SITUATING ABORIGINAL TOURISM AS A SITE OF NEGOTIATED REPRESENTATION

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ABSTRACT

Situating Aboriginal Tourism as a Site of Negotiated Representation

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Representations of North American Aboriginal peoples and culture have, historically been understood as something bounded and containerized. In reference to North American Aboriginal culture, there are three very distinct, different and often conflicting 'containers' of Aboriginal representation. On one hand there is the metanarrative constructed by non-Aboriginal individuals which represents Aboriginal people as warriors, disappearing, savage and ignoble. The other containerized view is that which sees Aboriginal people as childlike, adaptive, skilful allies, resourceful, heroic, close to nature and even citizens plus. As some Aboriginal people in North American revitalize their cultural traditions, take control of their own affairs, and concomitantly their right to represent themselves, stereotypical containerized representations are giving way to more realistic representations of Aboriginal culture and life. One avenue in which Aboriginal peoples are challenging this containerized view of Aboriginal culture is in Aboriginal tourism destinations such as *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, located in Riding Mountain National Park in southwestern Manitoba. In this context, a more flexible, ambiguous and dialogic view of Aboriginal culture is evidenced. This thesis examines these contradictory and ambiguous representations and concludes that in the context of tourism, representations of Aboriginal culture, can only be seen as something fluid, contingent, ever-changing and strong.

After my three day drive across Ontario and into the Manitoba prairies, I finally arrived at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*. My excitement quickly subsided as I found myself driving into what seemed to be an endless dense forest. As a 'city-kid' from the Toronto area I soon realized just how completely unprepared I was to be in this environment. The dense and dark bush along the road made the bright intense light of the prairie afternoon seem almost like dusk. I could not imagine myself spending a day in this environment, let alone three weeks. I found myself feeling completely overwhelmed and uncertain as to how I was going to 'survive' with the bears and other wild animals I imagined to be lurking in the bush.

When I finally arrived at the camp office, the beauty and idyllic setting of the actual camp hidden amongst the pine and spruce eased my mind and made me feel more comfortable in the dense bush. The brightness and openness of the setting combined with the tranquility and beauty of Lake Katherine before me, the sound of a loon calling, and the voices and laughter of visitors in the distance all contributed to this feeling of comfort and calmness, which was in stark contrast to the darkness and the uneasiness I felt driving on the access road. I went to the camp office to introduce myself hoping that someone would remember my countless phone calls and be aware of my research intentions.

I was warmly welcomed to *Shawenequanape*, being identified by the staff member who greeted me as "the girl from Ontario who has come to do research." At that moment, my 'research' began. In the process, my culturally constructed ideas about representation and Aboriginal culture were forever transformed.

Acknowledgements

I have planned out this page over and over again. There is just not the room to do justice to all the people that have helped in the writing of this thesis. This thesis, which originated out of my personal struggle to understand the nature of representation within anthropology, began four years ago. The inspiration for researching, writing and compiling this thesis has come from many diverse resources and peoples. At every juncture in my personal struggle with this topic, someone came forward to assist my understanding. I am indebted to every one of them and I would like now to acknowledge their contribution.

My first and greatest debt is to the staff and management at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*. Their kindness, friendship, care, passion, determination and dedication have indelibly touched my life and I thank-you all for sharing this with me. Thanks to each and every one of you for welcoming me to *Shawenequanape* and participating in this research. I owe a very special debt to D.M. You were unstintly generous in sharing your knowledge, stories and lessons, all of which have had a lasting impact on my life and from which I continue to learn. In abiding respect and lasting friendship: Miiqwetch.

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In the course of research and writing this thesis, I incurred debts to others. The librarians at the Canadian Tourism Commission Lending Library were unfailingly co-operative in the seemingly endless search for the detail that this project entailed as were many individuals associated with Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada, the Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association and the Inter-Library Loans office at Trent University. This research may very well not have been accomplished had it not been for their earnest efforts in helping me to locate the sources needed.

Thanks are also due to my friends and classmates Megan Davies and Anne Galloway who provided countless hours of stimulating and often frustrating discussion. Their own thoughts and opinions in our graduate courses have been very inspiring to this work. While pursuing this project, I "held hands" with Kirsten McDonald as we both negotiated our wonderful, yet often exhausting research projects. Her friendship, scholarly acumen, sensitive insight into a problem, creative ideas (which spurred my own thinking), sustained me through the trying times of researching/writing, and continues to sustain me. Leslie McCartney generously offered her counsel and continually reminded me to have fun, enjoy and laugh! Shelly Bourgeois, close friend from my undergraduate days, brilliantly helped to keep my life in balance and kept me in touch with the 'real' world.

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Note on Terminology

There is much debate these days about what is the correct term to use when discussing or representing the indigenous peoples of North America. Many Aboriginal groups object to being called 'Indian' because it is a term embedded in the colonial discourse and does not accurately represent who they are. More preferable global terms include Native, Aboriginal or First Nations. Such glosses, however, do not supercede the desire by indigenous peoples to be identified as members of a distinct group of indigenous people. Their identity is embedded in the fact that they are, for example, Anishinabe, Iroquois, Mohawk, Miqmaq, Nishga above anything else. The use of these terms today is also somewhat problematic as some of the 'tribal' names that exist today originated with the early explorers and traders. Due to language barriers the early traders often created names for the people they met. For instance, the Huadenasaunee came to be known as the Iroquois, on the east coast the term Maliseet replaced the Aboriginal term Weiustuk, and on the west coast Beaver Nations was used instead of the traditional name Dunneza. Other newcomers simply Europeanized the 'tribal' names they encountered. For example, the Odawa became the Ottawa and the Mi'kmaq became the Micmac. Despite the problems with 'naming,' when discussing anthropological, historical or governmental representations I have used the European terms as they appear most commonly in the literature.

In this thesis, I use the term 'Indian'[1] when I refer to both the idea and image of

[1]'Indians' represent one of three distinct legal categories (Indian, Inuit, Metis) subsumed under the term 'Aboriginal people' in section 35(1) of the *Constitution Act*, 1982. In the Constitution, the

Aboriginal peoples as created and understood by non-Natives. Interchangeably, I use the terms First Nation, Aboriginal or Native peoples when I am referring to the indigenous peoples who live today within Canada. When discussing my field research, I use the term Anishinabe as that is the preferred term used by my informants.

What to call non-Natives is equally puzzling. 'White' is the convenient opposite of Native, but it too has its limitations. So does Euro-Canadian in the multicultural landscape of Canada. Despite these limitations, I use the terms non-Native, non-Aboriginal, White and European.

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term 'Indian' is used to refer to those peoples in Canada who are defined as being 'Indian' under the provisions of the *Indian Act*. The *Indian Act* does not define who an 'Indian' is, only who will be recognized legally, as having 'Indian' status under the Act. Under the Indian Act, 'Indian' status is determined on the basis of biological ancestry or descent. (Boldt 1993:206-209).

Figure 1:

Oka

York, Geoffery & Loreen Pindera

1991 People of the Pines: The Warriors and the Legacy of Oka. Toronto: Little, Brown & Company. 147-148

Preface

For 78 days during the summer and fall of 1990, Canadians, were transfixed by the dramatic images of Mohawk warriors which dominated the media during the Oka crisis (Fig.1). It was a crisis which paralysed an entire province and gripped the nation's imagination. Mesmerized by these images which contradicted my own popularly held understandings of Canada's Native peoples, I came to see that my imaginings of Canadian Aboriginal people were nothing more than constructed 'representations,' reflecting little of the lived reality of Aboriginal life and experience.

My undergraduate education in Anthropology and Native Studies re-ignited my disquiet with this disjuncture. When I began my Master's thesis research I wanted to understand where popular perceptions pertaining to Aboriginal culture came from, what they mean, how the postmodern 'crisis of representation' has affected this representation, and lastly, how Aboriginal peoples are representing themselves to non-aboriginal audiences as we launch into the 21st century. It is this latter question that came to be the focus of my research.

Popular representations of Aboriginal people are still largely constructed by non-Aboriginal peoples. Thus, finding a context in which I could examine how Aboriginal peoples, when given an opportunity, construct representations of themselves for an outside audience was not an easy task. Eventually, I decided that Aboriginal cultural tourism was a medium where images of Aboriginal people are presented in a localized and somewhat bounded context in which Aboriginal people are actively engaged in constructing their

representation for a predominantly non-Aboriginal audience.

Beginning in January 1998, I earnestly began to search for a suitable Aboriginally-run cultural tourism experience. This task proved to be more difficult than I expected as Aboriginal cultural tourism development in Canada is largely dominated by non-Aboriginal owned and operated tourist operations that use Aboriginal culture as an attraction. Through the help of various tourism agencies, the World Wide Web, the Canadian Tourism Commission, Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada as well as the Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association and travel magazines, I managed to locate a limited number of Aboriginal owned and operated tourism destinations.[2] Many of these destinations, however, were lodges, motels, casinos or fishing and hunting lodges which did not offer an Aboriginal cultural component. Finally in April 1999, I found on the World Wide Web, an advertisement advertising *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, a First Nations owned and operated cultural camp located in Riding Mountain National Park in southern Manitoba.[3]

I left in late July to spend 3 weeks at the camp both as a tourist and a budding anthropologist, pondering the question of how a group of Anishinabe would represent themselves in the potentially conflicting contexts of the tourism industry and cultural renewal or revitalization.

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[2]Table 6 suggests that there are an estimated 1300 Aboriginal owned and operated destinations. These destinations were difficult to identify as many are no longer operating or are not advertised. Furthermore, most of these destinations are craft outlets, marinas, hunting and fishing camps, hotels and casinos. I was looking for a destination that actively used as Aboriginal culture as an attraction.

[3]That very same day, there was a short documentary based on *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* on the *Outdoor Journal* television show which promoted *Shawenequanape*.

Introduction

In Wayland Drew's novel *The Wabeno Feast* (1973), we are introduced to Duncan McKay, an eighteenth century Hudson's Bay factor, through an extant journal which recounts his journey through the Canadian wilderness to an isolated outpost beyond Lake Superior. As McKay and his voyageurs make their way up the rivers, they pass among familiar Indians. It is not that McKay has seen these 'Indians' before; he has not, but we have. At the beginning of the journey, McKay comes upon an 'Indian' camp consisting of

> birchbark hovels already rotting back to earth, [where even] the dogs lack energy to bark [and where the people are] by nature lazy, depraved, and so thoroughly addicted to alcoholic liquors that all men of good intentions sent among them by both Government and Church have despaired (Drew 1973:54).

The voyageurs push further into "this brute countryside, with its never-ending rocks and brooking meadows" (Drew 1973:56), and encounter a second group of 'Indians' camped on an island. They are led by a *Wabeno*, a shaman, and that night, as McKay watches, the *Wabeno* and his followers light a huge fire and perform a bizarre ceremony of self-mutilation and self-destruction:

> . . . the drumbeats throbbed to a crescendo and the wabeno continued and quickened his contortions almost onto the fire itself, writhing like a lean snake the while, and for a time this lone dancing continued amidst the very flames until I swore the man must be consumed. Yet he emerged, his loin cloth in smoking ribbons and his face flickering with mingled pain and pleasure which was horrible to look upon (Drew 1973:87).

At their farthest point from civilization, McKay and his voyageurs meet a third

'Indian', a man named Miskobenasa who has had contact with whites before and has retreated deep into the forest to escape their influence. McKay tries to establish trade with Miskobenasa's people, but Miskobenasa adamantly rejects McKay's protestations of friendship and his trade overtures with heroic stoicism and eloquent oratory:

> We want no more of it! You are not welcome among us should you come with your toboggans full of death for trading, with your canoes full of death. We know well your trade and friendship, and we have gone apart from it. Forever (Drew 1973:194).

By the time Drew, in his novel, gets to the twentieth century, the 'Indian' has all but disappeared, and the forests, which were the blank spaces on McKay's map, have all been surveyed. Yet the 'Indian' spirit that McKay encounters has not been exorcized; the 'Indian' and the 'Indian' world remain a potent force.

These four visions of the 'Indian,' these masks - the dissipated, barbarous or heroic savage, and the hopeless, suffering, dying victim, should be familiar to any contemporary reader, for they represent the full but limited range of 'Indian' characters as represented by non-Aboriginal people in anthropology, government policy, art, literature, staged performances, film, and tourism. In the academy, specifically anthropology, and in government policy, these visions of the 'Indian' also include representations of Aboriginal peoples as curiosities, exotic, 'not yet civilized,' thus underdeveloped.

Throughout the 19th century popular discourse, these views were shaped in the hands of a 'veritable stampede' of travelers from Europe, the United States and Eastern Canada who wanted to see the 'wild Indian' in his natural setting before he vanished. With pen in hand, these travelers came ready to record their adventures. Visual artists such as Paul Kane and

eager writers embellished their experiences in order to capture their readers' interest with fanciful stories and paintings of the horrific 'Indian' (Fixico 1998:86). In literature, representations of Aboriginal peoples were drawn from the 18th century contradiction of 'noble' versus 'ignoble'(Moses 1996:3; Berkhofer 1979:74-75). Created in the hands of writers such as James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851), Karl May (1842-1912) and Ralph Conner, or as he is otherwise known, the Reverend Charles Gordon (1860-1937), these two basic images persisted in literature well into the 20th century.

In the popular discourse of imaginative literature, 'Mountie' fiction, adventure stories and even romance stories, the 'noble savage' offered Europeans a vision of a simpler time, a golden age when humans lived in harmony with nature.[4] Whereas the 'ignoble' savage had progressed very little, his primitivism was obvious in comparison to the civility of Europeans (Moses 1996:3). The 'noble savage' welcomed the colonists and treated them with generosity and courtesy, whereas the 'ignoble savage' was a threat to colonial life and contested colonial occupation, treated interlopers with treachery or cruelty, and was violent, ignorant, debased and brutal (Stedman 1982:67). The 'noble savage' appeared handsome in features, dignified in manner and brave in battle, whereas the 'ignoble savage' resembled the brute beasts with whom he shared the wilderness (Moses 1996:3). Savagery contrasted with civility, and the natural life the 'Indian' lived opposed the disciplined life of European society.

In the last 40 years, scholars and critics have begun to critically examine the image of the 'Indian' in both the academic, government and popular discourses. Contemporary

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[4]The noble savage is defined as an idealized concept of uncivilized man, who symbolized the innate goodness of one not exposed to the corrupting influences of civilization.

postmodernist debates which criticise non-Aboriginal representation of Aboriginals, combined with Aboriginal political action and artistic or economic development, have confronted and challenged traditionally accepted understandings of Aboriginal people. In the 1960s and early 1970s, Aboriginal peoples themselves, working within the dominant discourse, 'talked back,' modestly resisting and challenging non-Aboriginal representation. These representations confront assumptions that Aboriginal peoples and cultures are a dying race, suffering victims with no hope of survival beyond complete assimilation (Acoose 1995:108).[5] In contrast to non-Aboriginal representations which depict Aboriginal peoples as dying off, in contemporary urban Aboriginal representations of themselves they are survivors and also victims who are integrally connected to the land and their communities.

Thomas King argues that images constructed by Aboriginal writers are "quite unlike the historical and contemporary Native characters in white fiction" (1987:8). He explains that,

> like the traditional trickster figures, contemporary Native characters are frequently tricked, beaten up, robbed, deserted, wounded, and ridiculed, but, unlike the historical and contemporary Native characters in white fiction, these characters survive,. . . persevere,. . . and prosper (King 1987:8).

To King, contemporary Aboriginal representations abound

> with characters who are crushed and broken by circumstances and disasters, but. . .[who like] their traditional trickster relations, rise from their own wreckage to begin again. (1987:8)

Similarly to Aboriginal writers, contemporary Aboriginal visual artists are moving

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[5]There has however been a loss of Aboriginal languages.

beyond a fictious, singular, pan-Indian representation. Celebrating survival by calling attention to the strength within their culture, both artists (such as Gerald McMaster and Robert Houle) and writers (Tomson Highway and Drew Hayden Taylor) call attention to historic injustices including segregation onto reserves, confinement in residential schools, and the removal of Aboriginal children from their communities. In its many different forms, such self-representation is an affirmation and reflection of contemporary Aboriginal life, offering both a snapshot of an often tragic history, but yet a powerful testimony to survival and the cultural strength of Aboriginal people.

Culture as 'container'

Historically, Aboriginal culture was understood as something "bounded in the world that can be listed and enumerated" or what has been called the 'contents and containers' view of culture (Lambek & Boddy 1997:6). This view of culture however, as many contemporary writers have pointed out, is an outdated or unrealistic way of viewing culture (Lambek & Boddy 1997:6). Despite this, 'readers' of culture, movie watchers, those who read popular novels, and tourists, to name only a few, are confronted with this 'containerized' view of culture.[6] In reference to North American Aboriginal culture, it is useful to see the representation moving through three stages or 'containers.' In the first two containers, white, Euro-Americans had control over the representation and presented two very distinct, different and often conflicting or ambiguous 'containers' of Aboriginal culture. The first container or

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[6]Such inferences lead to questioning whether every or any representation is a container? Such questions are beyond the scope of this research. However, given postmodern debates surrounding binary oppositions, it is my contention that every representation can be containerized.

consists of the metanarrative, constructed by non-Aboriginal individuals, which represents Aboriginal people as warriors, disappearing, savage, childlike or primitive and ignoble yet at the same time heroic, close to nature, exemplifying the noble savage (Table 1). The second container, constructed by non-Aboriginal peoples, is one which broke away from the view that Aboriginal people and culture were savage, primitive or dying off. Rather than perceived as savage or dying off Aboriginal peoples and cultures were presented as skilful allies, adaptive, citizens plus and resourceful. In the third stage of representation, Aboriginal peoples, through their efforts to 'speak back,' broke out of this 'containerization' by representing their culture as adaptive, surviving, tenacious, modern, economically viable and vibrant (Table 2). These self-representations often however seem trapped by the narrative conventions created in the first two frames.

This thesis is an attempt and in some cases a struggle, to mediate by me, as both a 'budding anthropologist' and tourist, between the three 'containers' and the three distinctly different metanarratives of Aboriginal representation.[7] I refer to this mediation as a struggle because much of my anthropological training has been focussed on attempting to cope with the 'crisis of representation,' pondering over how anthropologists represent the object of their discourse, and how they come to terms with the fact that every work of

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It may be argued that there are more than three containers of representation. However, for the purposes of this research I have distinguished two containers, the dividing line being whether the representation comes from Aboriginal peoples or non-Aboriginal peoples.

Table 1: The non-Aboriginal 'Containerized' View of Aboriginal Culture

Positive	Negative
Noble	Barbaric Savages
Acute Reasoners	Hopeless/Suffering Victims
Eloquent Speakers	Fictitious
Skillful & Farsighted Politicians	Exotic
Military Allies	Primitive/Prehistoric
Treaty Partners	Uncivilized/Underdeveloped
Brave	Vanishing/Dying Off
Virtuous	Ignoble
Courageous	Scientific Specimens
Citizens Plus	Children of the Devil
Politically Distinct	Blood-Thirsty Warriors
Self-Governing	Murderers
Spiritual	Doomed to Assimilation
Close to Nature	Children of Nature
	Icons of Consumer Society
	Frozen in the Past
	Inferior
	Dissipated

Table 2: Aboriginal Perspectives and Representation

Modern
Economically & Politically Viable
Industrious
Prosperous
Politically & Culturally Distinct
Self-Governing
Tenacious
Vibrant
Resourceful
Survivors
Culturally Specific
Adaptive
Living & Surviving
Possess a Future
Relevant to Contemporary Society
Concerned for the Land, Culture and Community
Celebrate Life
Artistic
Revitalizing

ethnographic research and writing is a complex dialogue between subject and object.

As an anthropologist, I reflect on how Aboriginal peoples have been represented in history, government policy, popular culture and anthropology by non-Native peoples. As a tourist, I participated in an Anishinabe cultural tourism experience in Riding Mountain National Park in southern Manitoba. Bringing my two 'selves' and experiences of representation together, this thesis is thus an anthropological reflection on the Anishinabe attempt at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* to present an alternative representation of themselves to the wider public, one that challenges existing images and nurtures a broad understanding of the Anishinabe reality in the modern world.

What I have written here is a series of excursions which deconstruct the binary oppositions between political/institutional and theoretical non-Aboriginal representation on the one hand, and my personal/private/experiential/interior touristic representation on the other. Keeping this in mind, my interpretation of how Aboriginal culture and people have been represented by both non-Aboriginal people in the academy, by the state, in the popular discourse and by Aboriginal people themselves in a tourism experience is, as Kondo argues,

> the product of a complex negotiation, taking place within specific, but shifting, contexts, where power and meaning, 'personal' and 'political,' are inseparable (1990:24).

With that stated, this examination of both the culturally constructed popular perceptions or representations pertaining to North American Aboriginal peoples which exist in Canada today, and Aboriginal attempts to self-represent, is organized into five chapters. Although presented here as conceptually distinct, in real life the issues addressed in the five chapters form a

virtually seamless whole within which Aboriginal attempts at self-representation have evolved in Canada.

To avoid discussing Aboriginal self-representation against a backdrop of a 'clear blue sky,' I have placed the chapters on anthropological and state representations of Aboriginal people in Canada first. It is this backdrop against which the rest of the thesis must be interpreted. In the first chapter the first two containers of representation are examined as they have evolved in anthropology. In addition, I examine how the postmodern 'crisis of representation' and ideas of culture have affected non-Aboriginal anthropological representations.

Central to representation is how the Canadian state understood Aboriginal culture. I present in chapter two a condensed summary discussion of several key aspects of Canadian state policy and treatment of Aboriginal people as part of the background against which contemporary Aboriginal self-representation must be understood. In chapter three, I examine both the roots and nature of non-Aboriginal representation in the popular discourses as well as examine how Aboriginal peoples are presented in a 'containerized' fashion in the popular discourses of art, literature, staged productions, film, consumer society and tourism. In doing so, I intend to show how representations in the popular discourse, could embody either positive or negative values. In this chapter I provide an analysis and critique of the non-Aboriginal 'containerized' representation in order to show what Aboriginal people must confront in their attempts to self-represent. Because this chapter treats representations that have been presented in extremely scattered studies or which have never really been synthesized into a single narrative presentation, it may read as a textbook example or

catalogue of representations found in the popular discourse.

Chapter four leaves non-Aboriginal based representation behind and probes instead the attempts Aboriginal people have made to 'speak back' against non-Aboriginal representation. This chapter opens with a discussion of how Aboriginal peoples have attempted to find a voice for their own self-representation by means of early and contemporary political action, art, film and literature. In this chapter we will see that although some of the grossly distorted imagery has been superceded in the hands of Aboriginal peoples, there are many elements in the representation that have remained constant and bound within the discourses of their historical context or dominant hegemony. This consistency is due in part to the fact that today's representations, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, are located within the entire colonial tradition of noble savagism. The reader will also note in this chapter that, although I argue that Aboriginal representations are unbounded, all Aboriginal representations are nonetheless bound by the dominant discourse and hegemony. In this sense, it is not possible for their representations to free themselves from the dominant European hegemony. In studies such as these, it is almost common place to conclude with a discussion of Indigenous peoples use of the image of the 'Indian.' I question the right of any person to judge another's representation of his or her own culture. Thus, the reader will note that with very few, and usually brief, exceptions, I do not critique, judge or analyse Aboriginal representations of themselves. Preferring to let these images speak for themselves, I have tried to avoid the imposition of the kind of theoretical or analytical constructs that bedevil current, postmodernist academic writing.

Chapter five brings the two independent discourses of representation together by

examining how, through Aboriginal owned and operated tourism destinations such as *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, Aboriginal peoples are attempting to represent themselves in a setting which largely focusses on representation to a non-Aboriginal audience.[8] Keeping in mind my own personal objections regarding one person's right to make judgements about another's representation chapter six utilizes *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* to examine what Aboriginal owned and operated tourism says about the postmodern discourse and non-Aboriginal representation. I realize that this may be too broad a claim as it is based on only one example I nonetheless feel that it does expand upon current anthropological work related to issues of representation that, examine how an Aboriginal identity has been created, informed and reinforced in the public context.

Methodology

In carrying out this research at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, I used a combination of formal techniques and unstructured participant observation. In learning how Aboriginal peoples represent themselves to a predominantly non-Aboriginal audience in a tourism setting, I used the technique of participant observation. In accordance with this technique, I learned about Aboriginal tourism and representation through direct participation in the everyday life and activities at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* over a period of three weeks. During my time at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, I was primarily a tourist, participating in all the offered programs and living in a teepee. During my stay at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* in July 1999, I also conducted both formal and informal interviews with camp management, staff,

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[8]I use the word 'independent' here loosely because it can be argued that Aboriginal representations, similarly to non-Aboriginal representations, are in fact, not 'independent' because they occupy a colonial space.

community members (where appropriate), tourists and outside tourism operators. Participation in these interviews was entirely voluntary and participants were able to withdraw from the interviews at any time. Due to the confidential nature of these interviews, no names or personal identifying information have been used in the writing of this thesis. Formal interviews were loosely structured and based on a set list of questions (see Appendix A). Not all questions were asked of each informant. Many questions elicited no response either because the informant stated they were not capable of answering or because they were not comfortable answering the questions. Other questions and their subsequent responses were, in the end and at the request of informants, not used in the writing of the thesis. In the end, several questions were inapplicable to the thesis and thus were not included in the final document. The interviews with camp management, staff and several tourists who visited the camp were tape recorded and later transcribed. Once transcribed, each informant received a printed copy of their interview and was encouraged to provide feedback pertaining to any aspects of the interview they wished not be used in the writing of this thesis. I often used formal interviews throughout the fieldwork period as a summation device to pull loose ends together. Informal or unstructured interviews often had no announced topic or planned meeting, and were not taped. These interviews were led by the informant and generally unfolded in a conversational structure. Since leaving *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* I have remained in contact with staff and management and have conducted a number of informal telephone interviews throughout the various stages of writing this thesis.

1. Anthropology & Postmodernism: The Crisis of Representation

In the late 19th century anthropology was a burgeoning field of western scholarship dominated by hopes for a general science of 'man' (Marcus & Fischer 1986:17; Darnell 1974:169). For contemporary cultural anthropology, the most prominently remembered intellectual ancestors of the era are Edward Tylor and James Frazer in England, Emile Durkheim in France, and Lewis Henry Morgan in the United States (Marcus & Fischer 1986:17; Darnell 1974:169; McGee & Warms 1996:128). As 'armchair' anthropologists, each sought ambitious intellectual projects that aspired to locate the origins of modern institutions, rituals, customs and habits of thought through the contrasts of evolutionary stages in the development of human societies. These major writers, dependent upon such sources as travelers' accounts, colonial records and missionary scholarship, set the agenda for the style, scope and subject matter of anthropological debates into the twentieth century.

In the years leading up to WWII the professionalization of the social sciences and the humanities into specialized disciplines of the university marked a transition in the nature of American anthropological scholarship.[9] Anthropology became the social science which was committed to studying the 'exotic' or primitive customs of non-western peoples (Marcus & Fischer 1986:18). Under the direction of Franz Boas, anthropology coalesced as an academic

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[9]What are now the specialized sub-fields of anthropology, archaeology, biological anthropology and socio-cultural anthropology were then integrated in the competencies of the individual anthropologist who sought generalizations about humankind from the comparison of data from past and present human diversity.

discipline in North America which was, and still is, firmly based in the study of the North American Indian and he developed the professional direction that American/Canadian anthropology was to take (Darnell 1999:39; Jacknis 1985:75). Reacting against the grand evolutionary schemes of Tylor and other European anthropologists, Boas took an early stance in favor of what has since come to be known as 'historical particularism.' Boas argued that the evolution of each society had to be understood in relation to its own proper dynamics. Following this line of thinking, Boas' most important single contribution to anthropological thought is the doctrine of cultural relativism, the belief that every culture must be understood according to its own logic.

Developed to be a science specializing in the study of non-western peoples in an age of European colonial expansion, anthropological representations of First Nations peoples have played a critical role in informing public consciousness about North American Aboriginal people and culture (Ames 1986:37; Biolski 1997:136; Deloria 1969:87; King 1997:117). As a field dominated by white researchers who historically rarely asked what the Aboriginal peoples they studied had to say about their work, anthropologists have published thousands of volumes on Aboriginal people, culture and history (Cavender-Wilson 1998:23). The result has been a body of knowledge which is filled with contradictory ambiguous representations which historically affirmed First Nations as objects of curiosity, exotic, 'not-yet-civilized,' and underdeveloped. These early anthropological conclusions long antedate the professionalization of the discipline and were influenced in various ways and sometimes to a highly significant degree by attitudes and opinions that were prevalent in the societies in which the anthropologist lived (Trigger 1980:663; Darnell 1974:289-290).

Americanist Tradition & North American 'Indians'

Although Boas is recognized as focusing North American anthropology on the North American 'Indian,' the parameters of an Americanist anthropological tradition, firmly based in the study of the North American 'Indian,' pre-date his involvement in the field. Fascinated by the 'Canadian Indian,' curious about their origin and intrigued by their custom, amateur anthropologists in the mid 19th century such as Sir Daniel Wilson, Sir John William Dawson, Horatio Hale, and A.F. Chamberlain recorded Aboriginal ways of life, language and pre-histories, for both academic analyses and for the benefit of future generations (Cole 1973:43; Darnell 1999:44; 1975:320; Dyck 1990:41; Trigger 1980:18). At this time, the image of the 'Indian' as a culturally deprived, unprogressive savage extended into anthropology and the 'Indian' was discriminatively analyzed in terms of physical and moral attributes (Kristmanson 1997:14).[10] At the end of the 1830s, when it was generally believed that the Native population was destined for one of three potentialities: extermination, assimilation or isolation on reserves, the 'Indian' was reified as a passive object of European knowledge (Kristmanson 1997:14; Cole 1973:43). Some however, such as Hale, tried to emphasize the strength of Aboriginal culture such as he did in his description of the Iroquois, whom he saw as well organized and as expressive as the most civilized races (Cole 1973:44). Like Hale, Franz Boas did all of his anthropological fieldwork with Canadian Aboriginal people. Driven also

[10]The 19th century anthropological opinion that regarded Aboriginal peoples as unprogressive savages was reflected in the Mound Builder Myth which held that the spectacular earthworks which were then the object of considerable anthropological interest were the works of non-Aboriginal peoples (Trigger 1980:662).

by the belief that Aboriginal societies were disappearing, Boas and his students felt an immediate need to retrieve a vanished past. In 1883, Boas traveled to Baffin Island, where his study of the Eskimo led him to reject his previous scholarly focus on Arctic geographical determinism and turn to a closer examination of their society. Three years later, Boas was back in the field studying the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island, a group he focused on for most of his later career. Students of Boas also carried out work on Aboriginal North Americans: W.H. Meckling studied the Micmacs; A.A. Goldenweiser the Iroquois; Paul Radin the Ojibway; Alfred Louis Kroeber spent much of his career studying the patterns of art, fashion and technology of the Arapaho; Robert Lowie studied the military societies of the Crow Indians of the Plains; Cyrus MacMillan did folklore work among the Micmacs; Edward Sapir studied both the Nootka and Athapascans; and Ruth Benedict, like Boas, studied the Kwakiutl as well as the Zuni and Dobu (Cole 1973:42-43).

By the late 1920s and 1930s new theoretical currents began to affect the Americanist tradition (Fogelson 1999:82). Functionalism in its various guises placed greater emphasis on the wholeness and integration of cultures and social structures. It is difficult to single out specific works that mark this transition, but Margaret Mead's study of the Omaha, *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe* (1932) is exemplary of such work. Perhaps one of the best known Canadian anthropological works on Aboriginal North Americans in this genre of anthropology is Diamond Jenness' (1886-1969) *The Indians of Canada*, first published in 1932. Used for many years to train anthropologists interested in Canadian Aboriginal cultures, Jenness' text is a landmark in Canadian 'functionalist' anthropology as it emphasized the wholeness of culture and social structures by examining: language, economic conditions,

food resources, hunting and fishing, dress and adornment, dwellings, travel, trade, transportation, social and political organization, religion, folklore and traditions, oratory, drama, music and art. As well, Jenness examined in greater detail specific Aboriginal groups within the Eastern Woodlands, Plains, Pacific Coast, the Mackenzie and Yukon river Basins as well as the Eskimo. In this text, Jenness clearly represents Aboriginal peoples as primitive, suffering and inferior. According to Jenness, Aboriginal peoples were outcasts, economically inefficient, helpless in the face of catastrophe and surely to be extinct by the turn of the 21st century (Kulchyski 1993:35-37).

After WWII "some anthropologists stopped studying Indians because [some felt they] had become like any other minority group" (Hymes 1972:231). In addition, Elizabeth Colson stated at the time, "many of us thought that by the 1930s that what could be recorded here at home about the Native Americans pre-conquest life had been recorded" (quoted in Murray 1999:53).[11] Despite the dispersion of the interests of American anthropologists after WWII to areas outside of North America, work with Native North Americans remained prominent into the 1950s (Murray 1999:58). For example, much of the culture and personality work completed by Irving Hallowell (1960), Anthony Wallace and John Honigmann was based on their work with selected groups of North American Aboriginal peoples (Murray 1999:55).

