once or twice a day, at a moment's notice, Sam, Matthias and Ham drape rifles across their shoulders, fire up the snowmobiles and head across the tundra with a teen on the back seat. They return hours later to add to a growing pile of caribou and geese that lifts everyone's spirit.

One afternoon, two skinned caribou heads are the focus of the tea party. The men quietly chat and use pocket knives to pick at morsels of meat around the skull. Sam holds a piece of what looks like soft bone and peels off and eats skeins of white sinew. "Caribou antler," he says, grinning wickedly. "Makes me horny. Want some?" He dangles a strip before me. Hunting-camp humour. I decline with exaggerated reluctance, to laughs all around.

It is funny, indeed, as we are a motley crew. The hunters wear jackets torn and repaired with duct tape. My parka and pants, like theirs, are caked with dirt and spattered caribou blood, smeared with sticky seal fat picked up from a beached carcass. None of us have washed in the five days we have been out on the land. It is a relief not to care or worry about all that, and when Sam announces we will head back in the morning, I am stung with a pang of sorrow. I am going to miss the easy conversation and the long comfortable silences, the ease of joining a group or parting without the platitudes of greetings and farewells. I fall asleep that night well after midnight to the sound of sawing logs. Matthias is building something.

We arrive in Pond Inlet the following evening, with six seals, four caribou and dozens of snow geese strapped to the qamutiit. There is, of course, no narwhal in the collection. I knew seeing the whales was a long shot. If there is one thing I learned from Sam on this trip, it is that you take what the land is ready to give.

From her base in Montréal, Margo Pfeiff is a writer and photographer whose work appears regularly in Canadian Geographic, Reader's Digest and a number of other magazines and newspapers around the world.

SIDEBAR Tale of the tusk

It took a dentist to solve the mystery of one of the longest teeth in nature. Martin Nweeia of Sharon, Connecticut, began studying the spiral narwhal tusks to liven up his frequent lectures at dental and anthropology conferences around the world. The more lectures he gave, the more he realized that current research did not tell the full story. So Nweeia, also a clinical instructor at the Harvard School of Dental Medicine and a research associate in the department of zoology at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History, began to investigate what he calls "this puzzle of nature that has baffled scientists for hundreds of years."

In 2000, Nweeia founded Narwhal Tusk Research, a multidisciplinary international research project. And late last year, he released his findings at a conference of marine-mammal researchers in San Diego. Nweeia and his team discovered that the narwhal tusk is a hydrodynamic sensor, with 10 million nerve connections capable of detecting temperature, pressure and salinity. It may even have the ability to generate voltage as the narwhal moves through Arctic waters. "It is, without question," says Nweeia, "the most extraordinary and unique tooth in nature."

(Copyright Canadian Geographic Enterprises Sept/Oct. 2006)

Appendix II

Six Nations Tourism

Alan Emarthle, a Seminole from Oklahoma, has been manager of Six Nations Tourism for seven years. He moved to Ontario because his wife was from Six Nations. Emarthle worked in cultural preservation at the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian in Washington DC before coming to Canada.

Six Nations Tourism operates from a visitors' centre in the community of Ohsweken on the Six Nations Reserve. Tourists come to the centre for directions to nearby attractions. Six Nations Tourism also provides step on guides for bus tours and can organize interactive dance shows, craft making and guest speakers for groups.

The company's main function has been to market area attractions and events. Emarthle and his team have promoted the region at trade shows and other business and consumer events. "We utilize our community resources to help run the programs," explained Janelle Sandy, the assistant manager in an interview (18 July 2008).

Six Nations Tourism's goal has been to honour tradition and at the same time inform non-native tourists of the Six Nations perspective (Emarthle 29 July 2008). Emarthle has received approval from band council and the confederacy council for his projects. He explained:

The traditional people told me, 'We want people to know we are here. We want people to come and see our art, and know about our dance. We want them to know we are not all Christian and we have our own stories. We don't want to be a secret. (ibid)

The operation's recent initiatives included a welcome sign on the reserve, new marketing materials that featured Iroquois regalia, an updated website and a map and tour guide.

The guide included all the area's native attractions including Woodland Cultural Centre. It also featured an historical summary of Six Nations with details about Joseph Brant's allegiance with the British, the Haldimand Deed and the current geographical reality of the reserve. A map of the land granted in 1784 marked the current reserve, less than five per cent of the original deed.

