

Visual Identity and Indigenous Tourism: Power, Authenticity, Hybridity and the Osoyoos
Indian Band's Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre

by

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BA, McGill University, 2008

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Anthropology

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University of Victoria

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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The tourism industry is particularly reliant on the use of imagery to create a brand for a destination or attraction in order to effectively market its product. In the case of Indigenous tourism, a paradox often exists between maintaining a level of recognition and familiarity that mirror the expectations of the public imagination, and conveying a representation that is locally meaningful and emblematic. Investigation into the visual representation and communication of identity through tourism is a means to illustrate three overlapping issues that are prevalent throughout the literature on Indigenous tourism. These are: control, authenticity, and hybridity. This research project addresses these issues through an extensive review of anthropological and tourism-related literature and its application to the specific case study of one Indigenous tourism business, the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre (NDCC), owned and operated by the Osoyoos Indian Band (OIB) in Osoyoos, British Columbia (BC), Canada. Semiotic and visual analyses are used to elucidate the messages about OIB identity communicated through the Centre's visuals, in order to bring the example of the OIB and NDCC into conversation with the larger issues found within Indigenous tourism.

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Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank the Osoyoos Indian Band for their support and welcoming me into Okanagan Nation Traditional Territory. I am honoured and privileged to have been given the opportunity to work alongside you. In particular, I would like to thank Charlotte Stringam – your openness, generosity, and hospitality are unparalleled and I am forever grateful for the wealth of support you have given me. I would also like to acknowledge Chief Clarence Louie, Robert Etienne, and Brenda Baptiste – thank you for taking the time to welcome me and speak with me about the Nk’Mip Desert Cultural Centre. This thesis would not have been possible without your input.

I would also like to thank Chris Bower, general manager of the Osoyoos Indian Band Development Corporation, Chairman of the Nk’Mip Resort Association and Business Development Officer, Darryl MacKenzie, curator of the Oliver and District Museums and Archives, Kenneth Favrholt, curator of the Osoyoos and District Museums and Archives, Thomas Louie, Russell Podgurny, and Jon for their support.

Great appreciation and thanks go to Dr. Andrea Walsh. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to do this project; without your direction and suggestions this thesis could not have happened. I am so thankful for all of your support, guidance, and for believing in me. Dr. Michael Asch, thank you for your support and for your thought-provoking comments. Dr. Carolyn Butler-Palmer, thank you for being a part of my committee and for your interesting questions and comments.

I must also acknowledge the love and support of my family, thank you! Special thanks and appreciation go to my father, Barry Bresner, without whom this thesis could not have happened.

Finally, Valine Crist, Kaela Parker, Isaac Martinez, Jen Roberts, Julia Gilliland and Matt Davies, thank you for all the love and laughs.

Dedication

To my Dad.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction to the layout of chapters

This chapter provides an introduction to the research project, *Visual Identity and Indigenous Tourism: Power, Authenticity, Hybridity and the Osoyoos Indian Band's Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre*. The research problem and justification for the pursuit of the research questions are outlined. The purpose of this project is to understand the role of visuality in the expression of identity in the context of Indigenous tourism, and what this contributes to understanding the issues of control, authenticity, and cultural hybridity. From the foundation of an extensive literature review, the specific example of the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre (NDCC) is explored to demonstrate how identity is expressed through one form of tourism-related communication: museum exhibition. I argue that the themes of transformation, authenticity, and temporality are the central messages expressed at the Centre that shape visitors' understanding of the collective identity of the Osoyoos Indian Band (OIB).

Chapter 2 discusses the methods of data analysis. Literature review, interviews, visual and semiotic analyses are the methods used to analyze the case study of the NDCC. The literature review is used to contextualize the case study and to outline the issues of power and control (over representation and commodification), authenticity, and hybridity and acculturation. Semiotic and visual analyses are used to explore identity in the visual exhibits at the NDCC.

Chapters 3 and 4 are literature reviews assessing the social, political, historical, and anthropological context of Indigenous tourism in the former, and the history and

context of visual culture in Indigenous tourism in the latter. Chapter 4 concludes with a discussion of Aboriginal tourism in British Columbia (BC).

Chapter 5 contains a discussion of the history and development of the OIB and context of research for the NDCC case study. Chapter 6 explores the NDCC. In this chapter, I discuss my experiences as a visitor to the cultural centre and use visual and semiotic analyses to illuminate the messages about OIB identity that are shared through the Centre's architecture, exhibits, galleries, and gift shop. The three messages of transformation, authenticity, and temporality are explained.

The final chapter of this project, Chapter 7, considers the NDCC alongside the main issues found in Indigenous tourism in general: power and control over representation, authenticity, and hybridity. It considers the theory of cultural hybridity as a means to expand the definition of authenticity and the expectations of museums.

Definition of Terms

Aboriginal refers specifically to North America's Aboriginal people. It is inclusive of First Nations, Metis, Inuit, and Native Americans. This term is appropriate due primarily to its accepted use in the tourism industry and by the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia (AtBC).

Aboriginal Tourism follows the definition of Indigenous tourism provided by Tom Hinch and Richard Butler (2007: 5): "tourism activities in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction". However, it refers specifically to this type of tourism in Canada (unless otherwise stated. For example, in Australia, Aboriginal is the term commonly used to refer to their Indigenous peoples).

Cultural Centre is the preferred term used to refer to any museum-based ventures, owned and operated by Indigenous peoples, since it is the term used by the OIB in reference to the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre. For this project, it is synonymous with tribal museum, interpretive centre, etc.

Display is an object or collection of objects that are a part of an exhibit.

Exhibit is a display or collection of displays that are experienced together to communicate a theme or story.

First Nation(s) refers more specifically to Canadian Aboriginal peoples who are members of a recognized Aboriginal government and/or Band that is not Métis or Inuit.

Indigenous is a blanket term referring to the original inhabitants of territories across the globe. This term is appropriate due primarily to its accepted use as a political and legal term, as used by the United Nations, International Labour Organization and World Bank.

Indigenous Tourism follows the definition of Indigenous tourism provided by Hinch and Butler (2007: 5): “tourism activities in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction”. It refers broadly to this type of tourism globally.

Native American refers specifically to the original inhabitants of the United States.

Product in tourism is the experience offered by a destination at cost. Material products (such as souvenirs or cultural cuisine) and immaterial products, (such as a cultural performance, or a guided or self-guided tour of a cultural centre) all qualify as products as they are experiences exchanged for money.

Travel and **Tourism** are often defined distinctly to illustrate the nuanced meanings between the two. However, since those nuances are irrelevant to this project, they are used interchangeably, with preference for the latter.

Visitor/Tourist/Guest/Consumer are terms used interchangeably in this project. When speaking about the NDCC in particular, there is a preference for the term ‘visitor’ since it is more inclusive. It can refer to not only outsiders, but insiders as well, such as OIB members and other Indigenous people from Canada and abroad who come to visit, in addition to those who have or have not paid for their admission to the Centre.

Visuality refers to the active engagement of visual objects, the ability of an object to elicit a desired response through optical engagement.

Visual Culture follows the definition provided by David Crouch and Nina Lübbren: “...the larger network of links among objects and practices, expectations and the experience of real sites, ideologies and personal interventions” (2003: 3).

Visuals are images, architecture, exhibitions, displays and products; they are the objects that make up a visual experience.

Research Problem

Investigation into the visual representation and communication of identity through tourism is a means to illustrate three overlapping issues that are prevalent throughout the literature on Indigenous tourism. These are: control, authenticity, and hybridity. This research project addresses these issues through an extensive review of anthropological and tourism-related literature and its application to the specific case study of one Indigenous tourism business, the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre (NDCC) in Osoyoos, British Columbia (BC), Canada. Semiotic and visual analyses are used to elucidate the messages about OIB identity communicated through the Centre's visuals, in order to bring the example of the OIB and NDCC into conversation with the larger issues found within Indigenous tourism.

The NDCC is a part of the OIB's substantial tourism enterprise that includes a 4.5 star resort and spa, RV park, golf course, and vineyards. The OIB is renowned for their successful economic development programs, which includes their tourism-related businesses. The NDCC has won several international and national awards for architecture and leadership: the World Architecture Festival Award (2008), Governor General's Medal in Architecture (2008), Lieutenant-Governor's of BC Medal of Excellence in Architecture (2007), Aboriginal Tourism BC's "Power of Education Award", and Aboriginal Tourism BC's "Inspirational Leadership Award". The OIB has a very clear agenda when it comes to the business of tourism and of how they want to be represented through the cultural centre.

As I shall demonstrate, the OIB's level of control over the business and their representation places the NDCC in a position that allows the OIB to positively engage with the tourism industry. This example illustrates the importance of control and self-

determination in an industry that has been criticized as exploitive of Indigenous peoples (for instance, see Johnston 2006). With control as a starting point, authenticity and hybridity come to play an important role in conveying information about relationships of power and identity. By seating these issues in examples of visual expression, as seen at the NDCC, the roles that authenticity and hybridity play in communication between the OIB and the Centre's visitors are demonstrated.

Why the Cultural Centre?

A cultural centre presents an interesting example of one form of Indigenous tourism. The history of the representation of Indigenous peoples from all over the world is well documented through the history of anthropology, photography and film (Strain 2003). Possibly one of the most popular ways in which Indigenous people have been represented historically has been through museums. While much controversy has arisen following the Indigenous Peoples Movement in the late 1960s and the subsequent passing of The Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in the early 1990s and in Canada, the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Appendix 6A), with respect to the repatriation of cultural objects to Native Americans and Canadian First Peoples, museums are still the main institution where one can go to learn about Indigenous cultures. However, it is not just the national or provincial museum that one can go to – the cultural centre has effectively adopted the museum model where Aboriginal peoples display themselves. Due to the history surrounding display in this form, it is an especially interesting starting point to begin discussions about self-representation in First Nations communities.

Research Questions

This thesis is based on the following foundational research questions:

How does the Osoyoos Indian Band represent itself through the Nk'Mip Desert Culture Centre to visitors? What are the defining characteristics/themes of this identity? How are these characteristics/themes visually communicated to visitors?

How have external forces, such as the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia and tourist expectations, influenced the visual representation of the Osoyoos Indian Band at the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre? How have internal forces, such as decision-making and resource availability, influenced this representation?

What role does authenticity play in the representation of this identity? How is authenticity defined and valued at the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre?

Research Significance

A number of studies on Aboriginal tourism from across Canada already exist (for instance, Butler and Menzies 2007; Deutschlander and Miller 2003; Hendry 2005; Notzke 2003; Williams and O'Neil 2007). However, they all focus primarily on systems of power and tourism as an expression of Aboriginal sovereignty. In this thesis I take this as a starting point, and place the NDCC within broader debates found in the anthropological literature on tourism. Also, unlike other case studies that have investigated the role and use of visual media in tourism (For example, Ardren 2004; Balm and Holcombe 2003; Mills 2003; Moors 2003; Thurlow and Jaworski 2003; Thurlow and Gendelman 2007), critical visual analysis is used to explain and reveal the messages shared in the actual experience of visiting an Indigenous tourism destination or attraction from the perspective of the producer. The visuals that are shared through the display of stories, artifacts, architecture and even souvenirs are deliberately chosen as representations of identity. Understanding the intentions behind these displays and the processes involved in deciding what to share will illuminate the significance of visual experience in tourism, and afford additional credit to the careful selection and display of

these visuals by their host. This project is an analysis based in actual tangible objects from the perspective of members of the OIB. This work is significant since not only will it add to the body of case study examples that all ready exist in the literature on Indigenous tourism, but unlike other studies, the centrality of visual experience and the intangible value of the objects and images that make up the visitor experience are understood in the context of practical considerations and broader tourism discourses.