Beginning in the 1930s, anthropology was perceived as a national endeavor and part of the public consciousness (Kristmanson 1997:20). During this time, anthropologists began

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[11]Many students of the 1930s sought to study the functional integration of 'primitive' cultures outside of North America (Murray 1999:52-53). One such example is the work of anthropologist Margaret Mead. In defiance of Boas' wish that she continue work with the Omaha, Margaret Mead went to Polynesia were she carried out extensive research in Samoa in the 1920s and Papua New Guinea in the 1930s.

to take a more active interest in the welfare and survival of the societies they observed (e.g. Chance 1996,1967, 1968; Salisbury 1986; Waldram 1988; Warry 1998) (Fogelson 1999:82). Applied anthropology came to the fore as anthropologists worked closely with government agencies to enact legislation and to administer programs intended to benefit and empower 'Indians' (Dyck & Waldram 1993:8). The anthropological role began to shift from passive undertakers of 'Indian' culture to active take-over policy makers in 'Indian' affairs. Testifying in the first of two major parliamentary inquiries into federal stewardship of 'Indian' affairs, anthropologist Diamond Jenness dutifully fulfilled this role in 1947 when he, unequivocally recommended a phased termination of federal 'Indian' administration and a program of forced integration of 'Indians' into Canadian society (Dyck & Waldram 1993:9).[12]

Since the 1960s, anthropology has developed into a more theory-oriented discipline. With its emphasis on internal cultural change the discipline aspired to dispel the once common image of Native peoples as uncreative, dying off or culturally static (Trigger, 1980:664; 1983; 29; Kristmanson 1997:15). A common feature in anthropological studies at this time was the inclusion of policy recommendations to improve the future prospects of Native peoples (Dyck & Waldram 1993:9). [13] Perhaps the best-known study conducted within this genre was the two-volume Hawthorn-Tremblay report (Hawthorne 1967), a largely anthropological study, commissioned by the federal government in the mid-1960s to provide a national survey of

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[12]Jenness' proposals for eliminating the special status of registered 'Indians' contrasted the views expressed by 'Indian' representatives. In the end, the assimilationist position propounded by Jenness gained a more receptive hearing from the parliamentarians than did the 'Indian' presentations.

[13]Some have gone as far as to describe the anthropological work of this time as fundamentally discriminating (Kristmanson 1997:21; Shanks and Tilley 1987: 60).

Canadian 'Indians' economic, political and educational needs and policies (Dyck & Waldram 1993:9).[14] Equally important during this period were anthropological studies, such as, *The Cree Developmental Change Project*, which was devoted to analyzing the impact of natural resource development and social policy on the Crees of north and central Quebec between 1964 and 1968 (Chance 1968:ix). The program, headed by Norman Chance, focused on the impact of large scale natural resource development on northern peoples health and welfare, economic, social and political development and their environment. Broadly stated, the long range goals of the project were to: increase our understanding of the process of economic, social and political change and development among the Cree; and, to attempt to find a series of formulae for the measurement and predication of developmental change so that its acceleration may be guided in the manner most conducive to economic growth and social well-being.[15]

Within two years of the publication of the Hawthorn-Tremblay report, the conditions that had sustained anthropological work began to change. The publication of Vine Deloria's (1969) denunciation of anthropology prompted much introspection among anthropologists. The changing sociopolitical climate in which anthropology was practiced resulted in a self-evaluation by some anthropologists while others, striving to define and prove universal

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[14]Although proposing what amounted to a new policy for Canadian 'Indians' this research was carried out without formal meetings or discussions with Aboriginal communities and was accompanied by the implicit assumption that the authors were capable of assessing and representing 'Indians' best interests to the Minister of Indian Affairs (Dyck & Waldram 1993:10).

[15]See *The Eskimo of Northern Alaska* (Chance 1966), *Conflict in Culture: Problems of Developmental Change Among the Cree* (edited by Chance 1968), *Implications of Environmental Stress for Strategies of Developmental Change in the North* (Chance 1967).

generalizations about human behavior, continued "the conduct of human science which ignored living people" (Janes 1994:149) and continued to perceive Aboriginal peoples as objects of scientific studies. In 1973, however, when Native people of Northern Ontario expressed opposition to research of benefit only to non-Native interests, anthropologists recognized that they could no longer work independently of Native concerns.[16]

During the 1970s and 1980s, as Native involvement in anthropological matters increasingly entered the public forum, anthropologists turned to a self-reflective historical approach to anthropological studies as well as published a number of studies that explored different facets of the 'Indian'-anthropologist relationship (e.g., Brody 1975, 1981; Ryan 1978).[17] Fieldwork studies of 'traditional' cultures were superceded by new interests or

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[16]Until the 1970s, ethical concerns regarding anthropological studies of Native cultures had largely been ignored. However, in the late 1970s, the Union of Ontario Indians in Canada launced civil action against archaeologists Walter Kenyon who had violated the Cemeteries Act in the excavation of a Neutral Indian burial site at Grimsby (Kenyon 1977:9; 1979, 1982:6; Spurling 1976). The unexpected Native reaction, and the ill-preparedness of the government forced the closure of the site for two months while Native protestors, archaeologists and politicians struggled to restore order. This episode may have helped fuel the emerging concern for Native rights demonstrated by Canadian anthropologists (Kristmanson 1997:21). At the same time, anthropological writings were being used extensively by Native leaders (Dyck & Waldram 1993:10). The notion of 'Indians' as 'citizens plus,' first used in the Hawthorn-Tremblay report, was used to good effect by the National Indian Brotherhood in rejecting the White Paper.

[17]In 1984, for example, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples prepared the "Declaration of Principles" which stated that the Native population would "reassume original rights over their material culture" including archaeological resources (McGhee 1989:15). In 1988, the Canadian Museums Association met with the Assembly of First Nations to produce and implement museum guidelines for the management of Native remains and artifacts (Henton 1989:14). This co-operative action was the result of the controversial "The Spirit Sings" exhibition at the Glenbow Musuem in Calgary, Alberta able to ignore the pressing reality of Native involvement in anthropology, by 1989 Canadian and American government officials were responding by drafting legislation to protect Native burial sites and allow Native people to determine the destiny of accidentally exposed skeletal remains. In the United States, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was signed in 1990 and the Smithsonian Institution tentatively agreed to consider the return of historic artifacts to Native peoples (Andrews and Nichols 1997:2; Kristmanson 1997:22). In Canada, at an Aboriginal Archeological Symposium held in Ottawa in 1991, jurisdiction regarding Aboriginal archaeological

made to speak to highly politicized issues such as aboriginal land claims, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (see Berger 1977; Usher 1993) and in the negotiation of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (Dyck & Waldram 1993:11). This trend has also motivated anthropologists to begin to look for solutions to resolve sociopolitical challenges that, in turn, led to a series of epistemological questions about how knowledge is formed, disseminated, and used. One example of such anthropological work is *A Homeland for the Cree: Regional Development in James Bay 1971-1981* (Salisbury 1986). This study about how the first James Bay project was negotiated between the Cree and Quebec government, follows the negotiations which began in 1971, analyses the organizational and economic changes in Cree society in the initial years following the signing of the James Bay Northern Agreement as well as looks at the evolution of how contemporary anthropologists interact with indigenous communities.

Postmodernism

Beginning in the 1960s, postmodernism and the widespread perception of a radically changing world challenged the purposes and style of anthropological representation and undermined the confidence anthropologists once had in their ability to describe social reality (Marcus & Fischer 1986:vii). Due to this,

> in every contemporary field whose subject is society, there are either attempts at reorienting the field in distinctly new directions or efforts at synthesizing new challenges to theory with established programs for research (Marcus & Fischer 1986:vii).

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resources was unanimously passed.

Geographer David Harvey, has suggested that postmodernism is a legitimate reaction to the positivistic belief in linear progress, absolute truths, the rational planning of ideal social orders and the standardization of knowledge which is inherent in modernism's view of the world (1990:9). Postmodernism distrusts modernism's universal or totalizing discourses, and rejects meta-narratives or large-scale universal theoretical interpretations in favour of the liberative forces of heterogeneity, difference, fragmentation and indeterminacy. According to literary critic, Terry Eagleton,

> post-modernism signals the death of meta-narratives whose secretly terroristic function was to ground and legitimate the illusion of a universal human history (quoted in Harvey 1990:9).

If modernists presupposed that there was a tight and identifiable relation between what was being said and how it was being said, postmodernist thinking sees a continually breaking apart and re-attaching (Harvey 1990:49). The result has been to call into question all the illusions of fixed systems of representation so that we do not aspire to any unified representation of the world, or picture it as a totality full of connections and differentiations.

Postmodernists like Roland Barthes (1967) and Michel Foucault (1972) have undermined rather thoroughly the argument for an unified voice. Others such as Huyssens (1984), Margery Fee (1989), Nourbese Philip (1990), Gareth Griffiths (1994) and Edward Said (1979) castigate the imperialism of an 'enlightened modernity' that presumed to speak for others (colonized peoples, minorities, women etc.). They argue that all groups have a right to speak for themselves, in their own voice, and to have that voice accepted as legitimate (Harvey 1990:48). Huyssens, for his part, has emphasized the opening given in postmodernism to understanding difference or otherness in favor of accepting the

fragmentation and the pluralism, of other voices (1984:25). In the article "Who Can Write as Others?" (1989), Fee asks whether or not majority group members can speak as minorities, whites as people of color, men as women, or intellectuals as working peoples. Her answer is, quite simply, no. To her, ideologies are constructed in language as contextualized social discourse and, as a result, it is not possible for written work to free itself from the dominant ideology (1989: 244-245). Similarly to Fee, Philip argues that writing silences the 'Other' as it has deprived groups who privilege other forms of discourse of the ability to express themselves (1990: 213). Griffiths and Said reinforce this argument. Griffiths argues that writing is a colonial, oppressive discourse because it is a practice in which the possibilities of subaltern speech is contained by the discourse of the one doing the writing (1994:237). In *Orientalism* (1979) Said argues that writing is an exercise in power, denying subjects the right to contrary views by obscuring from the reader recognition that they may view things with equal validity, quite different from the writer (Marcus & Fischer 1986:3). In the context of this critique anthropology has been forced, since the 1960s, to examine the ways in which it represents the objects of social thought, and to become, as Foucault has insisted, "an archaeologist of the past, digging up its remnants and assemble them side by side" (as quoted in Harvey 1990:56) in order to examine new ways to represent the voices and experiences of their subjects.

Anthropology and Postmodernism

In anthropology, the postmodern debate, 'the crisis of representation,' has been described as

> [a] distinctive, alternate swing of a pendulum between totalizing theories . . .

> in which [dominant] paradigms [have lost] their legitimacy and authority . . . theoretical concerns [have] shift[ed] to problems of the interpretation of the details of a reality that elude[d] the ability of [these] paradigms to describe (Marcus & Fischer 1986:12).

In this debate conventional anthropological and ethnographic accounts are understood to be deceptive as well as linked to political hierarchy, authority and power (Grimshaw & Hart 1994:229). In addition, the growing resistance by First Nations peoples and other colonized peoples to anthropological study further undermined, and some would say embarrassed, the anthropological project. As a result, the knowledge of

> fieldworkers is increasingly subject to challenge from a wide variety of sources, not least the people studied themselves. Even worse, artless communication of commonsense knowledge can be derided as mere gossip or dismisse[d] as redundant (Grimshaw & Hart 1994:230).

The anthropologists' claim to special expertise to bridge the gap between the 'civilized' and 'primitive' was no longer credible.

Furthermore, anthropological representations have been argued by some to be nothing more than 'fictions,' molded and bound within the discourses of their historical context, texts which fundamentally perpetuated the dominant hegemony (Linnekin 1991:252). Such arguments raise fundamental questions about the nature of an outsider's experience of a cultural reality, and prompt the question of whether the texts produced by anthropologists can be seen in anyway to accurately reflect a given reality. Such criticisms have led many Aboriginal people to question the abilities of anthropologists to produce objective knowledge. This results from the fact that in the past, Aboriginal peoples had

> no way of monitoring the accuracy of the information that [anthropologists] collect; [people] may get a narrow perspective of a very complex situation in Native communities (Ignace et. al 1993:167).

In Canada, in the 21st century, the academy continues to reflect on the limitations of anthropological representation in the context of an ongoing critique of how anthropologists have historically represented Aboriginal peoples (Andrews and Nichols 1997:3).[18] Contemporary innovations in anthropological writing (experiential, interpretive, dialogical and polyphonic representation) and applied anthropology are helping to move the discipline toward an unprecedentedly acute political and historical sensibility that is transforming the way anthropologists are portraying cultural diversity (Marcus & Fischer 1986:15-16). Take for instance the work of cultural anthropologist Wayne Warry. Looking at contemporary Aboriginal issues and applied anthropology in Canadian Aboriginal communities his research leads to the improvement or development of culturally appropriate health and human services, First Nations controlled health, mental health and justice services.[19]

One thing that has become clear out of the postmodern debate is the fact that anthropologists and First Nations are forging new working relationships. In forging new relationships, anthropologists have begun to recognize that the Aboriginal voice and knowledge are integral to any representation of Aboriginal people (Andrews and Zoe 1997:160). Recognizing this has led to an increasing number of projects or partnerships (joint field schools, excavations and publications) between anthropologists and Aboriginal communities in which the needs and aspirations of both the scholarly and Aboriginal communities are met. There are several such examples however, I will mention only a few.

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[18]It is important to note that the anthropological critique goes beyond representational concerns to include issues of ownership over 'intellectual property,' to material property and human remains held in museum collections and academic departments.

[19]See *Shared Visions of Community Healing* (Warry 1996) or *Unfinished Dreams* (Warry 1998).

Since 1991, The Saskatchewan Association of Professional Archaeologists (SAPA) has organized workshops which brought together First Nations Elders and archaeologists (Hanna 1997:69). The Ojibwa in Manitoba, the Gwich'in in the Northwest Territories, the Dogrib living around Great Bear and Great Slave Lake in Saskatchewan and the Cree in Quebec as elsewhere in Canada, are working alongside anthropologists and archaeologists, are being provided with the responsibility and opportunity to develop archaeological heritage studies, to document their culture, language, traditional knowledge and values as well as to assist in completing archaeological site inventories, designing research strategies and outlining primary research objectives (Denton 1997:105; Syms 1997:53; Kritsch & Andre 1997:130; Andrews & Zoe 1997:164).

In each of these cases, "two distinct and knowledgeable systems can be integrated to address a common research objective, where the specific interests of both parties can be addressed" (Andrews and Zoe 1997:173). Such partnerships bring new perspectives to old problems and permit all participants to benefit through an exchange of knowledge and experience. What is more important is that these partnerships force anthropologists to examine the biases inherent in their respective world views and permit us to modify, or at the very least acknowledge these, to meet changing circumstances. Furthermore, these new working relationships commit both parties to work together creating an often challenging, though rewarding, relationship that can be focused on addressing complimentary objectives.

Culture in Anthropology Today

The assumption of a spatially localized society or culture which anthropology traditionally relied on as its object of study has undergone further significant challenges in

recent years. In the context of mass migration of Aboriginal peoples to cities and the transnational cultural flows of the postcolonial world, the anthropological concept of culture and

> the idea that a world of human differences is to be conceptualized as a diversity of separate [bounded, discrete, immobile or territorialized] societies, each with its own culture (Gupta & Ferguson 1997:1).

has become increasingly difficult to accept.

The far-reaching critique of representation has undermined the traditional anthropological confidence that cultures were once bounded, immobile, stabilized or territorially distinct (Clifford 1988:338). Studies of ethnographic writing have revealed that the apparent boundedness of a culture was something made by the anthropologist rather than found. Such critiques have implied that anthropology's cultures must be seen as less unitary and more fragmented, their boundedness more of a literary fiction than as some sort of fact (Gupta & Ferguson 1997:3; Clifford 1988:10). Hanson proclaims that

> the fact that the culture is an invention and anthropology one of the inventing agents should not engender suspicion or despair that anthropological accounts do not qualify as knowledge about cultural reality. . . the analytic task is not to strip away the invented portions of culture as inauthentic but to understand the processes [by] which they acquire authenticity (1989:898).

People have undoubtedly been more mobile, less fixed or static than traditional anthropological ideas pertaining to culture would suggest. Today, the fact of the increasing mobility of people, the apparent deterritorialization of culture, and the fiction that cultures are discrete and occupy discrete spaces is giving way to the idea that cultures are mobile, continually changing, ambiguous and contradictory. And while deterritorialization has

destabilized the fixity of culture, culture is not to be perceived as free-floating. It is internally diverse, yet continuous and connected (Clifford 1988:17).

Anthropologist and Tourist as Interpreter

As has been shown, the last 30 years have been a period of considerable change within the discipline of anthropology. With the collapse of the colonial framework which provided the opportunity for field research, combined with theoretical shifts related to representation and the idea of culture, anthropology has, as Malcolm Crick suggests, "entered a period of reflexive anxiety which has brought to the fore the problem of the anthropological identity" (1995:205). One topic requiring attention in this respect is the identification of a partial overlap between the anthropologist and the tourist.[20] A fundamental similarity between the two is the fact that both anthropologists and tourists are travelers, collectors and interpreters. As such anthropologists and tourists mediate between dominant discourses or the 'containerized' view of culture. They are both subjective readers of culture and its representation. I will return to this point.

Conclusion

At the core of the Americanist anthropological tradition are contradictory and ambiguous representations of the North American 'Indian.' In some contexts the 'Indian' is represented as prehistoric or primitive, vanishing, virile, suffering and inferior in other

[20]The notion that anthropologists and tourists have something in common has been remarked on by a number of anthropologists over the past two decades. For an overview see Bruner 1986; Crick 1995; Rosaldo 1986; Albers and James 1983.

contexts they are skilful, farsighted politicians and acute reasoners. In the 1960s, postmodernity and the widespread perception of a radically changing world began to critique the anthropological project, undermined the anthropologist's authority to represent the 'Other' and questioned the unified, one-sided representation. In the context of postmodernity, authoritarian representations of culture as unchanging, fixed, bounded or 'containerized' have given way to the idea that culture and its representation are changing to encompass a less fixed, static and monolithic representation of Aboriginal cultures. It is this understanding of Anishinabe culture that camp staff were attempting to present to those tourists, themselves subjective interpreters who visited *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* in August 1999.

2. *'State' Representations of Aboriginal Culture*

As indicated earlier, the indigenous peoples of North American have been represented as noble, brave, fierce, treacherous, degraded, impoverished but undoubtedly "dying off." These representations are embedded in the discourse of the Canadian state and official governmental 'Indian' policy (Ewers 1981:1). Such euro-centric images and assumptions about First Nations peoples which were coloured by prejudice and self-interest emerged out of early 16th and 17th centuries political, economic and cultural encounters between Europeans and North American Aboriginal people. They have prevailed through much of the 20th century and in many contexts hold constant as we enter the 21st century. In order to examine how Aboriginal peoples have been represented within in the Canadian state, specific events and occurrences in history and 'Indian' policy have been selected as metonymic of this broader discourse of representation. The discussion that follows is not intended to be comprehensive but rather is an attempt to highlight the images in which Aboriginal peoples find themselves in constant negotiation in their efforts towards self-representation.

Skraelings, Savages and Specimens

Contact between North America's First Nations and Europeans occurred when Vikings arrived in the Eastern Arctic nearly one thousand years ago (Ray 1997:20). The Norse referred to the first Aboriginal peoples they encountered as 'Skraelings' (from Skraelingjar, meaning small or withered) or trolls, and described them as very little people, ill-favored men with ugly hair, big eyes and broad cheeks (Stedman 1982:6; Dickason

1992:87). Five hundred years later in 1497, John Cabot's voyage from Bristol in England reopened European contact with Canada (Ray 1997:20). Little can be said about what images or understandings, of Aboriginal people, this sporadic contact nurtured in the minds of the first explorers. However, in reviewing the accounts of early explorer's encounters with 'Indians,' Greenblatt suggests that to early explorers such as Jacques Cartier, Christopher Columbus and Martin Frobisher, Aboriginal peoples were described as "wild and savage folk" (Cartier as quoted in Ray 1997:19), "good and intelligent servants" (Columbus as quoted in Greenblatt 1991:75), savages, cannibals, trade partners and allies "who would be easy to convert to our holy faith" (Cartier as quoted in Greenblatt 1991:103).[21] These perceptions would remain dominant into the 20th century so long as the interlopers needed the knowledge, experience, skill and technologies of Aboriginal peoples to survive and supply them with the commodity of furs and later to play a strategic role in struggles over political territories (van Kirk 1980:9; 1991:180).

Trading Partners and 'Children of the Devil'

The development of the fur trade industry, and its attendant relationship between Aboriginal hunters and European traders, beginning with the founding of the British Hudson's Bay Company in the 1670s followed by the predominantly French North West Company in 1774 formed the basis of the representation of Aboriginal people in Canada for

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[21]The powerful cultural fantasy of cannibalism was strengthened by accounts such as that of Martin Frobisher (1539-1594) who reported that "considering, their ravenesse and bloudy disposition in eating anye kinde of rawe flesh or carrion howsoever stinking it is likely that anye English would bee viewed as quite good meat (in Greenblatt 1991:111).

almost two-hundred years (Ray 1997:76; Trigger 1991:5).[22] The encounters of these groups in the trade affirmed the image of Aboriginal people as valuable allies who could 'serve the trade' and 'belonged in nature' (van Kirk 1980:9; 1991:180).[23]

By the first decade of the 17th century, these commercial relations were complicated by the desire of the Catholic Church in France to convert Aboriginal peoples into Christians (Miller 1991:270; Moore 1997:116).[24] When missionaries first arrived in 1615, they already had preconceived ideas about Aboriginal peoples as "children of the devil" (Moses 1996:3) who lived in a state of nature. Following this line of thinking and basing their opinions on the written accounts of the first explorers, the missionaries assumed that Aboriginal peoples were

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[22]The popularity of the beaver felt hat in Europe in the mid 16th century prompted the development of the fur trade in North American where the beaver was found in abundance (Ray 1997:76). Both the British and the French knew they had to capitalize on the hunting skills of the indigenous population and as a result, in the early days of the trade, white and 'Indian' people met on an equitable footing. In this context the 'Indian' was understood to be neither slave nor subject.

[23]Predicated on the belief that peaceful relations would bring commercial success in dealings with the 'Indian, the two dominant fur trade companies, the Northwest Company (NWC) and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) developed separate 'Indian' policies. HBC policy regarding the 'Indian' differed greately from that of the NWC in that British policy was much more circumspect and formal as 'Indians' were clearly seen to be something to be kept 'separate' from any loyal British subject (van Kirk 1980:10). The British attitude towards that 'Indian' and their subsequent relationship is best described as "benevolent paternalism as [official] policy [which] exhorted its officers to treat the 'Indians' civilly and to trade upon equal foundation" (van Kirk 1980:14). Furthermore, British policy was structured around stringent rules which were developed to restrict 'Indian'-white contact. In contrast, the French quickly established much closer if not intimate alliances with the Aboriginal peoples (Dickason 1992:103). They treated the 'Indian' with "lavish familiarity" (van Kirk 1980:13).

[24]In 1615, the Recollets, the first priests to come to the colony established missions in Acadia, Newfoundland, Quebec and along the St. Lawrence valley (Moore 1997:116-120). Ten years after the arrival of the Recollets, and inspired by the same aim of conversion, the first members of the powerful Society of Jesus, the Jesuits began to arrive in Acadia. Jesuit missions were later established in all areas penetrated by the French including Iroquois country, James Bay and the western Great Lakes.

wild, primitive 'savages'(Ray 1997:31).[25] It was however believed that by living amongst the 'Indian,' and by learning their language, the missionaries could persuade Aboriginal peoples to live among the French, become French in dress, work and outlook and encourage them to convert to Christianity[26] (Moore 1997:117).

Military Allies, Barbaric Warriors and Treaty Partners

Events in the early part of the 18th century significantly altered the generally co-operative relationship between Aboriginal peoples and European traders. Imperialistic rivalry between the British and French began to escalate and was reflected in a struggle for central North America. Concomitantly, the thrust of European contact in the 18th century changed from a commercial to an imperial frontier, the 'Indian' changed from trading partners to military allies (Miller 1991:270).

Military cooperation between Europeans and the Aboriginal peoples became important and the consequent emergence of the understanding of the 'Indian' as an ally profoundly altered European-Indian representation in both North America and abroad. In warfare, Europeans claimed that Aboriginal peoples were barbarically "addicted to scalping

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[25]While living amongst the 'Indians,' Jesuit missionaries published in the *Jesuit Relations* many vivid descriptions of Aboriginal attitudes concerning child-rearing, marriage and burial practices accounts which affirmed representation of these people as horrific and barbaric (Moore 1997:119-120). Some say these accounts should be read as the first anthropological accounts about Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

[26]First Nations peoples however proved largely indifferent to these ideas. As a result, the Recollet missionary society collapsed in 1650 and the Jesuit missionary collapsed after British conquest in 1763. Despite the failure of the missions, many Jesuits and Recollets remained in New France well into the 1800s (Moore 1997:117). In 1800, the last Jesuit Missionary, Father Casot died, ten years later in 1810, Pope Clement XIV dissolved the order. The Recollet mission expired in 1848 when the last Recollet died in Montreal.

and torturing prisoners" (Miller 1991:59). According to some accounts, Aboriginal men and women alike

> howl[ed], yell[ed] and applied fire to the most sensitive private parts of the body, pricking them with awls, biting them with savage glee, laying open their flesh with knives [and] doing everything that madness can suggest. They threw fire upon them, burning coals, hot sand; and when the sufferers cried out, all the others cried still louder, in order that the groans should not be heard, and that no one might be touched with pity (quoted in Miller 1991:60).[27]

Despite the fact that Aboriginal peoples were referred to as blood-thirsty savages, the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* and pre-confederation treaties recognized the autonomy of Aboriginal nations as self-governing actors within the British Imperial system (Table 3). As self-governing actors, Aboriginal peoples were considered to be distinct peoples or political units within the larger political unit that was eventually to become Canada (Table 3). Such conflicting and ambiguous images of Aboriginal people as both 'noble' yet 'savage' dominated representation of Aboriginal people from this point on.

Obstacles to be Removed

After the collapse of French imperial power in North America in 1763 and when British imperial power became firmly established in 1812, the relationship between Aboriginal

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[27]It must also be stated that representations during this time consistently overlooked the fact that warfare among the French and British was also barbarous but recordings of their barbarity were omitted from written accounts.

Table 3: Some Key Elements of 'Indian' Policy and Representation

Date	Event	Result	Representation
1763	Royal Proclamation	-Established for the purpose of maintaining peace, law and order on the frontier (Boldt 1993:271-273). -Established the legal framework for surrender of Aboriginal title by treaty (Dickason 1993:340-342).	-Aboriginal nations were seen as autonomous within the British Imperial system (Ray 1997:102).
1830	Pre-Confederation Treaties	-Negotiated during an era in which the British were contending with the 'Indians,' French and Americans over issues of territorial control (Boldt 1993:274-278).	-Aboriginal peoples were recognized as distinct political units within the larger political unit that was eventually to become Canada.
1854 & 1862	Robinson Treaties	-Models for the Numbered Treaties (Dickason 1993:253-255).	-'Indians' were uncivilized
1857	Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes	-Intended to encourage the gradual civilization of the 'Indian' and to amend the laws respecting them (Tobias 1983:44)	-Indians' were 'Children of the State' who needed to be controlled and regulated -Traditional means of Governance seen to be irresponsible.
1867	British North America Act	-Gave the Dominion of Canada exclusive jurisdiction over 'Indians' and lands reserved for 'Indians.'	
1869	Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of the Indian	-Marked the formal adoption by Parliament of the goal of assimilation (Tobias 1993:43)	-'Indians' seen as incapable of 'properly' governing themselves. -State had the right to decide who was an 'Indian.'
1876 & 1951	Indian Act(s)	-Established the legal and administrative framework for the internal colonization of 'Indian' people (Dickason 1993:283-286)	-'Indian' cultures and society were clearly inferior to settler society. -Individual 'Indian' cast as a dependent ward.
1966	Hawthorne Report	-Supported the continuance of the 'Indian' Act.	-Recognized that Aboriginal peoples were Citizens Plus' who possessed additional rights as charter members of the Canadian community (Boldt 1993:65).
1982	Penner Report	-Reviewed all legal and related institutional factors affecting the 'Indian' status, development and responsibility of band council and to make recommendations in respect to establishing, empowering and funding 'Indian' self-government (Boldt 1993:88-90).	-Recognized that Aboriginal peoples be allowed to establish their own level of distinct Government.
1982	Constitution	-Native people won recognition of 'existing' Aboriginal rights. These rights were however not defined (Boldt 1993:52-53).	-'Indians' were understood to be one of three founding nations along with Inuit and Metis.
1983 to 1987	First Ministers Conferences	-Purpose was to fulfill a promise made to the Aboriginal peoples of Canada's eleven governments on the occasion of the patriation of the Constitution to define existing Aboriginal and treaty rights. (Boldt 1993:287-288).	-Recognized that Aboriginal peoples had legitimate unresolved issues that needed to be addressed.
1993	Nunavut Final Land Claim Agreement	-The *Nunavut Act* to create Nunavut and the *Nunavut Land Claim Agreement Act* were enacted into Parliament. -Gave the Inuit control of more than 350,000 square kilometers of land, of which 36,000 square kilometers included mineral rights.	-Recognized that the Inuit in the territory have the right to make their own choiced culturally, economically, and socially. -Recognized the Inuit right to self-government.
1999	Nishga'a Final Land Claim Agreement	-Nishga'a received about 2.000 square kilometers of around the Nass Valley in British Columbia, a cash component, and certain treaty rights in areas such as resource harvesting, culture and heritage.	-Recognized Nishga'a stewardship over land and their affairs.
1999	Inauguration of Nunavut	-Nunavut and its new government were inaugurated; and the Nunavut coat of arms and flag are unveiled.	-The Inuit were both distinct and political units within Canada.

and European groups deteriorated (Miller 1991:270).[28]

The War of 1812, the last of the colonial wars, ushered in a new way of life for Aboriginal peoples as British imperial power became firmly established (Dickason 1992:14). As the number of non-Aboriginal colonists increased, the British became interested in the agricultural, timber, and mineral potential of Native lands to fuel their imperialistic drive (Ray 1997:102). Consequently, during this period, Britain's prime concern became gaining access to these riches as cheaply as possible. To both the British official and the frontier farmer, the 'Indian' became less desirable as a comrade-in arms. Now viewed as biologically inferior, as well as an impediment to the settlement objective, the 'Indian' became irrelevant and the drive to assimilate and remove Aboriginal peoples from the path of agricultural settlement took on a new intensity (Dickason 1992:14; Miller 1991:84-85).[29] This period saw the beginning of the Canadian Indian policy by which the British sought both to, extinguish the limited rights they recognized for Aboriginal peoples and to "gradually reclaim them from a state of barbarism, and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life" (Miller 1991:95).

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[28]With the collapse of French Imperial power in North America after the Seven Years War (1756-63), France's Aboriginal allies faced the threat of unobstructed British expansion. Between 1760 and 1840 Anglo-American and British colonists came in increasing numbers to what was now British North America. In these early stages of colonization the British changed their approach to the relationship, and the subsequent representation of the Aboriginal populations moved into its third phase, one that was to prove to be anything but beneficial to the indigenous populations. Up to this point, Aboriginal peoples and Europeans had overall amicably cooperated with each other along frontiers of commerce, exploration and in military alliances. In the 19th. century the relationship between Europeans and Aboriginal people was to prove to be neither harmonious nor cooperative.

[29]A corollary of this thinking was the 19th century civil administration, art and literature representation of Aboriginal people as rapidly disappearing.

Children in Need of Protection and Civilization

Under the authority of the British North America Act of 1867 the federal government took explicit legislative authority over 'Indians' and lands reserved for 'Indians" however, it was not until 1869, that the goals of civilization and assimilation were formally added by the passage of the *Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians* (Table 3).[30] What was clearly evident in post-Confederation policies was the

> Government's determination to make the Indians into imitation Europeans and to eradicate the Indian values through education, religion, new economic and political systems and new concepts of property (Tobias 1983:44).

Policies of assimilation not only went to the heart of every aspect of Indian social structure, cultural and political life but also established a legal relationship of dependence in which the 'Indian' is represented as a submissive child and the Euro-Canadian the authoritative parent. Due to this, the relationship and representation which evolved was portrayed as one of Aboriginal submission to Euro-Canadian benevolent paternalism.[31]

In 1945, when public interest in Indian affairs was awakened, the Canadian government came under growing domestic and international pressures to decolonize 'Indian'

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[30]The title of this piece of legislation suggests a significant change in emphasis in 'Indian' policy (Tobias 1983:43). Up to this point, colonial legislation was geared towards 'gradual civilization,' but this new Act, however, was focussed on enfranchisement.

[31]The Robinson Treaties of 1854 and 1862, combined with the 1857 *Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes*, the *British North America Act* of 1867 and the 1869 *Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of the Indian*, all represented Aboriginal peoples as uncivilized 'children of the state' who needed to be controlled, assimilated, civilized and enfranchised into mainstream society (Table 3).

people (Boldt 1993:83).[32] Despite public concern, the parent-child relationship remained constant well into the 1960s when compulsory enfranchisement and restrictions on political organizations were dropped (Dickason 1993:254).[33] The 1980s to the present has witnessed a representation of Aboriginal peoples which fluctuates between the idea that Aboriginal people possessed additional rights as charter members of the Canadian economy yet were and in many contexts still are children of the state. In 1982, the *Penner Report* acknowledged once again the autonomy of Aboriginal nations as self-governing and recommended that Aboriginal peoples be allowed to establish their own level of distinct government (Table 3). The *Constitution Act* of 1982, the *First Minister's Conferences* from 1983 to 1987, the passing of *Bill C-31* in 1985 and both the Nunavut and Nishga'a land claim agreements of 1993 and 1999 have all represented Aboriginal people as autonomous, distinct or self-governing but also children of the state (Table 3).