A future project for Six Nations Tourism will be a highway billboard with area partners. Emarthle explained:

It will be a huge and look like our map. It shows the little girl who is on our other promotional material as well as the Grand River. It will say Grand River Country. That's a big thing. (ibid)

Business collaborations have been a focus for Emarthle. The city of Brantford has been one of Six Nations Tourism's strongest partners due to his efforts. He sits on the city's tourism department advisory committee. "They use tax dollars to help promote the area, including Six Nations," said Emarthle (ibid).

Powwows are the reserve's most popular cultural tourism events. They draw up to 25,000 attendees. The Grand River Powwow is in July, and the Fall Fair and Powwow is in September. Emarthle noted Six Nations Tourism has not done a powwow visitor survey, however the events usually draw many international tourists (ibid).

The Grand River Powwow is held in Chiefswood Park beside Pauline Johnson's

historic home. At the opening ceremony, local officials join Six Nations representatives to welcome attendees. At the 2008 powwow, Brantford MP Lloyd Santana greeted the crowd and thanked the Six Nations hosts.

Colourful, regalia-clad dancers from all over North America competed at the powwow. Attendees sampled native foods such as bison burgers and Indian tacos (layers of ground beef, tomato sauce and lettuce on a plate-sized piece of fry bread). They also shopped at market stalls for beaded jewelry, books, CDs and artwork.

The powwow honoured cultural tradition in a joyful gathering. Ticket sales and vendor's booths also made it an economic opportunity for Six Nations. Attendees paid a \$10 admission fee and most people bought refreshments and souvenirs.

Emarthle acknowledged powwows are attractive to tourists. However, he said culture should be nourished before tourism initiatives are expanded.

I would create a village. Not for tourism. It would be only for the community. Confidence and knowledge could be built there. You need understanding and strength in the community first before inviting in tourists. You need to create that capacity.

The confederacy has a group of people that want to learn ceremony. They would love to expand that. Perhaps at some point in the future, when a site is developed, we could open it up and educate the rest of the world.

Whatever is done is must be sustainable, with a strong foundation. (ibid)

Woodland Cultural Centre offers the community some cultural programs. However, Emarthle said it did not fit his vision because it was not a village environment. Plus, he

said it was too far away from Oshweken and areas of the reserve where most Six Nations members lived (ibid).

Six Nations Tourism could be in a precarious position. Land claims issues and confrontational protests in Caledonia have garnered a lot of media attention (Canadian Press). Emarthle said:

We are at a moment right now where there is a lot of disagreement. There could possibly be disagreement with what I am doing in tourism. But nobody from council or from the traditional community at Six Nations has come to me and said stop partnering with tourism Brantford. Or stop working with Haldimand County, or stop promoting this area.

I have gone out and asked. I've told people about these partnerships and they say 'Just keep on, stay together.' Our communities have to be able to work together. There has to be some bridges. Right now, there is a small tourism bridge. (29 July 2008)

Mike Hancock, mayor of Brantford, has supported a tourism relationship with Six Nations. He said in a phone interview:

Somehow, through all of this we've managed to keep a positive and collegial working relationship. We have to get through some of the current issues. However, it is encouraging. The tourism department's relationship with Six Nations is one of the most positive we've had in terms of the city and its relations with its aboriginal neighbours. (21 July 2008)

Susan Sager, Brantford's director of tourism, was also part of the phone interview. "The

aboriginal tourism component is in big demand so it makes good business sense to work with our partners more closely,” she said (21 July 2008).

To date, the land claim issues have not caused a decline in tourism. There have been no changes in tourism strategies due to the land claim protests. Sager noted:

We are not naïve to the fact that media has picked up on this story for a considerable amount of time and plays up the negatives. Until we decide together as communities that we are going to change direction, we will remain working very hard to increase visitors and their spending in our community. We want to provide a good solid experience when people come here. (ibid)

Brantford tourism has used aboriginal images on its website and promotional brochures (Brantford). Did Sager or Hancock foresee any changes in direction? “It’s a partnership and we are in this for the long haul. We are very committed to the communities. Our material portrays a positive experience in our area and will continue to do so,” said Sager (21 July 2008).

The tourism department is working on a 2009 business plan. “It will be distributed to Six Nations Tourism when it is completed to make sure our priorities are the same as theirs,” said Sager (14 July 2008).

Strong partnerships have been important to Emarthle. Strengthening Six Nations Tourism’s relationship with Woodland Cultural Centre might be one of his goals, but he said, “It will take time,” (29 July 2008).