Tourism is a fast-growing industry, and in Canada Aboriginal tourism is a specific target for the BC Provincial Government to double tourism revenues by 2015 (AtBC Corporate 2010). For an industry that is growing so quickly and has such an important influence on BC's economic comfort, it has not been well studied. Likely, this is in part due to the speed with which it has developed. The rapid growth of this industry is alone reason enough to argue for critical scholarly engagement with the people at the centre of the activity. This thesis is merely a starting point in a huge area of inquiry. As a research project, though, it also begins at the starting point for these cultural centres – what to display, how to display it, and why. Understanding decisions made in response to these questions is a fundamental point of departure to understanding other processes involved in tourism development. The material objects that design the visual experience of tourism and the objects of cultural sharing are important to Aboriginal communities and are important to consumers. How Aboriginal groups negotiate cultural integrity with tourist demand is a balance that has implications for the long term economic and social development of Aboriginal communities involved in tourism. Additionally, understanding how Aboriginal groups in BC have been successful in this industry is important information to potentially set an example for the development of Aboriginal

tourism elsewhere in Canada and possibly even in countries such as the United States and Australia, where Indigenous populations face similar barriers.

Chapter 2: Methods of Data Analysis

Visual Anthropology and Literature Review

This thesis project was influenced by the theoretical literature and previous studies on Indigenous tourism and the issues associated with it. The issues of power, control and exploitation (Hinch and Butler 2007; Johnston 2006; Smith, Burke and Ward 2000), the commodification of culture (Chambers 2010; Gmelch 2004), representation and authenticity (Bruner 2004; Chambers 2010; Greenwood 1989; MacCannell 1972; Myers 1991, 1994; Notzke 2006), and acculturation and hybridity (Kraidy 2005; Mahon 2000; Myers 1991; Wood 1998) pervade the anthropological literature on Indigenous tourism, and form the foundations of this project. These issues are explored in the context of visual experience and the visual display of identity.

The main assumption of this project is that the tourist experience of the cultural centre is primarily visual. As John Collier Jr. and Malcolm Collier write, “It is through perception, largely visual and auditory, that we respond to the humanness that surrounds us” (1986:1). This research project seeks to understand visual interpretation and the conscious catering of architecture, exhibits and displays to visual experience. The production of identity through tourism is historically rooted in visual practices, the same discourse that influenced early anthropology and film. Ellen Strain writes,

[The] simultaneous processes of maturation [of cinema, tourism, and anthropology] were accompanied by various intersections among the cultural practices: tourists provided information for early armchair anthropologists; anthropologists used film as a data-collection tool; popular films were financed by tourist bureaus and tourist footage was integrated into popular films; anthropological texts charted out new tourist areas; and anthropologists and tourists were protagonists in popular films (2003: 19).

Of course before film there was photography, and before photography there were museum collections. Each of these forms of media and media sharing emphasize the centrality of production and consumption in shaping cultural identity, whether as photograph, film, or public display. Crouch and Lübbren summarize the production of visual culture as a process of tourism: “it encompasses exploration, imagination and an exercise in and of identity” (2003: 12). While this can mean the tourist’s identity as well as the host’s, this project will use the discourse of visual anthropology and the anthropology of tourism to understand identity from the perspective of the producer of the visual experience, in this case, the OIB.

Semiotic Analysis

Through the set of concepts provided by a semiotic analysis, I aim to understand how meaning is created and conveyed through images; this is what Gillian Rose calls, the “social effects of meaning” (2001: 70). The process occurring between signs, objects (signified), and the interpretants (signifiers) are how viewers make sense of an image, though these meanings are not fixed. Meanings within signs can be multiple (polysemic in semiotic-jargon), complex, and can change depending on how visuals are displayed, how they are made, and how they are used (Nelson 2005: 134; Rose 2001).

Based on the philosophical writings of Charles Peirce, semiotics or semiotic analysis has been applied to studies ranging from linguistics to mathematics. It is the study of signs. Peirce writes,

A sign, or *representamen*, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect of capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the *interpretant* of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its *object*.” (1955: 99).

The sign, the *interpretant* (also called the signifier), and the *object* (also called the signified), work together in a triadic relationship. The interpretant is an image or sound that is linked an object, which together make a sign (Rose 2001: 74). Rose continues, “The actual object in the world to which the sign is related is called the referent” (2001: 74).

There are three types of signs – the symbol, the index, and the icon – which are differentiated by the relationship between the interpretant and the object. A symbol is a sign that has a popularized and conventional relationship between the interpretant and the object, but is otherwise arbitrary (Rose 2001:78). For example a horseshoe is symbolic of good luck. For an indexical sign, the relationship between object and interpretant is inherent and thus usually culturally specific. As Peirce explains, “... the action of indices depends upon association by contiguity, and not upon association by resemblance or upon intellectual operations” (1955: 108). For example, the colour red on a faucet denotes that when turned, the water that comes out will be hot. An icon, on the other hand, has a more obvious relationship between the object and interpretant as it is represented by likeness. Diagrams are iconic signs, as are photographs: a picture of a pumpkin is an iconic sign of that pumpkin (Rose 2001: 78).

Semiotic analysis has been used previously in studies of marketing and tourism, primarily in the analysis of advertising (Bhattacharyya 1997; Echtner 1999; Hopkins 1998; Jenkins 2003; Mick 1986; Nelson 2005; Pennington and Thomsen 2010). I argue that while usefully applied to the analysis of advertisements, semiotic analysis is also a useful tool for organizing and revealing the meanings embedded in the visuals presented to a tourist in situ. It is through the analysis of the visuals that one can begin to

understand what is being communicated to the centre's visitors. However, it is important to recognize that semiotic analysis is an analysis of interpretation and results are not indisputable. This is why it is also important to take into serious consideration the contemporary context in which these visuals are presented, as well as the historical context that empower sign meanings, which is why this project is also well informed by the related literature.

Not all of the exhibits of the NDCC lend themselves easily to semiotic analysis. This is due to the fact that many of the exhibits are experienced and interpreted through non-visual means, or non-stable visual means. For instance, the replica Okanagan village is experienced visually, but it is non-stable since the viewer moves throughout it and sees and interprets it from multiple vantage points. While this may or may not affect the visual interpretation of the village, it also means that the experience is not purely visual – it is also tactile, audial, and embodied. The visual analyses for the exhibits that are based on multi-sensory communication are interpretive and based within the literature on similar and related studies and themes.

The semiotic model used to assess visual displays was generated from the combination of two models of the sign, the first provided by Michelle Metro-Roland (2009) and the second by Jody Pennington and Robert Thomsen (2010). Both of their studies apply the Peircian semiotic model to tourism.

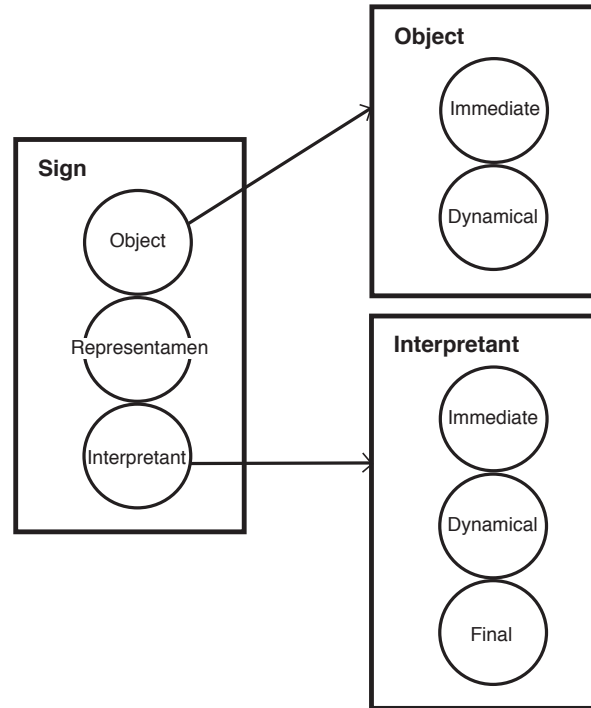


Figure 1 Elements of the Sign, Object, and Interpretant (Metro-Roland 2009: 273).

Metro-Roland's (2009: 273) model breaks down Peirce's sign into its three parts: the object, the representamen and the interpretant. As previously demonstrated, Peirce used the term *representamen* almost interchangeably with *sign* – essentially it connects the object to the interpretant in the process of semiosis. Metro-Roland quotes Peirce's definition of a sign, or representamen, "as anything which is so determined by something else, called its Object, and so determines an effect upon a person, which effect is called its Interpretant, that the latter is thereby mediately determined by the former" (2009: 272). The object and interpretant are broken down further.

The object is broken down into two parts: the immediate and dynamical. The immediate object is the tangible visual being assessed. The dynamical object, on the other hand, is not represented in situ, but is something that is represented *by* the immediate object of the sign. Metro-Roland summarizes the dynamical object as "...the object

external to the semiotic process of representation, it compels the sign and offers resistance and the boundaries within which interpretation can take place” (2009: 273). For example, a library is a tangible, physical structure that exists: the immediate object. Yet it is also a dynamical object. For a student, it is a place to find information, a place to succeed academically or otherwise carry out ones sentence. For the librarian, it is a place of work, their “office” and staff room.

The interpretant is separated into three parts: the immediate, dynamical, and final. The interpretant is essentially understood as the interpretation of the sign or representamen, and as such is a process that results in an interpretation that is either right or wrong. Metro-Roland writes that, “The immediate interpretant is the *possibility* of interpretation as embodied in the sign, the ‘meaning’ of the sign prior to *an* actual interpretation, which [Peirce] terms the dynamical interpretant” (2009: 273). The final interpretant is “the deliberately formed self-analyzing habit” (Metro-Roland 2009: 273) – the naturalized, automatic reaction elicited by the interpretation of the sign. For example, a driver sees a yellow road sign with the silhouette of a deer in the centre of it. The driver’s recognition of the object as a road sign is the immediate interpretant. The driver’s understanding that the sign depicts a deer, and his comprehension that it is alerting him to the possible presence of the animal make up the dynamical interpretant. The driver scanning the road and roadside for any sign of deer about to jump onto the road is the final interpretant. Built into the interpretation process is what Peirce calls *collateral experience*, which is the prior knowledge or preconceived ideas that inform the interpretation (Pennington and Thomsen 2010: 36).

The second model used for semiotic analysis is a simpler construction of the same principle: the sign is made up of an object and interpretant.

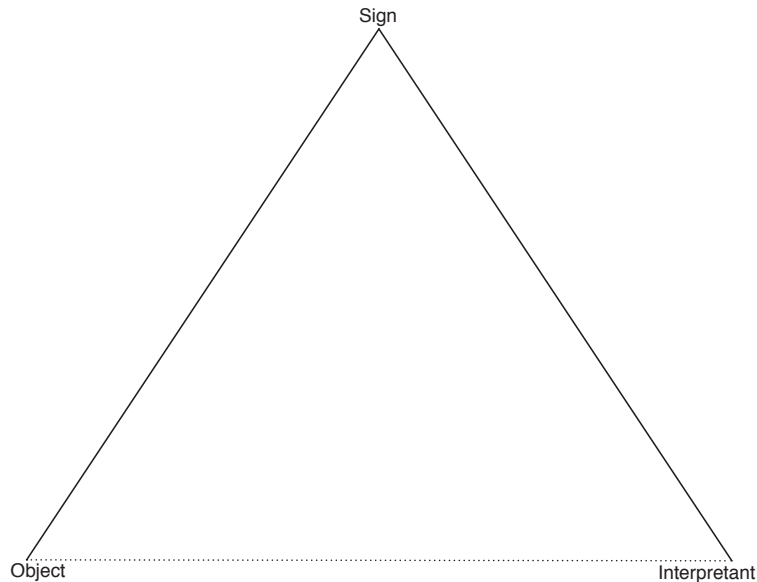


Figure 2 The Semiotic Process (Pennington and Thomsen 2010: 36).

In my semiotic analysis of the exhibits of the culture centre, Figure 2 is combined with Metro-Roland's model, Figure 1, along with the visual(s) being assessed.