In sum, it must be reiterated that in Canadian 'Indian' policy the representation of Aboriginal peoples has both changed through time and also oscillated between the negative

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[32]The public was generally concerned with what was regarded as the treatment of the 'Indian' as a second-class citizen and with the fact that 'Indians' did not have the same status as other Canadians (Tobias 1983:51). Veteran's organizations, churches and citizen groups across the country wanting an end to the discrimination against the 'Indian' called for investigations into the administration of 'Indian' affairs and conditions prevailing on 'Indian' reserves. It was slowly being acknowledged that being 'Indian' was not incompatible with being Canadian, and that perhaps the First Nations might even have a dimension to add to the country's cultural riches. Despite this significant change in attitude, the relationship was still one parallel to that of a parent-child, with 'Indians' understood as vulnerable and simple individuals needing the direction and 'parental' assistance of the 'state.'

[33]Key changes in seeing Aboriginal people as citizens occurred in 1860 when Aboriginal peoples were granted the right to vote and in 1966 when Governmental reports such as the *Hawthorne Report* recognized that Aboriginal people were 'citizens plus' who possessed additional rights as charter members of the Canadian economy. Despite these significant events, it was not however until 1985 however that the official policy of assimilation was dropped.

and paternalistic representation of both the ignoble and noble savage. This 'containerized' representation fed, constituted and justified the colonial regime and came to dominate Aboriginal representation in the popular discourse and tourism.

3. *Constructing the 'Indian' in the Popular Media and as a Tourist Attraction*

Throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries, representations derived from the explorers, fur traders, missionaries and governmental accounts which represented Aboriginal peoples as savages, scientific specimens, 'children of the devil,' barbaric allies and child-like obstacles in need of protection and civilizing, emerged in visual and literary depictions in art, literature, stage productions, film, and tourism.[34] As in state representations of Aboriginal people, a contrastive, ambiguous image of the 'noble savage' which romanticized Native peoples confined them to the past and tied them to an assimilated future was to be found (Table 4). In the first decades of the twentieth century, this ambiguous 'noble savage' became a marketable image. Used in tourism, the 'Indian' became a symbol of Canada and Aboriginal culture became reduced to a series of slogans or symbols embedded in a set of simplistic and patronizing attitudes. As cultural narratives these imaginary representations were first produced to help sell wild west, rodeo and vaudeville shows, dime novels and monographs. Existing now in contexts far removed from their original circumstances of production, they have traveled through time gathered meaning and are now loaded with the fantasies of more than a century's generation. In traveling, this discourse has also crossed the border. As a result of the ubiquity of American popular culture I am eliding Canadian and American images

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[34]See Heather Rollason (1995) and Jeralyne Manweiler (1999).

Table 4: The non-Aboriginal 'Indian' in the Popular Discourse

Popular Discourse	Representation	Result
Art	-picturesque and exotic -frozen in the past -highlighted the 'romantic' flavor of the 'Indian' past, the belief that they lived close to nature, were exotic, barbaric and savage -uncivilized -presented as a role model for children -lazy, drunken and dissolute -noble	-reinforced the difference between Whites and Indians -by virtue of their repetition images became the 'Indian' for those non-Natives who knew no other.
Literature		
Staged Productions	-Indians slept in teepees, lived in tribes, wore feathered bonnets, rode ponies, attacked wagon trains and were menacing murderers. -reinforced the stereotypical belief that 'Indians' were savages. -'Indians' spoke in signs	-reduced the complexity of Aboriginal culture. -affirmed images of Aboriginal peoples as an aggressive, bloodthirsty attackers of wagon trains and tortures of captives.
Film	-fluctuated between images of the noble and ignoble. -depicted as people of little culture, were murderers, and decision makers solution seekers and heros seeking peaceful solutions to the the bloody confrontations that plagued European/Aboriginal relations.	-solidified popular stereotypical images of 'Indians' and romanticized them when they were not demonized.
Marketable Commodity	-emphasized bravery, strength and courage. -typically shown in feather head-dresses and traditional outfits. -romanticized the idea of the noble savage, 'Indian' being in touch with nature.	-became icons of consumer society. -revealed a widespread admiration for certain qualities which the public came to associate with Indianness. -reinforced the belief that the best 'Indian' was the noble, innocent 'Indian.'
Tourism	-depicted in traditional outfits, living in teepees or igloos. -emphasized the picturesque or exotic -highlight and conceptualized in terms of Aboriginal cuisine, art, forms of transportation and clothing.	-became a 'surefire' tourist attraction -stood as symbols of Canada

of the 'Indian' together. I do this because the Hollywood Westerns and Buffalo Bills Wild West Show were shown in Canada, books are distributed, artwork is displayed, tourism destinations are promoted and products are marketed or sold all across the border. In one situation, tourism, I speak specifically of Canadian representations. I have done this in order to set the context of Aboriginal tourism as it has developed in Canada. This discussion however also crosses borders and is situated within the broader discourse of Aboriginal tourism as it is happening throughout the Americas, Australia and Europe and also foreshadows the sharing of ideas that will be discussed in chapter four.

Circulating today, in the discourse of our everyday actions and events these representations seduce some to nostalgic reveries of the legendary exploits of different eras, and the sense we make of them has a great deal to do with empowerment. Since the images have the capacity to be pulled into different narratives of representation the stories they tell about the ways in which Aboriginal peoples were imagined centuries ago may not be evident at first glance. What is however evident in these representations is that they work to construct identities with different ideologies and meanings that today have become central sites of Aboriginal cultural struggle. As fictional constructs, they are grounded in the colonialist past and the popular legends which romance them, and this is how they must be understood.

John O'Conner argues that contradictory myths about Indians have reflected primarily what the White man thought of himself and how they differed from the 'Indian' (1998:27). As vehicles by which our knowledge of things foreign was mediated, the documentary accounts of personal experience became a base from which literary images of indigenous

peoples, in other media grew (Porter 1991:15; Goldie 1989:8). This judgmental approach to representation has proved true in literature, painting, documentary photograph, the Wild West Shows, film and tourism.

Crafted by a dominating culture, these six popular media assumed a documented authenticity in the public consciousness (Ward 1992:2).[35] For the stereotyped and stereotyper alike, these mediums and subsequent representations became a dehumanizing tool to justify murder, colonization, provoke systematic warfare, enhanced the public zeal in civilizing the 'Indian' savage as well as established complete control over truth and knowledge. In order to understand how representations of 'Indians,' which emerged in the six popular mediums, came to acquire authority, one must examine the dichotomy between concepts of power and knowledge and the processes involved in the formation of discourses. Somewhere within this complex web of interrelationships is a meeting of beliefs which creates and legitimizes representation.

In the context of academic representations discussed in the previous chapters and those found in the popular discourses discussed below, scholars, the state, authors, producers and tourism officials have been the ones who have exercised control over shaping representations of Aboriginal peoples. This is done, as Heather Rollason explains "through the *selection* of information to support ideas" (1995:14), such a selection legitimates the idea. The ability to enact this authority has been endowed upon academics, authors, producers and tourism operators by the general populace in the belief that they have access to information

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[35]The use of the word 'authentic' implies both an essentialization of culture– the belief that cultures have a set of characteristics which make them what they are– and an undisputed origin (Taylor 2001:8).

and an understanding of it beyond that of the public.[36] This status of being an expert on a subject typically allows the less knowledgeable to accept faithfully what the expert deems as truth, real or factual. Such status also requires that their subjects feel the effects of their power through knowledge formation processes.[37] Taking advantage of this supposed power of knowledge those who created the images could shape and describe Native peoples as they wished for whatever purpose they wished.

In this respect, representations of Aboriginal peoples in academia and those found in the popular discourse are not natural occurrences; they have taken for granted specific factors of colonization and produced representations to "serve the specific cultural and emotional needs of its inventors" (Feest 1990:46) and operate as if they were nature and unmediated representations of reality.[38] Presented as information by which knowledge is mediated the representations became "a base from which literary images of indigenous peoples [in other mediums] grew" (Goldie 1989:8). In so doing, they "helped to cement the myth of the noble savage" (Feest 1990:46).

Between the 17th and 19th centuries non-Aboriginal peoples learned two contradictory myths about Indians which, originated in the first explorer's journals and travel accounts

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[36]Their authority and authenticity rested in the fact that in the 17th and 18th centuries accounts began with a statement attesting to the validity of the descriptions in the text. This occurred regardless of whether the account was based on actual experience or was the product of an active imagination. Despite this, readers of such literature believed that what they were reading was real, that it was incontestable or unquestionable.

[37]This requires the 'colonized' to occupy the space they are expected to or fulfill others expectations.

[38]Terry Goldie (1989) believed that the occurrences of oppression and invasion were significant factors in the creation of European images of Aboriginal peoples, the overwhelming fact of the oppression awarded semiotic control to the invaders.

(Kasden & Tavernetti 1998:122). One, deriving from the puritan fear of the uncontrolled wilderness and its inhabitants, depicted Native Americans as blood-thirsty savages. The other which flourished in the writings of the 18th century European romantics, presented Indians as noble savages living in an unspoiled wilderness, spiritually pure, uncorrupted by civilization and at one with nature. These contradictory representations helped to 'cement the myth of the noble savage.'

Noble and 'Ignoble' Savages in the Popular Discourse

'Cementing the myth of the savage' dates back as early as 1612, when Captain John Smith and Alexander Whitaker were offering observations on Native peoples in travel accounts or journals which perpetuated the idealized image of the 'Indian' as both bloodthirsty savages and noble savages living in an unspoiled wilderness, spiritually pure, uncorrupted by civilization and at one with nature[39]. According to Smith, they, the 'Indians' were

> crafty, timorous, quick of apprehension and very ingenious, some are of disposition fearful, some bold, most cautious, all savage. . .they soon move to anger, and are so malicious that they seldom forget an injury (quoted in Ward 1992:20).

Smiths commentary was followed in short order by that of Alexander Whitaker who stated that

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[39]Treatment of the 'Indian' in the arena of literature must be seen as part and parcel of the Anglo-American conquest of the North American continent. The representation - indeed misrepresentation - of indigenous people began virtually with the advent of English colonization of the Western hemisphere (Ward 1992:28-29). Within a relatively short period, styles of exposition emerged with identified primary modes of stereotypes. These methods of stereotyping continue in evolved formations today and must rightfully be viewed as having their roots within the literary culture of England itself.

> they acknowledge that there is a great God, but they know him not, wherefore they serve the devil for fear, after a most base manner. . .they like naked of body, as if the shame of their sin deserved no covering. . .they esteem it a virtue to lie, deceive, steal. . .if this be their life, what think you shall become of them after death, but to be partakers with the devil and his angels in hell for evermore? (Quoted in Ward 1992:20).

In 19th century America, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's celebrated narrative poem *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855) along with the works of American writers James Fenimore Cooper and Ralph Connor or the German writer Karl May perpetuated an image of 'Indians' as both bloodthirsty and noble savages living in an unspoiled wilderness, spiritually pure, uncorrupted by civilization and at one with nature. James Fenimore Cooper's popular novels incorporated both portraits.[40] In doing so, they perpetuated and firmly established all of the stereotypes denoted above within the popular consciousness (Kasdan & Tavernetti 1998:122).[41] In *The Pioneers', The Last of the Mohicans, The Prairie, The Pathfinders, and The Deerslayer* all five collected in the leather stocking tales published between 1823 and 1841, Indians were wild, uncivilized, and ferocious, but they were also brave, dignified, proud and wise teachers (Ward 1992:22; Kasdan & Tavernetti 1998:122). In war, he is daring, boastful, cunning ruthless and self-denying; in peace, just, generous, hospitable, revengeful, superstitious, modest and commonly chaste. In *Last of the Mohicans*, published in 1826, Chingachook and Uncas, the two main characters are idealized – they speak figuratively and

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[40]These writers knew little or nothing of Native Americans directly, but based their representations on information gathered through reading the works of other (Berkhofer 1979:93; Pearce 1967:200; Stedman 1982:46). As a result, their work revealed the typical confusion of one tribe with another in customs, names and languages to create a 'generic Indian.'

[41]Cooper of course had help. During the same period, Shateaubriand's *Atala* (1962) appeared, as well as novels by William Gilmore Simms including *The Yamassee: A Romance of Carolina* (1961).

metaphorically, their physical descriptions reflect notions of nobility, and their actions selfless and pure. Examine the following description of Uncas:

> At a little distance in advance stood Uncas, his whole person thrown powerfully into view. The travellers anxiously regarded the upright flexible figure of the young Mohican, graceful and unrestrained in the attitudes and movements of nature. Though his person was more than usually screened by a green and fringed hunting shirt, like that of the white man, there was no concealment to his dark, glancing fearful eye, alike terrible and calm; the bold outline of his high haughty features, pure in their Native red; or to the dignified elevation of his receding forehead, together with all the finest proportions of a noble head, bared to the generous scalping tuft (Cooper 1962:61).

Phrases like "graceful and unrestrained in the attitudes and movements of nature" reveal Cooper's tendency to equate American Indian with nature, both equally endangered by European civilization's advance. Moreover, like the virgin land that he describes as molested before the white man, so Cooper envisions the 'Indian' as equally pure. Here Cooper encodes this essentializing in Uncas' physical description; his features are "pure in their Native red," and his head, commonly used as a revealing characteristic of a character's personality, has a "dignified elevation" and is "noble" with the "finest proportions."

Whereas Unca is idealized, Magua and the other Hurons are demonized; they exhibit subhuman tendencies such as an unnatural reveling in violence and the habit of eating their meat raw. For example, after Magua's band kills a straggling fawn, one Huron eats it: "without any aid from the science of cookery, he was immediately employed, in common with his fellows, in gorging himself with this digestible sustenance" (Cooper 1962: 112). Moreover, in one particularly touching scene, a Huron warrior who desired a woman's "gaudy" shawl, took her baby out of her arms and killed it: "the savage spurned the worthless

rags, and perceiving that the shawl had already become a prize to another, his bantering but sullen smile changed to a gleam of ferocity, he dashed the head of the infant against a rock, and cast its quivering remains to her very feet" (Cooper 1962:207). In *Last of the Mohicans*, therefore, the polarities of sentimentalizing (Chingachook and Uncas) and demonizing (Magua and the Hurons) are constantly engaging each other in a battle whose eventual triumph would dictate the image of the American 'Indian' to the American culture. While this battle is never reconciled in Coopers novels, it had far-reaching consequences for 'Indian' characterization and representation in fiction.

Each of these remarks cited here serve at least a twofold purpose: first, each contributed decisively to establishing Native Americans as a topic for English language writing originating in the Americas. Second, each established the groundwork for a stereotype which assumed increasing prominence in literature. Smith's writing played upon the persistent image of the 'Indian' as a sort of subhuman, animal like creature who was a danger to hardy frontiersmen. Whitaker on the other hand reinforced an already pervasive European notion of the Indian as a godless heathen subject to redemption through the civilizing ministrations of Christian missionaries. Wadsworth often confused prattle went far in developing the 'noble savage' mythology in the Americas whereas Fenimore insisted that the Native was an incorrigible even criminal hindrance to European 'progress.'[42]

When Cooper, Wadsworth, Smith and Whitaker were alternatively representing

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[42]In addition to the primary stereotyping trends isolated here, another important genre of the same period tends to cut across stereotypic lines and might be as, Churchill Ward proclaims, perceived as generating a most heatedly emotional and decidedly anti-Indian popular response among readers: the 'so called' narratives of Indian captives (1992:22).

'Indians' as both bloodthirsty and noble savages Canadian author Ernest Thompson Seton and Englishman Archie Belaney, or as he is otherwise known, Grey Owl, promoted the 'Indian' as a noble character, in tune with nature, resourceful, determined, articulate, wise and an appropriate role model for North American youth (Francis 1992:145; Smith 1990:216).[43] In *The Men of the Last Frontier* (1931) Grey Owl, "immortalise[d] the Mississauga, the Canadian North and the North American Indian" (Grey Owl quoted in Smith 1990:155), "championed their [the 'Indian'] way of life and their beliefs" (Smith 1990:161). While many of their contemporaries believed in the conventional stereotypes of the drunken, lazy, dissolute Indian, Seton and Belaney argued that 'Indian' civilization was superior and that white civilization had much to learn from Native North Americans (Francis 1992:146).

Nineteenth century artists such as George Catlin,[44] Paul Kane[45] and Karl Bodmer transformed these literary stereotypes into powerful images that eventually became the basic iconography of the Hollywood Western Film (Kasdan & Tavernetti 1998:122). Concentrating on dramatic portrayals of buffalo hunts, exotic tribal dances or ceremonies, and heroic portraiture of the Native, Catlin and Kane (Fig:2) painted romanticized scenes of

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[43]See *Ernest Thompson Seton: Man in Nature and the Progressive Era 1880-1915* (Wadland 1978).

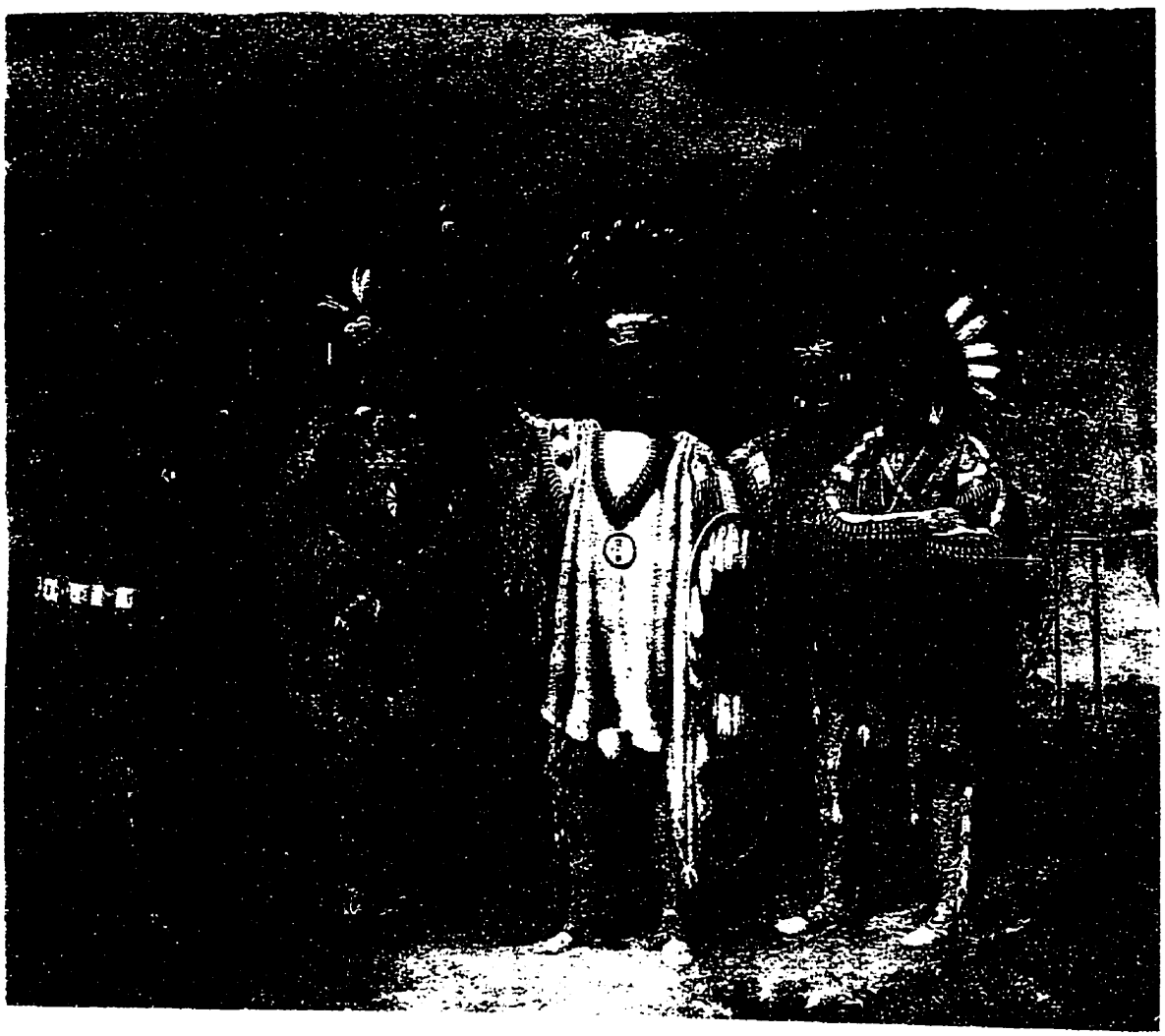
[44]In 1829, George Catlin, an American, ventured into the trans-Mississippi west to record the 'Indian lifestyle' by sketching and painting vivid scenes of village life (Francis 1992:17). Predicated on the belief that white settlers would eventually destroy the Aboriginal cultures of North America, Catlin dedicated his life to preserving 'Indian' heritage on canvas by creating a romanticized record of Indian life.

[45]One of the first Irish Canadian artists to take Aboriginal peoples as his subject, Kane, like Catlin, dedicated his talents to painting a series of pictures illustrative of the North American Indian because "the face of the red man is no longer seen. All traces of his footsteps are fast being obliterated from his once favourite haunts" (Kane 1925:ii). In 1845, Kane made his way across Canada visiting and painting many of the Aboriginal people he encountered on the way (Francis 1992:18).

Figure 2:

Big Snake, a Blackfoot Chief, Recounting His War Exploits, 1848
Paul Kane

Francis, Daniel
1992 The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press.



Indians with landscapes reminiscent of the Garden of Eden(Francis 1992:17).[46] Whereas Swiss watercolourist Karl Bodmer (Fig:3) painted striking panoramic views of the frontier and remarkable scenes of wild Native in the fierce buffalo and scalp dances, pictures that illustrated his conception of a savage new world (Kasdan & Tavernetti 1998:123). As fanciful as the images created by Catlin, Kane and Bodmer were, these representations became the 'Indian' for most non-Native Canadians, Europeans and Americans, by virtue of their popular reception in galleries in North America and Europe (Lyman 1982:10). As these representations saturated history texts and were distributed through wall hangings, souvenir tea trays, t-shirts, calendars and coffee mugs they established the image of the Indian on horseback wearing primitive ceremonial costumes and thereby moulded that conception in the popular imagination (Kasdan & Tavernetti 1998:123). Presented as an object of difference, 'Indians' were turned into a commodity to be consumed, a tradition which reinforced stereotypes by feeding into the mainstream society.

In the late 19th century, another shift, or rather, a certain image of the 'Indian' which complemented the need of the Euroamerican population to supplant the original habitants of the land, emerged. Whereas initial English colonial writings and paintings

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[46]Although praised for their accuracy, these artists often enhanced their representation of Aboriginal peoples by adding details of setting and landscape to present an idealized image. One such example of this retouching is Paul Kane's painting of a Cree women in his journal *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America* published in 1859. Professor of History and English, Daniel Wilson points to the fact that the painting was retouched from its original version (Lawerence 1925:xxxi). According to Wilson, Kane has sacrificed every trace of Indian features in his desire to produce his own ideal of a pretty face, such as might equally well have been copied from an ordinary wax doll.

Figure 3:

Dance Leader of the Hidatsa Dog's Society, 1834

Ewers, John
1965 Artists of the Old West. New York: Doubleday & Co. 103.

seemed seriously concerned with the Christian/heathen dichotomy, late 19th century representations, specifically those found in *Buffalo Bills Wild West Show* (Fig. 4) gravitated more and more toward themes involving the civil versus savage juxtaposition to demonstrate and celebrate the progress which had taken place in the West since the arrival of White settlement (Ward 1992:34; Francis 1992:96-97; Moses 1996:1).[47] Contributing to the stereotypes of a dual conception of the 'Indian' as a bloodthirsty savage ultimately defeated yet still noble, the most exciting acts in *The Wild West Rocky Mountain and Prairie Exhibition* were set battles between Buffalo Bill's cowboys and Sitting Bull's 'Indians.' In these performances, non-Natives marvelled at the 'Indians' who appeared representing their 'savage' past.

Although initially awkwardly staged and poorly performed, *The Wild West Rocky Mountain and Prairie Exhibition,* with its enduring imagery of 'Indians' in grand realistic battle scenes, depicting the capture, torture and death of a scout by savages and the recapture of the dead body in a victory for the government scouts, entertained individuals for over thirty years (Moses 1996:1). From these performances, the public came to believe that 'real Indians' lived in tribes, slept in teepees, wore feather bonnets, rode painted ponies, hunting the buffalo and spoke in signs (Moses 1996:5). The impact of the show on the image of Aboriginal people was two-fold. Firstly, since audiences saw only representations of the Plains 'Indians' with their horses, skin teepees and feather

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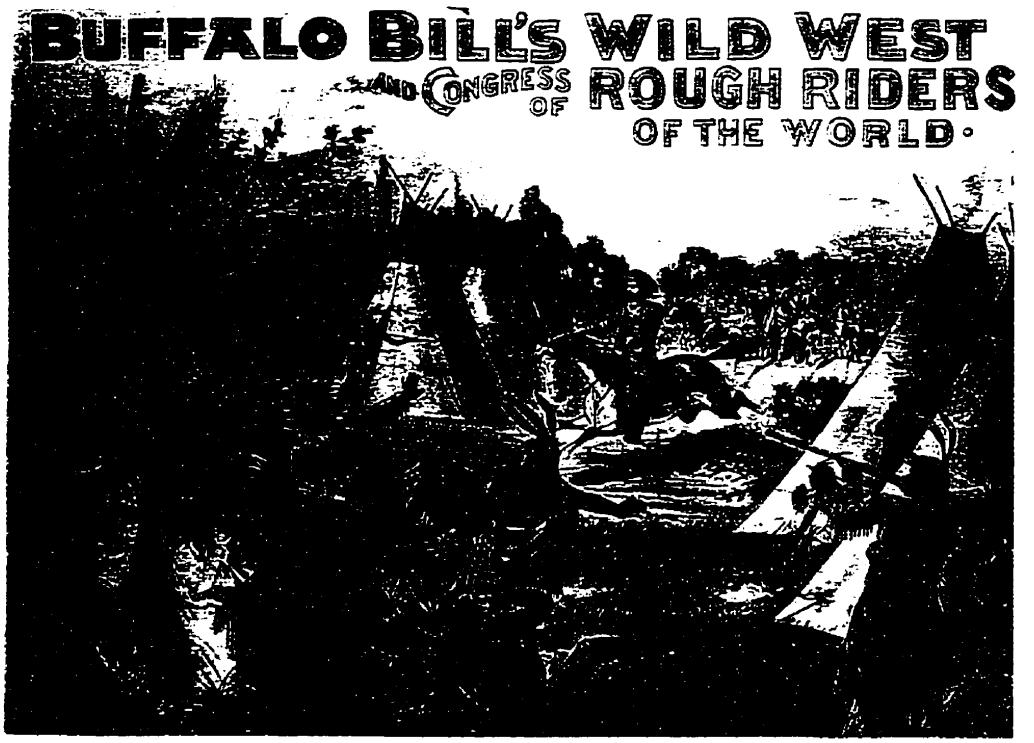
[47]When *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show* came to Toronto in 1885, Canadian agricultural fairs and exhibitions such as the *Calgary Industrial Exhibition* had already begun to stage similar performances. These exhibitions which were intended to display and to promote economic development, commonly staged 'Indian' performances to celebrate the progress which had occurred in the hands of the White man.

Figure 4:

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show
Advertisement - Circa 1890

Francis, Daniel
1992 The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press. 91



headdresses– a representation which parallelled that of dime novels and painting — *The Wild West Show* reduced the complexity of Native cultures in North America to a single representation of a mounted, war-bonneted Plains chief (Ewers 1981: 22). Secondly, *The Wild West Show* affirmed images of Aboriginal peoples as aggressive, blood-thirsty attackers of wagon trains and torturers of innocent captives. Such representations were accompanied by a constantly increasing public zeal to civilize the savage, or at least the popular conception of the savage (Ward 1992:34). This latter is of considerable importance insofar as therein lies the primary function of representation with colonialism. The overwhelming preponderance of representation during this time was designed to create an image allowing conquest 'for the Indians own good' to effect 'betterment' and 'progress' (Ward 1992:35). Shaped by these beliefs, this popular media depicted Native Americans both as scantily dressed men and women with feathers in their hair, bareback on horses, brandishing spears as they attacked innocent Whites. Such stereotypes became the basis for movie images which came to dominant popular culture in the early to mid 20th century (Kasdan & Tavernettis 1998:123).

When film made its appearance in the early 20th century, movies seized on the 'Indian' as they were presented in literature as an ideal subject. Every year, dozens of 'Indian pictures' based on images copied from popular literature lit up the silver screens in theatre's across North America (Stedman 1982:110). Images of vicious and at the same time noble 'Indian' savages ravaging, or alternatively helping, settlers as they moved across the West dominated movie screens just as they had in literature and staged performances. According to Ted Jojola, the 'Hollywood Indian,' a mythological being who exists nowhere but within

the fertile imaginations of its movie actors, producers and directors reduced Native people to ignoble stereotypes (1998:12).

Following in the footsteps of the *Wild West Show*, 'movie Indians[48]' were situated in the past, usually on western frontiers, slaughtering settlers while speaking a form of drunken English consisting of mainly "How" and "Ugh" (Stedman 1982:74). Drawing on their own preconceptions and experiences, the classic Hollywood western of the 1930s and 1940s reinforced the images and stereotypes that had evolved during the previous century and relied almost entirely on the figure of the 'Indian' as a bloodthirsty warrior whose hostile actions and threatening presence impeded the great westward expansion (O'Conner 1998:27; Jojola 1998:13). In films such as *Drums along the Mohawk* (1939) and *They Died with their Boots On* (1939) the negative stereotypes served a broader purpose to affirm traditional patriotic values (O'Conner 1998:28). This conception shifted in the 1950s when several directors showed the whiteman's poor treatment of the 'Indian': for example, greedy white traders swindling them in Stuart Gilmore's *The Half-breed* (1952) or hateful calvary officers provoking 'Indians' into battle in Delmer Dave's *Broken Arrow* (1956) introduced a different characterization of the 'Indian' (Kasdaon & Tavernetti 1998:124). In such films, Native Americans were central characters who were honourable, and brave targets of racism. In the early 1960's several major releases brought this more sympathetic view of Native Americans to mainstream audiences. Douglas Siegel broke new ground with *Flaming Star* (1960) when Elvis Presley portrayed a character who is the blameless object of prejudice just because he is a half-breed, the mixed race son of a white father and Indian mother. Then John Ford, a

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[48]White or Asian actors dressed as Sioux or Mohawk warriors.

major filmmaker responsible for the accepted stereotypical view of the savage Indian, directed *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964). In *Cheyenne Autumn* Ford modified the negative portrayal of the Native American in his previous westerns by depicting the heroism of the Cheyenne people as they attempted to trek on foot a thousand miles back to their homeland. The film revealed the dignity of the 'Indians' in the face of the government's harsh and unfair treatment toward them. Even with the gradual shift in public interest and values, certain plot formulas persisted (O'Conner 1998:28). The 'Indian' raids for example, on the stage coach, on the heralds of technological progress and on the peaceful frontier homestead changed little (Kasdan & Tavernetti 1998:124).

By the late 1960s, films like Sydney Pollacks *The Scalphunters* (1968) expanded this sympathetic attitude toward the 'Indian' and reflected the divided consciousness of people who challenged government policies (O'Conner 1998:28).[49] During this period, the escalating war in Vietnam along with the emerging civil rights, feminist and 'Indian' movements dominated the public discourse and affected the content of many films. Films first signalled a shift in cultural values when offbeat protagonists and counterculture themes emerged in *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969), *Soldier Blue* (1970) and *Little Big Man* (1970)[50]. Produced during the political and social turmoil of the era, these films reflect the

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[49]One must take care, however, in drawing generalizations. Even with the gradual shift in public interest and values, certain plot formulas have persisted. The 'Indian' raids for example, on the stage coach, on the heralds of technological progress, and on the peaceful frontier homestead have changed very little.

[50]*Little Big Man* was adapted from Thomas Berger's novel of the same title. The difference between the book written in 1964 and Willingham's final script illustrate the shift in attitudes that had occurred during the years. Willingham transformed Jack Crabb, Berger's ambitious and not entirely agreeable protagonist, into a reliable narrator and congenial hero whose point of view the audience

consciousness of the movement of the time, the social attitudes they generated and an overall reevaluation of morality and values. Films such as *Little Big Man* criticized military aggression against the 'Indians' by graphically dramatizing an overwhelming military force employed against what was thought to be a technologically primitive people. The film introduces a narrative structure that westerns of the 1990s subsequently adopted (Kasdan & Tavernetti 1998:121). It reconsiders the impact of westward expansion on Native Americans. Instead of savages threatening heroic pioneers, the 'Indians' are victims of malevolent treatment by the United States army. The story unfolds through the eyes of a white man who, moving and living among Native peoples, gradually becomes disillusioned with his own culture and deeply changed by his experiences, casts off his European-American identity. Jack, like Lt. John Dunbar in *Dances with Wolves* (both descendants of James Fenimore Cooper's Natty Bumppo), learns the ways and language of the Native, dons their garb, is given an 'Indian' name and is initiated into the tribal community. This 'Indian' initiation related *Little Big Man* structurally but not in tone to *Dances With Wolves* (1990), *Black Robe* (1991), *Thunderheart* (1992) and *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992).