If Six Nations Tourism could improve communications with Woodland Cultural

Centre, the two entities might be able to collaborate on tourism strategies in the future that should meet both of their needs.

Appendix III

Stó:lo Tourism Commission

Paula Cranmer-Underhill has been the main force behind the Stó:lo Tourism Commission since it began five years ago. She has acted as the commission's co-coordinator and has been responsible for implementing all its initiatives. The Stó:lo Communities Future department started the commission. Cranmer-Underhill, a 'Namgis 'Nlaka'pmux, from Alert Bay, and has been living in Stó:lo territory for 33 years and working for the Stó:lo Nation for 10.

When the commission first launched, its goal was to provide training workshops, encourage entrepreneurs and help forge partnerships with non-aboriginal tourism business. Another goal was to market Stó:lo tourism projects.

One of the commission's first projects was a video, completed four years ago. The video encouraged business growth. Stó:lo leaders spoke about opportunities in tourism and highlighted their vision for the future (Cranmer-Underhill 3 Nov. 2008). In 2008, a second video featured Stó:lo tourism offerings in the area including cultural sites, galleries, accommodations and campgrounds. The commission planned to upload the video to its website by December 2008.

One of the commission's most effective marketing tools has been a map and directory guide. Visitors' centres and tourist attractions in the region have distributed the guide. The print run of the guide has gone from 800 to 20,000.

Cranmer-Underhill said the commission does not receive core funding. Sponsorship helped support projects such as the directory. "We received money from a

number of sources, including BC Hydro. They gave us \$2,000 to help cover the cost of printing,” said Cranmer-Underhill (ibid).

Special events organized or attended by the commission have been another focus. Aboriginal Spirit honoured women who made a difference in the community and raised money through a silent art auction. The commission also hosted media familiarization tours organized by Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia. “We gave them a cultural welcome, did weaving demonstrations and served smoked salmon,” said Cranmer-Underhill (ibid).

In 2008, the commission accessed \$50,000 through BC 150, a government initiative set up to help celebrate the province’s 150th birthday (Cranmer-Underhill 3 Nov. 2008). “Our members hosted a series of events that triggered tourist spending so money flowed back into the community,” said Cranmer-Underhill (ibid).

The commission has collaborated with the University of Fraser Valley. They worked together to deliver Introduction to the Arts, a program with local artists in the artisans’ centre this year. When I spoke to Cranmer-Underhill in November, plans were also underway by the commission for a showcase of Stó:lo art at the Bill Reid Gallery in Vancouver. The gallery, she said, was going to help raise funds for artists to carve a berry-picking canoe at the centre (ibid).

Relationships with non-aboriginal partners have been important to the commission. A couple of organizations it has worked with are Tourism Chilliwack and Vancouver Coast and Mountains tourism agency. The commission has shared contacts, provided art items for silent auctions and taken part in events such as art gallery tours

with these organizations.

Raising the region's profile and supporting its tourism industry have been the commission's missions. "It's all about developing partnerships and getting out there," said Cranmer-Underhill, who received an ambassador award from Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia in spring 2008 (ibid).

The commission, in conjunction with Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia, has organized tourism-training sessions. Courses used materials such as ATBC's Blueprint Strategy, best practices guide and authenticity guidelines to teach local residents about tourism.

A six-week Trail Blazers Tourism Training Program began in November 2008 with an enrollment of 16. Cultural tourism was a component of the program and subjects included opportunities during the 2010 Olympics, cultural identity, interacting with tourists and doing demonstrations. A two-week, special events management course included practical subjects such as first aid and food safety (ibid).

The commission has assisted entrepreneurs to get cultural tourism ventures up and running. Quality guidelines set out by the ATBC dictated if a product is market-ready or not. "We also have an evaluation committee that is made up of cultural people and artisans. Authenticity is a critical issue and a foundation of what we do," explained Cranmer-Underhill (ibid).

Stó:lo Artisan's Centre, a commission venture, opened in 2006. Cranmer-Underhill and an assistant have run the centre, attached to the commission's office and visitors' centre in Chilliwack, B.C. (ibid). A co-operative enterprise, the centre has

represented more than 65 artists. The commission sold artists' work in the centre, as well as from its booth at public events. At the Harrison Festival of the Arts, the commission sold \$100,000 worth of art. The booth raised the region's tourism profile as well and a representative handed out 900 directory maps (ibid).

Currently, the commission is doing a marketing assessment to investigate the possibility of promoting the centre's art online.