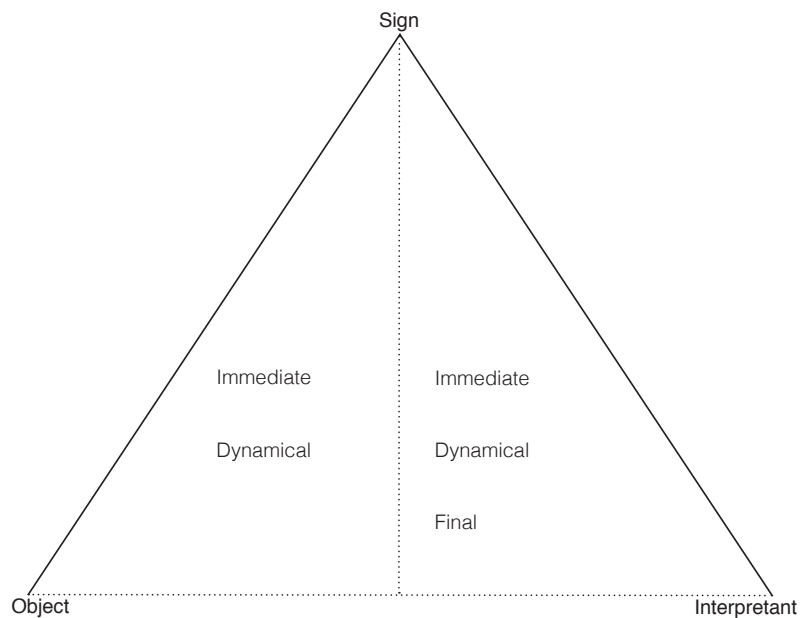


Figure 3 My Semiotic Model.

The combination of the two models allows for a more in depth expression of the analysis and the visual process of interpretation. The model I use also demonstrates *collateral experience*, also called *collateral information* or *observation* (Metro-Roland 2009: 274). This is based on the idea that semiosis and the knowledge derived from it is cumulative, and particularly in exhibits and displays, signs placed next to other signs inform and affect the semiotic process. To demonstrate this, I focus first on one sign within an exhibit, and then provide a second model to show the added knowledge gained through the interpretation of multiple signs within a visual field. This view is expanded a third time to show the complete display as a sign.

Chapter 3: Historical, Social, and Political Context

Understanding the Issues

There are a number of reasons why Indigenous peoples participate in the tourism industry. Apart from economic development, it has also been considered a pathway to sovereignty, a means to preserve heritage, promote cross-cultural understanding, generate cultural rejuvenation and rebuild cultural esteem (For example, Hendry 2005). At the other end of the spectrum, Indigenous tourism is considered, to use Susan Pitchford's term, "catastrophic" (2008: 77), or simply, "...another form of colonization" (Bender 2001: 14; see also Johnston 2006). In this case it is believed that tourism cheapens and degrades culture and cultural meanings as it is commoditized (Greenwood 2004: 165). Issues arise over the control of land, resources, intellectual property, representation, and economic leakage (Notzke 2006: 6). How tourism affects a community varies wildly from place to place, but the outcome is largely dependent on who retains control (Bunten 2008; Cheong and Miller 2004; Cole 2006; Johnston 2006; MacLeod 2006a; Mason 1996; Myers 1994; Notzke 2006; Ryan 2005a; Smith, Burke and Ward 2000; Sweet 2004).

Throughout the anthropological literature on tourism, the issues of authenticity (Bruner 2005; Chambers 2010; Gmelch 2004; Greenwood 2004; MacCannell 1992; Yamamura 2005), the commodification or "selling out" of culture (Bunten 2008; Johnston 2006; Mason 1996; Ryan 2005a, 2005b) and cultural hybridity or acculturation (Cave 2005; Chambers 2010; Higgins-Desbiolles 2005; Nash 1996; Ryan 2005b) are continually contested. As Pitchford (2008) summarizes, there are two extremes of the

tourism debate. Using terms from Pierre Van de Berghe (1992), these two poles are defined as the “Panglossian” and the “Catastrophic”:

In the first instance, tourism development is welcomed as an economic panacea, “industry without smokestacks”, a source of entrepreneurial and employment opportunities, as well as international understanding and goodwill. The second view is of tourism as a revamped form of colonial exploitation; it perpetuates inequality and the underdevelopment of marginalized regions, is both ecologically and culturally destructive, and constitutes large-scale, for-profit invasion of privacy (Pitchford 2008: 77).

As numerous case studies have illustrated (for instance, Ardren 2004; Bruner 2005; Higgins-Desbiolles 2005; Mason 1996; or Yamamura 2005), in reality the effects of tourism on local populations tend to fall somewhere between these two extremes. They fluctuate immensely depending on several factors including control over representation and the degree of external influence imposed by the demands of the tourism industry as a whole. For instance, these include the scale of infrastructure needed to support tourists who arrive at a destination, national and international marketing and advertising of a destination, and the pressures of accessing and organizing internal resources.

Regardless of where a destination falls on the spectrum of Panglossian to Catastrophic, all tourist destinations must market themselves to attract tourists. Indigenous tourism is no different, except for the fact that this niche of tourism promotes Indigenous *people* and their specific histories and cultures as the primary attraction, and/or is owned and operated by Indigenous peoples (Butler and Hinch 2007: 5). It is the label of ‘Indigenous’ that differentiates these destinations from others. Not only is this the case for tourist destinations, but as Eva Mackey explains, it is the result of umbrella discourse and a model for conceptualizing global culture as made up of distinct, mutually exclusive units. Mackey writes, “. . .it is now axiomatic that a nation or group must have a

differentiated (individual) culture and identity in order to be seen to exist, and also to claim rights and powers” (1999: 11). This is especially relevant to the world’s Indigenous peoples whose survival is in many cases based on the validation of their identity as Indigenous to gain political power and recognition, and land, resource and intellectual property rights (Niezen 2003, 2004). In tourism, they must also use identity to compete in the industry.

To participate in this industry of mass consumerism, a particular representation or collective identity must be formed so that a destination or attraction can be marketed to attract customers. This is, as Joy Hendry writes, “...the expression of cultural form, which defines a people, or a ‘nation’ ...” (2005: 10-11). It is this expression of a cultural form that is created or reimaged in such a way that it can be presented to tourists, whether the intention is educational, economic, or otherwise. With the pressure to be markedly different from other tourist destinations or attractions, coupled with the pressures of tourist expectations, popular discourse of what constitutes an ‘Indigenous culture’, and resource limitations, the authenticity of identity can be compromised.

Dean MacCannell (1976, 1992) and John Urry (1990) have argued, tourism is a largely visual experience. Much study has been given to the visual analysis of tourism advertising, the creation of identity and its influence on tourist expectations and choice of destination (Metro-Roland 2009; Nelson 2005; Pennington and Thomsen 2010; Thurlow and Jaworski 2003; Thurlow and Gendelman 2007). For local, small-scale tourist attractions, which Indigenous tourism enterprises tend to be, the scope of their direct advertising may not be particularly deep. It is more so in instances of national branding and tourism advertising that issues of authenticity, stereotyping, and cultural

appropriation are potent (for example, Balm and Holcomb 2003; or Ardren 2004).

However, as Urry (1990) and Stephen Mills (2003) have demonstrated, the visual experience of tourism is not exclusive to pre-trip posturing. It is an integral part of the *in situ* experience of a tourist destination or attraction as well.

The tourist destinations or attractions of Indigenous tourism are a space for certain messages to be communicated about the host group to the visitor. As Pitchford writes, “Attractions that focus on a group’s history and culture, and on the distinctive appearance and practices of the group, certainly convey information and impressions, or “messages”, about the group” (2008: 83). Again, how these messages are conveyed and where they fall on the scale between authentic and inauthentic, Panglossian or Catastrophic, varies from case study to case study, but the issues embedded within them remain the same. However, given an example of an Indigenous group representing themselves, how are these issues managed, and how exactly does the group represent themselves to tourists and visitors through visual experience? First, I present these issues in general as they appear in the literature. Subsequently, considering the example of the NDCC and the OIB, I investigate the presented issues alongside the visual representation of identity.

What is Indigenous Tourism?

The travel and tourism industry is an important part of the global economy, accounting for an estimated 9% of the global GDP and 8% of global employment (about 260 million jobs) according to 2011 statistics (WTTC 2011a: 2). The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) predicts that the industry will continue to grow and expand (WTTC 2011a: 4-5) despite the recent global economic recession. One would be hard-pressed to find a location entirely untouched by tourism, and as the number of tourist

destinations and attractions expand, more people are directly and indirectly affected by this industry. Paige West summarizes tourism as,

...the largest movement of goods, services, and people that humanity has perhaps ever seen. These frequent cross-cultural interactions are rich sites where we can examine ideas about authenticity, the globally inequitable distribution of money and leisure time, the nexus of economic development and indigenous-rights politics, and the points of agenda articulation between capitalists, governments, and local people (2008: 599).

The United Nations World Tourism Organization (WTO) continues,

Today, the business volume of tourism equals or even surpasses that of oil exports, food products or automobiles. Tourism has become one of the major players in international commerce, and represents at the same time one of the main income sources for many developing countries. This growth goes hand in hand with an increasing diversification and competition among destinations (2009).

It is from the tourism site that this research project also begins.

Tourism has been touted as a means of economic development and recovery, for instance even recently following the political events in Egypt (WTTC 2011b) and environmental devastation in Japan (WTTC 2011c). The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has also promoted tourism as a sustainable strategy of debt reduction (Sylvain 2005: 364). Though cautious proponents like Erve Chambers warn that the popularity of tourism-as-development has caused an over-supply of destinations and not enough tourists to sustain them (2010: 33). The tourism industry is highly competitive and risky and to remain competitive, destinations must market their distinctiveness. ‘Culture’ - sights, events, attractions and experiences unique to a particular group of people in a particular location – is one of the elements that cannot be neatly packaged and sold in tourism (Craik 1997: 113). Despite this, as Sharon Bohn Gmelch writes, “To attract tourists, destinations have to differentiate themselves from other places. One way to do so

it to market local heritage and culture and any visible cultural diversity that exists” (2004: 16). Marketing indigeneity is one way that Indigenous peoples have competitively entered the tourism industry and created their own tourism niche.

An Indigenous tourism destination requires the application of ‘Indigenous’ identity in some form. ‘Indigenous’ identity is, in fact, a recent and global concept. Ronald Niezen places the contemporary understanding of ‘Indigenous’ as a legal and political term at the end of the Second World War, following the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (2003: 6, 37). Succeeding social change took the form of the International Indigenous Movement and the formation of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) in 1982. International organizations now have working definitions of what it means to be ‘Indigenous’ – definitions that communities must subscribe to in order to gain recognition as such, which in turn translates into access to rights, resources, land, and ironically, the protection of those identity boundaries (Niezen 2003: 6). The World Council of Indigenous Peoples definition states,

Indigenous People shall be people living in countries which have a population composed of different ethnic or racial groups, who are descendants of the earliest populations which survive in the area, and who do not, as a group, control the national government of the countries within which they live (in Notzke 2006: 5).

The International Labour Organization (ILO), in 1989, also established a definition of Indigenous peoples during the C169 Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention:

“Peoples... are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region of which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions”. Further, “Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of the Convention apply” (in Notzke 2006: 6).

The United Nations Development Program also recognizes self and group-identification as part of being Indigenous, including traits such as a differentiated linguistic identity; minority social, cultural, economic, and political traditions; and a unique relationship to traditional lands, resources and territories (in Hinch and Butler 2007: 5).

By 1990, international law and politics had created an umbrella identity for the world's First Peoples that gave them access to these arenas. Hendry explains, "...before people can engage in any kind of action – for example the legal action that might be taken when a logo, or vast tracts of land, are stolen – they need to have an identity... the expression of cultural form, which defines a people, or a 'nation'..." (2005: 10-11). To be recognized, nationally and internationally, some sort of group cohesion must be established beyond individual claims. Through a process affirming individual rights and recognition, First Peoples received a new title and a homogenized identity.

Homogenization through heterogenization, and heterogenization through homogenization, is a phenomenon associated with globalization (Feld 1994 in Mahon 2000: 480). Globalization is characterized by its tendency towards homogenization, culturally and often economically. Yet this force has been met with an equally powerful trend towards heterogenization and the reinforcement of cultural boundaries (Hall 1992: 300-304; Niezen 2003: 2). As Stuart Hall writes, "...alongside the tendency towards global homogenization, there is also a fascination with *difference* and the marketing of ethnicity and 'otherness'" (1992: 304). So while 'globalization', the spread of global capitalism and modern technologies, brings a layer of uniformity, it has also provided people with tools to even more distinctly define identity boundaries. Working within the dichotomies that separated the included and excluded, Indigenous people are now

internationally recognized as separate from dominant society, culturally distinct from one another, and at the same time part of an international community based on common traits and experiences.