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the vanishing 'Indian' in art, the 'noble savage' of literature, the whooping savage performing on stage and the painted tomahawk wielding warrior in film became a marketable image. Consumable products as diverse as perfume, canned vegetables and motor oil which tried to find favour with consumers used the 'Indian' image as an all-purpose symbol (Francis 1992:174). The use of the 'Indian' image

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identifies with. The screenwriter also recast the novel's ambiguous and not entirely sympathetic Indians into amiable, moral and victimized characters for whom the audience has great empathy.

to sell products such as *Pocahantas Perfume*, *Red Indian Motor Oil, Chippewa's Pride Beer* (Fig:5), and name sports teams such as *The Braves, The Cleveland Indians* and *The Redskins* created a whole new representational context for the 'Indian.' In this context, 'Indians' became the icons of consumer society.

Representations of Aboriginal people which appeared in product advertisements, were according to Francis intended to be positive (Francis 1992:174-176). They revealed a widespread admiration for certain qualities which the public came to associate with 'Indianness': bravery, physical prowess, natural virtue, strength, courage and being in touch with nature. These qualities of course were the qualities 'Indians' were thought to have possessed in the past, before contact with the white man. As icons of consumer society, 'Indians' were shown in feather headdresses and traditional outfits. As an appealing symbol, such representations reinforced the belief that the best 'Indian' was the pre-contact noble, innocent 'Indian.

One of the most enduring marketable 'Indian' images of the 20th century was unveiled in 1971 by the Keep America Beautiful Inc.company. The 'Crying Indian' (Fig:6), as he became known, appeared widely in print and on television. A noble image speaking to ecological wisdom and prudent care for the land and its resources, the 'Crying Indian' is the paramount example of what anthropologist Shepard Krech III calls the 'genetically determined environmentalist' or 'Ecological Indian' (1999). Even though an invention of Madison Avenue, the 'Crying Indian' is an effective image and advocate

Figure 5:

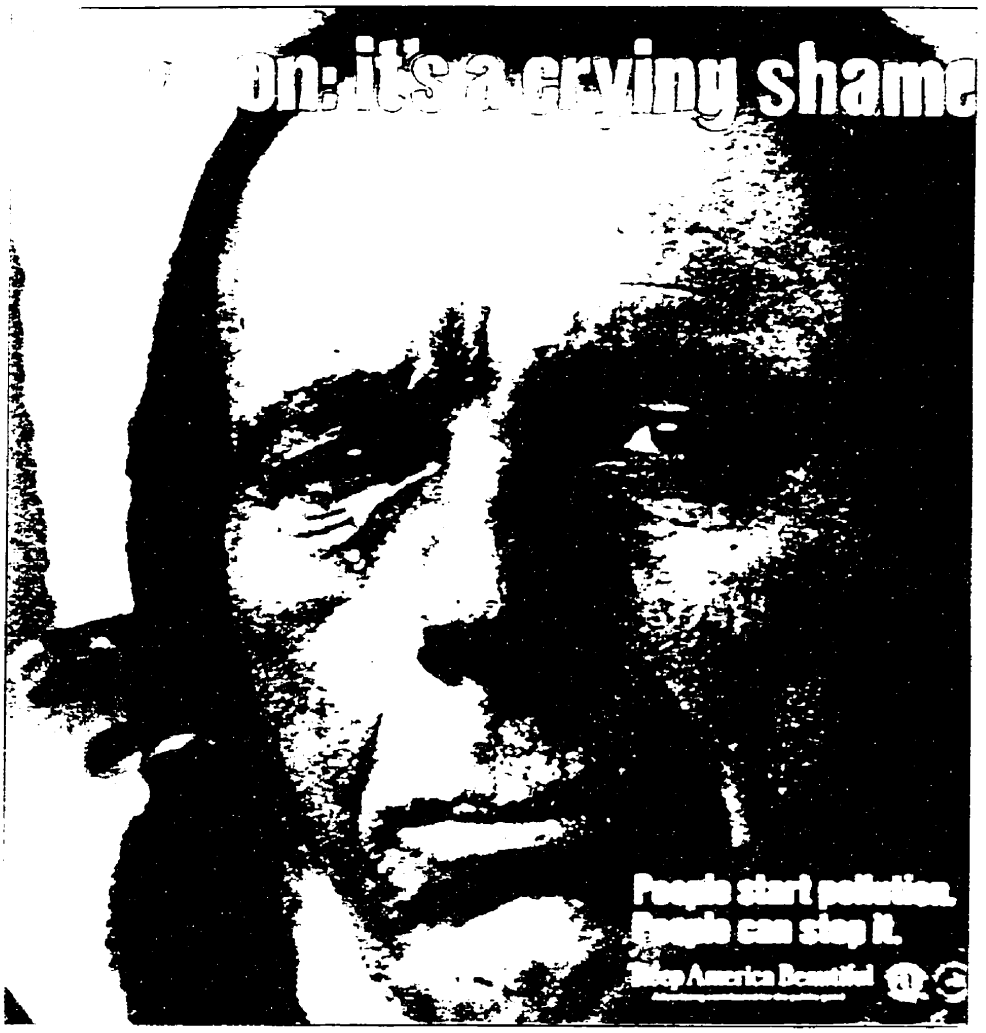
Chippewa Pride Beer, 1940

Burgess, Marily & Gail Guthrie Valaskakis
1992 Indian Princesses and CowGirls: Stereotypes from the Frontier. Montreal: OBORO. 18

Figure 6:

Iron Eye's Cody as the *Crying Indian*, 1971

Krech III, Sheppard
1999 The Ecological Indian: Myth and History. U.S.A.: W.W. Northon & Company. 14



because its assumptions are not new. The 'Crying Indian' exemplifies an image of the 'Indian' in nature, feels deep sympathy with all living forms, and takes steps to conserve so that the earth's harmonies are never imbalanced and resources never in doubt (Krech 1999:21). Exemplifying this, the 'Crying Indian' brims over with ecological prescience and wisdom. On matters involving the environment, he is pure and has influenced humanitarians concerned about the global environment and health. As a marketable image, the ecological 'Indian' has both embraced conservation, ecology, or environmentalism and has been premised on a spiritual, sacred attitude toward the land and animals.

Indians as Tourist Attractions

In the late 19th century, before images of vicious and at the same time noble 'Indian' savages were ravaging, or alternatively helping, settlers as they moved across the West dominated movie screens, the 'Indian' image was most potent when presented not in literature or film but as an experience, specifically in the experience of travel. In 1885, when the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) completed its tracks to Western Canada, CPR officials began looking for a way for the railway to pay for itself, and tourism was one answer (Hart 1983:10; Francis1992:177; Blundell 1993:14). Realizing that 'Indians' were a 'sure-fire' tourist attraction, CPR officials began promoting the 'Indians' of the West as attractions for those who traveled the train, First Nations peoples were depicted wearing headdresses and 'traditional' outfits, as being close to nature, and living in teepees (Fig:7) (Hart 1983:32; Francis 1992:179). These posters represented what were seen to be the

Figure 7:

Indian Days: Banff in the Canadian Rockies, 1933

Choko, Marc & David Jones
1995 Canadian Pacific Posters 1883-1963. Ottawa: Meridan Press.

picturesque and exotic aspects of Aboriginal peoples and culture (Fig:8). As such, travelers expected to see "wild Indians in their natural setting from the safety and convenience of a railcar" (Francis 1993:181). Rather than see the 'Indian' of the past, train travelers witnessed a staged picture of the past with Aboriginal peoples dressed in full regalia performing traditional dances, posing on station platforms or beside the Trans-Canada Highway, competing in rodeo events and performing scenes from a version of Longfellow's popular long poem, "Hiawatha."

While early CPR posters depicted images of Indians to "promise actual encounters with Natives, this practice has not been typical of most travel ads for Canada" (Blundell 1993:15). According to Francis, what has been more common is the appropriation of certain Native symbols as "handy signs of the country" (1992:187). Nelson Graburn, writing about this process, argues that the distinctive cultural symbols of colonized Aboriginal peoples have been appropriated by the colonizing groups in the process of nation building (1976:10; 1986:6). As handy "symbols for Canada" (Francis 1992:187), Aboriginal images such as the totem pole and the igloo continue to be used in travel posters produced by Tourism Canada. Nearly one hundred years later as signs of the nation, advertisements depicted images of West Coast totem poles, pow wow dancers and igloos with the word CANADA as the only message on the poster (Fig:9) (Blundell 1993:15). In this way, Aboriginal symbols became what Graburn calls Canada's "borrowed identity" (1986:5).

In the latter decades of the 20th century, recognizing that travelers still wanted to see and visit 'Indian' cultures, *Tourism Canada* and provincial tourism bodies have

Figure 8:

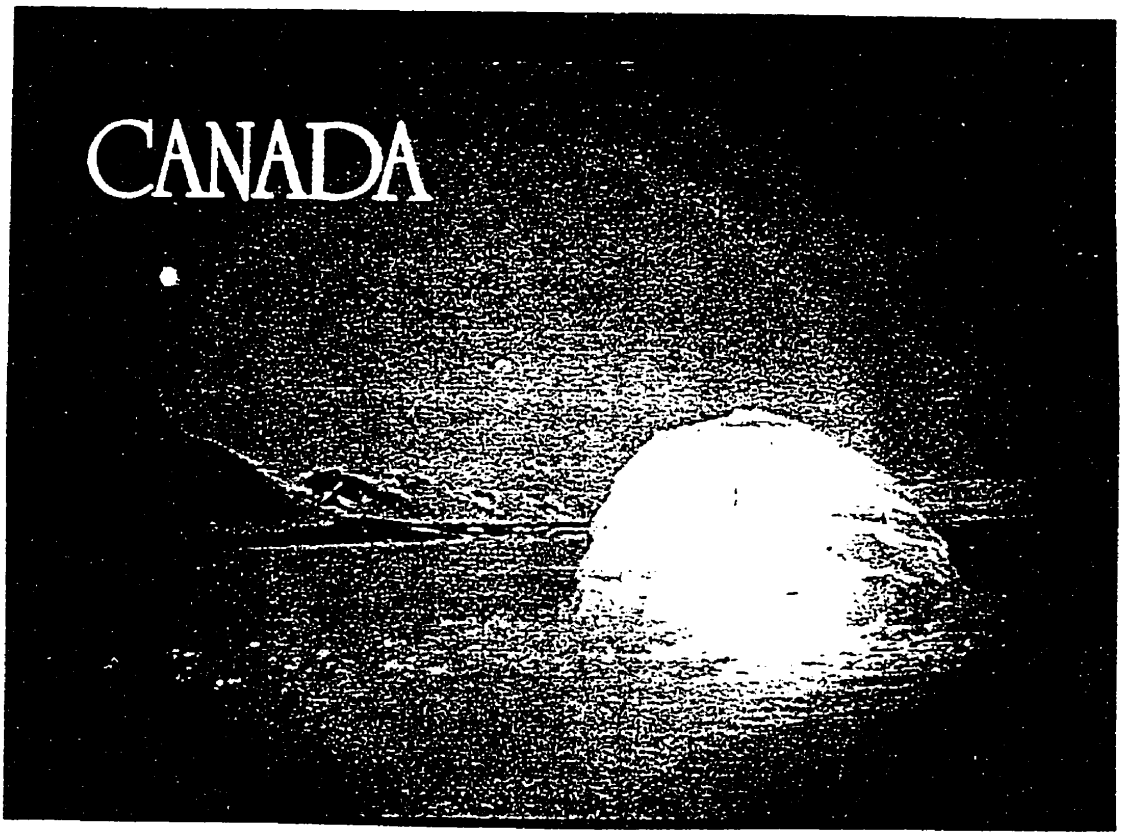
Canada For Holidays, 1937

Choko, Marc & David Jones
1995 Canadian Pacific Posters 1883-1963. Ottawa: Meridan Press. 143.

Figure 9:

CANADA Tourism Advertisement, circa 1980s

Blundell, Valda
1993 Aboriginal Cultural Forms as Tourist Attractions in Canada. Ottawa: Carleton University



undertaken initiatives which use Aboriginal culture to attract international travelers (Blundell 1993:6). For example, in 1966, to celebrate the centennial of the union of the colonies, the Province of British Columbia inaugurated the "Route of the Totems," a series of poles erected along highways and at ferry terminals from Victoria to Prince Rupert (Francis 1992:186). In 1985, *Tourism Canada* commissioned a media campaign designed to promote Canada to an American audience entitled "Canada: The World Next Door." In order to promote Canada as a culturally distinct or extraordinary place to visit, advertisements created picturesque images of Aboriginal culture, nostalgically frozen in the past (Fig:10) (Francis 1992:187). In one particular advertisement, a bold headline ran across two pages: "Only in God's Country could you meet such interesting souls" (New York Times Magazine 1992). The photograph shows two figures, presumably Native people, seated on a beach. They are both wearing large raven's head masks. The text begins by informing readers that

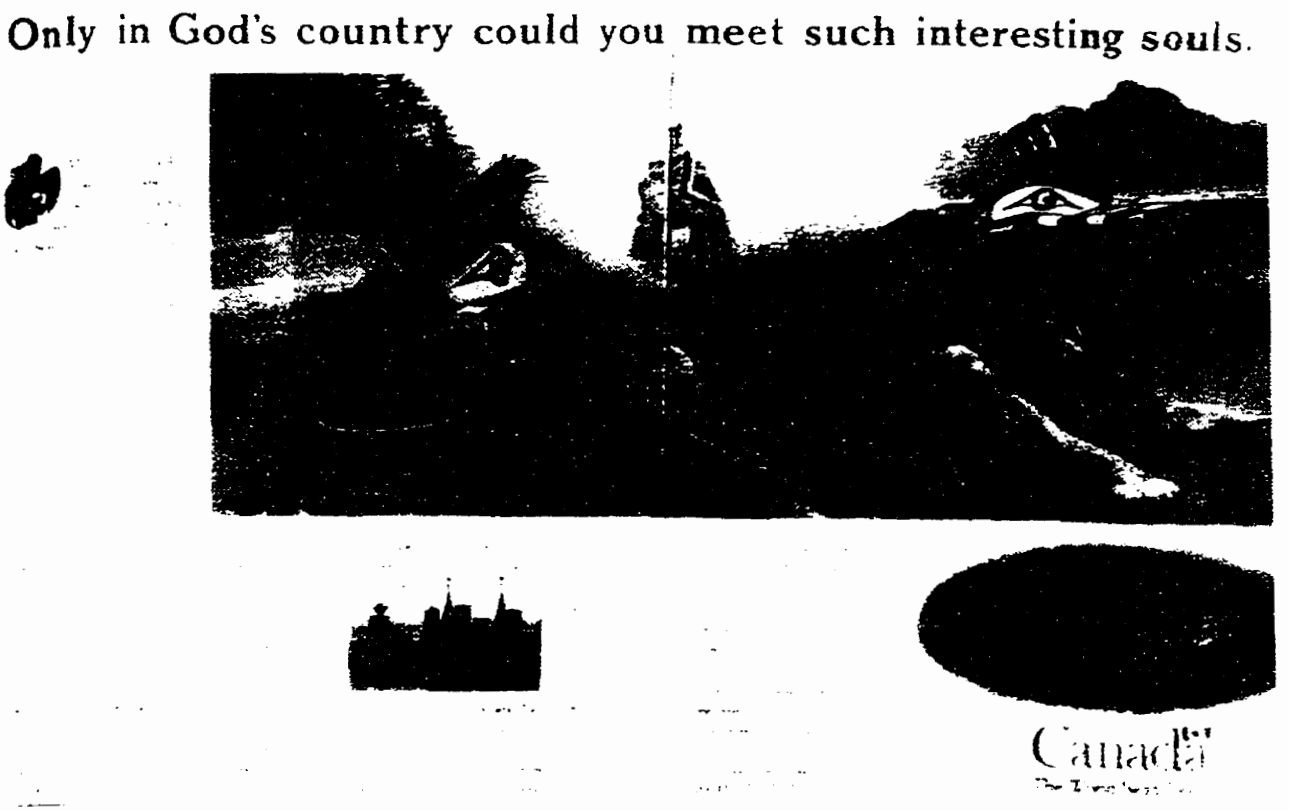
> our Native peoples have been entertaining visitors for centuries. . . the most revered of spirits and master of ceremonies, the Raven embodies what this land is today. . . Magic. For here the supernatural abides in all that is living (New York Times Magazine 1992).

The advertisement is promoting Canada, but refers specifically to British Columbia where apparently "everyone is a pantheist and the 'Animal People' are 'our link to another realm' (Francis 1992:188). One further example of provincial initiatives to promote tourism occurred in the mid-1980s, when the small town of Duncan on Vancouver Island declared itself the "City of Totem Poles" and commissioned a group of poles as a way of encouraging travelers to visit (Francis 1992:186). *Heritage Canada* with interests in

Figure 10:

Canada: The World Next Door, 1992
Advertisement

New York Times Magazine, May 17, 1992



culture have also promoted First Nations as tourist destinations (Blundell 1993: 6).[51] As part of its Regional Heritage tourism strategy, Heritage Canada identified and promoted Manitoulin Island and the Cowichan-Chemainus area of Vancouver Island as tourist areas which feature Aboriginal cultural attractions.[52]

By consulting promotional materials and contacting provincial, territorial and municipal tourism agencies, Blundell (1993) identified three types of tourist destinations in Canada which present and promote Aboriginal culture. Fixed sites including places such as national or provincial museums and art galleries, towns, villages and Aboriginal communities are promoted or advertised as "places where tourists can see 'authentic' Native cultures or buy Aboriginal arts and crafts" (Blundell 1995:33). Other examples of such fixed sites include historic and prehistoric sites such as *St. Marie Among the Huron*, operated by the Government of Ontario, and *Head Smashed in Buffalo Jump*, a world heritage site developed by the Government of Alberta. In addition, there are specific memorials, monuments and works of public art which were made by or make reference to Aboriginal peoples such as totem poles in *Beacon Hill Park* and *Stanley Park*, Victoria and Alert Bay which both claim to have the 'world's largest totem pole'(Blundell 1993:38). As well as these somewhat 'permanent' attractions at specific locations, throughout the 20th century, there have been

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[51]Heritage Canada is a charitable organization created in 1873 to preserve and protect Canadian heritage.

[52]Located in Lake Huron, northwest of Tobermory, Manitoulin Island was chosen as a culturally distinct and unique tourist destination because there are several Indian reserves, a Native cultural centre which exhibits First Nations art and crafts as well as several summer powwows. North of Victoria, the Cowichan-Chemainus area includes the city of Duncan (famous for its totem poles), a Native run Duncan Heritage centre, several reserves and a number of arts and crafts outlets.

various recurring events such as the annual summer festival *Banff Indian Days*, which began in 1894 and is no longer running, or stampedes, such as the *Calgary Stampede*. These events are heavily promoted by provincial and local tourism agencies, promotion which emphasized their Aboriginal content. Lastly, there are various tours and live-in experiences available to tourists which include self-guiding tour sites where Aboriginal peoples and cultural traditions are the highlight. Some examples of self-guiding tours and live-in experiences include everything from visiting the

> land of the Eskimo [to] partak[ing] in an eight day Arctic Dog Sled Odyssey . . .learn the Inuit lifestyle and means of true Arctic travel as it has existed for centuries. . . travel by dog team and stay in an igloo ("Arctic Odysseys" 1999).

Other self-guiding tours include

> Fly[ing] to the edge of the continent! Dip your toe in the Arctic Ocean and take a cultural tour of [an] Inuvialuit community. . . enjoy a lunch of caribou or muskox ("Arctic Odysseys" 1999).

The increased use of First Nations images or themes in contemporary tourist sites and "promotional efforts corresponds to the perception that the markets for cultural tourism and Native tourism in particular are strong and growing" (Hinch 1992:76). However, through non-Aboriginal operated tourist sites and promotional materials, tourists tend to absorb sedimented historical understandings of Native culture, as the storylines these sites and materials convey about Native North Americans are prone to the same stereotypes and partial realities embedded in the discourse of government, the academy, art and literature. Furthermore, Aboriginal culture is seen to be located solely in the arts, crafts, housing, costumes, forms of transportation or cuisine, rather than in terms of economic, political and

social institutions (Hollinshead 1992:43; Blundell 1993:59). As one advertisement suggested, if interested in Yukon First Nations, a tourist can

> visit Kwaday Dan Kenji, or Long Ago Peoples Place and see what life was like before non-Native contact. Elders have guided the construction of a moose skin tent, caribou fence, skin sled and much more. Then visit Haines Junction at the edge of Kluane National Park. Then it's off to an ancient fishing village, where a First nation's guide will share Ancient Southern Tuchone/ Tlingit history, culture and traditional ways. Included is a traditional salmon barbeque lunch (Arctic Vision & Go Wild Tours 1999).

Or one could take

> a one hour boat ride from Dawson City to a camp where the land is alive with the voices of Ancient First Nations Ancestors. Enjoy lunch while experiencing a traditional camp. Your hosts represent three different Ancient First Nations - Dene, Gwich'in, and Yup'ik (Arctic Vision & Go Wild Tours 1999)

or, "Go wild in Canada's North [by] taking a photograph of yourself in a fur and caribou skin parka before visiting the family dog team or fish nets" (Arctic Vision and Go Wild Tours 1999). For those wanting a high arctic experience, travelers can

> have a walking tour of a community [in Sachs Harbour] and visit an Inuvialuit family who lives there year round. Learn about the muskox and how the people of Sachs Harbour co-exist with them. For lunch, enjoy a traditional meal with a host family in their home. [Before leaving] mail a post card from the muskox capital of the world (Arctic Nature Tours 1999).

Implicit in all of these examples of non-Aboriginal organized tourism operations with an Aboriginal cultural component is a containerized view of Aboriginal culture. In these examples, Aboriginal culture is reduced to arts, crafts, forms of housing, costumes, cuisine and forms of transportation in Aboriginal culture.

Discussion

As has been shown, representations, metaphors or stereotypes of Aboriginal peoples as the uncivilized child and savage warrior not only constituted anthropological representations, but they also came to dominate art, literature, staged performances, film, the media and tourism in the 19th and 20th centuries. In all of these forms of popular discourse a view of Aboriginal culture is presented as something readily 'containerized' in select images, experiences and objects.

The elements of this rapidly proliferating mass of creative output dedicated to the 'Indian' which dates back to the 17th century popular culture shared several features in common. For instance, in the six popular media discussed, none possessed the slightest concrete relationship to the actualities of the Native cultures they portrayed (Ward 1992:27). Hence, each amounted to the imaginative invention of the authors, painters and producers, who, by virtue of their medium were alien to the context of which they presumed to write, produce or paint. As has been demonstrated, in art, Aboriginal peoples were romantic and picturesque; in literature, the 'Indian' was ignoble, lazy and dissolute yet at the same time noble, superior and a potential role model; on stage and in film 'Indians' were situated in the past as menacing murderers, vicious bloodthirsty savages, yet at times noble; in the marketplace, the 'Indian' appeared romantic, strong and trustworthy and finally, in tourism the 'Indian' is exotic, frozen in the past, a sign of the Canadian nation and continually engaged in production of crafts and items of 'traditional' culture. What is clear in each of these characterizations, is that Aboriginal people became dehumanized 'Indians', representing nothing that was truly reflective of their lives and cultural reality. In can be argued, and has,

that such prerogatives rest squarely within the realm of fiction. This seems true on the basis of the sheer falsity of colonial pronouncements concerning the indigenous American population. The pronouncements imply that the notions involved were imported rather than located upon arrival by the colonists because

> whatever their practical intentions or purposes, the invaders did not confront the Native peoples without certain preconceptions about their nature which helped to shape the way they represented them. Conceptions of savagery that developed in the 16th and 17th centuries and became the common property of western European culture constituted a distorting lens through which they early colonists assessed the potential and predicted the fate of the non-European peoples they encountered (Ward 1992:30).

Through the representations in all of these media, producers took possession of the 'Indian' image and manipulated it to suit their needs and hegemonic understandings.

Looking at these representations in detail shows that the dominant anthropological representations in discussed in the first chapter are images or metaphors which have come to dominate the popular discourses of art, literature, film, staged productions, the state and tourism. Embedded in the dominant hegemonic is the colonial mind-set which came to constitute a repertoire of what art historian Scott Vickers refers to as "image borne fantasies and political realities" (1988:xiii). In other words, representations of Aboriginal peoples in the popular culture are thus, hopelessly trapped within the definitional power of the oppressor, drifting endlessly in lazy hermeneutic circles, stranded in a pastless/presentless/futureless vacuum. Vickers argues that these fantasies must be recognized, challenged and deconstructed before they can be completely forgotten (1998:xiii). As will be shown in Chapter Three, it is Aboriginal people themselves who are taking the most effective lead in the process.

3. *Speaking Back*

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, after a 1951 Indian Act revision lifted the restrictions on Indian organizing, Aboriginal efforts, which dated back to the 1880s, to liberate themselves, politically and culturally from years of being told they had no right to dreams of self-determination or self-representation, began to be heard by non-Aboriginal peoples as they themselves began to challenge and deconstruct their world. (Culhane 1998:91; McFarlane 1993:9).[53] Digging out from under more than 100 years of colonial domination, Aboriginal peoples began to actively represent themselves in both the political, cultural, national and provincial arenas. Without sacrificing their own dignity or integrity Aboriginal peoples interrupted the historical monologue by 'speaking back' against years of de-meaning, contradictory, and ambiguous representation in the hegemonic discourse (Bird 1998:48). In the process, Aboriginal peoples have engaged themselves in a process of self-representation which has challenged the containerized view of Aboriginal culture discussed in previous chapters. In their attempts at self-representation in the arts, political arenas and tourism Aboriginal people have broken out of that containerization and allowed for ambiguity, contradiction and adaptability in representation as well as offered a new fluid and unbounded container of representation (Table 2).[54] The fluidity of their representation is embedded in

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[53]For a discussion of Aboriginal peoples' resistance to dominance see Forest LaViolettes' *The Struggle for Survival: Indian Cultures and the Protestant Ethic in British Columbia* (1961), Peter MacFarlane's *Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement* (1993) and George Manuel's *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (1974).

[54]By stating that Aboriginal people have broken out of the non-Aboriginal containerized representation I am not suggesting that they have gotten outside of the dominant discourse. Aboriginal

the fact that in Aboriginal representations there is more sharing of transnational ideas because American and Canadian 'Indians' never really recognized the border. In sharing their ideas and directing their voices towards government, the academy, the news media, stereotypic representation and political injustice, 'Aboriginal voices' and grievances concerning Indian policy, land, Aboriginal title, economic development, self-government, cultural exploitation and marginalization are being heard, often for the first time, by non-Aboriginal Canadians.

Early and Contemporary Political Action

Aboriginal efforts to assertively educate about unresolved land claims, issues of Aboriginal title rights, economic development and social conditions which date back to the 1800s, where publicly expressed, in 1967 when the National Indian Council (NIC) built a pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal. At this event that celebrated the centennial of Canada's Confederation, Aboriginal groups publicly expressed, dissatisfaction concerning social, political and economic conditions that dated back more than 300 years (Dickason 1993:383; Miller 1991:234). Following the exhibition at Expo '67, and with the help of political organizations such as the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), followed by the assembly of First Nations and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 'Aboriginal voices' throughout Canada such as George Manuel (1974) and Harold Cardinal (1969) have effectively brought their grievances to the forefront of the Canadian consciousness (Table 4).[55] For instance, *The*

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representations are bound by the dominant discourse. However, as post-colonial subjects, Aboriginal peoples are working within the existing discourse to affect change.

[55]'Speaking Back' has also meant 'Speaking Together' in the sense that there have been cultural partnerships that have gone on between churches (Charles Hendrys' book *Beyond the Traplines Does*

Unjust Society (Cardinal 1969) represented, as Cardinal states,

> an attempt to bring to the Canadian public, perhaps for the first time, a voice that was ours, a voice that reflected First Nation thoughts and reactions to the situation facing us. It described the political environment of the late 1960s and the state of Indian/White relations. It presented the challenges facing First Nation political leaders and their communities and provided a glimpse of the contemporary Indian political movement (1999:vii).

Enough is Enough (1987), is another example of how, a group of women from a reserve in New Brunswick, through telling their own story of hard times and tremendous odds have "shown people what life is like for Indian women in Canada, and to demonstrate how a group of women can work together to create a better future for themselves and their children" (Silman 1987:15).

From the late 1960s to the present there have been a series of confrontations between First Nations protesting economic development, aboriginal rights, land claims and social conditions, and the political, legal and law enforcement authorities of the dominant Canadian society (Table 4). These intense low-key lobbying and political, social, military or economic confrontations have not only generated enthusiasm and solidarity among First Nations, but have also brought more attention to their grievances, attracted considerable public support for these grievances and have often forced the government to take

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the Church Really Care?: Towards an Assessment of the Work of the Anglican Church of Canada with Canada's Native Peoples 1969) , academics, politicians such as Robert Andras, Martin O'Connell, Gerald Baldwin and Frank Howard who have worked to build up Indian competences and leadership qualities and Aboriginal peoples.

Table 5: Aboriginal Peoples Speaking Back

Date	Event
1969	Publication of Harold Cardinal's *Unjust Society* left little doubt about the ability of Canadian Indians to articulate their interests directly and most effectively to politicians and members of the public. Writing about a situation that he is living and experiencing in common with thousands of people, Cardinal opens the eyes of the Canadian public to what it meant to be and 'Indian' in Canada (Cardinal 1999:2). In *The Unjust Society*, Cardinal documents the betrayal of 'Indian trust and shows how the dictatorial bureaucracy eroded Aboriginal rights, atrophied their culture and robbed Aboriginal people of dignity.
1970	The Indian Association of Alberta presented its *Red Paper* entitled *Citizens Plus* to government (Dickason 1992:387-388). The paper proposed that 'Indian' nations rather than the provinces assume some federal responsibility for Native people. The *Red Paper* advocated special status as defined by the treaties. Eventually the force of the opposition led the Trudeau government to retract the paper on March 17, 1971.
1972	James Bay Cree and Inuit applied for an injunction to halt the James Bay Hydro Electric Project on the grounds that Native claims were still pending (Dickason 1992:404). One week after the injunction was granted it was suspended on appeal.In 1975 *The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement* was signed. This agreement left the Inuit and Cree communities with substantial control over their own political, economic and social affairs (Dickason 1992:405).
1979 to 1982	Frustrated by the refusal of Federal and Provincial government to discuss with them social and economic conditions on their reserves, Algonquians from the Ottawa Valley pitched their tents on Parliament Hill (Dickason 1992:407). Approximately 200 West Coast Aboriginal peoples disrupted the opening of Parliament when they brought the poor living conditions to the attention of the wider population. 'Indians,' Inuit and Metis people concerned that Aboriginal rights be enshrined in the Canadian Constitution sent delegation after delegation to Britain to press their cause concerning the poor conditions on reserves on an international scene. When the Constitutional Patriation was accomplished in 1982, Native people won recognition of 'existing' Aboriginal rights (Dickason 1992:407). These rights were however not defined.
1979	Women from Tobique Reserve in New Brunswick held a 100 mile native women's walk from the Oka reserve near Montreal to Parliament Hill in Ottawa to change the Indian Act and regain their 'Indian' birthrights (Silman 1987:14). Upon arrival in Ottawa, they staged a large rally on Parliament Hill. In 1981 the U.N Human Rights Committee found Canada in breach of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In June of 1985 the Canadian Parliament passed a bill which ended over one hundred years of legislated sexual discrimination against Native 'Indian' women. The passage of legislation to amend the 'Indian' Act marked the culmination of a long campaign by Native women to regain their full 'Indian' status, rights and identities.

Table 5:Aboriginal Peoples Speaking Back

Date	Event
1986	To draw attention to both economic development and their unresolved land claim, the Lubicon Lake Cree in Northern Albert announced a boycott of The 1988 Winter Olympics. This boycott later came to focus on the 1988 exhibition *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Nations* presented by the Glenbow Museum in Calgary (see Harrison 1993). The boycott which surrounded the exhibition affected the outlook of hundreds of museum curators, anthropologists and archaeologists not to mention members of the public.
1987	When the Meech Lake Accord, recognizing Quebec as a distinct society and granting special status, was signed by Mulroney, Aboriginal peoples and leaders across the country rallied against the Accord. What had been denied to them was not being given to Quebec (Dickason 1992:409). When the opportunity presented itself to 'kill the Accord,' by legislative means, Elijah Haper, an Oji-Cree withheld his vote because procedural rules were not being followed.
1988	Innu of Labrador invaded a NATO air base as part of a battle against low-level flights by jet fighters that threatened to reduce the animal population on which their hunting culture that, has lasted for thousands of years, depended (Ashini 1989). In 1989, after a year of campaigning won an injunction from continuing its low flying exercises over their terrain (Dickason 1992:416). The injunction was later overturned.
1990	Mohawk of Kanesatake set up a blockade to forestall the town of Oka from taking over lands for the expansion of a nine hole golf course (Miller 1991:304). The crisis caused a rethinking of attitudes about 'Indian'-white relations in some portions of the country.
1996	Nishga negotiators celebrated a vicious plight by announcing that after 120 years of negotiations they had reached an agreement in principle with the federal and provincial government of British Columbia.
1996	The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples requested by former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney following the Oka crisis was completed with full partnership and involvement of Aboriginal peoples. The RCAP lays out a strategy to reform the foundation of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and Canada.
1999	Supreme Court of Canada decision in the Donald Marshall case. The court said the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq should never have been convicted of illegally catching eels because a 1760 treaty gave Natives the right to fish and hunt freely (Donald Marshall et.al 1989). The decision opened the door to Natives catching and selling species like lobster.