Stó:lo Tourism Commission is a small operation with limited funding. However, it seemed to be very active in the region and has made many valuable partnerships with aboriginal and non-aboriginal organizations. Paula Cranmer-Underhill summarized the commission's activities to date: "It is a slow build, but we are making a difference" (ibid).

Works Cited

- Aboriginal Tourism Canada. 2007. 6 Nov. 2007
<<http://www.aboriginaltourism.ca>>.
- Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia. Publications.
Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Blueprint Strategy for B.C. Vancouver: ATABC,
2005. 28 Sept. 2008
<<http://www.aboriginalbc.com/corporate/marketingresearch>>.
- Aboriginal Tourism Association of Southern Ontario. 2008. 28 Sept. 2008
<[http://www. ataso.ca](http://www.ataso.ca)>.
- “Aboriginal Tourism in Canada.” Tourism. Canadian Tourism Commission.
March/April 2008. 7
- Alberta Government. Buffalo Tracks. 2007. 5 Dec. 2007
<<http://www.head-smashed-in.com/>>.
- Battel, Linnea. Personal interview. 17 June 2008.
- . E-mail correspondence. 8 Oct. 2008.
- . Telephone interview. 3 Nov. 2008.
- . E-mail correspondence. 4 Nov. 2008.
- Bearing Point, Goss Gilroy. Aboriginal Tourism in Canada. Part I: Economic Impact Analysis. Ottawa: 2003.
- . Aboriginal Tourism in Canada. Part II: Trends, Issues, Constraints and Opportunities.
Ottawa: 2003.
- Bell, Stewart. “Pouring dollars down the porta-potty: Half the native businesses either missing or dead.” National Post. 6 Nov. 1999: B.1.
- Berkhofer, Jr., Robert. The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present. New York: Random House. 1978.
- Blundell, Valda. “Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in Canada.” Eds. J. Nicks and J. Sloniowski, Slippery Pastimes: Reading the Popular in Canadian Culture. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2002.
- Brantford Tourism. 2008. 15 July 2008 <<http://www.visitbrantford.ca>>.

Bredin, Marian. "Popular Memory and Aboriginal Heritage: A Case Study of the Niagara Falls Indian Village." Paper presented to Southwest/Texas Popular Culture/American Popular Culture Association Annual Conference, San Antonio, Texas, Apr. 8, 2004. 21 May 2008
<<http://www.brocku.ca/pcn/MemoryAndHeritage/IndianVillage.html>>.

Buhasz, Lazlo. "Powwow Know-how. Going Native." The Globe and Mail. 27 Sept. 1997, p. F.1.

Bunting, Kieffer. Cree and Ojibway Legends – Our Aboriginal History. (2008) 12 Nov. 2008. <<http://www.1stnationstribes.tribe.net>>

Canada. Demand for Aboriginal Culture Products in Key European Markets. Ottawa: Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada and Canadian Tourism Commission, 2000.

Canadian Geographic. 2007. 5 May. 2008.
<<http://www.canadiangeographic.ca/mediazone/default.asp>>.

Canadian Press. "Caledonia Mayor Warns of Violence." Toronto Star. 28 Apr. 2008.

Cohen Highley. "The Mohawk Institute." 2008. 23 July 2008
<<http://www.cohenhighley.com/mohawk/history.htm>>.

"Community, Authenticity and Excellence." Tourism. Canadian Tourism Commission. March/April 2008. 4-5

Cranmer-Underhill, Paula. Telephone interview. 3 Nov. 2008.

Curve Lake. 2008. 1 April. 2008 <<http://www.curvelakefn.com/powwow.htm>>.

District of Mission. "Rivermania." 2008. 15 Nov. 2008
<<http://www.mission.ca/Page1103.aspx>>.

---. "Simon Fraser." 2008. 15 Nov. 2008 <<http://www.mission.ca/Page234.aspx#June>>.

Doxtator, Deborah. Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness. Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1992.

---. "Iroquoian Museums and the Idea of the Indian: Aspects of the Political Role of Museums." MS Thesis U of T, 1983.

Emarthle, Alan. Telephone interview. 29 July 2008.

Eshkawkogan, Kevin. Telephone interview. 28 Oct. 2008.

Ewan, Stuart, Ewan, Elizabeth. Typecasting: On the Arts and Sciences of Human Inequality. New York: Seven Stories, 2006.