The processes of globalization have influenced Indigenous identity in two ways. First, it is now an internationally recognized status imbued with political, social and economic connotations, and secondly, it has forced individual communities to harden their cultural identities to define themselves as Indigenous. Tourism, while inarguably a parallel and interweaving process within globalization, encourages the same acts of definition. In order to not only be acknowledged, but to be competitive in the tourist industry, participating Indigenous communities must not only present a cohesive identity to tourists, but one that is also tailored, to some extent, to visitor interests, needs and expectations. Gmelch argues that this is not only a process involving hosts and visitors, but governments and the industry's agents:

Governments and the tourism industry's many agents work hard to highlight, if not create, local differences by aggressively reimagining, reconstituting, and appropriating heritage, culture, and place in order to present and emphasize a location's uniqueness and to distinguish it from other possible tourist destinations (2004: 18).

Considering Indigenous peoples are characterized by their distinctive qualities that separate them from dominant society, their 'cultures' are attractive to tourists, and dominant society has wasted little time appropriating them as part of their national identity in tourism advertising. For example in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, fascination with these nations' Indigenous populations is a major selling point directed at international tourists. The market for exotic locations and 'cultures' is longstanding and continues to grow (Sylvain 2005: 356).

In cases where identity is not managed directly by the groups being represented, or at a level where diversity simply cannot be or is not expressed (as in the case of national-level branding), pan-Indigenous identity pigeonholes Indigenous tourism destinations to contain certain elements. Valene Smith (1996) has described the four H's of Indigenous tourism: "...the geographical setting (habitat), the ethnographic tradition (heritage), the effects of acculturation (history), and the marketable handicrafts" (In Notzke 2006: 10). Chambers adds a fifth "H" to the list: Healing (2010: 82). Pan-Indigenous identity typically incorporates all of these elements: closeness to nature; a timeless traditional culture; a history of colonization and subjugation; distinct and exotic artworks; and spirituality.

However, on a more local scale, Indigenous tourism destinations or attractions must differentiate themselves from one another as well. These representations are, too, influenced by the different elements of the tourism industry: tourist expectations and desires, the source of control over a group's representation, resources, expertise, and creating a homogeneous intra-group identity. Yet, paradoxically, it is through these pressures to define identity at the local, national and international levels that permit them to be sustained.

The Issues of Control, Authenticity, and Hybridity

While there are a number of issues that are discussed in the anthropological literature regarding Indigenous tourism, there are three interrelated issues that are of importance to this study. These are the issues of (1) control and exploitation; (2) authenticity; and (3) questions surrounding acculturation and hybridity. Each of these issues is interconnected, as will be explained in more detail below. They are also

outgrowths of the same process that is rife with controversy: the commodification of culture.

Despite being a fluid concept, culture is redefined and reimagined as something discrete to make it commercially viable. Culture (Ebron 2000), ethnicity (Wood 1998: 230), identity (Ebron 2000), or heritage (Butler and Hinch 2007: 326; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998 in Chambers 2010: 99; MacDonald 1997), regardless of how these are differentiated, becomes a resource and a product. In her study on *Tribal Tours*, a company that offers tours of Tlingit culture and history in Sitka, Alaska, Alexis Celeste Bunten writes that,

In the same way the Native arts are simplified for non-Native consumption, culture itself must be simplified for tourist consumption, with the culture on display transformed into iconic visuals such as traditional dress, digestible sound bites such as a greeting in the Native tongue, and standardized ethnographic information presented on tour (2008: 386).

Various elements of history and culture are simplified and standardized, including the most desirable aspects and excluding those undesirable aspects of a group's identity, culture, history and heritage. What is included and what is excluded are decisions made with both internal and external influences, from in-group preferences (in cases where the group on display has some control over their representation), to consumer expectations and desires, economic interests, industry guidelines, tourism markets, audience, marketing, aesthetics, and opinions about what constitutes a 'good product'. Additionally, "...increased competition among travel firms forces them to seek further for more undiscovered destinations, or to reinvent existing destinations and their populations according to the latest marketing intelligence reports or consumer trends" (Burns 2006: 14). The commodification of culture enforces an understanding of culture not unlike

perspectives that drove colonialism and social evolutionists. Cultures are seen as isolated pockets of distinct people with distinct ways of life, which is contrary to the way culture is understood in anthropology today, as a fluid, porous, organic process of interaction. In tourism, it is reduced further to permit fleeting engagements with outsiders, as that is the nature of the typical tourist's experience.

Tourism changes the way that culture is produced. As Maureen Mahon notes, consumption is itself a form of cultural production, and as such "...cultural producers occupy a different social position than consumers..." (2000: 469). Producers "are working within structures of power and organizations that are tied to and doing the work of national or commercial interests" (Abu-Lughod in Mahon 2000: 469). These varied influences on the production of culture and the alteration of cultural practices, such as certain celebrations, rites of passage, ceremonies, or festivals, for tourism has led to the perspective that this process of culture creation is impure. It is the perspective that "...commoditization...[of]...previously authentic ethnic cultures for the purpose of touristic display..." is nothing more than "...bastardization" (Wood 1998: 219). Certainly, there is much romantic disdain for the current corporate world where virtually everything, even the intangible, can have a price tag. The issue is furthered when culture is mass-produced through popularized cultural imagery such as 'airport art'. Chris Ryan defines airport art as "...facsimiles of traditional art [that] are shrunk to fit the suitcase of the international tourist..." (2005b: 5). Cultural meanings attributed to objects and art, as well as to cultural practices, change when the priorities shift from social to economic.

Davydd Greenwood's study of the effects of tourism on the Alarde ritual in Hondarribia, Spain, is demonstrative of "the loss of meaning through cultural

commoditization”, which he describes as a problem “at least as serious as the unequal distribution of wealth that results from tourist development” (2004: 165). Greenwood analyzed the situation in Hondarribia through a Geertzian lens, understanding the Alarde ritual, a traditionally private festival, as valuable and authentic so long as it maintains meaning to its actors. The festival was made public by the municipal government in 1969 to accommodate tourists, and subsequently lost its appeal for locals.

Another example of the manipulation of identity and culture for commodification in tourism comes from Hawai’i in Gary Mason’s (1996) article, “Manufactured Myths: Packaging the Exotic for Visitor Consumption”. Mason considers the entire tourism industry machine responsible for the ‘selling out’ of a society to tourists seeking to live out fantasies of paradise on the islands. He believes that in the face of tourism, Hawaiian culture is cheapened and trivialized. Quoting Dr. Haunani-Kay Trask at the University of Hawai’i, “Hawaiians exist in an occupied country whose hostage people are forced to witness (and for many to participate in) our own collective humiliation as tourists artifacts for the ‘First World’” (in Mason 1996: 127). Hawai’i is an example where ‘traditional’ cultural practices are now more closely associated with tourism in their production and perpetuation than they are with ‘traditional’ Hawaiian culture. These two case studies open up important questions about where lines are drawn between the authentic and inauthentic; acculturation and hybridity; and social and economic empowerment and exploitation.

The truth is that the effects of tourism on any given community can be vastly different from one place to the next. Jennifer Craik writes, “Many analysts have concluded that, although cultural tourism has often been seized upon as offering a

bonanza of indigenous, ethnic and cultural producer groups, the actual benefits of entering cultural tourism are very mixed...” (1997: 123). This is also found in the plethora of case studies that have chronicled the effects of tourism in disparate locations (for example, Ardren 2004; Bruner 2004; Carr 2007; Colton and Harris 2007; Gerberich 2005; Johnston 2006; Mason 1996; Richter 2006; Silverman 2002; Sweet 2004; Yamamura 2005). The answers to the questions posed by the issues of authenticity, acculturation and hybridity, and control over the engagement with tourism, are all also particular to the case study. When ‘tradition’ is used as a marketing strategy (Myers 1991: 42) and stereotypical images of Indigenous people are used to entice people to spend money and travel to see a now accessible and sanitized ‘exotic’, at their core these debates centre around what is considered organic cultural change and what is considered forced, neocolonial culture change (Crick 1988 in Mason 1996: 131; Fry and Willis 1989:116 in Myers 1991: 44; Urry 1990). Are cultural identities posed for tourism and cultural identities that are considered genuine mutually exclusive? In order to answer this question, one must look at the different perspectives on the issues presented in concert with specific examples of the production of cultural identity for tourism.

The Issue of Control: Exploitation and Power

The issue of control in tourism is complex and multifaceted just like the industry itself, functioning within a myriad of relationships that support and structure the industry. This complexity is amplified for Indigenous peoples in particular, since they typically share a history of cultural appropriation and exploitation. Political, social and economic marginalization leaves them particularly vulnerable where people, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, see their distinctive cultures as little more than an attraction. Control over

their participation in tourism is often the difference between continued colonization and exploitation or sovereignty, self-determination, and empowerment.

As previously discussed, the level of control Indigenous groups exert over their form and degree of participation in tourism is a primary measure for whether their situation is interpreted as beneficial or exploitative; an example of acculturation or of hybridity; an authentic expression of cultural heritage or a cultural theme park.

Control is part of the definition of Indigenous tourism. As Hinch and Butler demonstrate in Figure 4, Indigenous tourism is defined first by the presence of an Indigenous theme, and the second by the level of control exerted by Indigenous hosts (2007: 6). Figure 4 also illustrates the dichotomy between control and self-determination on the one hand, where an indigenous theme is present and control over the tourist destination or attraction is by the Indigenous host; and exploitation on the other, where an Indigenous theme is present but control is non-Indigenous.

		Indigenous Control	
		Low	High
Indigenous Theme	Present	Culture Dispossessed	Culture Controlled
	Absent	Non-Indigenous Tourism	Diversified Indigenous

Figure 4 Indigenous Tourism Defined (Hinch and Butler 2007: 6).

As Chambers summarizes, participation in tourism can result in even stricter control over Indigenous people, ethnic and cultural minorities by government and organizations in charge of harmonizing tourism-marketing campaigns (see also Johnston 2006).

Indigenous participants may experience the opposite effect: an increase in power and self-representation due to increased visibility and economic power (Chambers 2010: 102-112).

Traci Ardren (2004) provides an excellent example of the former, describing the development of Mayan archaeological tourism in Mexico. Advertisements emphasize the 'exotic', showing Indigenous people as part of the landscape and "...appropriating and integrating prehistoric heritage into symbols of national identity" (2004: 103). *Mundo Maya*, a tourism coordinator specializing in Mayan archaeological tourism, boasts its connections with Indigenous communities but does not include Mayan representation in its administration. The Mexican government strictly controls all archaeological sites and while only a fraction of them are open to the public, they make up a significant part of the multi-billion dollar, and third largest, industry in the country. Ardren writes, "...local Mayan communities reap little benefit from the appropriation of their culture; multinational corporations and federal agencies received the vast majority of tourism revenue" (2004: 104). She states that one of the most significant effects of tourism advertising has been on Indigenous youth who, in response, feel alienated from their culture, as it has been commodified, cheapened, and become something more closely associated with entertainment (2004: 109-113).

"The key issue is control – control over land, control over knowledge, control over the past, present and future" (Smith, Burke and Ward 2000: 3). Control is clearly a

key factor in preventing detrimental effects of tourism. While control does not necessarily guarantee a positive outcome for participation in tourism – for instance economic benefits may not be shared with the whole community, destinations or attractions may be built unsustainably, there may be a lack of knowledge and funding for running destinations and attractions once they have been established, and so on – it is a prerequisite to secure whatever social, economic, political and even environmental benefits tourism can offer, in addition to managing the representation of Indigenous hosts. Where Indigenous peoples have control, tourism has been seen as a means for establishing and reinforcing territorial rights, a road to economic independence (Hinch and Butler 2007: 2), revitalization of cultural esteem, and an expression of sovereignty (Butler and Menzies 2007: 19; Colton and Harris 2007: 225; Johnston 2006).