Aboriginal concerns more seriously (Table 4) (Erasmus 1989:7). For example, Chief Gary Potts of the Teme-Augama Anishnabai who live in the Temagami area of Ontario, has repeatedly brought it to public attention that, at the present rate of cutting, there are only five years' worth of logging left in the forests his people are trying to defend, even if the government should permit the companies access to them (Erasmus 1989:29). These educational efforts have had a great deal of success: every environmental group in Ontario is opposing the extension of logging roads into this last remaining stand of timber.[56] Similarly, in 1986, the Lubicon of Northern Alberta attracted support not only throughout Canada, but over much of the Western World (Harrison 1993:340). In their effort to boycott the Olympic art show, "The Spirit Sings," they conducted an educational campaign that affected the outlook of hundreds of museum curators, anthropologists and archaeologists, not to mention members of the public (Harrison 1993:351-353).

What comes to the forefront in the Aboriginal struggle to have their rights and claims recognized is the fact that through these confrontations Aboriginal peoples have forced Canadians to realize the reality that Aboriginal peoples and culture did not simply disappear or 'die off' in the face of colonization. But rather, they have shown that their people and culture are economically and politically viable, adaptive, have survived through time, and have a future within the Canadian state.

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[56]See Bruce Hodgins and Jamie Benidickson book, *The Temagami Experience: Recreation, Resources and Aboriginal Rights in the Northern Ontario Wilderness* (1989).

Mediating Between Worlds: Aboriginal Self-Representations in Literature and Art

Political confrontation and blockades are not the only means by which Aboriginal peoples have been 'speaking back.' In the late 1960s and early 1970s there was a veritable explosion of Aboriginal artists and writers in the United States and Canada who initiated a quiet cultural renaissance (Durham 1992:428; Castro 1991:151; Erasmus 1989:41; Ortiz 1998:xi). This 'explosion' or rather resurgence of 'Indian' art and literature paralleled the 'Indian' assertiveness which emerged in the political arena (Castro 1991:157). Spreading into the artistic arena, contemporary Aboriginal writer Tomson Highway along with artist Gerald McMaster began making more individual efforts to intervene in the cultural narratives of the Canadian and American state by 'telling their own story.'[57]

As post-colonial subjects, Aboriginal writers and artists are, as James Ruppert suggests, in a "position of full potential" (1995:3). As participants in two cultural traditions, they pattern their representations within discursive acts of mediation.[58] Mediating between two worlds they:

- dismantle dominant stereotypes or perceptions
- critique Euro-centric notions of Aboriginal people

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[57]I sue both Canadian and American Aboriginal voices in this discussion because they are part of the same movement to confront and challenge dominant perceptions. Leslie Marmon Silko's novel *Ceremony*, Basil Johnson's *Indian School Days* (1988), Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed* (1973), Luther Standing Bear's *My People the Sioux* (1975), Charles Eastmen's *Indian Boyhood* (1970), John Fire Lame Deer and Richard Erodes 1972 *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions*, N.Scott Momoday's *House Made of Dawn* (1968), D'arcy McNickles's *The Surrounded* (1972) and John Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* (1972) as well as Thompson Highway's literary works and the artistic work of Rick Rivet, Kenny and Rebecca Baird, Robert Houle, Bob Boyer and Norval Morriseau are also works which achieve the same results.

[58]By mediation, I mean an artistic and conceptual standpoint which is constantly flexible as well as uses the epistemological frameworks of Aboriginal and Western cultural traditions to illuminate and enrich each other.

- delineate differences in world views
- create cultural criticisms of the dominant society
- make manifest the crimes of the past by bringing their stories to the attention of the reading public and placing it in a context that gives voice to traditional Native values or points of view (Allen 1994:8-9; Ortiz 1998:xix).

In doing so, Aboriginal artists and writers are not only 'telling their own stories,' they are taking ownership over their stories, claiming Aboriginal title over how Aboriginal images and their cultures are being used and are engaged in the post-modern process of reinterpreting and representing historical facts to allow traditional values and beliefs to be seen as relevant (McMaster & Martin 1993:18; Ryan 1991:12). Tomson Highway's play *The Rez Sisters* (1988), *Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing* (1989), his first published novel *Kiss of the Fur Queen* (1998) and the artistic work of Gerald McMaster are two exemplary examples of Aboriginal works which contain powerful messages and perspectives on contemporary 'Indian' life or society, critique European culture, make manifest the crimes of the past and dismantle stereotypes.

According to Paula Gunn Allen, contemporary Aboriginal representations in both art and literature

> rely on Native rather than non-Indian forms, themes, and symbols and so are not colonial or exploitative. Rather they carry on the oral tradition at many levels, furthering and nourishing it and being furthered and nourished by it (1986:79).

Arnold Krupat sees this mediational mix as "influenced in a very substantial degree by the central forms of Western literature" (1996:22). As Aboriginal writers and artists strive to bring the oral into the written, the Native American vision into Western thinking, spirit into modern identity, community into society and myth into modern imagination, he or she is not

confined to one cultural framework.[59] As a participant in two literary and cultural traditions, Western and Native, the contemporary Native American writer and artist is free to use the epistemological structures of one to penetrate the other. In the process, they break free and create new representations of Aboriginal culture.

The work of Tomson Highway and Gerald McMaster "manages successfully to merge forms internal to his [the Native writer's] cultural formation with forms external to it, but pressing upon, even seeking to delegitimate it" (Krupat 1989:214). What emerges out of this mediational mix is a constantly changing representation which can realign and reinforce the reader's epistemology. As Aboriginal artists and writers mediational representations move back and forth between "ways of encoding reality," readers reevaluate interpretation, are informed, and can be changed as they try on alternate epistemologies, different cultural goals, and different notions of reality and truth. While readers attempt to encode those phenomena, Aboriginal representations offer reconstructed ways of encoding experience based on traditional and contemporary insight into both cultures. The mediational representations endeavor to move readers to question the way they form knowledge and meaning, and in the end seeks to re-educate those readers so that they can understand two codes, two traditions of discourse. In short, the representations aspire to change readers opinions.

In aspiring to change readers opinions, Aboriginal writers and artists are, as already stated, deconstructing the damaging stereotypes which date back to the first explorers who

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[59]At the same time, it is all too obvious that contemporary Native representations conform to many Western expectations and present characters who can be understood in terms of Western psychology and sociology.

perceived Aboriginal peoples as both inferior to the more 'sophisticated' and 'civilized' European (King 1987:7). Faced with these two images, Native writers and artists avoided confrontation. Rather than try to destroy European representations with facts about Native populations and culture or discount them with sarcasm and satire, they sought instead to create their own characters who would act as counterpoints. Instead of creating Native characters who are inferior and dying, Native writers have consciously created Native characters who are resourceful, vibrant, and tenacious (Table 2). Like the traditional trickster figures, contemporary Native characters are frequently tricked, beaten up, robbed, deserted, wounded, and ridiculed, but, unlike the historical and contemporary Native characters in White fiction, these characters survive, persevere, and in many cases, prosper. Contemporary Native literature abounds with characters who are crushed and broken by circumstances and disasters, but very few of them perish. Whatever the damage, contemporary characters, like their traditional trickster relations, rise from their own wreckage to begin again.

An example of such characters are the two Cree brothers, Champion and Ooneemeetoo Okimasis, who were severely abused at a Catholic residential school in Tomson Highway's, first novel, *Kiss of the Fur Queen* (1998). Taken away from their northern Manitoba home, Champion and Ooneemeetoo are thrust into a Catholic residential school where they are forbidden to "speak Cree once [they're] off the plane" (Highway 1998:70), and where, in the process of having his hair shaved, a process Highway describes as being "skinned alive, in public" (1998:53) Champions' name is changed because "according to Father Bouchard's baptismal registry, [he is] named Jeremiah Okimasis" (Highway 1998:54). "With his hair now gone completely, Champion had no strength left" (Highway

1998:54). Left, "with what looked like a hundred bald-headed Indian boys. . .uniformly garbed in sky-blue denim shirts and navy denim coveralls" (Highway 1998:55) Champion and Ooneemeetoo (otherwise known as Gabriel), estranged from their own people, alienated from the culture imposed upon them and abused by the priests, the brothers fought to survive and eight years later ended up in the 'big city' where the trickster helps to restore their dignity and, by implication, that of their people.

In *The Rez Sisters* (Highway 1988) and *Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing* (1989), two powerful and moving stories of life on the mythical Wasaychigan Hill Indian Reserve, Highway provides insight into Native-Canadian reserve life. Wherein *The Rez Sisters* the focus was on seven "Wasy" (Highway 1988:2) women attempting to beat the odds by winning,

> the biggest bingo the world has ever seen!. . .[where they will] be witness to such events of such gargantuan proportions, such cataclysmic ramifications, such masterly and magnificent manifestations that your minds will reel, your eyes will nictitate, and your hearts will palpitate erratically. Because. . .[they] will see the biggest. . .the very biggest prizes ever known to man, woman, beast or appliance. [Where the] jackpot. . .is surely the biggest, the largest, the hugest, and the most monstrous jackpot ever conceived of in the entire history of monstrous jackpots as we know them. $500,000!. . .[where] $500,000 [could be theirs that] very night! That's half a million - A HALF MILLION SMACKEROOS!!! (Highway 1988:101)

and a chance to win a way out of a tortured life, *Dry Lips Oughta move to Kapuskaing* (1989) features seven "Wasy" men and

> a game [women's hockey] such as has never been seen ever before on the ice of any hockey arena anywhere on the island of Manitoulin, anywhere on the face of this country, anywhere on the face of this planet (Highway 1989:70).

In *The Kiss of the Fur Queen*, *The Rez Sisters*, and *Dry Lips Oughta Move to*

Kapuskasing Highway deals with many issues not spoken about: rape, death, solidarity among individuals and the survival of individuals, communities and nations. As Highway's characters suggest, Indigenous peoples in Canada tenaciously clung to their cultures, their way of seeing, being and doing (Acoose1993:35). Highway's writing demonstrates that Indigenous cultures have survived and are very much alive, in one way, through the mythology. Using the transformative power of magic and myth, as well as compelling plots which weave childhood memories, passion, surreal dreams, wretched reality, humor, laughter and bitter rumination, Highway, insists that Aboriginals did not die, they were surrounded, engulfed but did not surrender, they stood forth, renewed, vital and splendid (Allen 1994:13). As Highway states himself, "there is a spirituality that still is so powerful and beautiful and passionate" (quoted in Lutz 1991:91).

Using art as his medium, Gerald McMaster questions past injustices and also examines the tangled complex history of feelings, identity, preconceived notions and contemporary realities that define Aboriginal cultures today (McMaster & Martin 1992:15-16). Gerald McMaster's *Trick or Treaty* (Fig:11) is an excellent example of Aboriginal art which raises awareness of past political issues that have involved First Nations peoples. In *Trick or Treaty*, McMaster takes a satirical look at Canada's first Prime Minister Sir John A. MacDonald. The linguistic play of the text *Trick or Treaty* recalls MacDonald's paternalistic, right wing attitude and trickery involving treaty

Figure 11:

***Trick or Treaty*, 1990**

Ryan, Allen
1991 The Cowboy/Indian Show: Recent Work by Gerald McMaster. Canada: Bradbury, Tamblyn & Borne Ltd. 51

agreements between the government of Canada and First Nations. Depicting an Aboriginal perspective regarding historical events, McMaster protests the circumstances of North American's colonial history that have led to current situations of racial intolerance. He provides a powerful alternate model for looking at 'great leaders' by addressing the omission of the Aboriginal view of Canadian colonialist experiences. By juxtaposing Native and non-Native history, McMaster explores and rewrites representations of history to bring new meaning to them (Robertson 1992:178; McMaster & Martin 1992:19). Like Highway's plays and novel, McMaster's *Trick or Treaty* critiques the destructive practices of Western society, and attests to the timelessness of Aboriginal spiritual values, cultural tenacity, and the relationship to the land (McMaster & Martin 1992:20).

Aboriginal Tourism

Like art and literature, Aboriginal cultural tourism is emerging as a perceived site of opportunity for First Nations to represent themselves in ways that avoid the stereotypic practices of anthropological, visual, literary and popular representation, as well as a way to, gain economic self-sufficiency (Blundell 1993:61).[60] Although images of Native culture have long been used to promote tourism in Canada, the content of those images has never been controlled by Aboriginal people themselves. As another form of 'speaking back,' Aboriginal owned and operated tourism experiences are venues where Aboriginal peoples can potentially challenge stereotypical assumptions, or what I have called the "containerized" view of

[60]Aboriginal tourism is defined as any "tourist product or service which is owned and operated by Aboriginal people" (Parker 1993:400).

Aboriginal culture.[61] Equally important is the fact that it also offers the potential for economic growth and cultural revitalization for the Aboriginal community as a whole.[62] Changing patterns of tourism — the attraction of the wilderness, the desire for scenic natural surroundings, the tourists search for the authentic and the desire for unique cultural experiences — have prompted more Aboriginal communities to develop tourist destinations within their communities (McCannell 1976; Urry 1990:41-65; Brascoupe 1997:18).[63]

Within the context of a volatile debate concerning Aboriginal rights, "First Nations are calling for greater control over the uses to which their cultural forms are put" (Blundell 1993:7). By offering their own unique tourist destinations, Aboriginal communities can control how their cultural forms are shared. As one Aboriginal tourism operator, with whom I spoke, explained, he wants to,

> share the truth about our customs, traditions and history, educate people who choose to think that we are frozen in the 1800s, and prove that we are equal to all peoples of the world in terms of philosophy, traditional medicines, the arts and literature.

Recognizing that much of the existing Aboriginal tourism product is developed and driven by foreign or external wholesalers, and the fact that non-aboriginal owned and operated tourism continues to threaten indigenous knowledge, intellectual property rights,

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[61]It is important to note that this works only if tourists are interested in new images.

[62]It is important to note that the potential for economic growth may influence the character of Aboriginal representations in the tourism sector. Such a discussion is however beyond the scope of this research but is recognized as a site for potential future research in Aboriginal tourism.

[63]The use of the term 'authentic' implies both an essentialization of culture– the belief that cultures have a set of characteristics which make them what they are– and an undisputed origin (Taylor 2001:8).

technologies, spiritual beliefs, sacred sites such as the Peterborough Petroglyphs, social structures and ecosystems and local economics, both indigenous and non-indigenous people in many countries of the world are beginning to develop tourism initiatives which positively, sensitively and more accurately represent local people and culture (Stewart 1993:253). For example, in Namibia, the Native Ju'hoansi, with the help of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are managing their own tourist camps and interpretive trail system (Epler-Wood 1999:26). Young people act as guides, thus reinforcing the pride in their own culture. In Nepal, NGOs are introducing systems for women to facilitate an important role in the trekking economy. Programs have allowed women to run their own microenterprises such as kerosene depots to help generate revenue and protect the environment. In Australia, the government has mandated an advanced system of co-management of protected areas with public lands being returned to Aboriginal owners, who now generate revenues by leasing their lands back to the government. In addition, they manage their own tourism enterprises and conduct local tours.

With the help of Aboriginal tourism operators, travelers in Canada can now "Plan a Cree-alive Escape!" to Saskatchewan. For five days, 'history buffs' can

> savour the view of buffalo in their natural habitat from a historical centre which was built in honour of Chief Poundmaker. . . Museum personnel will provide tours of the Northwest Mounted Police battle site, the Sarcee battle site and the Big Bear Monument. Listen to Cree origins, both oral and documented on the historical events of 1840 and 1885 when the Canadian militia attacked Poundmaker's Band ("Chief Poundmaker Historical Center" 1997).

Travelers could plan an

> educational trail ride with Native guides into the back country of the beautiful

> Kanasakis, Alberta. Native guides accompany you on your journey and share with you the knowledge of nature and their great heritage. . . offers a variety of programs for travelers who seek adventures, nature in the pristine beauty of the Rocky Mountains . . . our guides will share their detailed knowledge about the history, flora and fauna with you while you are crossing these beautiful hills on horseback (Native Adventures Inc. 1999).

or "an 8-day program in one of Alberta's best ranches [where] an Elder will teach you [and] a storyteller will explain the beginning of the worlds to you." For the more physically active, travelers can

> travel for five days along the rivers, the Cree highways. [This journey] features a variety of scenery and takes you to the location of several legends, lets you learn and experience traditional Cree ways and practices (Ouje-Bougoumou Cree Cultural Tours 1999).

The differences between these examples of Aboriginal operated tours, and the non-Aboriginal destinations discussed in the previous chapter, is that the above experiences all emphasize the opportunity to learn about Aboriginal culture, from Elders and Native guides. Although similarities are to be found in the use of words such as 'traditional,' 'pristine,' 'adventure' and 'nature,' in these programs there is no indication of Aboriginal culture being something 'lost' or forgotten in the past. Nor is there a singular emphasis place on housing, costumes, forms of transportation or cuisine as the sole markers of Aboriginal culture. Instead there is a strong emphasis placed on education, heritage, knowledge, stories, and the legends which guide the lives of Aboriginal people in contemporary Canadian society.

The increase in Aboriginal owned and operated tourism destinations since the mid-1980s is, in recent years, due in part to the recent development of national Aboriginal tourism

associations such as the Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association[64] (CNATA), established in April 1992, and Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada[65] (ATTC), established in 1997 (Stewart 1993:252; Strategy Group 1992:1). Formed by Aboriginal tourism operators, owners and managers from across the country, CNATA has the following mandate:

- to protect, promote and preserve the integrity of Aboriginal tourism
- to ensure that the tourism industry respects the cultural integrity of Aboriginal people to be a catalyst for the growth of tourism by Aboriginal peoples
- to influence government policies
- to coordinate marketing
- to facilitate communication and networking
- to support research
- to strengthen Aboriginal tourism throughout Canada
- to identify the needs and opportunities to bring the vision of Aboriginal owned and operated tourism to life (Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association 1998; Parker, 1992:14-20; Strategy Group 1992:1).

In addition to these national organizations, most provinces now have regional Aboriginal tourism associations which act as spokes-bodies for Aboriginal tourism operators and entrepreneurs.[66]

Although Aboriginal tourism practioners and marketers have recognized the interest

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[64]A national organization, formed in 1989 to oversee the development, implementation and growth of Aboriginal tourism as well as its relationship to the Canadian government (Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association:1998). The mandate is "to meet the challenges of strengthening Aboriginal tourism throughout Canada while maintaining absolute integrity and honour to Aboriginal peoples, their land and cultures" (Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association:1998).

[65]ATTC is a non-profit organization set up by the Canadian Tourism Commission to support the growth of Aboriginal tourism business (Canadian Tourism Commission 1995). The Board of Directors represents regional Aboriginal tourism associations. The ATTC mandate is to create a forum where Industry and Government can coordinate their act in developing and implementing a national tourism strategy (Canadian Tourism Commission1998:n.pg).

[66]These include the Aboriginal Tourism Association of B.C., Manitoba Aboriginal Tourism Association (MATA), Northern Ontario Native Tourism Association (NONTA), Yukon First Nations Tourism Association, and the Quebec Aboriginal Tourism Committee.

of tourism markets in the cultures of First Nations peoples, the product offerings of Aboriginal peoples of Canada have not been extensive in past years (Strategy Group 1992:1). One reason for this is the fact that provincial and territorial governments claim all jurisdiction over tourism and have not recognized Aboriginal tourism as a distinct part of the industry but rather see it as part of the larger non-Aboriginal tourist industry (Parker 1993:402).[67] Specific barriers to the development of the Aboriginal tourism industry revolve around understanding the specific desires of the target markets, fostering product market research or strategies, educating and training Aboriginal peoples to develop tourism businesses, and encouraging the participation of Aboriginal tourism representatives in mainstream tourism organizations (Parker 1996:403; Stewart 1993:253; Strategy Group 1992:2).

Despite the above mentioned challenges, Aboriginal owned and operated tourism in Canada is growing. In 1994 there were an estimated 1300 such businesses (Table 6) (The Strategy Group 1992:8).[68] These include arts, crafts and other retail outlets such as the *Woodland Indian Craft Shop* in Brantford, Ontario or *Whetung's* on the Curve Lake

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[67]This inhibits offerings because Aboriginal tourism destinations do not receive the same provincial or federal support and promotion that is offered to non-Aboriginal owned destinations which are recognized as a distinct part of the tourism industry.

[68]This is the most recent statistical data available on Aboriginal tourism businesses.

Table 6: Canadian Aboriginal Owned and Operated Tourist Destinations

Blundell, Valda
1993 Aboriginal Cultural Forms as Tourist Attractions in Canada. Ottawa: Carleton University.

The Estimated Number of Aboriginal Owned and Operated Tourism Destinations By Province Based on British Columbia Facts in 1994

British Columbia	250
Yukon Territories	50
Northwest Territories	200
Alberta	75
Saskatchewan	75
Manitoba	250
Ontario	300
Quebec	100
Atlantic Canada	0
Estimated Total	1300

Reserve outside of Peterborough, Ontario; cultural interpretive centres such as the *Woodland Cultural Centre* in Brantford, Ontario or the *Ojibwe Cultural Foundation* in Manitoulin Island (Fig:12); R.V. Parks and campgrounds such as the Temagami Tipi Camp (Fig:13)[69], the Mooswa Minsistic Camp (Fig:14)[70] or the Whalesback Channel Outdoor Camps and Native Adventures in Cutler, Ontario (Fig: 15); hunting and fishing lodges like Kashechewan Charlie Wynne Goose Camp on James Bay or the Caribou Mountain Wilderness fly-in fishing camp owned and operated by the Little Red River Cree Nation in Alberta; marinas like the Ojibway Bay Marina owned by the Chippewas of Mnjikaning (Rama) First Nation; Adventure Tourism operations such as those already described or the *Creeway Wilderness Adventures* in Moose Factory, Ontario, *Wild Spirit Wilderness Adventures*, a Native eco-tourism company in Richmond, British Columbia, and the *Hudson Bay Polar Bear Park Expeditions* in Hudson Bay. From the estimated 1300 Aboriginal owned and operated tourism operations, over $540 million is contributed to the Canadian economy, and over 48,600 Aboriginal peoples are employed (Parker 1993:400; Strategy Group 1992:8).

The Future of Aboriginal Tourism

At the first Aboriginal tourism conference in 1996, *The Journey on the Road to Aboriginal Tourism*, Elijah Harper stated,

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[69]Located on Bear Island, the Temagami Tipi Camp offers five day experiences or weekend retreats which teach visitors about Anishinabe culture and traditions.

[70]North of Winnipeg, Mooswa Minsistic Camp was developed by and operated by the Ochekwi-Sipi (Fisher River) First Nations and the Mooswa Minsistic (Moose Island). The camp offers visitors the opportunity for an active learning experience related to the culture, environment and history of the Ochekwi-Sipi people.

Figure 12:

Ojibwe Cultural Foundation

Ojibwe Cultural Foundation
1999 Ojibwe Cultural Foundation. Manitoulin's Magazine. 37

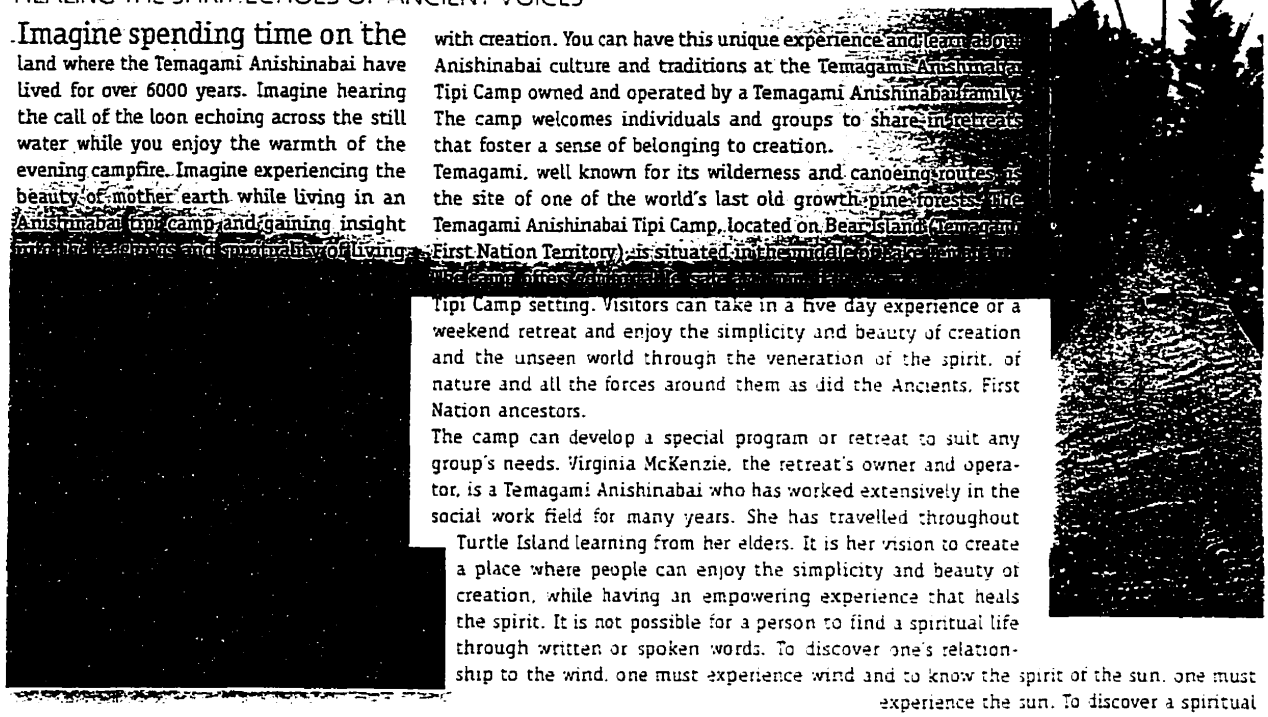
Figure 13:

Temagami Tipi Camp
Healing the Spirit: Echoes of Ancient Voices

Trails'99: Your guide to favourite Aboriginal historical sites, destinations, peoples and festivals in Northwestern Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan 1999, Summer. 7.

TEMAGAMI TIPI CAMP

HEALING THE SPIRIT: ECHOES OF ANCIENT VOICES



Imagine spending time on the land where the Temagami Anishinabai have lived for over 6000 years. Imagine hearing the call of the loon echoing across the still water while you enjoy the warmth of the evening campfire. Imagine experiencing the beauty of mother earth while living in an Anishinabai tipi camp and gaining insight [illegible] and spirituality of living with creation. You can have this unique experience and learn about Anishinabai culture and traditions at the Temagami Anishinabai Tipi Camp owned and operated by a Temagami Anishinabai family. The camp welcomes individuals and groups to share in retreats that foster a sense of belonging to creation.

Temagami, well known for its wilderness and canoeing routes, is the site of one of the world's last old growth pine forests. The Temagami Anishinabai Tipi Camp, located on Bear Island (Temagami First Nation Territory), is situated in the middle of [illegible]. The camp offers [illegible].

Tipi Camp setting. Visitors can take in a five day experience or a weekend retreat and enjoy the simplicity and beauty of creation and the unseen world through the veneration of the spirit, of nature and all the forces around them as did the Ancients, First Nation ancestors.

The camp can develop a special program or retreat to suit any group's needs. Virginia McKenzie, the retreat's owner and operator, is a Temagami Anishinabai who has worked extensively in the social work field for many years. She has travelled throughout Turtle Island learning from her elders. It is her vision to create a place where people can enjoy the simplicity and beauty of creation, while having an empowering experience that heals the spirit. It is not possible for a person to find a spiritual life through written or spoken words. To discover one's relationship to the wind, one must experience wind and to know the spirit of the sun, one must experience the sun. To discover a spiritual life, one must experience spirit and that means one must live a spiritual way, both personally, in a relationship with the creative and in the community of man.

Bear Island, Lake Temagami, Ontario P0H 1C0. phone fax (705) 237-8876
tipi.temagtipi@onlink.netwww.venturenorth.com

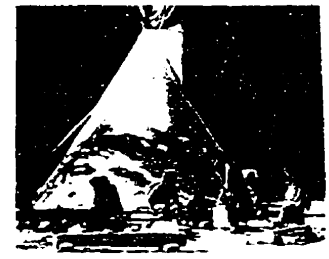
Figure 14:

Mooswa Minsistic Camp
Island Retreat Showcases Fisher River Cree Heritage

Trails'99: Your guide to favourite Aboriginal historical sites, destinations, peoples and festivals in Northwestern Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. 1999, Summer. 7

MOOSWA MINSISTIC CAMP

ISLAND RETREAT SHOWCASES FISHER RIVER CREE HERITAGE



Just a short two-and-one-half hour drive north of Winnipeg, is one of the province's latest and most exciting First Nation cultural camps.

Developed, owned and operated by the Ochekwi-Sipi (Cree for: Fisher River) Cree Nation, the Mooswa Ministic (Moose Island) Camp offers one of the most authentic and unique First Nation experiences you can find. Development of the camp continues, with a number of exciting stages—including the construction of a interpretive centre—yet to come.

Mooswa Ministic Camp offers visitors the opportunity for an active learning experience related to the environment, culture and history of the Ochekwi-Sipi people.

For the Cree community of nearly 2500 people situated on the Fisher River, just a few miles east of the western shore of Lake Winnipeg, developing an authentic Cree camp to share the traditional sights, sounds and textures of their Cree heritage, is an integral part of the cultural renaissance and rebirth that has occurred among the people during the last decade.

Ensuring that camp would be distinct and one-of-a-kind was easily achieved when the community decided to situate the village on their traditional lands at Moose Island, a 45 minute boat ride from the docks at Fisher River.

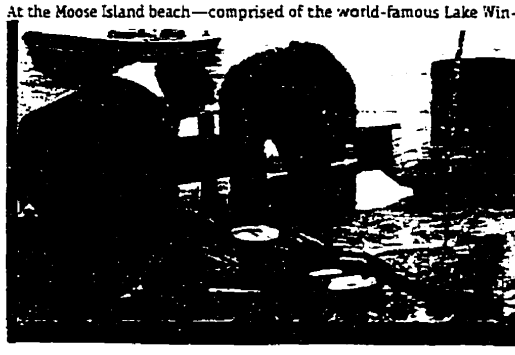
The location of the camp on the island reflects the profound connection the community has with this traditional hunting and fishing territory of their ancestors. For hundreds of years the Cree people have hunted, trapped and fished in the area which has provided both physical and material sustenance.

While officially billed as an overnight camp offering visitors day, overnight and week-long excursions, the camp offers so much more than a chance to simply sleep beneath nature's canopy of northern sky and pine trees.

Guests start this incredible journey to the past from the docks at Fisher River after a traditional offering of tobacco, in order to provide a safe journey.

After skimming across the surface of the waters of Lake Winnipeg, the world's 7th largest freshwater lake, all the weight and worries of modern-day complexities seem to dissipate with each breath of fresh unspoiled air, laden with scent of water, sand, pine and wildflowers.

At the Moose Island beach—comprised of the world-famous Lake Winnipeg white sands, a visible reminder of the lake's prehistoric roots as the Ice-Age Lake Agassiz—camp staff and a traditional Cree Drum group welcomes visitors providing an introduction to the rich and vibrant Cree culture.



Once greetings are exchanged, visitors are assigned to teepees that can accommodate anywhere from four to six people. The beds themselves are made of the forest's own mattress—balsam-fir branches.

Mornings are typically celebrated with a morning prayer giving thanks to the Creator for the natural splendour of the land and water and sky and for the endless possibilities offered by the start of a new day.

Tours to Birch Point, the site of an old sawmill and settlement that the Fisher River people operated in the early 1900s, are led by guides and elders who chronicle the history of the era and recount the stories of life on the island. The ruins of the mill and machinery, now covered in moss and undergrowth act as visible testaments to labours of the Fisher River people in developing their community and provide early evidence of the fierce resilience and determination of the Fisher River Cree, even then, in developing their own economic base.

Visits to a number of the old fish camps on the island and tours of McBeth Point Fishing Station where Cree fishermen demonstrate net fishing, as well as the proper way to fillet the catch.

No demonstration would be complete without a traditional fish fry over a white hot fire, guaranteed to whet any appetite.

Back at camp, artisans demonstrate the construction of crafts such as wind chimes and dream-catchers, constructed from nature's own raw materials found throughout the island.

Demonstrations are also given on Hide Tanning and the preparation of traditional foods, including bannock, over an aromatic fire.

Be prepared to be carried away by the hypnotic music and song offered by a youth Drum group as you warm yourself around a bonfire created in an 8-foot-wide fire pit.