Fletcher, Katherine. "Hot on the Trail of the Elusive Big Foot." Toronto Star. 6 Sept. 2007. T01

Fraser Valley Bald Eagle Festival. 2008. 15 Nov. 2008
<<http://www.fraservlleybaldeaglefestival.ca>>.

Froman, Tara. Personal interview. 20 July 2008.

---. E-mail correspondence. 29 July. 2008.

Foucault, Michel. The Archeology of Knowledge. London: Tavistock, 1985.

Francis, Daniel. The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp, 1997.

Fürsich, Elfriede, "How Can Global Journalists Represent the 'Other'? A critical assessment of the cultural studies concept for media practice." Journalism: Theory, practice and criticism. London: Sage, 2002. 3:1. 57-84.

George, Rosaleen. Sá sq'ets. Victoria: Trafford Publishing. 2004.

Giddens, Anthony. The Consequences of Modernity. Cambridge: Polity, 1990.

Gitlin, Todd. The Whole World is Watching. Berkeley: U Californian P, 1980.

Government of Canada. "Xá:ytem." Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

Great Spirit Circle Trail. 2008. 20 May. 2008 <<http://www.circletrail.com>>.

Hall, Stuart. "The Question of Cultural Identity." Modernity and its Futures: Understanding Modern Societies, Book IV. Eds. Tony McGrew, Stuart Hall, David Held. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003. 273-299.

Hancock, Mike. Telephone interview. 21 July 2008.

Harbourfront Centre. 2008. 5 Oct. 2008
<<http://www.harbourfrontcentre.com/whatson/planetindigenous.cfm>>

Harding, Robert. "Historical Representations of Aboriginal People in the Canadian News Media." Discourse & Society. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage, 2006.

17:2. 205-235.

Harp, John. "Culture, the State and Tourism: State Policy Initiatives in Canada, 1984-1992." *Culture and Policy*. 6.1 (1994): 183-211.

Harris, Judy. Telephone interview. 29 May 2008.

Hart, E.J. The Selling of Canada. Banff: Altitude Publishing, 1983.

Health Canada. First Nations, Inuit and Aboriginal Health. National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program. 2006. 11 Nov. 2008 <<http://www.hc.sc.gc.ca/fniah-spnia/substan/ads/nnadap-pnlaada-eng.php>>.

Hebdige, Dick. "From Culture to Hegemony." Cultural Studies Reader. Ed. S. During. London: Routledge, 1993.

Henry, F., and C. Tator. Discourses of Domination: Racial Bias in the Canadian English-Language Press. Toronto: UTP, 2002.

Highbeam Encyclopedia. "Glasnost." The Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th ed. Columbia University Press, 2007. 2008. 3 April 2008 <<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1E1-glasnost.html>>.

Hill, Jamie. Telephone interview. 30 April 2008.

Hinch, Tom D. "Indigenous People and Tourism." A Companion to Tourism. Ed. Alan A. Lew, C. Michael Hall, and Allan M. Williams. Malden: Blackwell, 2004.

"History of the Printing Press." Encyclopedia Britannica. 15th ed. vol. 14. 1975.

Hutcheon, Linda. "Orientalism as Post-Imperial Witnessing." Eds. B. Ashcroft, and H. Kadhim. Edward Said and the Post-Colonial. Huntington: Nova Science P. 2001.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. 2008. 1 April 2008 <<http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca>>.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Aboriginal Tourism Sector Strategy. Aboriginal Economic Development – Sector Strategies Unit. Aug. 2007.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Evaluation of the Cultural/Education Centres Program 2005. 2 Oct. 2008 <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/ae/ev/03-01/03-01_e.html>.

---. Evaluation of the Cultural/Education Centres Program: Executive Summary. 30 Sept. 2008 <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/ae/ev/03-01/03-01_02_e.html>.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. "Memorandum of Understanding between Regional Aboriginal Tourism Associations, Aboriginal Destinations Marketing Organizations, Aboriginal Tourism Councils and Regional Representatives to Establish the Aboriginal Tourism Marketing Circle." Draft. 2 July 2008.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. "Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte." 18 Nov. 2008
<<http://ainc-inac.gc.ca/ih/fnh/hss/moh-eng.asp>>

---. The Indian Act and Indians: Children of the State. 2008. 15 Oct. 2008
<http://www.ainc.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sg24_e.html>.

---. "Terminology." 2008. 15 May. 2008 < http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/info/tln_e.html>.

---. "Wahta Mohawks." 18 Nov. 2008 <<http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?lang=e>>

Indian and Northern Affairs/Industry Canada. Review of Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada. Ottawa: Aboriginal Business Canada/Industry Canada, 2002.