Land rights are paramount to the establishment of a business in tourism, or in any industry, for Indigenous people. Without the right to land, and by extension, resources, economic development literally has no place to stand (Anderson, Dana and Dana 2006: 47). Michael Hall argues, “Ownership of land, as well as a set of institutional arrangements that recognize indigenous rights under law, is therefore a vital element in providing Aboriginal groups with a degree of control or, at least, influence in the tourism development process” (2007: 310). Land and the legal recognition of that title are at the heart of Indigenous peoples control over participation in tourism. The Pueblo people of Arizona and New Mexico, for example, have complete control over tourism in their territory and are notoriously strict in setting and enforcing limitations for outsiders visiting their reservation (Sweet 2004). Independent authority over their land has enabled the Pueblo to control tourists who visit them, from what the tourists see to how they

move throughout the space. “By controlling these visitors, the Pueblo are directing their cultural destiny by contributing to their own faith in the Pueblo way of doing things – a faith essential for Pueblo cultural survival” (Sweet 2004: 300). This is reiterated by John Colton and Scott Harris in their case study of the Lennox Island First Nation on Prince Edward Island: “Self-determination is the foundation for sustained community development” (2007:225). Self-determination begins with the recognition of rights and access to land and resources. Self-determination can then reinforce these rights: “a destination where the community has organised itself into a strong and knowledgeable force for social and economic empowerment, transnational corporations and governments will think twice before they displace people or take away their land or resources” (Cole 2006: 99). As Stroma Cole notes, real power for marginalised communities comes with legal and institutional change that creates space for a “genuine reallocation of power” (2006: 99). Community empowerment and economic self-sufficiency are stepping-stones.

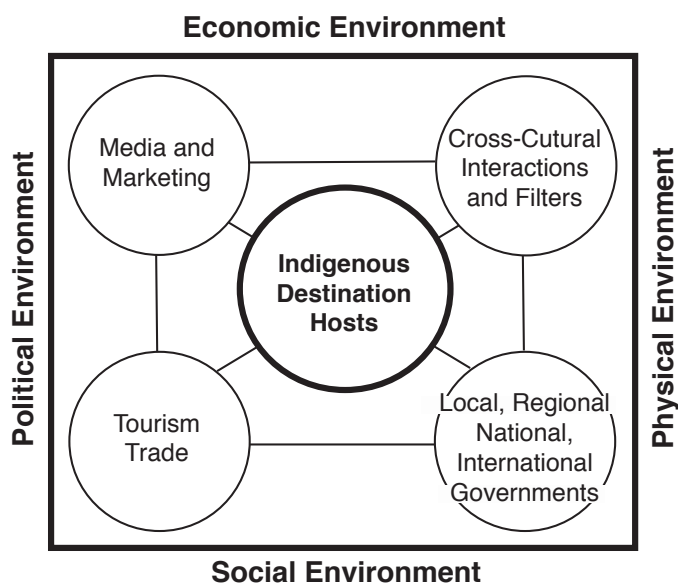


Figure 5 The Indigenous Tourism System (Hinch and Butler 2007: 7).

Indigenous tourism is wrapped up social, political, economic and physical environments. Figure 5 is adapted from Hinch and Butler (2007: 7) to illustrate the complex of relations that affect decision-making and development of Indigenous tourism destinations. Visualizing this system demonstrates that power and control are not ever solely in the hands of the Indigenous host, even where culture is controlled (Figure 4). Indigenous tourism is part of a much larger power structure, within which are internationally recognized and accepted ideas of what 'Indigenous' means, politically, socially, and legally (Jacobs, Dovey and Lochert 2000: 220; Neizen 2003), and ideas of what 'Indigenous tourism' should look like. It is a business that is dependant on outsiders to succeed.

So-Min Cheong and Marc Miller (2004) describe the interdependency of the tourism system in Foucauldian terms, describing a tripartite power structure involving hosts, guests, and tourism brokers. Michael Hall (2007) also subscribes to a similar Foucauldian system to understand these power relations. Hall's first element is the host, subject to intra-community power relations, which are unequal and heterogeneous. Within communities individuals have different levels of power and everyone may not always be on equal terms or achieve consensus on the decisions being made (Ryan 2005a: 3). Beyond individual differences of group members and their differing abilities to make decisions, some communities may not have the technical and financial capacity to engage in policy-making and negotiation involved in dealing with other elements of the tourism system (Hall 2007: 309).

Hall's second element is called "...non-decision making..." which exists "...to the extent that a person or group – consciously or unconsciously – creates or reinforces

barriers to the public airing of political conflicts” (2007: 311). This falls into the category Hinch and Butler define as “Cross-cultural interactions and filters” (2007: 7). This category includes Cheong and Miller’s “guests”, as guests’ level of comfort and enjoyment of a tourism experience influences what is included and excluded in the expression of identity through tourism.

However, while guest expectations (influenced by popular discourse, travel agencies, and media and advertising), do influence what is included and what is excluded in Indigenous tourism destinations or attractions, Cheong and Miller acknowledge the fact that this is a vulnerable frame of reference. Since tourists are typically in unfamiliar surroundings, preconceived ideas may be taken advantage of by tourism brokers and locals alike (Cheong and Miller 2004). The tourist exerts less power in the tripartite system in some cases, and the vulnerability of the visitor has also been noted in the particular example of Indigenous-owned museums and heritage centres (Zimmerman 2010). Visitors typically are not experts on the places and people they visit, exploring through an unstable foundation to judge the authentic and inauthentic (for example, see Yamamura 2005).

The third of Hall’s three dimensions involves the Foucauldian notion of the interconnectedness of knowledge and power. He writes, “The three-dimensional view of power ‘allows for consideration of the many ways in which potential issues are kept out of politics, whether through the operation of social forces and institutional practices or through individuals’ decisions” (Hall 2007: 314). Representation for the purpose of tourism is a process of inclusion and exclusion, and understanding popular discourses, academic discourses, and tourist expectations and desires are a part of looking at

Indigenous tourism three-dimensionally, and part of understanding the production of culture within this system. Tourism brokers, popular discourse, and government policies towards tourism all play a role in limiting the views and interactions of visitors at tourist destinations and attractions. In combination with host priorities and the actual experience sold to visitors, certain interpretations of sites are favoured. Kevin Meethan argues that the travel materials that tourists encounter before a trip are "...a form of control which channels tourist experiences into pre-determined forms. The spaces of tourism are constructed, more or less consciously, to fulfill – or attempt to fulfill – such expectations" (2006: 5). He continues, "...dominant metaphors, discourses and gazes, [and] the narratives of place created and sold by tourism professionals" (2006: 9) shape tourist expectations and experiences in situ.

In reality, power is not evenly distributed between these three parties and the relationships between them vary by case study. While it is clear that Indigenous people do occupy a place within the tourism system, Ryan states that the real question of power becomes a question of whether or not they "...occupy those key nodes wherein they begin to own the messages and direct the information flows" (2005a: 73). Power in tourism is multifaceted. To consider the expression of identity in tourism an act of sovereignty, I argue that the host must be in that position that Ryan acknowledges – they must own the message that is being told through the experiences they are selling to visitors – as well as have that message verified externally. 'Verification' or 'authorization' is something that is discussed in more detail in the following section concerning the issues of authenticity.

The Issue of Authenticity

The debate on 'authenticity' in tourism began with MacCannell's *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1972). MacCannell argues that the primary motivation for tourists to travel is to find the 'authentic' (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003: 23), authentic landscapes, authentic cultures, authentic people, and so forth. However, according to MacCannell the authentic does not exist in tourism; it is something unachievable since, as Jeremy Boissevain (1996) contends, the 'backstage' space sought after by tourists in the search for the authentic is violated by their presence (in Burns 2006: 14). Essentially, MacCannell argues that culture, presented for the purposes of tourism, is inauthentic. The process of commodification, of standardization, inevitably 'inauthenticates' culture: "In MacCannell's terms, this standardization... is itself evidence of inauthenticity and alienation" (MacDonald 1997: 156). For MacCannell as well as Daniel Boorstin, the authentic is located beyond the tourists view (in Bruner 2004: 145). It is not necessarily *literally* out of view; the point being that the tourists' presence negates any authentic performance by the hosts. Or as Greenwood showed, tourism can result in the loss of authentic meaning originally held by host cultures (1989). As Chambers concludes, the real question is whether or not cultural events, ceremonies, objects, and so forth, become any less authentic when they are 'commodified' and deliberately opened up for visitors to experience (2010: 6).

Beyond MacCannell, definitions of authenticity have become more complex, from attempts to nail down categories to disregarding it as a non-issue. For instance, Nicola MacLeod (2006b) writes that there are three kinds of authenticity: the objective, which is an externally verified truth; the constructive, in which meaning evolves over time; and the existential, which functions based on genuine experiences by individuals.

Frans Schouten (2006), in his study investigating authenticity and souvenirs, describes authenticity in material objects as levels of value based on multiple conditions: the material, meaning traditional materials have been used in the creation of an object; the conceptual, which holds the idea behind the creation of the object as the measure of authenticity; the contextual, which places importance on whether or not the object is viewed or used in its original context; and the functional, which asks whether or not the object functions as it is originally meant to. Through Schouten (2006) and MacLeod's (2006b) case studies, it is clear that there is greater value monetarily in presenting 'authenticity' to tourists, particularly in Indigenous tourism where in most cases tourists pay to see 'real traditional Indigenous' people and 'real traditional Indigenous' cultures.

Within this debate the categories of 'traditional' and 'authentic' are problematic. Fred Myers argues that, "traditionalism and authenticity are now completely false judgements" (1991: 42) when assigned to contemporary Indigenous art, but this perspective is also applicable to tourism. The expectation of a certain 'authentic traditionalism' denies the expression of contemporary identity since the tourism market places higher value on a static and stereotypical 'Indigenous' past. In the art world or in tourism, "The authenticity question rings of racism, as it questions a group's right to determine its own art, regardless of form" (Hill 1992: 50). In tourism, stereotypes and popular imagery often shape tourist expectations of authentic 'Indigeneity'. Giving in to tourist demands and expectations, Gmelch writes, "societies frequently 'stage' and 'manufacture' culture for tourists" (2004: 17). Deborah Doxtator furthers the issue in stating, "It is very difficult for Indian people to gain access to the interpretation of their own cultures in large part because of the public perception that the essence of

“Indianness” is a connection to a distant and disappeared past” (1992: 25). ‘Authenticity’ reveals an identity crisis, complicated by the fact that the actors in the different areas of the tourism system may not have congruent ideas of what ‘authenticity’ is (Notzke 2006: 148). However, tourism can also be a venue to bring attention to those expectations, and use it as an opportunity to educate and truly be ‘authentic’.

Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin (1984) define authenticity as a measure of faithfulness to traditions that are passed on from one generation to another (in Chambers 2010: 99), but these traditions and their value are always defined in the present (in Wood 1998: 227). Following this, Greenwood states that cultural traditions are a, “...matter of internal polemic” (1989: 183 in Burns and Novelli 2006: 4), and thus ‘traditional culture’ is a problematic category to work with. Such perspectives are based on the idea that culture is, in the words of Ronald Neizen, “...a verb, not a noun, a process, not a thing in itself” (2003: 6). Traditions are “...invented...” (Dirks, Eley and Ortner 1993: 6) and culture is continually and constantly reworked (Gmelch 2004: 18). Just as Doxtator reminds us that Indigenous people do not exist in a world outside of our own, Robert Wood (1993) asserts that there is no such thing as a “...pristine culture...Cultural politics are... affected by both internal and external factors...[and] aspects of culture... are brought into the tourism system through spatial, temporal, and above all, political arrangements” (in Burns 2006: 16). Cultures are by nature porous and influenced by external and internal factors, just as the Indigenous tourism system is. Yet this is paradoxical to the mission of many Indigenous tourism enterprises, especially those based on culture and heritage, whose goal is to present an easy-to-consume version of ‘traditional’ identity.