The range of possibilities visitors can experience at Mooswa Ministic is guaranteed to make your visit one-of-a-kind and can be tailored to your needs.

From hiking, swimming, canoeing to a history of the Ochekwi-Sipi Cree Nation, the camps varied activities will appeal to everyone, from the most active person to those who prefer a slower pace. In less than a year of operation the camp has already been nominated for a Manitoba Tourism Award, proving that the Mooswa Ministic Camp has already made a real mark for itself.

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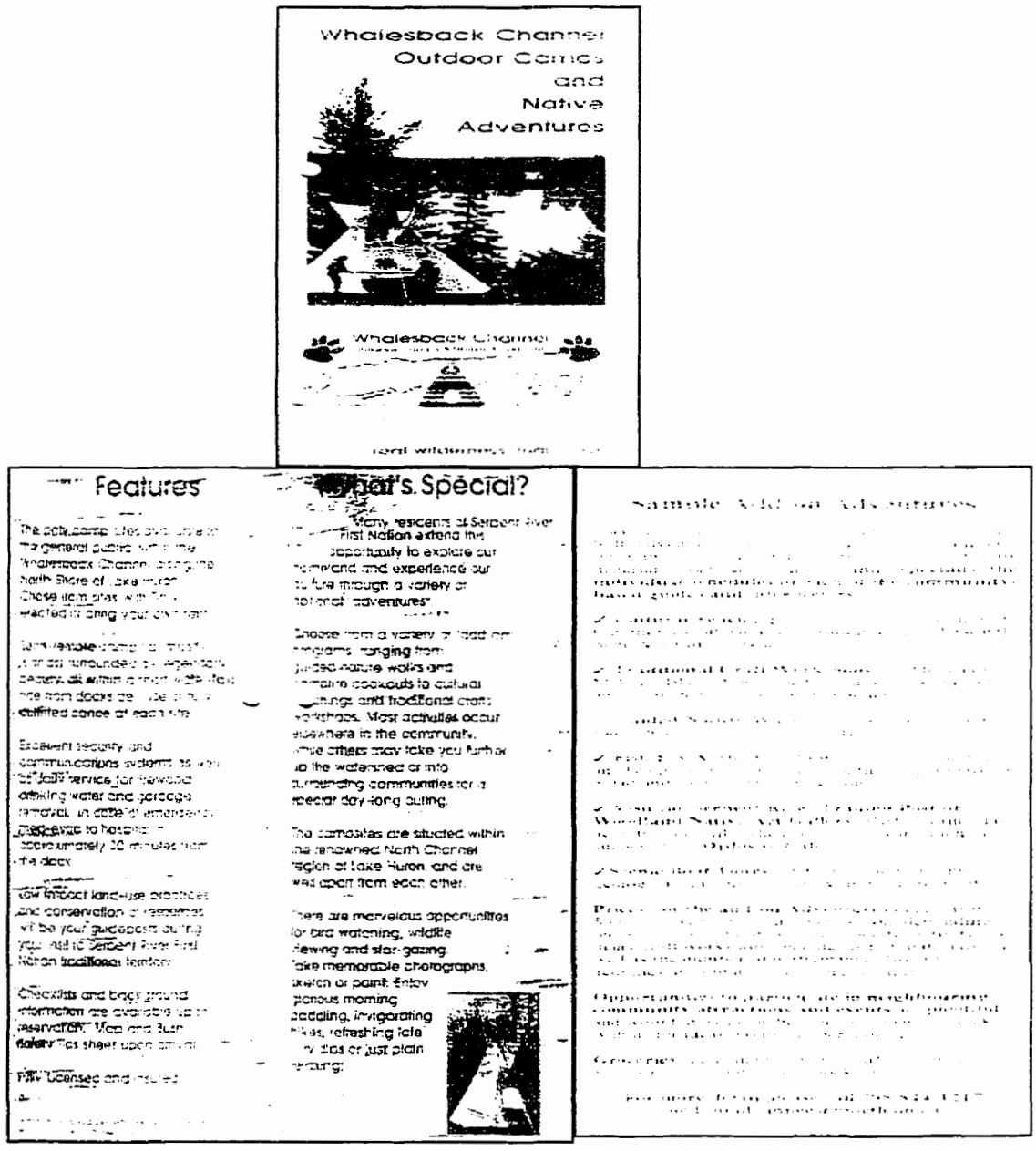
Figure: 15

Whalesback Channel Outdoor Camps and Native Adventures

Whalesback Channel

1999 Whalesback Channel Outdoor Camps and Native Adventures. Cutler: Woodland Printers



> we have been oppressed for too long but now, we have the ability to rise up and reclaim our place, not just in Canada. . .in the world too (Lawrence 1996).

The development of Aboriginal tourism is only one of many avenues by which Aboriginal people are 'rising up and reclaiming their place.' According to Leo Jacobs, Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association (CNATA) Chairperson,

> the Aboriginal tourism industry is complex and. . . it's going to grow and it's going to grow at a phenomenal rate but it's going to take a lot of work (quoted in Lawrence 1996).

CNATA President Barry Parker states that

> we can do through this industry what can't be done with other industries. We can be a unifying force for First nations and immigrant nations. . .we can create political stability and socio-economic growth, we can build a bright future. . .Aboriginal tourism is poised to become a key generator of employment and money for First Nation communities and Aboriginal entrepreneurs. But it won't happen overnight (quoted in Lawrence 1996).

The future of Aboriginal owned and operated tourism is dependent upon the Canadian government and wider tourism industry recognizing Aboriginal tourism as a distinct and viable industry which contributes to the larger tourism industry and Canadian economy. It is further dependent upon the government and the non-Aboriginal tourism industry endorsing and seeing it as equivalent, yet separate from, other Canadian tourism developments. At present, the lack of guaranteed support from the government and broader industry is reflected in the often limited level of service Aboriginal tourism operators can provide as independent operators (Parker 1993:263). Lack of jurisdiction, governmental partnerships and endorsement are all barriers to Aboriginal operators' full and positive participation in the industry. Aboriginal operators find it deeply offensive when

> non-Aboriginal tourism associations or government ministries undertake Aboriginal tourism projects and [then] they call us to provide them with the information they need (Parker 1993:263).

Overcoming these barriers will not, however, be easy. Many Aboriginal people see the achievement of self-government as essential. As Parker said,

> the fact the Aboriginal peoples and their lands are considered the jurisdiction of the federal government causes numerous problems for Aboriginal tourism operators when they try to work with provincial governments. Our vision with respect to self-determination is that when the right to self-government is recognized there will be government to [support] tourism agreements [between the Canadian state and wider tourism industry]" (1993:261).

In the interim Aboriginal tourism operators recognize that they must do what they can to garner support for Aboriginal tourism. They see it as a way of

> bridging the gaps between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. By encouraging people to visit our products and use our services we are creating a process whereby Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people come together (Parker 1993:260).

Aboriginal tourism is seen as an opportunity to share with dignity and respect the truth about Aboriginal customs, traditions and history. It provides the opportunity to open the minds of the non-educated public and a positive setting for passing on their knowledge to their children. Parker recognized Aboriginal tourism as providing the opportunity to

> reflect to the world [selectively] who we are. We have the chance to educate the people who choose to think that we have not evolved, and that we are frozen in the 1880's, that we are people of the 90's. It will be great to let people know that while we hold on to our cultures that we are also equal to all peoples of the world in terms of philosophy, traditional medicines, the arts and literature (1993:260).

Conclusion

The last two decades have seen a revolution in public thinking and representation

about the 'Indian.' No longer hidden in the hinterland nor assumed assimilated into mainstream Canada, Aboriginal peoples have championed their way of life and culture as something unique and distinct, something to be preserved and strengthened. Elijah Harper changed the constitutional direction of the country by casting the deciding vote to defeat the Meech Lake Accord as it did not address the marginalization of First Nations in the structural relations of the country. From the protests at *The Spirit Sings* exhibit, to the Meech Lake constitutional debacle, the armed standoff at Oka, settling of the Nishga'a land claim and the creation of Nunavut, nothing is as it was before (Bird 1992:xvii). These events, along with those before and after them, illuminate new political realities in the relations between Native and non-Natives (Phillips 1988:64). As a result, non-Native Canadians have begun to see that they can no longer pretend that the situation of the First Nations people is a minor irritant which governments can continue to sidestep with money or hollow promises. Some would claim that Canadians are beginning to acknowledge that the shunting aside of Aboriginal peoples by Europeans and Euro-Canadians and their descendants is at the heart of the malaise that threatens to break up the country (Bird 1992:xviii). Thanks to Elijah Harper's actions, Oka, and many others before and after that pivotal summer of 1990, there is a new spirit of pride, dignity, a renewed vision and determination among Aboriginal peoples, and the media, politicians and Canadian society in general are paying more attention.

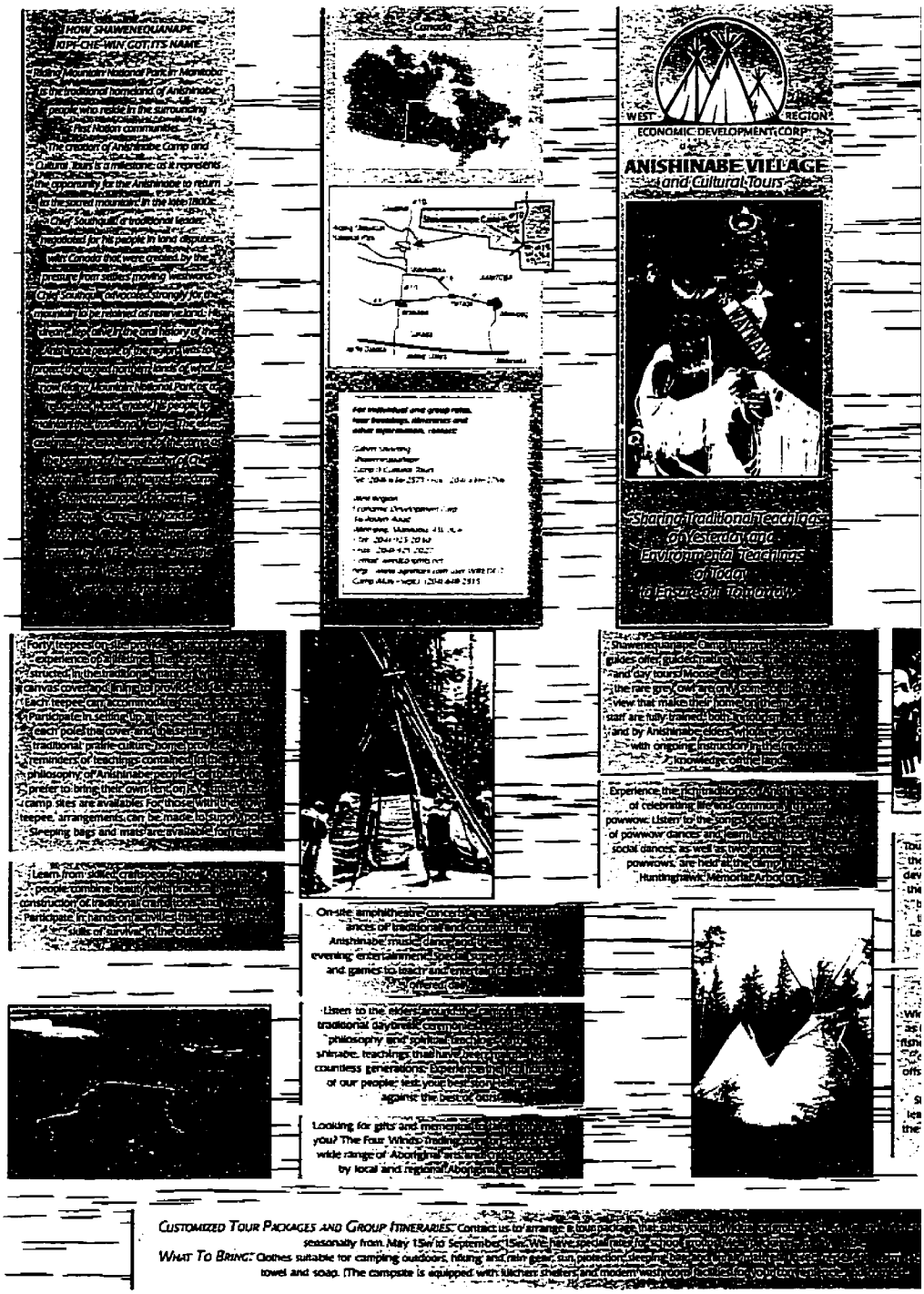
As First Nations gain a real say in cultural retention, self-determination, cultural renewal and revival, representations of Aboriginal people are being transformed. Those now commonly found in visual, literary, historical, anthropological, tourism and other popular media challenge global and national visions of Aboriginal culture (Clifford 1991:248). Seizing

the opportunity of the shifting power relation in the post-colonial, postmodern world Aboriginal peoples are depicting their contemporary realities, challenging stereotypes, offering strident critiques of Western society, redefining what is understood as their history, and presenting a vision for the future which celebrates their life and culture. One locus where these efforts to re-frame stereotypical representation feed into processes of cultural revitalization and to provide an economic stability is Aboriginal owned and operated tourism destinations such as *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* in Manitoba. In the remainder of this thesis I examine and reflect on the nature of representation of the Anishinabe at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* (Fig: 16) to see not only how Anishinabe life and culture is communicated to the tourist audience, but how as for me, both a tourist and an anthropologist was ultimately experienced.

Figure 16:

Anishinabe Village and Cultural Tours
Brochure

West Region Economic Development Corporation.
1999 Anishinabe Village and Cultural Tours



4. *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*

In 1994, there were an estimated 250 Aboriginal owned and operated fishing/hunting lodges, camps and cottage-lot developments striving to compete as sport and cottage facilities in Manitoba (The Strategy Group 1992:8). In addition to these Aboriginal operated lodges, campgrounds and cottage lot-developments, there were other annual cultural oriented activities such as powwows and the Dakota Ojibway Winter Tribal Days held in Brandon and Winnipeg (Fossay & Manry 1993:13-14). At present, there is no First Nations cultural or history museum currently in the province but in a 1995 report prepared by Manitoba's First Nations Tourism Development Program Implementation Committee, there is discussion related to

> pursuing the development of a world class Aboriginal [cultural or interpretive] centre [in Manitoba] which would serve as a marketing centre and staging area to promote various Aboriginal regions, attractions and events (1995:20).

Although the need for site-specific Aboriginal cultural tourism destinations in Manitoba has been recognized, such developments have been slow to develop. (Canadian Tourism Commission Round Table 1997). In 1997 the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) Cultural and Heritage Round Table identified several specific development barriers which account for the slow development of Aboriginal tourism destinations.[71] The first fundamental barrier to development identified is the fact that many Aboriginal communities

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[71] Although these barriers were specifically directed at the development of Aboriginal tourism in Manitoba they do apply to the development in other areas of Canada.

in Manitoba are located in remote areas of the province which do not have air or road access (Canadian Tourism Commission Roundtable 1997). Secondly, tourism operators at all levels, from government to local, do not realize that Aboriginal tourism is an economic generator that "creates jobs, generates tax revenues, and brings people to shops, hotels [and] restaurants" (Canadian Tourism Commission Roundtable 1997). Thirdly, tourism operators do not realize the potential economic advantage of Aboriginal tourism products, nor do Aboriginal operators have the funds or support to open tourism destinations. According to the CTC Roundtable,

> Aboriginal tourism operators are operating on the edge, often with one or two paid staff and volunteers. They barely have the resources to print a brochure, let alone develop tourism promotion tools. The problem is that profits go to the tourism sector, not back to the institution (1997).

Other identified barriers all closely related are the lack of knowledge pertaining to Aboriginal cultural tourism experiences, and the lack of business or marketing experience required to operate in the tourism sector. As I suggested earlier, inter-governmental cooperation is another barrier to development.

According to the CTC Roundtable, the remedy to these barriers is to identify what Aboriginal cultural products exist; to assess their status in terms of potential and state of readiness; to prioritize efforts; to collect best cases/success stories and disseminate them; to explore financing to help develop the product; to provide forums for Aboriginal cultural tourism operators to meet; to educate; to promote partnerships at all levels of the industry—regional, provincial, territorial, national; and to link Aboriginal tourism products to other cultural/heritage experiences (Canadian Tourism Commission Roundtable 1997). With this

stated, it must be noted that since 1997, progress in the development of Aboriginal tourism within Manitoba has been made. Most significant is the development of the Manitoba Aboriginal Tourism Association (MATA), in 1998. Like other Aboriginal tourism associations, MATA was designed by Aboriginal tourism operators to promote, market, enhance and identify Aboriginal tourism opportunities in Manitoba.[72] As a vehicle uniting Aboriginal tourism operators and Aboriginal heritage groups, MATA is working towards promoting and expanding the Aboriginal tourism industry to increase awareness of Aboriginal tourism products, to improve communications amongst provincial tourism industries, and to develop quality Aboriginal tourism destinations such as *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, the first Aboriginal owned and operated campground tourism destination in Manitoba to offer a hands-on, live-in participatory Ojibway cultural program complete with tours, craft demonstrations and philosophical spiritual teachings.

Setting

After having driven three and a half hours, approximately 250km northwest of Winnipeg one would begin to wonder where exactly Riding Mountain National Park, the former territory of the Anishinabe, could be. It is hard to believe that there could possibly be a 'Mountain' in the midst of the Manitoba prairies. There is no indication of a mountain in the distance or anywhere on the horizon until you are just south of the town of Minnedosa, Manitoba when you realize that you have been driving uphill since leaving Winnipeg. Due to this gradual incline it is difficult to believe that when you enter Riding Mountain National

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[72]Interview with MATA President, August 1999

Park 25 kilometers later, you have risen 756 meters above sea level.

Riding Mountain National Park stands out against the broad sweep of the Manitoba prairie. Entering the Park, there is a striking difference between the forested parkland that dominates the Park and the adjacent agricultural land. As a National Park, Riding Mountain includes 2,976 square kilometers of parkland which attracts over 300,000 visitors annually. [73] It is dotted with thirteen lakes and six different campgrounds including Shawenequanape Kipichewin (Fig: 17).[74] Amidst these lakes and campgrounds, there are over 400 kilometers of well maintained trails, varying in length from less than one kilometer, to over seventy kilometers, used for walking, hiking, biking, and horseback riding.

In addition to the campgrounds, lakes and hiking trails, there are various other attractions within the Park such as the Agassiz Lookout Tower, the resort town of Wasagaming (Fig.18) with sandy beaches, picnic sites, playgrounds, English gardens, tennis courts, lawn bowling, shops, restaurants, a movie theater and dance hall. There is a marina and five star resort and motel accommodations, a golf course on Clear Lake, Grey Owl's[75] cabin and a bison enclosure on Lake Audy and a Visitor Center with exhibits explaining the

---

[73]Based on 1999 Parks Canada data.

[74]The thirteen lakes are: Bob Hill Lake, Tilson Lake, Deep Lake, Baldy Lake, Gunn Lake, Whitewater Lake, Lake Audy, Whirlpool Lake, Lake Katherine, Muskrat Lake, Grayling Lake, Long Lake and Moon Lake. The six different campgrounds are: Wasagaming Campground, Whirlpool Lake Campground, Moon Lake Campground, Lake Audy Campground, Deep Lake Campground and *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* Campground.

[75]Born Archibald Stansfield Belany in 1888 in Hastings, England. He died in 1939 in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan renowned as a North American Indian conservationist (Smith 1990). In 1931 Grey Owl came to Riding Mountain National Park and took on the position of a naturalist (Parks Canada 1985:27-28). His cabin still stands in Riding Mountain, 9 kilometres off Highway #19.

Figure 17:

Riding Mountain National Park

Riding Mountain National Park
1999 Riding Mountain National Park: A Visitor's Guide

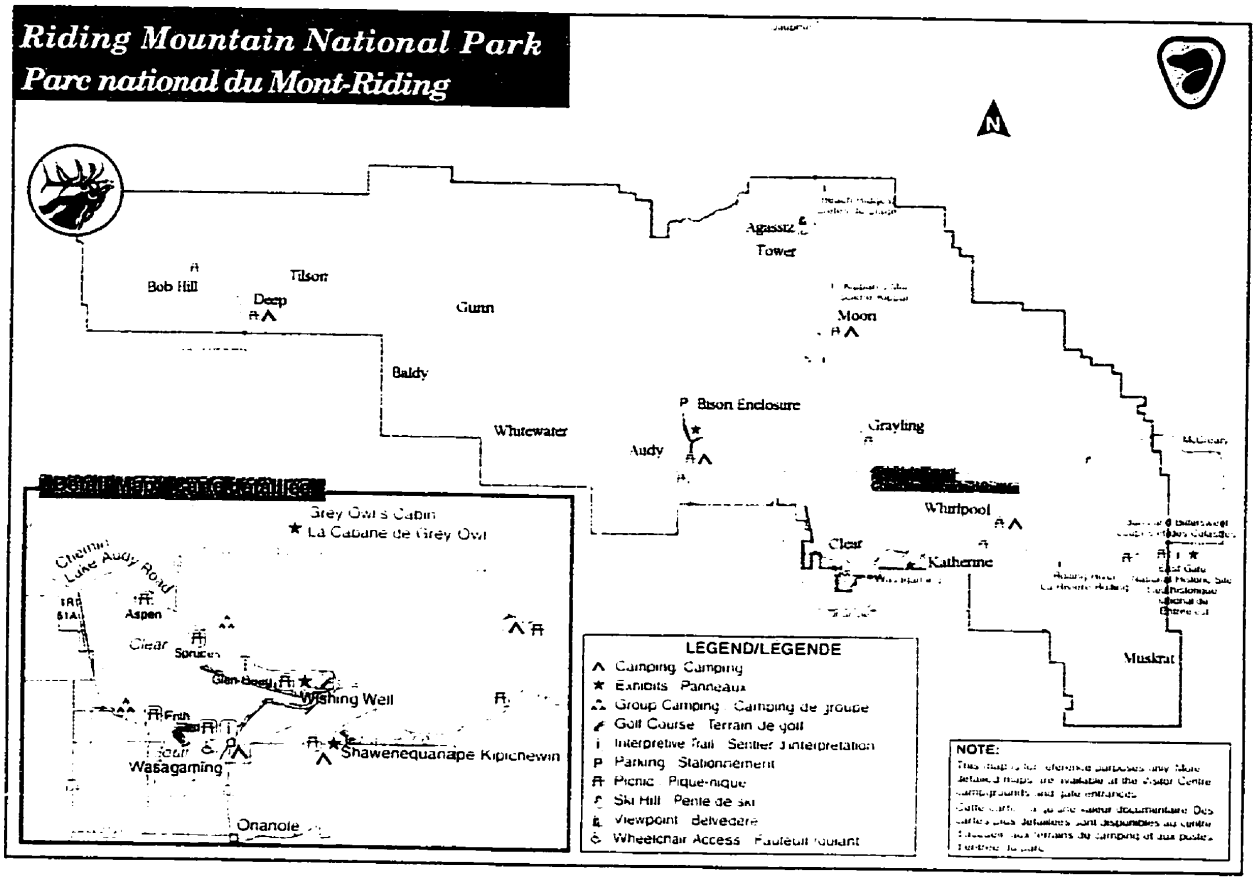
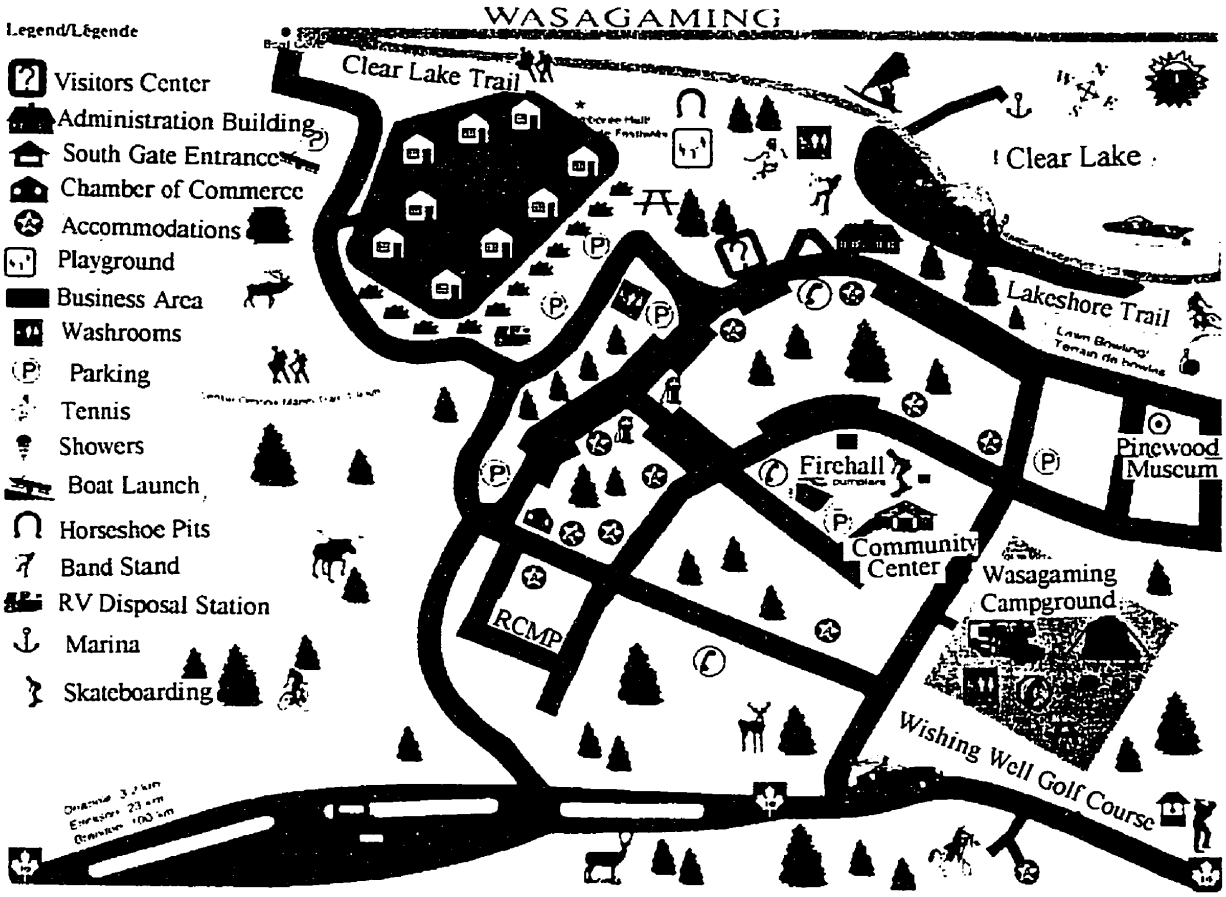


Figure 18:

Wasagaming Townsite Activity Map

Riding Mountain National Park
1999 Riding Mountain National Park: A Visitors Guide



human and natural history of the area.

These exhibits tell visitors that Riding Mountain National Park is a significant land form as it marks the transition from the Manitoba lowlands to the second prairie level, the Saskatchewan Plain, and preserves a representative example of the Manitoba Escarpment. The latter forms the eastern boundary of the Park and is a nationally significant land form shaped by the erosive action of wind, water and landslides. The Escarpment's features reflect the melding of the various parts of the continent and three major environments: the Manitoba Escarpment with eastern hardwood forests of maple, oak and elm; the Northern Boreal Forest with huge evergreen trees and moss-filled bogs; and finally the Western Highlands characterized with aspen forests and islands of rough fescue grasslands.

The overlap of these three ecosystems— grasslands, aspen-oak and mixed wood— produces a unique and diverse assemblage of plants and animals. Vegetation consists of aspen and mixed aspen-spruce forests as well as hardwood forest species such as bur oak, elm and ash. The Park is populated by elk, deer, black bear, coyote, wolf, moose, a diverse group of birds including red-tailed, broad-winged and coopers hawks, loons, eagles, geese, ducks and black-billed cuckoos. The lakes teem with fish, especially lake trout, jack fish, pickerel, and whitefish. The Park also boasts its own herd of buffalo maintained in a compound beside Lake Audy.

According to information in the Visitor Center, when the last glacier retreated northward from southern Manitoba about 10,000 years ago, early hunters and gatherers began moving into the area in search of game. Archaeological data from burial grounds, as well as

remnants of tools and ceramics found at Riding Mountain, indicate that Aboriginal peoples have inhabited the area for at least 6,000 years. The only other information at the Visitor Center which links Aboriginal people to the area is a Management Plan which states that "various Aboriginal groups have inhabited the region" (Riding Mountain National Park Management Plan 1996:6). To be more precise, there were, according to a *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* interpreter, in fact, five first Nations groups in Manitoba (Cree, Ojibway, Dakota, Ojibway-Cree and Dene) all with their distinct territories who lived in the area now encompassed by the Park. Park interpreters identify the Ojibway as the Aboriginal peoples who formerly lived in the Park.[76] It is thought that the Ojibway migrated from eastern regions in pursuit of fur, and eventually they remained in the Riding Mountain area, an area rich in resources to fish, hunt and trap.

Prior to the Ojibway migration, archaeological evidence would suggest that the Riding Mountain area was previously the home of the Nakota (Assiniboine) Nation. Prior to the extensive adoption of horses by the Plains groups in the 18th century, the Nakota traveled widely and regularly between the Souris, upper Assiniboine, South Saskatchewan and Missouri rivers (Riding Mountain National Park Management Plan 1996:6). But due to a decline in their numbers caused by epidemics of European diseases, a decline in local bison herds and resources for trading, and a westward movement of the fur trade establishments up the Missouri River, the Nakota migrated west and south to other areas of Manitoba and

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[76]The term Ojibway derives from the 17th century name of a group of closely related but distinctly named groups residing between northeastern Georgian Bay and eastern Lake Superior. Population movements into new areas, combined with the later application of the label to some neighbouring groups, enlarged the population.

Saskatchewan. As a result, when Europeans settled in the area in the late 1800s, the Riding Mountain region was part of the territory occupied by the Ojibway Nation.[77]

At the Park entrance and at the Visitor Center there is very little information provided about the existence and location of *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*.[78] Located on Lake Katherine, *Shawenequanape* is approximately a twenty minute drive or just over 9km from the Visitor Center. Finding *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* is rather difficult as there are very few road signs to aid the visitor. In fact, the only indication that *Shawenequanape* is in Riding Mountain National Park is a very small sign (too small to be read by passing traffic) about one hundred feet before one turns onto Highway 19. Again, there are no signs indicating its location aside from one at the main Park gate. The two signs one does pass on the way to *Shawenequanape* are one indicating Lake Katherine and one which ironically, leads the traveler to Grey Owl's cabin.[79]

Approximately 500 meters down the road leading to the camp, there is a large sign indicating that you are entering *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, "a traditional Anishinabe village with interpretive programs."[80] Two informational boards at the entrance to the camp describe in some detail the significance and meaning behind the creation of '*Shawenequanape*

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[77]Note that the Ojibway nation consists of many nations. In reference to Manitoba, the Ojibway in the Riding Mountain area: Keeseekowenin, Ebb & Flow, Waywayseecappo, Rolling River, Pine Creek, Watherhen and possibly others who refer to the area as Ojibway territory.

[78]Ojibway name which translated means Southquill Camp.

[79]Ironic because the site dedicated to Grey Owl, a non-Aboriginal person posing as Aboriginal receives more attention and promotion than *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*.

[80]The use of the word 'traditional' introduces a binary opposition between traditional/not-traditional or people with culture versus those assimilated. Due to the problems surrounding the word I have attempted to use the term only when used in direct quotes.

Kipichewin.' These signs say that the Riding Mountain region is of great historical and spiritual value to the Anishinabe[81] people who live in the surrounding communities because

> since time immemorial, Anishinabe people have lived on this land. The spirit of [their] ancestors still resides on Noo-zah-wah-jiw,[their] sacred mountain on the prairies.