Industry Canada 2002. 23 May. 2008
<<http://www.industrycanada.ca/cmb/welcomeic.nsf/ffc979db07de58e6852564e400603639/85256a220056c2a485256b610055f361!OpenDocument>>.

Industry Canada. "FedNor Supports Aboriginal Tourism Marketing and Product Development Package." Archives. 1997. 24 Nov. 2008

Industry Canada. *National Federal Tourism Expenditures 2005/06*. 2008. 20 Oct. 2008
<<http://www.innovationstrategy.gc.ca/cmb/welcomeic.nsf/ffc979db07de58e6852564e400603639/cc4524946c35e44085256612004d914f!OpenDocument>>.

Insignia Research and the Canadian Tourism Commission. Aboriginal Tourism Opportunities for Canada: U.K., Germany, France. Ottawa: CTC, 2008.

Jim, Josette. Personal interview. 17 June 2008.

Kelly, Robert. "Cultural Tourism: A Contradiction in Terms." Proceedings of Interpretation and Tourism Ottawa/88. A National Conference on Heritage Interpretation. 1988: 57-61.

Key Jr., Amos. Personal interview. 28 May 2008.

Knapp, Millie. Personal interview. 15 Aug. 2008.

- Laclau, Ernesto. New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time. London: Verso, 1990.
- Lang Research. Travel Activities & Motivation Survey. U.S. Travel Market: Aboriginal Cultural Experiences While on Trips of One or More Nights. Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Ontario Tourism Marketing Partnership Corporation, Quebec ministry of Tourism, Travel Manitoba, Canadian Tourism commission, Tourism Saskatchewan, Atlantic Canada Tourism Partnership, Alberta Tourism, Parks, Recreation and Culture, Department of Canadian Heritage, Tourism British Columbia, Parks Canada Agency, Government of Yukon, Government of Northwest Territories, 2007.
- Lawrence, Bonita. Real Indians and Others. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.
- . "Rewriting Histories of the Land." Race, Space, and the Law. Ed. Sherene H. Lawrence, Razack. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005.
- Legends Santa Fe. <<http://www.legendssantafe.com>.>
- Lippmann, Walter. Public Opinion. New York: MacMillan, 1922.
- Lisle, Debbie. The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Longwoods Research Group Ltd. and the Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion. U.S. Pleasure Travel Market: Canadian Potential: Main Report and Highlights Report. 1986.
- MacDonald, Nancy. "An Aboriginal 'Glasnost': Fewer handouts, less social aid: a radical fix for native woes." Maclean's Sept. 7, 2007: 27.
- MacGregor, Roy. "Indian Time doesn't cut it' for innovative chief with on-the-edge humor." The Globe and Mail Sept. 21 2006.
- Mackey, Eva. The House of Difference. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Mawani, Renisa. "In Between and out of Place: Mixed-Race Identity, Liquor and the Law in British Columbia, 1850-1913." Ed. Sherene Razack. Race, Space and the Law. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005. 47-69.
- Meadows, Michael. Voices in the Wilderness: Images of Aboriginal People in the Australian Media. Westport: Greenwood P, 2001.
- Montour, Janis. Personal interview. 28 May 2008.

---. E-mail correspondence. 20 Aug. 2008.

Nakamura, Maohiro. "Managing Cultural Representation: Ainu and First Nations Museums in Japan and Canada." Diss. Queen's U. 2007.

"Native." Oxford Dictionary. 1982.

Nativenet. "Native Elders Replace Name Rooted in Jokes." *Vancouver Sun*. Vancouver: July 30 1995. 2008. 15 Nov. 2008
<<http://nativenet.uthscsa.edu/archive/nl/95081/0051.html>>.

New England Company. 2008. 11 Nov. 2008 <<http://www.newenglandcompany.org>>.

NK'MIP. "Desert Cultural Centre." 2007. 20 Nov. 2007 <<http://www.nkmipdesert.com>>.

---. Legacy Fund. 2007. 24 Nov. 2007
<<http://www.nkmipdesert.com/pdf/LegacyFund.pdf>>.

Notzke, Claudia. "The Stranger, the Native and the Land" Perspectives on Indigenous Tourism. Concord: Captus, 2006.

O'Neil, Beverly. "Traditions and Marketing Strategies for Developing Tourism with Cultural Integrity." National Gathering on Aboriginal Cultures and Tourism Discussion Paper. Canadian Heritage. 1 Dec. 2003. 2008. 15 Nov. 2008
<http://www.destinations.gc.ca/docs/oneil_paper_e.cfm>.