Following his analysis of these different definitions of culture, Chambers (2010) presents a definition of authenticity that is based on power, which is an extension of MacCannell's (1999) reconsidered definition of the authentic (in Gmelch 2004: 18 and Chambers 2010: 102). MacCannell provides the example of a hypothetical town that decides to tear down its historical buildings to build a golf course. He argues that this town is more authentic than a town that is forced by government regulations to maintain and artificially preserve historic architecture (in Gmelch 2004: 18 and Chambers 2010: 102). However, if it is accepted that cultures are in constant flux, reacting to changing social, political, environmental, and economic realities, the introduction of tourism is a part of that reality (Gmelch 2004: 18). It follows that the adoption of tourism and presentations within that realm are undeniably authentic as tourism is just another catalyst for cultural change, making authenticity a "...non-category..." (Niezen 2005: 532-536). 'Real', 'authentic' culture does not exist so much as all cultures are real and authentic (Bruner 2004: 146). However MacCannell (1999) and Chambers (2010) draw an important line – the limits of authenticity extend only so far as people have significant control over the changes that occur in their society. "Authenticity...is determined primarily by people's ability to choose for themselves those elements of stability and change that make their lives meaningful" (Chambers 2010: 5). This is the definition of authenticity that is accepted here, with one important difference – that of external validation.

As Edward Burner points out, while all cultures in and of themselves are real and authentic, "... this is quite different from the concept of 'authenticity', which implies an inherent distinction between what is authentic and inauthentic, applies labels to cultures,

and values one more than the other” (2004: 146). The question of authenticity moves from being one of *agency* to one of *authority*. Bruner asks, “...what is seen as true, and how does a performance derive its authority?” (2004: 148). Bruner studied three different tourist sites, all of them exhibited Maasai culture and heritage but in very different ways. He describes the authentic as not authentic, “...in the sense of being accurate, genuine, and true to a postulated original” (2004: 148), but authentic in terms of the perceived validity of the message (2004: 148). Much like the Foucauldian tripartite power structure described previously, as power is divided unevenly, I argue that tourism brokers, visitors, and Indigenous hosts share the authorization of authenticity. In my opinion, this authorization follows that structure of power: authenticity gains or loses meaning as it mirrors relationships of power.

As Chambers notes, “...the outsider’s acceptance of an interpretation serves to help confirm its “authenticity” and to strengthen the interpreters’ claims to represent local symbols and their histories” (2010: 55). To build rapport in the industry, tourism brokers, who may have their own criteria for measuring authenticity, must accept an Indigenous tourism business as legitimate.

Whether it is within the Indigenous community, within a tourist community, within the tourism industry, or the relationships between them, authenticity does not and cannot exist without validation. Christopher Jocks speaks of knowledge in terms that are very useful here:

“...Knowledge without a supporting community to effect it is useless, it is in some sense, undefined... Thus knowledge requires a network of knowers, or more accurately actors. Knowledge is something you do; not a pre-existing tool independent of the person holding it, nor of the uses to which it might be put” (1994 in Doxtator 1995: 12).

To judge what is ‘authentic’ or ‘inauthentic’ is based upon knowledge, knowledge of history, of tradition, and the current definitions of the terms. MacLeod’s (2006b) categories of objective, constructive, or existential, for example, are categories by which people authorize authenticity. ‘Authenticity’ is, like knowledge, a result of both *agency* and *authority*, of *power* and of *consensus*.

The Issues of Acculturation and Hybridity

Some anthropologists (see Nash 1996) consider the economic development of Indigenous communities through tourism as a form of acculturation. Acculturation refers to a minority cultural group taking on, intentionally or unintentionally, the characteristics and practices of a dominant cultural group, resulting in the absorption of the minority into the majority. It is a process of globalization and an example of homogenization. Tourism, by its very nature, is intercultural (Nash 1996) – particularly in Indigenous tourism, part of desire for travel is for one ‘culture’ to meet another. Beyond that, it exists amongst other Indigenous and non-Indigenous institutions, such as government bodies, tourism brokers, tourism media and discourses that inform interpretation and representation. Does entering the tourism industry and global economy mean the Indigenous host is becoming more like the capitalist world majority? Or is another process in action? Another interpretation is hybridization, which is the process I argue is occurring in this research project’s case study.

Hybridization, following Arjun Appuradai’s (1996) translocalities, is “where a variety of circulating populations create new types of communities” (Wood 1998: 222).

Hall explains the process of hybridity:

Everywhere, cultural identities are emerging which are not fixed, but poised, in *transition*, between different positions; which draw on different cultural

traditions at the same time; and which are the product of those complicated crossovers and cultural mixings which are increasingly common in a globalized world (1992: 310).

This explanation fits well into the understanding that cultures are not fixed. Mahon summarizes how hybridity influences questions about authenticity, homogenization, and heterogeneity:

The undeniable hybridity of the contemporary global scene is accompanied by anxiety about purity and authenticity, on the part of both the producers and the anthropologists who write about them. Often, in reference to third and fourth world populations, anthropologists who encounter what Feld (1994) calls the homogenization-heterogenization debate, in which mixing, creolization, and hybridization are opposed to tradition, cultural authenticity and integrity. Is “indigenous” involvement with media, for example, a means through which “people add their voices to the cultural discourse of the world? Or it is more evidence of ‘Cultural homogenization?’” (2000: 480).

Mahon’s definition of hybridity is useful in understanding the concept, but carry some important assumptions. First, Mahon’s suggestion that authenticity and hybridity are mutually exclusive is deceptive since it assumes an authenticity that is defined by some sort of true cultural form. This, as Marwan Kraidy points out, speaks to the “myth of cultural purity” (2005: 75). Authenticity in this study is understood as something created out of agency and authority, and is always defined in the present.

As illustrated by Marshall Sahlins (1993) and by Hall (1992), “...societies of the periphery have *always* been open to Western cultural influences and are now more so” (Hall 1992: 305). And vice versa. Hybridity is “undeniable” (Mahon 2000: 480). For instance, as Doxtator demonstrates, even some things that are today considered “traditional” are past hybrids,

Ribbon shirts, fancy baskets and trade silver are often deemed to be aspects of traditional Rotinonhsyonni culture, yet all of these are expression which have come into being as a result of contact with Europeans. We have borrowed

songs, words, and technologies from other Ogwehonwe nations over thousands of years of trading and interacting with one another (1995: 12).

Mexico's *Dia de los Muertos* is another example. Considered a part of traditional Mexican heritage, it is the hybrid of Catholic and Aztec religious celebrations. Hybridity can be understood as a process, which is useful in understanding identity formation if it is assumed that culture derives meaning from both internal and external relations (Burns 2006: 16, Burns and Novelli 2006: 3).

Kraidy writes, "Hybridity is one of the emblematic notions of our era. It captures the spirit of the times with its obligatory celebration of cultural difference and fusion, and it resonates with the globalization mantra of unfettered economic exchanges and the supposedly inevitable transformation of all cultures" (2005: 1). Hybridization in tourism is a process of cultural interaction, but importantly, it does not imply that cultural qualities or elements are forfeited in order to take on those of another culture. Rather, the process is fluid, organic and 'give-and-take', not a trade out that values one as superior to the other.

Tourism is a place of contested cultures, where identity and cultural content is reconstructed based on market trends and where commercially constructed identity and social reality can collide (Burns 2006: 14-18; Butler and Hinch 2007: 321). As different elements of the tourism machine – such as government policies, land-use regulations, human behaviour regulations (Chambers 2010: 43), tourism trends or tourist desires – are negotiated, as some Indigenous groups recognize their competitive advantage in engaging with this industry (Hinch and Butler 2007: 2-3) and realize that they can gain cultural and economic advantage by working within dominant society (Myers 1994: 681), some cultural 'formatting' and 'editing' may be necessary while an Indigenous community

adjusts to their incorporation into this global system (Smith, Burke, Ward 2000: 7). As people develop tourism within their communities, there are changes in production as objects shift from having domestic value to commercial value (Chambers 2010: 112; also Dransart 2000, Gmelch 2004: 16), and a change in context as objects, both tangible and intangible, are put on display or sold (Craik 1997: 124). Tourism changes the context in which cultural products are produced (Craik 1997: 124), and this can in turn change the meanings attached to the objects and the production process (Chambers 2010: 112-113; Gmelch 2004: 16). Tourism can even change how a community sees itself (Chambers 2010: 33-34), but this does not necessarily equate to inauthenticity. Hybridity and the issue of control are key to understanding authenticity.

Hybridity can be applied to studies that have been published in the tourism and anthropological literature on political, economic, and social change in indigenous communities due to tourism. Robert Anderson, Leo Dana and Teresa Dana (2006), Anna Carr (2007) and Freya Higgins-Desbiolles (2005) provide particularly illustrative examples. Anderson, Dana and Dana (2006) use several case studies, including that of the OIB, to chronicle political and legal changes in Canada that have changed the power relations between First Nations communities and the provincial and federal government to open the door to economic development. The authors argue that a Western capitalist structure is adapted to meet the particular needs and social- and political economies of the communities they use in their case studies. They call this new, hybrid form “social entrepreneurship”, which they define as,

...a multidimensional construct involving the expression of virtuous behavior in order to achieve a social mission, a coherent unity of purpose and action in the face of moral complexity, the ability to recognize social value-creating

opportunities and decision-making characteristics of innovativeness, proactiveness, and risk-taking (Anderson, Dana and Dana 2006: 45).

[Aboriginal People] believe they can attain their socioeconomic objectives which include (i) greater control of activities on their traditional lands, (ii) self-determination and an end to dependency through economic self-sufficiency, (iii) the preservation and strengthening of traditional values and their application in economic development and business activities, and of course (iv) improved socioeconomic circumstance for individuals, families, and communities through social entrepreneurship (Anderson, Dana and Dana 2006: 47).

Here, Indigenous communities engage with national and international economies for the purpose of socioeconomic development and cultural and spiritual revitalization through creative entrepreneurship and the formation of partnerships with Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors (Hindle, et al. 2005: 1). This is not an example of an Indigenous community homogenizing or blending into dominant society. It is, rather, viewed as something an Indigenous community does for itself by taking advantage of external relationships.

Carr (2007) studied Maori eco-tourism in New Zealand. She found that while the actual tourism experience is undeniably imbued with Maori philosophies, environmental perspectives, traditions, and shared identities, they also have adapted a hybrid management structure. She writes that "...many Maori tourism operators have been quick to adapt Western-style corporate management structures whilst working within the broader business environment that is heavily influenced by a traditional European-style democratic government" (Carr 2007: 125). Higgins-Desbiolles (2005) provides a similar example, though from the Camp Coorong Race Relations and Cultural Education Centre of South Australia. The Centre was built for education and, "...the securing of reconciliation [between Australians and Australian Aborigines], cultural maintenance and

revival and positive futures for Ngarrindjeri youth” (Higgins-Desbiolles 2005: 239). Like social entrepreneurship, Higgins-Desbiolles describes the Ngarrindjeri economy as hybrid, and calls for the importance of the, “...recognition of the value of the ‘indigenous hybrid economy’ which serves to deliver economic development with appropriate cultural and environmental qualities for [Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island] ATSI communities” (Altman 2002 quoted in Higgins-Desbiolles 2005: 226).

Revisiting Greenwood’s (1989) study of the effects of tourism of the Alarde ritual in Hondarribia, Spain also illustrates hybridity and change in meaning and production. Originally a religious festival, the celebration lost meaning for the local people when it was declared a public event by the local government and it was opened up to tourists. Greenwood returned to Hondarribia several years after his initial study and found that the festival had not gone extinct as he predicted it would have – it had taken on new meanings for the local people. The Alarde had not disappeared, but conversely, it became even more public and has taken on greater political significance in Hondarribia, in terms of regional political rights in Spain and as a platform for gender empowerment (Greenwood 2004).

Myers states that Indigenous peoples engagement with ‘Western’ business worlds is, “...an assertion of indigenous meanings rather than homogenization” (1991: 38). While his study is of contemporary Australian Aboriginal art, it applies to tourism as well. Considering acculturation or the changes in identity that occur as communities, art, and social, economic and political realities change, Myers continues, “To see these claims – their identities – as ‘our’ product (as from colonization) is to colonize doubly by denying them their own histories” (1991: 50). And one might add, denying them their

contemporary realities. Hybridity is a concept that accepts the porous nature of culture and taking this theory as a foundation allows for a broader understanding of 'authenticity' and gives greater merit to social and cultural history.