As already stated, archaeological remains suggest that Aboriginal peoples have inhabited the Riding Mountain area for at least 6,000 years. When Europeans settled in the area in the 1800s, the Assiniboine, Cree and Ojibway had already been living in the area, maintaining a hunting and gathering lifestyle and participating in the fur trade. From the early 1600s First Nations peoples played a critical role in the fur trade economy of the region. With the increased number of European traders in the area in the mid 18th century, trading posts were established in the area and directly affected the critical role First Nations peoples played in the economy of the country (Fig. 19). In 1867, when the colonies of British North America united to become Canada the area of Riding Mountain was recognized as Ojibway territory (Dickason 1992:273, Riding Mountain National Park 1996:11). Canada's promise to Great Britain, on behalf of the imperial monarch, to honor the Royal Proclamation of 1763 necessitated the signing of treaties between the Government of Canada and Manitoba's First Nation communities living in and around Riding Mountain in the 1870s.[82] Information provided at *Shawenequanape* indicates that in the late 1800s, Chief Southquill, advocated

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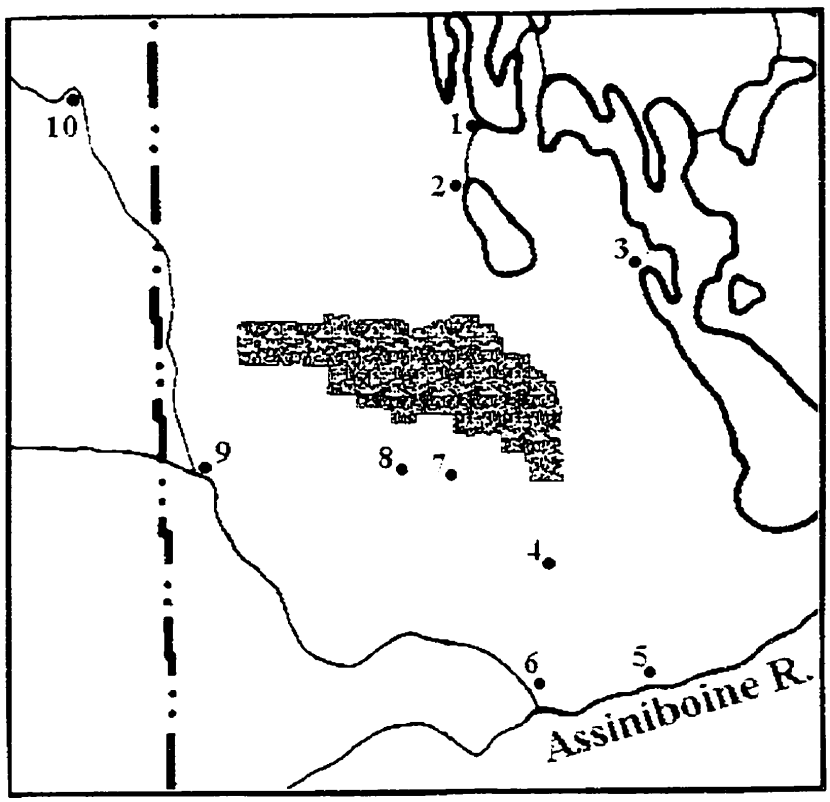
[81]An Ojibway term used by the Ojibway to refer to themselves which, when translated, means, 'original men.'

[82]An imperial order in council of July 15, 1870 emphasized this point. See Dickason 1993:273.

Figure 19:

Fur Trade Posts in SW Manitoba

Parks Canada
1999 Riding Mountain National Park Ecosystem Conservation Plan. Ecosystem Conservation Plan Team, Riding Mountain National park. 6



1. Dauphin River
2. Fort Dauphin
3. Manitoba House
4. Curling River House
5. Pine Fort
6. Brandon House
7. Riding Mt. House
8. Riding Mt. House II
9. Fort Ellice
10. Fort Pelly

strongly for the Riding Mountain land to be retained as reserve land for his people (West Region Economic Development Corporation 1999).[83] Chief Southquill had hoped that the land would be protected as a refuge that would enable his people to maintain their traditional lifestyle on their sacred mountain.

Despite Chief Southquill's efforts, Treaty #4, was signed on September 15th and 21st, 1874, between the Dominion Government with the Ojibway, Cree and the Assiniboine gave the First Nations the right to settle on small tracts of their former territory.[84] As a result, when Riding Mountain was established as a National Park in 1930, there were several First nations communities living around the Park, but none who lived in it (Fig.20).[85]

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[83]Chief Southquill is recognized as an exemplary figure who fought for the treaty rights of his people. No historical details pertaining to his life are available.

[84]Treaty No. 4 provided that 640 acres (259 hectares) would be set aside for each family of five or proportion thereof. At the time, the federal government attempted to amalgamate Rolling River with a number of other First Nations. Chief Shawenequanape (South Quill) resisted this amalgamation and pressed the federal government for years for a reserve to be established for the Rolling River First Nation (Canadian Tourism Commission 1998). The federal government agreed to set aside a reserve in 1880 and surveyed the boundaries in 1894. Chief South Quill passed away in 1890, but his efforts, in large measure, were the reason the reserve (located about 65 km north of Brandon and approximately 245 km northwest of Winnipeg) was finally set aside for the Rolling River First Nation. However, the reserve acreage did not fully meet the amount of land required to be set apart under Treaty No.4

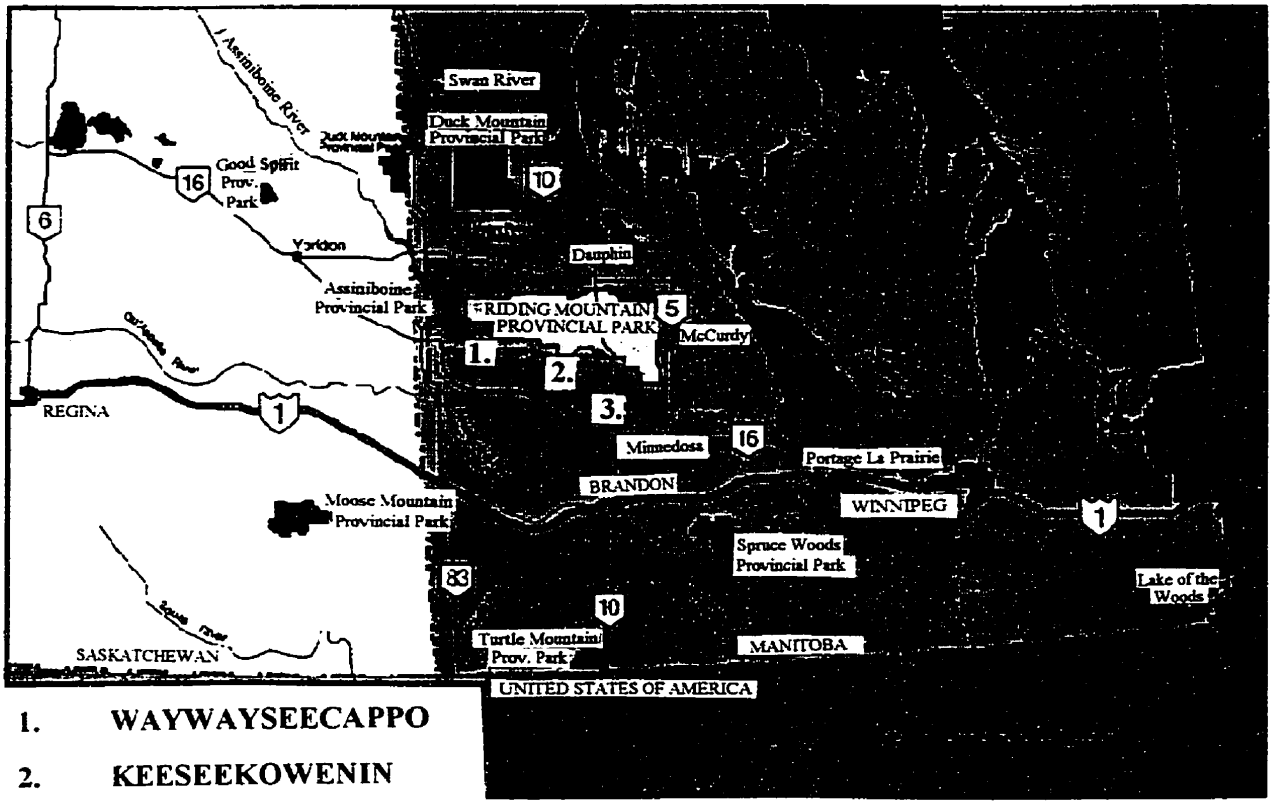
[85]The land of the Rolling River District on which the Anishinabe have settled since the beginning of the 18th century was first declared a nature reserve in 1895, and in 1930 a national Park. As a consequence of the area being declared a national Park, the Anishinabe automatically lost their hereditary hunting rights as well as the right to set traps. The Anishinabe believe that in the wake of all this the authorities "overlooked" the fact that as a tribe deeply rooted in this region they had a very close and intimate relationship to this area. Not only because of the settlements there, the hunting grounds and the cemeteries. Because of their intrinsic wisdom, their intimate knowledge of the place, and because of the considerate attitude which they have always shown towards natural resources, they would have been, (and still would be) excellent partners and could have rendered useful services in the establishment and upkeep of the Park: as partners of the Park management, as employees in the administration, in forestry measures or simply as Park wardens. On the contrary, in the thirties, according to the information of the Anishinabe, the last families were "physically removed" from their traditional homeland.

Figure 20:

Riding Mountain Regional Setting
Map of Southern Manitoba

Riding Mountain National Park

1996 Management Plan for the Riding Mountain National Park: A Partnership Approach for Managing the Park and its Resources. Riding Mountain National Park Round Table. 2



1. **WAYWAYSEECAPPO**
2. **KEESEEKOWENIN**
3. **ROLLING RIVER**

Ever since the First Nations communities were removed from Riding Mountain, they have fought to win back their rights to the Mountain.[86] As one camp staff member explained, for the Anishinabe people it is

> a very sacred place as years ago [Riding Mountain] was a gathering place for all people. This place is where the Anishinabe people met, lived and survived, this was their hunting ground.

Site Structure and Development

In the 1990s a campground in the Park on ten acres of land around Lake Katherine with 118 campsites, cookhouses, washroom facilities and an amphitheater went out to tender, the dream the Anishinabe had of returning to the land became a reality.[87] In 1995, the West Region Economic Development Corporation (WREDCO), acting on behalf of the five First Nations which surround Riding Mountain National Park, signed a 10 year license for lease agreement with Parks Canada to develop a Native village in the Lake Katherine

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[86]According to Chief White Bird, "starting with Chief South Quill and continuing for over 100 years, all of the successing Chiefs of Rolling River First Nations have fought to ensure that Rolling River First Nation would receive all of the land entitled to Rolling River under Treaty No.4. (Canadian Tourism Commission 1998). On June 21, 1996 an agreement in principle was signed confirming the government's determination to address the problems of outstanding obligation owed to Manitoba's First Nations. In 1997, The Manitoba Treaty Land Entitlement (TLE) Framework Agreement was signed. This agreement is intended to provide land to First Nations in order to fulfill the land obligation arising out of the treaties signed. On March 6, 1998 the Rolling River First Nation's Treaty Entitlement Agreement (TEA) was signed fulfilling the treaty land entitlements owed to them under Treaty No.4. They are entitled to a total of 19,080 hectares of land. To my knowledge, the location of this land has not yet been identified.

[87]Riding Mountain National Park closed the Lake Katherine camp site in 1990 due to its infrequent use. Shortly after the closure the site went out to public tender. The going out to tender of Parks Canada operations is a recent development which began in the 1990s under pressures to cut costs and increase revenues for Park operations. For a discussion of this recent development see Rick Searles'(2000) book *Phantom Parks: The Struggle to Save Canada's National Parks.*

campground.[88] This development would preserve the land for the Anishinabe, create employment opportunities for local Anishinabe peoples, generate revenue for the five nations in the WREDCO, as well as allow First Nations peoples to "share traditional teachings of yesterday and environmental teachings of today to ensure [their] tomorrow" (West Region Economic Development Corporation 1999). The vision behind constructing a Native village in the existing campground was to create, according to the General Manager with whom I spoke, " a place where people [both Native and non-Native] could come to learn about Aboriginal culture, life and people."

Creating such an environment in a layout which was pre-determined by the spatial organization of the 'former Parks Canada' campground, a point I will return to in the last chapter, involved setting up teepees in the existing camp sites, clearing and cleaning hiking trails, repairing and refurbishing the existing washrooms, cookhouses and amphitheater, as well as hooking up electricity and water services. Upon the completion of these tasks, *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* opened to the public in June of 1995. This event and

> the creation of Anishinabe Camp and Cultural Tours is a milestone as it represents the opportunity for the Anishinabe to return to their sacred mountain . . . The elders, celebrating the establishment of the camp as the beginning of Chief Southquill's dream, named the camp Shawenequanape - Southquill - in his honour (West Region Economic Development Corporation 1999).

It must also be stated that this partnership was not only a milestone for Aboriginal people alone, but it was also a significant event for Riding Mountain National Park. Entering into

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[88]An economic development corporation owned by five First Nations: Ebb & Flow, Gamblers, Pine Creek, Rolling River and Waywayseecappo providing an advisory service in business development, investment and training. As a company WREDCO, invests, manages and owns Aboriginal businesses.

a partnership with local Aboriginal peoples marked the beginning of a partnership which would offer the public a cultural tourism living experience from an Ojibway perspective ("A Visitors Guide to Riding Mountain National Park" 1999).[89] Furthermore, according to one National Park staff member it would "ensure that Riding Mountain National Park reflects Aboriginal values and provides a better understanding of local Aboriginal history." According to the terms of the partnership, *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* Park staff and management must operate within non-Aboriginal constructs and abide by the rules and regulations regarding conservation,[90] the National Parks Act[91] and guiding or operational principles and policies.[92] The overall goals of *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, including the particular content of the cultural program, however, was to be at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* management's discretion.

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[89]Parks Canada initiatives to establish closer ties with Aboriginal peoples across Canada begin in the mid 1990s (Parks Canada 1999). In 1997, a National Parks report designed to maintain the National Parks ecological integrity suggested that Parks Canada should initiate a process of healing with Aboriginal peoples and pursue genuine partnerships with them, actively protect Aboriginal cultural sites and return sacred artifacts and human remains. The report has led to five agreements and two commitments to enter into agreements involving Aboriginal peoples and Parks Canada and the April 1999 federal government decision to create an Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat which will work with staff from Parks Canada operational units to strengthen its ties with Aboriginal people (Parks Canada 1999). The Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat will, it is hoped, encourage consultation with Aboriginal peoples on Parks Canada interpretations and public programs to celebrate Aboriginal heritage at National Parks and National Historic Sites, identify economic opportunities associated with the National Parks and Historic Sites for the benefit of Aboriginal communities and stimulate dialogue with Aboriginal peoples at the national and local levels.

[90]For a description see Parks Canada *Riding Mountain National Park Ecosystem Conservation Plan* (1997).

[91]See Government of Canada *National Parks Act* 1987. This act is currently being updated and revised.

[92]See Parks Canada and Canadian Heritage *Guiding Principles and Operational Policies* (1994).

As already stated, one of the many ideas behind the creation of *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* was to preserve the land for the Anishinabe, and also to create a sustainable eco-tourism business which would generate revenue in order for First Nations communities to gain self-sufficiency by creating employment opportunities for Anishinabe peoples. In keeping with this, *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* is 100% First Nations owned and operated.[93] Specifically, it is owned and managed by the West Region Economic Development Corporation, and directed by the West Region Economic Development Corporation's general manager and its Board of Directors.[94] It employs only Anishinabe people from the First Nations communities which surround the Park. In 1999, *Shawenequanape* staff included a general manager who oversaw the camp's operation, a camp manager responsible for the staff and the daily operations of the camp, and four other staff members. Of these four staff, there were two interpreters (one of which was trained by cultural leaders and elders from the surrounding First Nations) responsible for giving interpretive tours, a student worker responsible for maintenance and security work and a camp cook.[95]

After the camp opened in 1995, site development continued. Construction of a powwow arbor, a restaurant and a recreated 'old' village which would serve as a teaching

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[93]In stating that *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* is owned by First Nations, I am referring to the tourism business itself and not the land.

[94]The Board of Directors is comprised of either Chiefs (or their designate) from five First Nations: Ebb & Flow, Gamblers, Pine Creek, Rolling River and Waywayseecappo.

[95]Training for interpreters is quite extensive and can take approximately six months for certification. This extensive training protects and safeguards traditional knowledge by assuring that the interpreters have the necessary skills and ability to pass on teachings to camp visitors. Equally important is the fact that training certifies that employees provide a consistent quality of service to customers.

tool to help educate visitors about traditional cultural practices opened in 1996. By 1999 the 'old' village consisted of six display teepees, a wigwam, tanning stretchers, a stretcher for scraping hides, a hunter's shelter, a smoke meat rack and a travois. In addition to this, the camp has eighty camp sites in thirteen different camping areas around the lake as well as one section designated for R.V. vehicles (Fig.21). Camping facilities are enhanced by forty on-site teepees which provide visitors a unique accommodation experience.[96] School groups, business groups or other group tours visiting *Shawenequanape* have the option of staying in a specialized site designed to resemble a teepee village. This private site, set among the birch, aspen and pine, away from other campers and all urban distractions, provides a very natural and relaxed setting which is ideal for groups and workshop participants. Unique in its own right, this group site is much the same as the traditional village. There are approximately eight teepees organized in a circle, a fire pit in the center with washrooms, a cookhouse, wigwam, scraping and stretching racks, as well as a large sapling frame lodge which, when covered, provides the space for meetings and workshops.

As a tourist destination, *Shawenequanape* invites

> visitors to come and immerse [themselves] in the hospitality of the Anishinabe people. Step back in time [and] discover for yourself the peace and beauty that comes from living close to Mother Earth, guided by the teachings of our culture that are thousands of years old. Stay in a traditional teepee village. Awaken to the sound of nature all around you,

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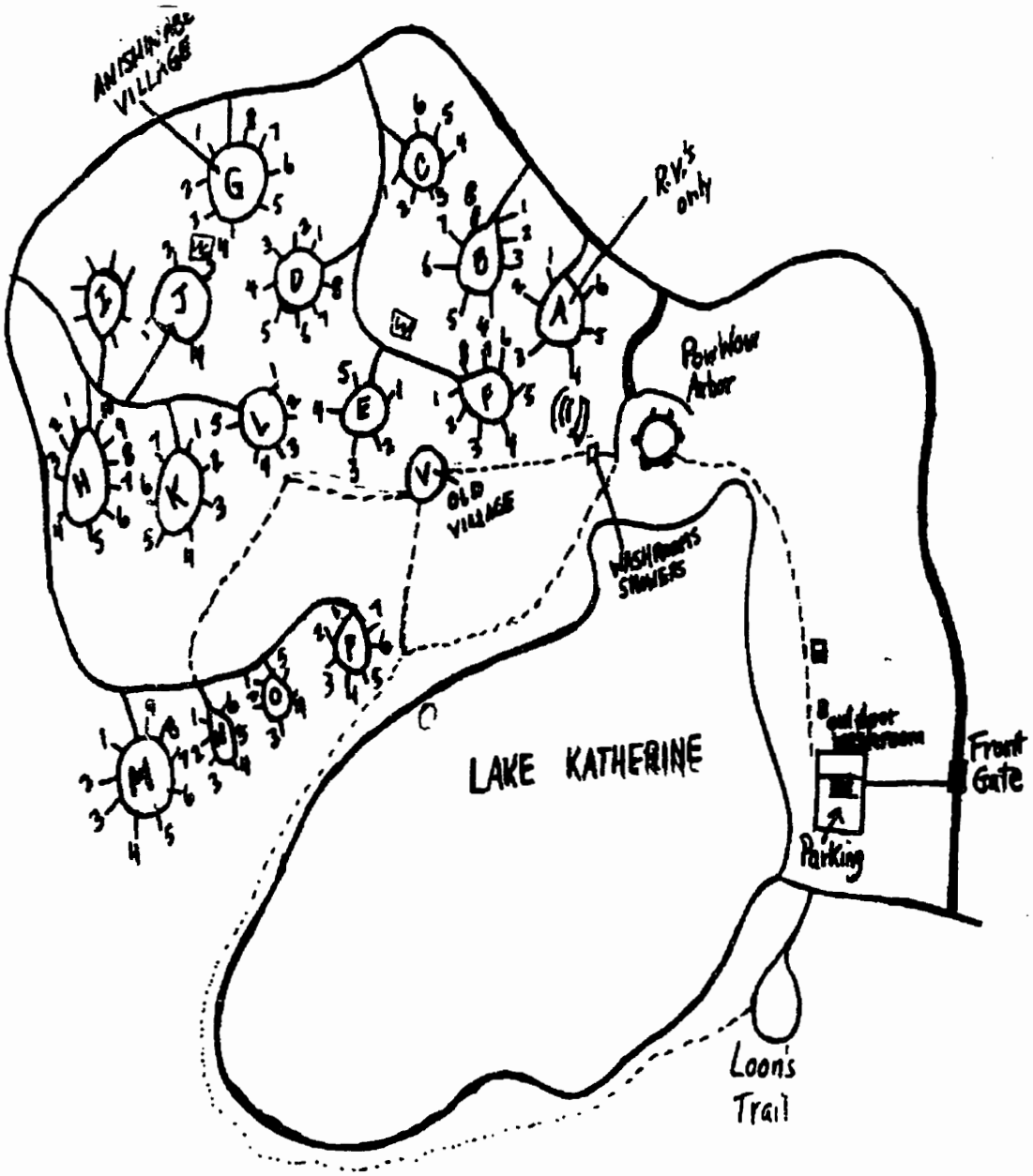
[96]Campsites for tent and R.V. vehicles, picnic facilities and water and washroom services with flush toilets and showers.

Figure 21:

***Shawenequanape Kipichewin* Park Map**



> in a pristine mountain forest. Participate in hands on learning that strengthens your body, mind and spirit. Celebrate life's beauty the Anishinabe way through songs, prayer, storytelling, dances and play. Visit the communities of the Anishinabe and learn how the traditional teachings are kept alive in the way that people live today. When you leave us, you will take with you a renewed respect and understanding of the meaning of Pi-ma-ti-si-we-win, of life, on Mother Earth (West Region Economic Development Corporation 1999).

Programs

At *Shawenequanape*, camp staff and interpreters offer three cultural programs: The Camp Tour, a Teepee Teaching program and the Medicine Wheel teaching. In addition to these programs there are guided nature walks or trail hikes, craft workshops and day trips which are designed to "reveal the spiritual philosophy and cultural teachings of [Anishinabe] elders" (West Region Economic Development Corporation 1999). Offered daily, at the visitor's convenience, these programs are accessed simply by expressing an interest in participating at the camp office. Also offered are customized tours with a special itinerary of interpretive programs and activities. The great success, strength, or intensity of these tours is deeply embedded in the existential nature of the experience of visitors to *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*. This experience, is of course much more intense for the long term visitor, who stays in a teepee and is not in a lecture or tour format all the time. Being on one's own with the teachings, imagining and acting these out allows the long term visitor to reflect on, think and experience, first hand, the Anishinabe teachings in many forms and experiences. This is a point to which I will return in chapter six.

<u>The Camp Tour</u>

The Camp Tour, includes a hike along an interpretive trail and a visit to the old village

where interpreters relate the history of the area and explain the lifestyle and philosophy of the Anishinabe people. The tour takes anywhere from half an hour to two hours depending on the size of the group. On this tour, visitors learn about herbal healing and traditional medicines, survival skills, traditional homes and shelters as well as hunting and gathering techniques. Taking the Camp Tour and listening to a camp interpreter explain how the Anishinabe lived prior to contact and hearing the stories of their ancestors is intended to make the forest be seen as a place full of life, a place which the Anishinabe knew intimately, a place where they had all the knowledge to survive. En route to the 'old village' visitors learn about the medicinal and spiritual significance of berries and plants like sage, sweet grass and tobacco. In addition, one also learns about which berries, nuts, roots, wild turnips and potatoes were gathered for food and how the collection was done. The tracks of various animals such as bear, moose and elk are pointed out, and interpreters teach the visitors the various 'sounds' these animals make. Interpreters explain how hunters would have used bows and arrows, traps or snares to capture these animals to provide food and clothing. Upon reaching the 'old village' visitors are given a sense of just how the Anishinabe, for thousands of years, lived off the resources of the land, rivers and lakes. At the 'old village' the visitor learns about fire, tanning and scraping techniques and the drying and smoking of fish and meat to keep it through the winter. It is intended that visitors, at the end of the Camp Tour and a visit to the 'old' village, gain a sense of what life was like for the Anishinabe prior to European contact.

The Teepee Teaching Program

The Teepee Teaching program teaches visitors about traditional Anishinabe values and the symbolic importance of the teepee. By participating in the setting up of a teepee or by stepping into one of the display teepees in the 'old village' visitors can learn that traditionally the teepee was fashioned out of approximately eight to twenty buffalo hides.[97] Visitors also learn that each pole represents and contains philosophical teachings related to obedience, respect, humility, happiness, love, faith, kinship, sharing, strength and child-rearing.

Interpreters explain that the teepee represents Mother Earth. The flap poles represent her arms outstretched to greet each new day. The cover represents the sacred dress of mother and the open top where the poles come together represent the collar of the dress which allows for new knowledge and wisdom to flow in. In addition to this, visitors are told that the teepee contains the circle of life and is used to help individuals to understand their role in society. Visitors are also told that, in the past, women owned the teepee and thus were responsible for the construction and erection of the dwelling. Men were referred to as the women's helpers and were responsible for assisting women by helping to furnish the home and provide the necessities of life.

Medicine Wheel Teaching

Incorporated into both the Camp Tour and Teepee Teaching Program is the traditional Anishinabe Medicine Wheel Teaching which explains that to the Anishinabe all threads of life are interconnected. In this program visitors are told that the medicine wheel is a symbol which represents all life on earth. As such, the Medicine Wheel is used to view our place in society

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[97]The visitor learns that, due to the declining number of buffalo, teepee covers are now made of canvas.

as well as the pathway to peace and harmony.

The Medicine Wheel teaching teaches the significance of the four directions (North, South, West and East), the four elements (Wind, Water, Air and Fire), the four seasons (Spring, Summer, Winter and Fall), the four races of people (White, Black, Red and Yellow), and the four aspects of nature (spiritual, emotional, physical and psychological). The fundamental principle guiding the Medicine Wheel teaching is that life is circular and thus interconnected. As a result, it teaches that each and every individual or aspect of nature adds color, dimension and life to each other and to all of life and that regardless of color, race or creed, all people are all equal and interconnected.

Additional Activities

In addition to the Camp Tour, the Teepee Teaching Program and the Medicine Wheel teaching, visitors may also participate in a guided tour of hiking trails, canoe trip around Lake Katherine or participate in craft workshops. Walking or canoeing around the lake brings many of the teachings in the camp tour to life. If lucky you may catch a glimpse of the animals discussed in the Camp Tour such as the loons, 'Bob' the beaver, or any of the other animals which live in the area. If walking around the lake in the early evening or morning visitors should watch for the 'jumpers,' bears which are "lying in bed and they just jump up" as you walk by. They should also keep their eyes open for tracks pointed out in the Camp Tour, as the animals are plentiful as they make their way out of the bush.

In the craft workshops visitors can make dream catchers, moccasins or a small hand drum, as well as learn about the traditional use and significance of these objects to the Anishinabe people.

Customized Programs

Shawenequanape management will also offer visitors customized tours with a specialized itinerary of interpretive programs and activities which again encourage visitors to learn about the philosophy and spiritual practices of the Anishinabe in the past and in the present. A customized tour which emphasizes how philosophical and spiritual practices are incorporated into the present day life of the Anishinabe may include a tour of a "nearby First Nation community to see how the people are working to achieve economic development stability with programs that respect and value the earth and its resources" (West Region Economic Development Corporation 1999).[98] Other customized tours may include visiting the bison ranch located on Lake Audy in Riding Mountain National Park. By offering customized tours, *Shawenequanape* staff and management try to ensure that the clients' interests are satisfied so that when it comes time for visitors to leave the camp, they feel they have had the opportunity to learn something about Anishinabe culture as it was lived both in the past and in the present day.

Promotion and Visitation

By offering visitors a unique camping and cultural experience, *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* is, according to one outside tour operator, "one of the leading and most promising First Nations ventures in the growing industry of aboriginal tourism which is

[98]It is my understanding that international visitors and group tours that have a specialized itinerary of activities commonly tour nearby First Nations communities.

garnering world wide attention [99]" both by receiving awards and attracting visitors world wide.[100] Currently, Shawenequanape attracts approximately 5,000 visitors annually from Saskatchewan, Manitoba and from places as far away as Germany, France, Italy, England and Holland.[101]

The camp is promoted by WREDCO to an international audience at European trade shows, and through travel magazines such as "*Talking Bridge*" and "*TAWOW*" successfully attracts approximately 75 to 100 international visitors per year. Advertising in "*Prairie & City Magazine,*" "*Windspeaker: Guide to Indian Country,*" "*The First Perspective: Canada's source for Aboriginal News and Events,*" "*The Outdoor Journal*" and "*Trails: A Guide to Favorite Aboriginal Historical Sites, Destinations and Festivals in Northern Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan*" (Fig.22) attracts a Canadian audience, the majority of whom come for day visits. Some Canadian visitors include families and individuals who stay for a weekend or two day camping trips, others stay anywhere from seven to twenty-six days. Day visitors generally include those who are staying in nearby areas or other areas of Riding Mountain National Park. For the most part, these visitors visit Shawenequanape for the day or afternoon to participate in tours, craft workshops and traditional teachings. Some just come simply, as one staff member explained, "drop in look at a teepee [and decide to stay because] our teepees accommodate them. . .plus they learn and have an experience."

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[99]Interview with tourism operator who worked in Manitoba outside the Park, August 1999.

[100]*Shawenequanape Kipichewin* received a TODO!97 Contest Award for Socially Responsible Tourism.

[101]Gender, class and age breakdown not available for these visitors.

Figure 22:

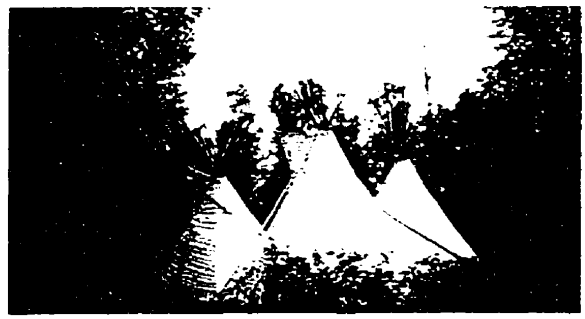
Shawenequanape Kipichewin Camp: Riding Mountain National Park's Aboriginal Jewel
Advertisement

Trails'99: Your guide to favourite Aboriginal historical sites, destinations, peoples and festivals in Northwestern Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. 1999 Summer, 17.

SHAWENEQUANAPE KIPICHEWIN CAMP:

RIDING MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK'S ABORIGINAL JEWEL

Shawenequanape Kipichewin is located at Lake Katherine in Riding Mountain National Park. For tourists tired of the "same-old, same-old" or suffering from "been there, done that", this camp is a sure-fire remedy. Developed by First Nations to serve the general public by encouraging awareness of Aboriginal culture, heritage and history. Visitors are offered hands-on activities in addition to camping facilities which provide all of the modern amenities.



Or they can even choose to experience camping out in a traditional teepee. The idyllic setting of the camp, in the land of Anishinabe people refer to as Noo-sa-wah-nih-jiw (Chasing Mountain), would, in and of itself, seem to guarantee visitors an exhilarating and memorable experience. But when placed in the context of the varied and rich activities the camp offers, the opportunity of an 'experience of a lifetime' is impossible to ignore. In the first year alone, visitors had the opportunity to witness two traditional pow wows which were held at the camp. However, it is also a business with sophisticated philosophy of operation that stresses an unflinching commitment to provide a quality product to their customers, which is consistent with the early lifestyles of Aboriginal peoples within the region. Camp Administrators stress the Anishinabe philosophy that "all living things are equal in every respect and have their own equal purpose towards life." It's an outlook they bring into play in all their partnerships on the underlying premise of mutual cooperation and support, so vital in the highly competitive and fluid tourism market. Although the challenges have been daunting—the response has been overwhelming. Judging by the response of visitors from as far away as Europe, that doesn't seem to be problem. And like the last five years, Shawenequanape Kipichewin promises to be one of Manitoba's premier Aboriginal tourism destinations once again.
Ph: (204) 848-2815

The International Visitors

Non-Aboriginal international visitors, according to one staff member are, "interested in our culture and the maintenance of [it]."[102] A German visitor who was at *Shawenequanape* during my stay said she was "interested in learning about and experiencing a new culture." She came to *Shawenequanape* because she had a desire to experience first hand "how Indians lived." For her *Shawenequanape* was chosen as a place to visit based on the

> anticipation [she had about] sleeping in a teepee. . .[as well as for the sole purposes of] having an extraordinary experience by actually living in one [a teepee] and imagin[ing] how it was like then [for Native people to live prior to the arrival of the fur trade and subsequent settlement of the prairies] and to be able to say I stayed in a teepee overnight by myself and it was a beautiful and very unique experience.

Other German visitors were classic examples of what Urry suggested all tourists did. They were

> interested in breaking with established routines and practices of everyday life [with the hopes of] allowing one's senses to engage with a set of stimuli that contrasts with the everyday and mundane (Urry 1990:2).

As one explained to me,

> I come [to *Shawenequanape*] because I want to be far away where nobody can reach me . . . I want to forget for four weeks what I have at home and to be able to relax without telephones and faxes I want to be far away from work and that hectic life.

For her, *Shawenequanape* offered a different environment and experience from those which surround her on a daily basis. The natural beauty of the area and the cultural teachings of the

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[102]Over the course of me three week stay at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* there were approximately 12 international visitors visiting the site.

Anishinabe satisfied her desire to break with her daily routines and, as she said, to "clear up mentally and cleanse."

The Canadian Visitors

Non-Aboriginal visitors from Manitoba and Saskatchewan come to *Shawenequanape* largely for entertainment.[103] Generally coming as day visitors, they expect to see, in coherence with popular media representations, a show of 'dancing and drumming' at *Shawenequanape*. Those who do come as overnight guests want, as one explained, to "experience what it was like to sleep in a teepee and possibly see some dancing." This focus causes some frustration to camp staff, as one said,

> Canadian people live with us, they see a lot of these things happening but they don't understand they are missing something, they have to go beyond the dance. . .Canadians have to come to understand that we have a lot more to offer than just the dance.