Osoyoos Indian Band. 2007. 20 Nov. 2007 <<http://www.oib.ca>>.

Parker, Barry. E-mail correspondence. 23 April 2008.

---. Personal interview. 25 April 2008.

---. E-mail correspondence. 3 Oct. 2008.

Patterson, Tom. Personal interview. 17 June 2008.

Peers, Laura. Playing Ourselves: Interpreting Native Histories at Historic Reconstructions. Lanham: Altamira, 2007.

Pennier, Beatrice. Personal interview. 17 June 2008.

Pfeiff, Margo. "Riding the Floe Edge, Dining on Caribou Eyeballs, Waiting for Narwhals." Canadian Geographic. 125:5 5 2006: 78-86.

---. E-mail correspondence. 3 May 2008.

---. Telephone interview. 4 May 2008.

Rinehart, Dianne. "Seed money gives wing to aboriginal ventures." The Globe and Mail. Toronto, Oct. 17 2007. E 8.

Rivermania. 2008. 15 Nov. 2008 <<http://www>

Roper, Edward. By Track and Trail: A Journey Through Canada. London: W.H. Allen and Co. 1891.

Ross, Matt. "Winery Quashes Alcohol Image and Creates Jobs." Indian Country Today. 19 Feb. 2004. 20 Nov. 2007
<<http://www.indiancountry.com/content.cfm?id=1077214500>>.

Ryan, Chris. "Introduction: Tourist-Host Nexus – Research Considerations." Indigenous Tourism : The Commodification and Management of Culture. Ed. Chris Ryan, Michelle Aicken. Amsterdam ; New York: Elsevier, 2005.

Sager, Susan. Telephone interview. 14 July 2008.

---. Telephone interview. 21 July 2008.

Said, Edward. Orientalism. New York: Vintage, 1978.

Sanders, Charlotte. Telephone interview. 28 Oct. 2008.

Sandy, Jannelle. Telephone interview. 18 July 2008.

Six Nations. 2008. 5 Oct. 2008 <<http://www.sixnations.ca/communityProfile.htm>>.

Six Nations Tourism. 2008 18 Nov. 2008 <<http://www.sntourism.com/tourHistory.htm>>

Southesk, Earl of. Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969.

Spurr, David. The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing and Imperial Administration. Durham and London: Duke UP, 1993.

Statistics Canada. "First Nations demographics." 2007. 6 Nov. 2007
<<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/abor/canada.cfm>>.

Stó:lo First Nations. "Community Funding." 2007. 10 Oct. 2008

<http://www.stolocf.com/about_us/pressreleasesartaicle.php>

Stó:lo Heritage Trust Society. Financial Statements March 31, 2007. Mission, 2007.

Stó:lo Tourism Commission. 2008. 10 Oct. 2008 <<http://www.stolotourism.ca>>.

---. Aboriginal Business Directory and Map. Chilliwack: Stó:lo Tourism Commission. 2008.

Taylor, Drew Hayden. "Rhythm of Nations." Canadian Geographic. July/Aug. 2004: 124:4. 54-64.

The Globe and Mail. "Circulation." 2008. 1 April 2008.
<<http://images.theglobeandmail.com/advertise/circulation.html>>.

Tourism British Columbia. *Visitor Experiences and Profiles Survey*. 2008.

Tourism Canada. The Challenges of Tourism Product Development: A Discussion Paper. Prepared for a Minister's Symposium with the Tourism Industry at the Federal/Provincial/Territorial Conference of Tourism Ministers, Calgary, Alberta, March 1988.

van Dijk, Teun. News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988.

Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games. "Mascots." 2008. 3 April 2008.
<http://www.vancouver2010.com/mascot/en/profile_q.php>.

Waubetek. 2007. 24 Sept. 2008 <<http://www.waubetek.com>>.

Wente, Margaret. "Trapped in the aboriginal narrative." The Globe and Mail. June 28 2007.

Weston, Mary Ann. Native Americans in the News: Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press. Westport: Greenwood P, 1996.

"What's So Significant About Them?" Tourism. Canadian Tourism Commission March/April 2008. 10

Woodland Cultural Centre. "Mohawk Institute." Ontario Heritage plaque. 28 May 2008.

---. Annual Report 2006-2007. Brantford: Woodland Culture Centre, 2008.

---. Museum. 28 May 2008.