Chapter 4: Visuality and Tourism

Historical Discourse and a 'Way of Seeing' Indigenous Peoples

The tourist experience in situ is unquestionably an embodied one, experienced through a variety of senses. However, as Urry (1990) and MacCannell (1972), among others, have argued, pre-trip planning, experiences in situ, and the post-trip memories are disproportionately visual experiences. For instance, Carol Crawshaw and John Urry note, "Everyday expressions such as 'seeing the sights', 'capturing the view', 'eye-catching scenery', 'picturesque villages', 'pretty as a postcard', illustrate the significance of the eye to both the traveller and the travel promoter" (1997: 178). The history of Western ocularcentrism and the discourses and developments that informed and continue to inform discourses of travel and tourism are outlined here. I argue, in congruence with the ideas presented below, that these discourses continue to play out in the tourism industry, and in many ways have created a popularized 'way of seeing' Indigenous people that affect tourist expectations and how Indigenous culture is presented in the industry.

Contemporary notions of visuality and tourism, particularly in relation to viewing Indigenous people, come from the parallel histories of exploration and colonialism, anthropology, and technological developments in photography and film. As early as the sixteenth century, explorers wrote about Indigenous peoples and brought their material culture back to Europe along with other specimens of flora and fauna from the New World (Doxtator 1992a: 20-21). These were the origins of viewing Indigenous peoples as "...primitive...undeveloped...[and]...inferior" (Doxtator 1992a: 12). However, it was primarily in the nineteenth century that the visualization of different cultures turned these ideas of inferiority into what was considered objective truth.

Vision had become virtually synonymous with knowledge following the Enlightenment of the mid-eighteenth century and observation was considered the main means of achieving scientific legitimacy (Rojek and Urry 1997: 5). During this period as well, the 'tourist' was synonymous with 'sightseer' (Strain 2003: 24). From the beginning of European exploration and colonial Imperialism, the diversity of the world was collected and brought back to Europe – flora, fauna, people and their material culture – both as scientific specimens and public spectacle. The advent of photography in the mid-nineteenth century created a new avenue through which the public could see the people of the world. Postcards and stereoscopic view cards depicting cultural- and racial-types created some of the first glimpses the European public had of Indigenous peoples (Griffiths 2002: 86) beyond what they could find in early museums, curios, and travelogues. A 'way of seeing' Indigenous people truly developed with photography and film, the expansion of tourism that came along with advances in technology, and the development of anthropology (Crawshaw and Urry 1997: 180; Doxtator 1992b: 31; Griffiths 2002: 87-92; Strain 2003: 23).

As Strain summarizes, anthropology, film, and tourism developed along various intersections during the late nineteenth century, which had them emerge as institutions in their own right by the early 1900s:

...tourists provided information for early armchair anthropologists; anthropologists used film as a data-collecting tool; popular films were financed by tourist bureaus and tourist footage was integrated into popular films; anthropological texts charted out new tourist areas; and anthropologists and tourists were protagonists in popular films (2003: 19).

The professionalization of anthropology expanded the popular view of "...ethnographic visions..." (Strain 2003: 23) through the museum and world's fairs. The science of man,

built upon a largely evolution-based framework complete with rankings of primitivism and studies in anthropometry, played a huge role in solidifying ideas of Indigenous inferiority, primitivism, exoticism, and eventual acculturation or extinction as an inevitable truth in the popular scientific imagination (Doxtator 1992b: 31; Griffiths 2002; Strain 2003). Photography, film, fairs and the museum were the means through which people came to know the world, and they were all primarily visual.

Tourism continued to grow at the turn of the century. Thomas Cook launched the first-ever, large-scale organized tours in 1841. There was increased building of railroads and hotels, and an improved ease of boat travel. The nineteenth century saw the development of Cunard, the first Atlantic steamship service, and Wells Fargo, the first major travel company in the United States (Crawshaw and Urry 1997: 180). By the early twentieth century, tourism, as well as travel photography and film, were well established. The turn-of-the-century-tourist also had a particular way of understanding the world:

The tourist-spectator position was the product of a burgeoning worldview that neared maturity by the turn of the century... this capitalist view of the world as a reservoir of products, raw materials, and experiential pleasures melded with scientific understandings of the universe and a technological confidence on the part of the West. One outcome was the learned pleasures of the touristic as defined by various tropes: the visual objectification or the conversion of cultural difference into spectacle; a series of dividing lines drawn out by the process of commodification separating the tourist from the toured; and the identification of the tourist with a figure of mastery such as the explorer, colonialist soldier, or anthropologist (Strain 2003: 37).

The Western world of the 1920s and 1930s continued enacting this 'classical style' of tourism that was based on capturing the sights (Strain 2003: 23), the romantic, colonial sensibilities of superiority and the consumption of the exotic (Root 1996: 25).

Beyond museums, anthropology, and film, advertising and the world's fairs also turned Indigenous people into entertainment, or 'edutainment'. For instance, the traveling

Wild West Shows that went through the United States, Canada and Europe from 1883 to 1938 mixed entertainment with purported education (Doxtator 1992a: 20). Public fascination with Indigenous people continued with the use of ‘native’ motifs in advertising, travel, Hollywood films, and novels (Doxtator 1992a: 36-39). The myths of Indigenous people – ‘the noble savage’, ‘the Indian Princess’, or brutal ‘Indian Warrior’ – have circulated the public imagination for decades. The tropes that inform images of Indigenous people, such as, “...sublimity...violence...eroticism...inferiority...[or]... closeness to nature...” all, as Deborah Root argues, “...fall under the general rubric of exoticism...[and] continue to structure our perceptions of cultural difference” (1996: 34). Despite current scholarship, collections, and public displays, this conception of Indigenous peoples has persisted, particularly in tourism, even where it has little to do with actual Indigenous people (Clifford 1997: 197; Doxtator 1992a: 24; Forte 2010: 1; Pitchford 2008: 85; Root 1996: 69-70; Scarangella 2010: 163).

The history of collection through Imperialism and colonization presented certain ideas about Indigenous people, and through visual technologies and display were presented to the public, backed by particular discourses of scientism and social evolution in such a way that highlighted exoticism and difference. Exoticism was commodified through this long history of display, built by an imbalance in power (Clifford 1997: 197) (one that has proven to be remarkably robust). While the colonial ideal is dead, it most certainly lives on (Root 1996: 25) through these ideologies that have taken root in the collective imagination. As Crouch and Lübbren note, the widespread dissemination and repetition of images shape clichés, stereotypes, and ‘place-myths’, and I would add ‘people-myths’, that are associated with people and places (2003: 5). Tourism is

particularly positioned to perpetuate these ideas. Tourism is perhaps one of the only remaining areas that provides a ‘safe haven’ for romantic notions associated with colonialism, discovery, conquest, and adventure into the unknown (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 136; Rojek 1997: 53; Root 1996: 25).

Before tourists embark on a trip, they rely on tourism marketing and draw upon a, “...bricolage of culturally constructed beliefs” (Blundell 2002: 48) to decide where to go and what to see. It is these same beliefs that they use to interpret experiences in situ, and what tourism operators and advertisers utilize to create desire for their products (Blundell 2002: 48; Crouch and Lübbren 2003: 4; Nash 1996: 98; Rojek 1997: 54 and 70; Strain 2003: 37). Cultures must also be made ‘legible’, to use Bella Dicks use of the word (2003: 1). ‘Legible’ means that they are understandable to outsiders; they are made, “...visitable...” (Dicks 2003: 4) and condensed for consumption (Urry 1990: 8), which can in effect perpetuate stereotypical images (Nash 1996: 71-73; Pitchford 2008: 97-98; Tzanelli 2007: 13). In many cases tourists expect to encounter the mythical Indigenous and ‘living relics’ that have circulated popular media, and this desire creates an economic incentive for operators to feed that expectation (Dicks 2003: 52). These expectations and the way people engage with tourism visually are what have become known as the ‘Tourist Gaze’, first theorized in Urry’s (1990) *The Tourist Gaze*.

The Tourist Gaze

The tourist’s gaze is dependent on the privileging of vision in the tourist experience. Taken from Michel Foucault’s panopticon, the gaze is “...socially organized and systematized...” and sets out to “...elaborate on the processes by which the gaze is constructed and reinforced” (Strain 2003: 15). There is no single tourist gaze, as Urry

theorizes, but multiple gazes built out of social and historical contexts, always in relation to one thing: viewing difference. Valda Blundell quotes Urry, "...contemporary tourism is literally constructed in our imagination through advertising and the media" (2002: 5).

Urry writes,

The gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs. When tourists see two people kissing in Paris what they capture in the gaze is 'timeless romantic Paris'. When a small village in England is seen, what they gaze upon is the 'real olde England'. As Culler argues: 'the tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself... All over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of the signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behavior, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs...' (1990: 3).

Tourist satisfaction, then, is based almost entirely upon a site's conformity with (visual) expectations (Dicks 2003: 58). Mills (2003) argues that the gaze is crucial to validating a tourist destination or attraction. The gaze, then, is a large part if not the total power of the tourist described earlier as one-third of Cheong and Miller (2004) and Hall's (2007) Foucauldian, tripartite power structure. Authenticity can sometimes get lost amongst the melee of gazes when tourist would rather see what they expect than what is perhaps the reality (Rojek 1997: 71).

However, as mentioned earlier, the tourist's position of power is an unstable one, and while tourism operators construct sites, they have the power to direct and construct the gaze (MacCannell 1973 in Urry 1990: 9). As Bruner (2004) discovered in his study on the three Masaai attractions, despite efforts by operators to send particular messages to visitors, there was a huge mix of reactions from them – seeing did not necessarily equate to understanding or acceptance and satisfaction. He writes that, "Urry's tourist gaze is too empiricist, too monolithic, too lacking in agency, and too visual to encompass these varied tourist reactions. The tourist gaze does not have the power of Foucault's

panopticon, for it is not all-seeing and enveloping. It is variable, and there are seepages and doubts.” (Bruner 2004: 151). Strain suggests that the real question of the tourist gaze is in understanding “...how individuals see across cultural difference in an era of increasingly commercialized and global culture” (2003: 11). In order to understand how tourists ‘see’ it is useful, particularly to this study, to first understand how hosts ‘present’ cultural difference and direct the gaze in an era of increasingly commercialized and global culture.

The Gaze and the Museum

The museum is often conceptualized as a relic of colonialism, an institution from an Imperialist past that has outgrown its utility in the contemporary world (Ames 1992 and Root 1996). Museums are inextricably historically connected to the development of the discipline of anthropology, which itself has roots in Victorian collection. Yet just as anthropology’s impetus has been altered in reaction to social change and post-modern critique (MacDonald 1996: 7), so too has the definition and function of the museum. The ‘ways of seeing’ established by the museum have also been adjusted in ways that are more inclusive. In this section, I will briefly discuss the history of the museum, how it has changed, the on-going debate about identity and representation in the museum, and finally, how all of these influences have modified the tourist gaze in the museum.

In the earliest museums, collections on display were generally personal, private reservoirs of curios, shared as cabinets of curiosities. However, the modern museum was born during the Age of Imperialism. As the world became known through exploration and the expansion of European influence, museums expanded their repertoire from displaying the diversity of the world’s flora and fauna to include human diversity.

Through the acts of collection and display, museums ordered the world and verified colonial dominion over it. During the nineteenth century, the museum became inextricably linked to nationalist programs (Prösler 1998: 27-36), as is demonstrated through the World's Fairs that were popular during this time.

Where the display of the world's people was of concern, anthropology played an important role in displaying and defining mankind. The museum was anthropology's forum, as "...more than any other cultural site, the museum has been responsible for representing anthropology's public face" (Griffiths 2002: xxii-xxiii). Defined in terms of social evolutionary dogma, the world's 'primitive' people were grouped, classified and presented in living exhibits and through their material culture (Ames 1992: 51). The colonial museum helped to shape the popular conceptions of cultural identity in terms of the self and the other. Museums told people who they were and who they were not through their collections that linked systems of objects to cultural groups, setting clear boundaries between the 'civilized' and everybody else (Clifford 1985: 237 and Pitchford 2008: 84). As James Clifford notes from Jean Baudrillard, collection and display are "...crucial processes of Western identity formation...Gathered artifacts...function within a developing capitalist 'system of objects'. By virtue of this system, a world of value is created in a meaningful deployment and circulation of artifacts maintained" (1985: 239-240). Value was established from a Western point of view and the act of collecting and exhibiting gives power to the exhibitor and collector over the objects (and people) on display.