The Aboriginal Visitors

Aboriginal people from First Nations communities in Manitoba also visit *Shawenequanape* "to either experience for the first time or relive the traditional way of life or to return to the land which is spiritually significant to our people."[104] According to one staff member, "for the Elders and younger people, [coming to *Shawenequanape* is] like

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[103]Over the course of my three week stay there were 24-36 non-Aboriginal visitors staying on site. On a daily basis there was approximately 25-50 non-Aboriginal people coming on site to participate in tours and workshops or to inquire about site activities.

[104]During my three week stay there was approximately 20 Aboriginal visitors staying at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*.

coming home because this is where our people lived and survived." As one man who was visiting with his family said, he hoped by coming to *Shawenequanape*, his children would "learn something and be able to connect to their cultural traditions and teachings." For him and other Aboriginal people I spoke with, *Shawenequanape* "really helped me to figure out my culture and to find out what kind of person I am."

A 'Day in the Life' of the Long-Term Visitor

I woke early this morning.[105] Last nights fire was still smoldering. As I made a quick attempt to ignite the embers for some added warmth, I could hear the loons at the lake. Feeling as if they were beckoning to me, with thermos in hand, I went for a walk on one of the trails which goes around Lake Katherine. On this trip my attention was directed toward catching a glimpse of any animals or identifying their tracks. About a quarter of the way around the lake, I sat to have some cedar tea (which I learned how to make yesterday), to revel in my surroundings and enjoy the scenery. To the left of my feet, I saw what I thought were elk tracks. There were however none to be seen.

When I got back to my camp, the fire was out and I had no more kindling. Not wanting to spend another day trying to chop wood (my hands are still red, swollen and sore from yesterday!), I went out on one of the nearby trails, which eventually led me to the traditional village, to find some kindling. While on the trail, I could not help but feel as

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[105]This is an edited excerpt of a journal entry in my research notes of my third day at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*. I have removed any information pertaining to research related experiences or interviews in order to give the reader an idea of what a long-term visitor may experience on any given day while staying at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*

though I was traveling through time, exploring the history of this area and its people.[106] By the time I got back to my campsite it was shortly after the noon hour.

I can't recall exactly what I thought as I walked through 'the bush' for the first time on my own. I can say that what I felt was some kind of a nervous excitement. The silence that surrounded me on this walk and when I sat in the 'old village,' was both deafening and eerie yet at the same time peaceful and calming. As I traversed through the camp, I collected wild peanuts and sage, some birch bark, and looked for sweet grass. I payed close attention to the silence and found myself 'practicing' what was had been preached in earlier tours and guided walks. Unconsciously, I noted any sudden familiar or unfamiliar sounds and animal tracks. What I paid most attention to was the moss on the base of the trees. I was told, I think on one of my first guided walks, that if you are ever lost 'in the bush', look to the moss for direction because it will always be facing north. I did just that and eventually, I found my way back to my campsite. All the while I felt completely at ease in this environment that had been, only two days before, completely foreign and unlike any I had ever been in.

After lunch, and before I took a dream catcher workshop, an interpreter and I canoed around the lake. We talked about the animal tracks, berries, sights and sounds, I had identified earlier. At one point, we stopped canoeing alongside a spot where there were deep impressions in the grass. Once out of the canoe we followed the trail. In pursuit, I tried to

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[106]On my first, of what would be many, 'solo' travels on the trails, I realized that *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* combines the best elements of independent travel and group tours. Staying here I had the opportunity to venture out each day on excursions. Like people on a group tour, when needed, I got the services of knowledgeable guides. Unlike people on a package tour, I could set my own pace, lingering to reflect on the teachings in the tours, in the spots that interested me the most.

pick up the distinctive scent of the animal. I smelled nothing and felt very uneasy as we went further into the bush to follow its trail. On this particular excursion, I felt as though what ever it was we were pursuing was following us, instead of the other way around.[107] After about an hour, we made our way back to the canoe and continued our way around the lake.

Before dinner I went for a quick swim. I came back to my campsite freezing. It took me nearly 20 minutes and almost a whole newspaper's worth of paper to get the fire started. Around 10 p.m. I accompanied two interpreters as they patrolled the camp. On various occasions, we stopped to have tea with other campers and share stories about our day or ourselves. In retrospect, I was quite frightened by the evening patrol, which, I am sure was intended to be, like most things, a teaching.

It becomes completely dark here at almost exactly 10 p.m. every evening. Walking in the bush, in that dark hour, I waited for my eyes to adjust to the darkness, but there was nothing for them to adjust to. I opened and shut my eyes, and couldn't see any difference. Satisfied that things were 'quiet,' we returned to my campsite. Back safely, we sat by the fire and continued to share stories. I listened as staff members graciously and with great enjoyment and humor told the stories, myths, and legends of the land and their ancestors.

Practical and Philosophical Issues Facing Shawenequanape Kipichewin

Creating and maintaining a place which offers visitors an Anishinabe experience is by no means an easy task. Like many Aboriginal owned and operated tourism businesses, camp management is confronted with conflicting expectations by visitors, a lack of funding, and a

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[107]I would learn later that this was the first, of what I came to call, bear teachings.

range of promotional challenges which stem from, as one staff member explained, "the demands of the tourism business and always having to try to improve and better the tourist attraction." These all affect the future direction of the camp. Demands from the tourist industry which affect the future development of Shawenequanape include meeting the needs of increasingly sophisticated travelers, funding and site development as well as effectively promoting the camp as a tourist destination.[108]

At the present time, one of the most pressing concerns for future development is funding.[109] As one staff member explained, "funding, and development go hand in hand." Money is needed for future development at Shawenequanape to improve the camp's cultural program and maintain site facilities.

In terms of improving the camp's cultural program concerns revolve around "improving the actual interpretive programs and getting staff properly trained by cultural Elders so that interpreters relay consistent, factual information and teachings." [110] Getting staff properly trained by Elders was a concern discussed by all staff members. In 1999, there were two interpreters who had undergone this training. However, in August, only one interpreter was working at the site. In order to continue offering the cultural programs other staff members who had not been properly trained were conducting site tours and interpretive

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[108]By sophisticated travellers, I am referring to individuals who are interested in destinations which offer hands-on cultural experiences, educate and entertain.

[109]The annual budget is information that I was not able to obtain.

[110]It is important to note that this training is not intended to 'train' or 'teach' the interpreters about their culture. It is geared towards teaching interpreters how to effectively pass on their culture and provides them with tourism/hospitality and first aid training.

programs. The concern surrounding this was that all staff may not have been relaying the same information. Due to this it was recognized that all staff should undergo the proper interpretive training, this however is both costly and time consuming. As a result, management was in the process of organizing ways in which staff could achieve training in a more cost-effective way. Other possible future endeavors for the camp program include developing a summer youth program intended to pass on the language and culture to Aboriginal youth.[111]

Facilities at the camp require ongoing improvement to allow for program development and enhancement. Improving site facilities include, the 'old' village,' the amphitheater, pow-wow pavilion and teepee accommodations. At the old village, improvements centre on keeping the site maintained. In addition to maintaining the village, management are considering

> the possibility of hiring one or two families to live in the old village to be [on site during] the summer so when we do a tour, the people are there so people can see a women cooking, sharing traditional foods, children playing traditional games and men preparing to go hunting.

Repairing the existing amphitheater is also of concern as well as viewed as a site of opportunity for future development. According to the camp manager,

> the amphitheater has been here since Riding Mountain opened in 1929. The seats and stage are getting old and in need of repair. Out of fear of people getting hurt we have not used it but, if repaired, the amphitheater is something which could really be exposed and used to generate revenue by bringing in Metis and Aboriginal drum groups.

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[111]This emphasizes a conflict between the goals of the Anishinabe, the government and the tourist industry. By wanting to develop a summer youth program it becomes clear that the Anishinabe perceive Shawenequanape Kipichewin not only as a tourist destination but also as a place to preserve and pass on their cultural heritage to Aboriginal youth.

In regards to the teepee accommodation, camp management is

> considering changing the image by constructing some form of covered floor and possibly building raised beds in order to make the accommodation more enticing to the Canadian public.[112]

Management is also in the process of constructing trappers' tents to be put in around the lake as an example of another form of traditional (pre-1900) dwelling. In addition to maintaining the 'old' village, repairing and refurbishing the amphitheater, management is considering installing a retractable roof for the pow-wow arbor so that it may be used even during inclement weather.

Gaining the local support is another key objective for future development. Camp management recognize that promoting the camp to North Americans and Aboriginal people is something they need to work on as many people are not aware that *Shawenequanape* exists or what it has to offer as a tourist destination. As one staff member explained, "we haven't received the local support. As an organization that is where we fail. We don't expose ourselves to the local area." A major hindrance to promoting the camp to the local audience is the problem or lack of camp promotion and signage within the National Park. Due to the fact that there are a limited number of signs directing visitors to *Shawenequanape* and the fact that the camp is not openly promoted at the National Park's Visitor Center, aside from an

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[112]If we accept the notion that 'authenticity' implies an undisputed origin or a belief that cultures have a set of characteristics which make them what they are, then such reconstructions would challenge the 'authenticity' of the camp. In a recent article, John Taylor (2001) explores the concept of authenticity. He introduces the term, 'sincerity,' by way of contrast to the notion of authenticity. For Taylor, the notion of 'sincerity,' offers the basis for a shift in moral perspective away from the successful re-production of 'objective truths' and 'authenticities,' towards of view of tourism as embodying communicative events involving values important to both the 'tourists' and operators.

advertisement in the *Visitors Guide to Riding Mountain National Park Bugle* (Fig:23), visitors are not always aware that the camp exists within the Park.

Promoting the camp to the local Aboriginal audience is also of concern. As the camp manager told me,

> When I started here my first goal was to send out a mass flyer distribution to the schools and First Nations communities. I wanted to concentrate on First Nations communities [because] I know that in my community the kids don't know their culture and we can offer them the opportunity to come here and learn. Unfortunately we had maybe nine out of ten school groups that came were non-aboriginal so the message is still not getting through and we want their support because in return they will be learning about who they are.

In order to promote the camp to Aboriginal communities and youth, management is in the process of organizing and implementing an Aboriginal youth program with the hopes that this may generate more support from the local First Nations communities. According to one staff member, management and staff are also

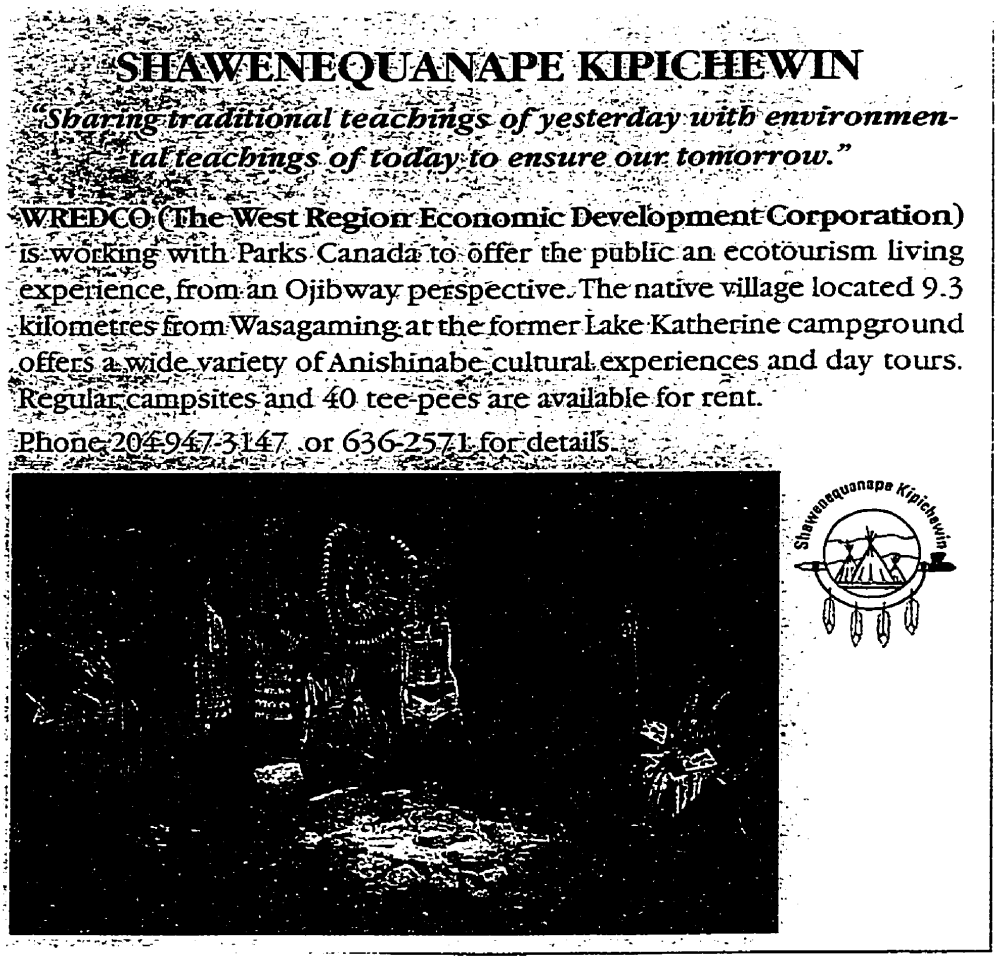
> talking about doing an eight minute video and making posters to send out which would concentrate more on the local Canadian public. One of the things I will be doing is concentrating on the local audience and trying to sell them on the camp and tell them what we have here and what we can offer them to get their support.

One aspect of attempting to improve and better the tourist attraction revolves around finding a way to balance what staff, management and guests want to see and experience at the camp. According to one staff member, what guests, specifically the non-Aboriginal Canadian audience, want is

Figure 23:

Shawenequanape Kipichewin
Advertisement

Riding Mountain National Park
1999 Visitors Guide to Riding Mountain National Park Bugle.



> a lot of Aboriginal people walking around in their regalia with daily activities and pow-wow demonstrations happening nightly. Travelers today do not just want the medicine wheel teaching, the camp tour or the dream catcher making, they want to see something else, they want to be entertained.

By inviting *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* staff and interpreters to give dance and drum exhibitions or craft demonstrations at the Visitor Center, Parks Canada employees have made it quite explicit that they would like to see *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* provide free entertainment for Park visitors. Due to the fact that a major objective of the camp philosophy is to "educate [and show] people that there is more to Aboriginal culture than dancing and drumming," *Shawenequanape* management have to, according to camp management,

> promote that we are not just here to entertain people, we are here to teach as well. People have to understand this. . . people have to understand that [dance] is not just what we are here for, we are here for more than that.

Conflicting expectations at the level of the Parks Canada staff go deeper than perceiving *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* as a form of entertainment. One the one hand, it appears that Parks Canada staff would like to see *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* become a more visible presence within the Park. However, this presence is largely determined by the Parks staff expectation that if *Shawenequanape* staff did not provide 'entertainment' by appearing in full regalia, performing dance and drum performances or craft demonstrations, they should not be able to charge a fee for their services, nor hand out information or brochures promoting the *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* campground facilities. Because *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* is in the Park, it would appear that the Park genuinely wants to establish closer ties with the Aboriginal peoples that live in the surrounding area, and

encourage Aboriginal participation in Parks Canada interpretations and public programs. But they fail to recognize that for the Anishinabe, *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* is an endeavor pursued to gain economic stability and designed so its programs specifically challenge the stereotypical representations expected by Parks staff.

Shawenequanape Kipichewin staff and management are not deterred and despite these challenges they are committed to what *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* has to offer their own communities and a wide range of tourists. The difficulties *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* faces stem from, as one staff member explained,

> going into something new, finding the proper management, funding and the proper [people] who have the vision and motivation to keep things focused.

On the whole, management and staff view *Shawenequanape* as being

> at an entrance stage where it will take time before Shawenequanape becomes the type of tourist destination we [the management and community] envision it to be.

Before *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* becomes what management and the Anishinabe community fully envision it to be, the colonial mind-set that is woven throughout history, the academy, governmental policy and the popular discourse must be challenged.

Conclusion

By means of conclusion, it must be stated that after five years of operation, *Shawenequanape* staff and management are well on their way to achieving their preliminary goals. With the establishment of *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* within the National Park,

management has effectively preserved the area for the Anishinabe as well as created employment opportunities and a place where people can come to learn about traditional and contemporary Anishinabe life. As will be shown in Chapter Five, management have also effectively challenged and provided visitors an alternative to the non-Aboriginal 'containerized' view of Aboriginal culture.

5. *Making Connections: Shawenequanape Kipichewin and Postmodern Ideas of Culture, Representation, the Interpretive Tourist and the Future of Aboriginal Tourism*

A Negotiated Representation

The non-Aboriginal tourism industry when promoting Aboriginal culture, like popular culture, mythologizes and spectacularizes First Nations cultures. Within the limited opportunities that Aboriginal people have to counter these images and gain control over their own representations in the tourism context, the questions that remain unanswered are: What are the alternate images they wish to present? and how do they make these enticing to a wide ranging tourist market? More specifically here, what do *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* staff and management present as Anishinabe culture for their visitors? What they say about themselves, despite the fact they run the camp, is a carefully negotiated representation within a complex and intricate web of external and internal factors, including the Elders who advise on camp programs, the West Region Economic Development Corporation (WREDCO), Parks Canada staff and policy, visitor expectations and staff/management relations.

Initially it is important to reiterate that at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, travellers are not presented a representation of Anishinabe culture which coheres with popular understandings of Aboriginal people. Anishinabe culture is not conceptualized as entertainment, primitive, exotic or picturesque. Anishinabe peoples do not walk around in full 'feathered' regalia, nor are there any elaborately staged powwows or drumming exhibitions. What is presented are the philosophical, spiritual and cultural teachings of the Anishinabe peoples. Through sharing these teachings and giving visitors some understanding

of traditional Anishinabe ways of life, *Shawenequanape* staff present a view of Anishinabe culture which attempts to challenge the representations embedded in anthropology, state policy and the popular discourse discussed in the first three chapters.

Anishinabe culture as presented at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* is not something understood to be fixed, immobile or bounded. As Kondo said of culture, it is,

> not a fixed 'thing,' it is negotiated, open, shifting, ambiguous, the result of culturally available meanings and the open-ended power-laden enactments of those meanings in everyday situations (1990:24).

Counterbalancing Popular Perceptions

At *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* representation of Anishinabe culture counters popular perceptions of 'Indians' with philosophical discussions of the Anishinabe understandings of relationships between nature, society and culture, and Anishinabe life in the past and in the present. Popular perceptions depicting Aboriginal peoples as both noble and savage, treacherous, degraded or impoverished are juxtaposed at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* with discussions of traditional hunting and gathering techniques, weaponry, teepee life, survival skills and medicines. It was also my experience for camp staff to engage in discussions about political, social and economic challenges Aboriginal communities face, land claim struggles and the camp's relationships with Parks Canada.[113]

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I separate these discussions from other travellers experiences as I am uncertain as to how often these topics are brought up with other travellers. The Anishinabe saw themselves as fully capable of self-government, as politically distinct, and as seeking economic stability for their communities. They understood that in the past they had been resourceful, innovative, industrious, prosperous and would continue to be in the future.

The Role of the Elders, Chiefs and the WREDCO.

What is presented at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* is also negotiated amongst the Elders, Chiefs and the WREDCO. Elders from the five surrounding First Nations communities and the Chiefs (or their designate) which make up WREDCO's Board of Directors are consulted on every facet of the camp's cultural components so that only that which is deemed as appropriate to share in public is presented. By clarifying what aspects of their culture can be shared, by whom and with whom, the sacred spiritual and philosophical teachings and practices are safeguarded for the community.

The Role of Parks Canada

Shawenequanape Kipichewin management are limited by Parks Canada operational policies, Park Act, the limitations of the site and the role Park staff play in promoting the camp and Aboriginal presence in the Park. *Shawenequanape* staff and management are involved in an ongoing process of proving that they, as Anishinabe peoples, play a viable and integral role within the Park, contributing to the overall Park's educational program and operations. For their role to be fully recognized, Park staff need to promote the camp at the Visitor Centre and erect better directional signs to it. Efforts to increase the visibility of *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* within the Park will not only assist in securing the success of the camp, but open to a wider audience the opportunity to learn more about Aboriginal culture beyond traditional stereotypical images and assumptions.

The limitations of the actual site also play an integral role in the representation possible at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*. The site was an abandoned Park campground of

only ten acres laid out in a logic that makes sense to the needs of Parks Canada camp grounds. Due to this, staff and management are restricted by how much they can do on site and are continually forced to negotiate their 'space needs' within a predetermined configuration. The campground was once a well groomed site with clearly defined roadways, trails, campsites, 16 washrooms, 16 cookhouses, amphitheatre and R.V. hookups which were laid out in a manner that suited both Parks Canada and motorized campers either with R.V.s or cars. In an effort to override this influence, *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* management no longer 'groom' the site by clearing roadways or keeping trails cut. The site has been left to return to a more natural, less rigidly confined space. Furthermore, since the amphitheatre, washroom facilities and cookhouses are not used, few are maintained.[114]

The Role of the Visitor

A key factor in the negotiation of a representation of Aboriginal culture was linked to the amount of time visitors spent on site. Some visitors came to live at the camp and participate in the cultural programs; others stayed only a few hours. Those who stayed longer were most frequently international visitors with a particular interest in Aboriginal culture, or Aboriginal visitors who had an interest in, or spiritual connection to the sacredness of the place. Those who stayed only a few hours were non-Aboriginal North American visitors staying in other areas of the Park, or those visiting the camp as part of a tour group. Far more non-Aboriginal North American visitors came for short visits than international or

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Note that three of the original washroom facilities were maintained. Of these three washrooms only one had electricity, water, and useable flush toilets and showers in 1999.

Aboriginal people who stayed for longer periods of time. Repeating the comments of the camp manager one reason for this is the fact that "Canadian people live with us" and witness, or come to 'know,' Aboriginal culture as represented in popular discourse of the media. Drawing on this observation, it can be assumed that non-Aboriginal people believe that they already 'know all there is to know' about Aboriginal culture, and are thus less interested in experiencing it and learning about it from another perspective, thereby in their visit to *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* shutting themselves off from an opportunity to learn about an Aboriginal culture from an Aboriginal perspective .

The fact that the majority of visitors who came to the camp only stay for a few hours severely limits the amount of information staff and management can share with them. Sadly, the fact that many of these visitors most often only participate in the camp tour, they leave the site with the perception that Aboriginal culture and life is something confined to the past, a theme which is emphasized in the actual tour. In contrast, visitors that have a particular interest in Aboriginal culture and stay for longer periods of time, witness both the strength and adaptability of Anishinabe culture, through participating in a wider range of programmes and experiences, many of which bring them face to face with comments and example of how local Anishinabe integrate and function in the broader Canadian society. Much of this is accomplished in one-on-one discussions and conversations with camp staff.

The Complexity of Representation

I found it useful to think about the representation of Anishinabe culture at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* in two categories: the explicit and the implicit. It is important

to recognize however that although presented as conceptually distinct binary oppositions, themes of dialogue/dialectic/conversation and ambiguity run throughout the explicit and implicit 'touristic' representations of Anishinabe culture at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*. Both types of representation, occur as both, social and structural 'markers' (MacCannell 1999), symbols, signs or images embedded in the discourse of the camp.

I will use only a couple of the many possible examples to make my point. 'Markers' at tourist sites, as defined by MacCannell are defined as "information about a specific sight. . .amount[ing] to no more than the name of the sight, or its picture, or a plan or map of it" (MacCannell 1999:110). At *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* the remoteness or setting of the camp on traditional land, the factual material presented on the promotional display boards at the entrance to the camp and the promotional literature for *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* all explicitly represent the camp as a re-created 'Aboriginal site'.

Promotional material invites visitors to:

> step back in time. . .discover the peace and beauty that comes with living close to nature . . .stay in a traditional teepee village (West Region Economic Development Corporation 1999).

This invitation establishes for the visitor what will be experienced at *Shawenequanape*. One could assume that by 'stepping back in time' the visitor will experience, as one staff member explained "how Native people used to live hundreds of years ago." This could suggest that the Anishinabe world at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* is something frozen, something which has remained unchanged throughout the last 400 years. But, as I have discussed, it is a very complex negotiation with many internal and external factors. Ironically, the presence of the teepees and the traditional 'old' village explicitly affirm generally held stereotypic view of

Aboriginal culture. These 'markers' suggest that Anishinabe people live somewhere 'back in time,' are inherently close to nature and are generally removed from contemporary society. However, I would suggest that these markers, rather than implying that Anishinabe culture is frozen in time, indicate the strength of Aboriginal cultural traditions and teachings to survive in the face of processes of colonization and displacement. They have existed since time immemorial and continue into the present. It is this implicit message that staff and management at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* want to communicate. This was accomplished by reinforcing the fact that Aboriginal cultural traditions and practices which were severely threatened by official policies of assimilation, loss of land, the experience of residential schools, and the devastation by disease, in fact survived.

When 'traditional signs' or images of Anishinabe culture are combined with the explicit 'signs' of modernity such as the flush toilets, restaurant and amphitheatre, the idea that Aboriginal culture is frozen in a bygone era is seriously undermined.[115] Combining selected elements of the past with the present, creates the potential of new images or representations of Anishinabe culture in the minds of the visitors. It speaks loudly to the continity of 'tradition,' the adaptability of the people and the spirit of cultural revival and rejuvenation that is so central to the future of the Anishinabe people involved with *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* (Rojek 1997:56; Borofsky 1987:135).

The staff at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, take great strength from their commitment

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[115]By stating that the pow-wow arbour, restaurant, amphitheatre, and washrooms are signs of 'modernity', I am using them as examples of the many things to be found at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* that would not have been found in the pre-contact era. Things like a pow-wow arbour may have been present, but, it would not have had electricity or a sound system.

to present Anishinabe culture, as the camp manager said, as "living and surviving." This coda is implicit in the idea of *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* as an Anishinabe owned and operated enterprise, intent on creating opportunities for cultural strengthening and economic stability for Anishinabe peoples in a way which respects their values, customs, traditions, arts, language and spiritual beliefs. Furthermore, they seek to communicate to the tourism industry and to Parks Canada that they are "living and surviving." Their challenge is to be seen as such, to be seen as a culturally distinct group with something of value to offer visitors, to the Park and to be seen as equal partners in the economic and cultural future of the region, and of Canada as a whole.

Existential Nature of the Touristic Experience

Joan Laxson suggests that "the superficial interactions of tourists [and Aboriginal peoples in the tourist setting of the museum] reinforce stereotypical views" (1991:373). This may be true in the museum setting she is suggesting but, in a setting like that of *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, it is my contention that there is the possibility that the individual can be taken beyond the hegemonic stereotypes of Aboriginal people. By sharing selected aspects of their culture, teachings and traditions in the cultural programs, *Shawenequanape* staff, even in very limited, carefully negotiated ways offer the hope of challenging such images. The great strength of the *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* visitor experience is the face to face interaction between visitor and staff interpreters. This experience is, of course, much more intense for long term visitors, who stay in the teepees and learn of the Anishinabe teachings in many forms and experiences, but, even the short term

visitations have the potential to sow the seeds of reflection on what 'Indian' life is all about today.[116] MacCannell suggests that a selective touristic experience may establish a direction, break new ground or contribute to modernity by presenting new combinations of cultural elements (1998:26). It is the intention of those who work at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* that it be a powerful agent in defining the scope, force and direction of the visitor's understanding of Anishinabe culture and life, that it "break new ground" in its representation of Anishinabe culture.

The success, or intensity of these efforts is deeply embedded in the existential nature of the experience of visitors to *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, particularly the long term visitor. Each such visitor is left during their stay in camp to understand what they can of Anishinabe culture and their expressions through their own experience and self-understanding. The visitor is able through, as Turner said, "by imagining, playing and performing– new actualities or understandings [can be] brought into existence" (quoted in Bruner 1986:29).

A Final Note

The history of representation by and about 'Indians' is one derived from several centuries of conquest and colonialism. Written by the hand of the conqueror these representations of 'Indians' have precluded those by 'Indians,' and have become etched in popular and political discourses. As Aboriginal people in Canada revitalize their cultural traditions, take control of their own affairs, and concomitantly their right to represent themselves, these stereotypical representations are giving way to more realistic

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[116]This exposure is most profound and geared to those who, such as myself, have a limited exposure to the non-urban environment.

representations of Aboriginal culture and life. In this context, representation is becoming more flexible and less dependent upon the bipolar discourses outlined in Table 1. This shift challenges any 'containerized' view of Aboriginal culture, which assumes it to be readily describable by a finite list of traits and characteristics. A more flexible, ambiguous and dialogic view of Aboriginal culture is evidenced in the context of Aboriginal tourism.

At *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*, experiencing Anishinabe culture is characterized in this manner, as it engages the individual visiting at the camp in a process of reflection about what Aboriginal culture is. The Chinese proverb, "tell me and I may forget, show me and I may remember, involve me and I will understand," best summarizes how issues of Anishinabe culture is to be understood at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin*. Through my individual involvement in the programs which share traditional teachings and my first hand experience with living in the camp, I left *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* with understandings that have indelibly challenged and changed both my personal and academic perceptions of Aboriginal life and anthropological research. My personal experience at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* provided me with a renewed respect for life, a greater understanding of the importance of balance in life, and respect for the environment and others around us. Academically, I left *Shawenequanape Kipichewin* satisfied that my initial questions concerning Aboriginal representation had been answered. The most important and perhaps most potent answer was that, representations of Aboriginal culture can only be seen as something fluid, contingent, ever-changing and strong. In the process of finding an answer to my long sought after question, new ones emerged. Of these, the most important are as follows:

- How do you balance the interpretation of historical lifestyles, that

tourists are primarily interested in, with interpretations of current modern Aboriginal lifestyles?

- Are *Shawenequanape Kipichewin's* struggles reflective of other Aboriginal tourism destinations?
- Will the old stereotypical mentalities and representations be replaced with the new representations I suggest are evidenced at *Shawenequanape Kipichewin?*
- Will the Canadian state, Parks Canada and tourism industry come to accept Aboriginal tourism and people as playing an integral role and contributing to educational programs, operations and economy?

My initial reflections pertaining to these questions is quite simply, with time and more in-depth future research on both local and international Aboriginal tourism venues they will be answered.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

The following is a list of all interview questions. Not all questions were asked of each informant. Many questions elicited no response either because the informant stated they were not capable of answering or because they were not comfortable answering the question. Other questions and their subsequent responses were, in the end and at the request of informants, not used in the writing of the thesis.

Questions for Staff and Management

What image if any are Aboriginal communities trying to foster/dispel through the implementation of Aboriginal owned and operated tourist destinations?

What images do tourists form of Aboriginal culture during encounters with Native hosts?

What perceptions do tourists hold of Aboriginal peoples before and after their visit?

What do the tourists come to see?

Do tourist/Aboriginal interactions at the camp change the tourists perceptions of Aboriginal peoples?

Are attitudes changing as non-Aboriginal peoples become more aware and interested in Aboriginal culture?

What image of Aboriginal peoples are you presenting?

How well informed are the tourists about what they are coming to see?

Do you attempt to combat western stereotypes/images of Aboriginal culture?

Are there any generalized perceptions of Native Americans that you encounter?

What do you hope that the tourists will take away with them after visiting the camp?

What is the history of the camp?

What are you attempting to accomplish through this camp?

Do you see the camp and what you are doing here as bridging a gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people?

Are Aboriginal operated tourist destinations forging a better relationship or partnership between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples?

What type of people/tourists visit Shawenequanape Kipichewin?

How many people visit the camp annually?

Do you have many group tours visit?

What is the ratio of Aboriginal people to non-Aboriginal people that visit the camp?

How many interpreters and staff work at Shawenequanape?

What is the relationship with the National Park?

Who oversees and owns the camp?

How did the camp get it's name?

What difficulties does the camp face?

What are the goals of the camp?

How do you see the camp developing? What is the future?

What is the average time visitors stay on site?

Is there a large Canadian audience?

How is the camp promoted?

What process was involved in opening the camp?

Can you tell me about the camps operation in relation to the National Park?

Are the camps operations independent of the National Park?

When did the camp open?

What is the camp vision or overall goals of the camp?

What difficulties has the camp faced?

What are the future goals?

What image of Aboriginal culture and people are you trying to present?

How would you describe the camp?

What do you envision for the future?

Why do people visit Shawenequanape Kipichewin?

How many camp sites are here?
What is your job here?

How long have you worked here?

How many communities are involved in the camps operations?

What is the significance of this land to Aboriginal peoples?

What rights do Aboriginal peoples have to this land?

What funding or support does the camp receive?

Who owns this land and what rights do Aboriginal people have to it?

How many acres of land does the camp have access to?

What programs do you offer at the camp? What is involved in these?

Who plans the camp's cultural programs?

Who oversees the camps operations?

Who has input into the camps operations?

How many communities are involved in the camp operations?

What amount of input does the National Park have in the camps operations?

How are interpreters trained?

Questions for the Tourists

Where are you from?

Age category?

Where did you hear of this camp?

What was your reason for coming to the camp?

What does coming here mean to you?

How long are you staying?

How many times have you visited Shawenequanape Kipichewin?

Is this your first visit to an Aboriginal tourist site? If not, what other programs have you participated in?

How well informed were you about Aboriginal culture and issues prior to coming to the

camp?

After your experience here at the camp, what are your general thoughts about Aboriginal culture?
Has your experience changed your initial thoughts?

What workshops, tours or special events did you attend?

Overall, did you have a positive or negative experience? Why?

What does coming here mean to you?