---. *Self-guided Tour*. Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 2006.

---. The Dream Begins...T-N-T aka The Northern Thunder: The Aboriginal Living, Performing and Theatre Arts Centre. Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 2003.

Xá:ytem. 2008. 20 Sept. 2008 <<http://www.xaytem.ca>>.

Xá:ytem. Business Plan 2006. 2006.

---. Xá:ytem Information Kit. 2007.

Xá:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre. Visitors' Centre Display Cases. 17 June 2008.

Additional Sources

- Aboriginal Canada Portal 2007. 6 Nov. 2007
<<http://www.aboriginalcanada.gc.ca/acp/site.nsf/en/index.html>>.
- Assembly of First Nations. 2008. 15 Oct. 2008
<<http://www.afn.ca/article.asp?id=3396>>.
- Bruner, Edward M. Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel. Chicago: U Chicago P, 2005.
- Christie, Jack. "The Hills are Alive with the Sound of Rattlers." Georgia Strait. 9 Aug. 2007. 24 Aug. 2007 <<http://www.straight.com/node/104787>>.
- Constantineau, Bruce. "A Robust Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Sector; Four-Year Deal with Province Boosts Fledgling Industry." The Vancouver Sun Sep 25 2007: C.1.
- Dicks, Bella. Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability. Maidenhead: Open UP, 2003.
- Hendry, Joy. Reclaiming Culture: Indigenous People and Self-Representation. New York Palgrave, MacMillan 2005.
- Hurst, Charles. Social Inequality: Forms, Causes, and Consequences. Boston: Pearson Education, 2007.
- Ford, Ashley. "\$5m Boost for Native Enterprise; Victoria Sets Example for Federal Support." The Province Sep 25 2007: A.30.
- Frause, Sue. "Okanagan's New Aboriginal Interpretive Centre is Where Legends of the Past Blend with Technology of Today." Daily News Jul 14 2006: 16.
- Johnston, Alison. Is the Sacred for Sale? Tourism and Indigenous People. London: Earthscan, 2006.
- Kooy, Racelle. Marketing manager, ATBC. Personal interview. 11 June 2008.
- Krippendorf, Jost. The Holiday Makers: Understanding the Impact of Leisure and Travel. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999.
- Lowie, Emanuel. "Elders Seek to Preserve Tradition." Inuktitut Winter 2006. 51
- Lukovich, Jeff. "Exploring Aboriginal History in the Fraser Valley." The Vancouver

Sun Jun 23 2007: G.2.

MacCannell, Dean. The Tourist. 1989th ed. New York: Schocken Books, 1989.

Mazurkewich, Karen. "Spirit of Enterprise; Tourism on 'the Rez' is Helping Native Bands Wean Themselves from Welfare and Preserve their Culture." National Post Jul 7 2007: FW.3.

Nursey, Paul. Manager of product innovation and enhancement, CTC. E-mail correspondence. 2 June 2008.

Owenadeka. "Preachers and Whores." National Aboriginal Communications Society. Ottawa 1987.

Polkinghorne, Silas. "Culture Huge Tourism Draw: Worldwide Interest Spurs Aboriginal Tourism Growth in Province." Star - Phoenix Jun 13 2006: D.4.

Rinehart, Dianne. "Seed money gives wing to aboriginal ventures." The Globe and Mail. Toronto, Oct. 17 2007. E 8.

Robinson, Mike. "Narratives of being Elsewhere: Tourism and Travel Writing." A Companion to Tourism. Ed. Alan A. Lew, C. Michael Hall, and Allan M. Williams. Malden: Blackwell, 2004. 303.

Sasquatch Tours. 2008. 11 Nov. 2008 <<http://www.sasquatchtours.com>>.

Schultz, Erin and Shelley Xu. Centre of Expertise on Culture and Communities. 2007. 24 May. 2008 <<http://www.cultureandcommunities.ca/resources/cultural-facility-profiles/cultural-spaces-community-impacts/nkmip-desert-cultural-centre.html>>.

Tam, Pauline. "Aboriginal Tourism Dispels Stereotypes: European Visitors are Flocking to Golden Lake and Paying a Handsome Price to Discover the Evolution of Modern Native Culture. Pauline Tam Reports." The Ottawa Citizen Sep 1 1999: C.1.FRO.

Tammemagi, Hans. "A Journey into Native Culture: First Nations Tourism on Vancouver Island Flourishing." Times - Colonist Oct 7 2006: C.1.FRO.