From its history, the museum has maintained institutionalized doctrines despite changes in exhibition style and content over the centuries. Museums are houses of

authority, whether linked to academic or political institutions, and their displays are considered reliable sources of knowledge. “Museums negotiate the nexus between cultural production and consumption, and between expert and lay knowledge” (MacDonald 1996: 4). They are where the public comes to consume knowledge, but through their collections and exhibits, museums also construct knowledge (Duncan 1995: 8 and Moser 2010: 22). For instance, as George Stocking, Jr. describes the museum displays of anthropologists R. R. Pitt-Rivers and Franz Boas, Pitt-Rivers arranged objects linearly in order to “...convey an ethnocentric message of conservative evolutionary gradualism” (1985: 8). Franz Boas, with the same subject matter, took a different approach to display. He was one of the first to popularize simulated contexts with life-sized dioramas (Ames 1992: 51). Stocking writes, Boas arranged objects “...contextually, seeking to preserve the multiple functions and inner meanings of a given form, to convey a message of liberal relativism” (1985: 8). Museum exhibits are a powerful medium for transmitting messages well beyond the objects on display and influencing popular knowledge.

Museums also work to define and shape identity. Through space, objects, and their exhibition, the museum creates narratives about the visual elements that represent the subject matter of the display, for instance, a culture, a community, or a nation. A nation can be reduced to its objects that create boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and tell viewers who they are, who they are not, and by what terms. As Sharon MacDonald notes, “Museums not only exist within a particular time and space, they also help articulate particular temporal and spatial orders. It is in this respect that we can see them as not just existing within a context but also as themselves creating cultural contexts”

(1996: 8). The authority of the museum allows it to shape those contexts through objects and display.

The display of objects that belong to non-Western people in this Western institution is a display of power, which is how the physical space of the museum also shapes definitions of identity. "It is one of the most important sites where the archons of Western culture seek to concretely demonstrate the validity of their claims to cultural and moral superiority over the rest of the world" (Root 1996: 108). The museum is an ideologically loaded space.

Museums rely heavily on visual experience to convey messages, through the objects on display to text to the structure of the display itself. The objects of museum displays inform underlying narratives and illustrate ideas (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 31 and Lavine 1991: 152). As we have seen through the example of Boas and Pitt-Rivers, objects on display merely serve to illustrate and guide particular interpretations of larger themes. As Alison Griffiths explains, the institution frames the experience and interpretations made by the museum's visitors:

...none of the exhibits in a museum could be experienced by the museumgoer outside the framing discourses of the institution itself; merely by traversing the ethnographic exhibition halls of such grandiose public buildings, museum spectators entered into an ideologically loaded space that elaborated the metanarratives of Western cultural superiority via multisensory accounts of primitivism of other cultures (2002: 11).

Other cultures were produced and consumed visually in classical museums, and this visual engagement with museum displays has remained as a means of interpretation. Like film and photography, visual consumption and production in the museum reduces cultures, nations, ecosystems, furniture, species, or whatever, to their genus, verified through the authoritative and legitimizing status of the institution (Alpers 1991: 31;

Houlihan 1991: 207; and MacDonald 1996: 5). Henrietta Riegel writes, “The act of viewing is related to the acts of ordering, defining and representing according to the categories of the ‘viewing’ culture, and serves to deny shared space and time occupied by the representing and represented cultures...” (1996: 83). Cultures are turned into something to look at (Alpers 1991: 31-32). Objects communicate narratives and meanings through a guise of objectivity, but through their display in the museum, their status as objects turns into ‘artifacts’ (Alpers 1991: 26, 31-32; Crew and Sims 1991: 162; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 51; Moser 2010: 23; and Urry 1990: 12), and imbues them with the ideologies or “...framing discourses...” (Griffiths 2002: 11) of the institution (Clifford 1985: 239; Duncan 1995: 8; and Karp 1991: 14).

The Post-Modern Museum

The twentieth and twenty-first centuries have seen an interesting shift in the museum. Museums have expanded in number and content, moving well outside of merely serving nationalisms to providing exhibition space for everything from transnational contexts to local communities (Clifford 1997: 214-215). Following the effects of globalization and the political movements that have called colonialism into question, as Root states,

...it has become increasingly clear... that there is something not quite right about the idea of large buildings stuffed with the booty of formerly conquered people. This idea was always obvious to the people whose culture was being carted off to Europe, New York, or Toronto, but only recently have many in the West challenged the ability of Western experts to represent the rest of the world or the desirability of their doing so (1996: 107).

Following the political leverage and legal power afforded to minority peoples after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Indigenous Movement during the 1960s and 70s, the grievances, voices, and interests of Indigenous peoples

have become more prominent (Neizen 2003 and Simpson 1996: 35). The new consciousness that emerged in the post-colonial era and the fact that many museum collections were populated by what amounted to stolen materials formed the basis for repatriation (Kramer 2004: 162) and the questioning of the right to representation, and the line between ownership and appropriation (Ames 1992: 81 and 156; Simpson 1996; and Stocking 1985: 11).

Museums have expanded to include cultural, heritage, and interpretation centres as Indigenous people have taken back the power to represent themselves. Museums run by Indigenous people are not new – the North Carolina Cherokees reportedly started their museum as early as 1828. However, it was not until after the 1970s that Indigenous people in North America received government support for these projects (Ames 1992: 81), coinciding with the social, political, and economic changes occurring during the late 1970s and into the 1980s previously mentioned (Nicholson 2001: 191).

The traditional authority of the museum, the previously unquestioned claim to the right to represent, was challenged by Canada's Aboriginal people, and as Michael Ames described in the early 1990s, "...museums are recognizing that First Peoples have a legitimate stake in museum operations and in how their histories are represented" (1992: 12). He continues,

Pretty well everything has been opened up for debate: who owns history, what constitutes knowledge and who may constitute it, whose interests should be served by its representation, and even who should rightfully staff and govern public institutions (1992: 9)?

The cultural centre, heritage centre, interpretive centre, tribal museum, by whatever terminology used, has become a means for Aboriginal communities to represent their own culture and history, remaining well within the framework of the museum. The

primary difference is, of course, the fact that the assumed proprietor is not a federal, provincial, municipal, or academic body, but a tribal or band council. Certainly, in reality, even Aboriginal-run museums do not exist in isolation without external influence or support from whatever bodies they happen to be associated with. For this reason, and their essential structure as museums, cultural centres occupy a hybrid space.

While the museum may be considered a Western invention, the institution has come to benefit hosts in a number of ways. In Kenneth Hudson and Ann Nicholls (1985) terms, “To have no museums, in today’s circumstances, is to admit that one is below the minimum level of civilization required of a nation state” (in Prösler 1996: 24). Museums play a role in legitimizing and defining a community. They are a place to teach people about culture and heritage, and in doing so, reinforce, confirm, and preserve cultural identity (Prösler 1996: 24). They can also provide a space for the renewal of cultural practices (Simpson 2009: 122). As the International Council of Museums has stated, they,

...strengthen cultural identity and consciousness in the face of rapid and worldwide cultural change...[their role is to also]...strengthen national identity within an internationalized system of states; and to make use of the educational potential of museums in the context of development (in Pitchford 2008: 84).

Like other forms of localization within globalization, the museum or cultural centre is a space for the tangible assertion of identity. Significantly, they are also a place where power and control over representation are taken back, and they are a means to provide the public with an alternative story about a community’s history and culture. It is a tangible way to not only share and educate visitors about a community’s history and culture, but also to demonstrate self-determination, cultural renewal, esteem, and pride in identity and heritage.

Clifford notes that in many ways the cultural centre is not a museum at all, but “...a continuation of indigenous traditions of storytelling, collection and display” (1997: 110). The museum, in this sense, has been adapted to suit the needs of the host community. Indigenous traditions, in a broad sense, are thus combined with traditional Western practices of collection and display. Unlike the traditional museum where exhibits presented the ‘stereotypes of Indianness’ – old, beautiful, hand-crafted, politically neutral, static (Doxtator 1992b: 27-28) – the cultural centre has the opportunity to create exhibits that reflect a community’s history and culture in ways that are more relevant and appropriate. Clifford writes,

Theirs were not different, not separate, paths through modernity (no one escapes the market, technology, and the nation-state). The repatriation of objects from national museums to new tribal institutions such as the U’mistá Cultural Centre and the Kwagiulth Museum seemed to be a striking example of how a dominant practice of collection and display has been turned to unanticipated ends. Master narratives of cultural disappearance and salvage could be replaced by stories of revival, remembrance, and struggle (1997: 108-109).

Whether objects were repatriated, rediscovered, or made new, through exhibition and display cultural centres have helped to change the status of Aboriginal people in Canada’s museums. No longer represented as objects of history for study, their stories contribute to understanding who they were, who they are, and a part of the history of Canada that is not, for the most part, well known (Ashley 2005: 33).

Clifford writes that there are four main agendas of the tribal museum. First, it is ideologically oriented in a stance that is in some way oppositional; two, the art-culture distinction between objects that is typical in a classic museum is irrelevant or subverted; third, notions of linear history that are typically Western means of segmenting time, are challenged; and finally, the collections on display, “...aim to be inscribed within different

traditions and practices” (1997: 122). As museum exhibits and programs have moved from being purely visual displays to interactive and multisensory edutainment, so too have cultural centres taken advantage of these different means of expression. In a sense, the experience takes precedence over the objects (Ames 1992: 159).

There is also a growing recognition of the multivocal, multi-interpretant nature of museums. Interpretation is active at three levels: from the creators of the objects on display, from the people responsible for creating the exhibit, and from the consumer of the exhibit (Baxandall 1991: 36; Karp 1991: 12; MacDonald 1996: 5; and Moser 2010: 22-23). Clifford has described museums as “...contact zones...[where the]...organizing structure as a collection becomes an ongoing historical, political, and moral relationship – a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull” (1997: 192-193). Rather than places where the public comes to ‘see’ the objects of other people and places, it is a space of interaction (Ashley 2005: 37) and the interaction of interpretations. So while the definition, content, experiences, and interpretations that exist within the museum have changed and been deconstructed, authenticity must also be deconstructed since it was such an integral part of the classic museum display.

The authenticity of objects was the purpose of their display and the museum, in turn, elevated the value of the authentic. The level of authenticity of Indigenous peoples and their objects taken to museums was rated primarily on their level of purity from influence of Europeans. Diverging from this popularized version of history that places Indigenous peoples in the past, Susan Ashley writes that in some cases, “First Nations acting modern is interpreted as ‘inauthentic’ ...” (2005: 36-37). There are many factors at work that bring people to their own conclusions and definitions of authenticity, including

everything from popular culture to legal parameters to business certifications. The place of authenticity in the cultural centre is an interesting position from which to understand visuality and experience in this setting, and the parallel and perpendicular lines drawn between it and the classic museum.

Imaging Aboriginal in Canada

Teepees, headdresses, totem poles, birch bark canoes, face paint, fringes, buckskin and tomahawks – when anyone sees these images, drawings, or paintings of these things they immediately think “*Indians*”. They are symbols of “Indianness” that have become immediately recognizable to the public. To take it one step further, they are the symbols that the public uses in its definition of what an Indian is (Doxtator 1992a: 11).

There is an enduring perception of North America’s Aboriginal populations that were created and have been maintained by advertisers, moviemakers, promoters, museums, academics, artists, and writers (Doxtator 1992a: 13-14 and 45). These images are based on ideas that ‘real Indians’ exist in the past, and are located in Canadian heritage and history (Doxtator 1992a: 26 and 31; Root 1996: 68). Canadian perceptions of Indigenous people include close associations with nature, the outdoors and the wilderness, knowledge, history, culture, ruggedness, physical prowess, truth, strength, courage, a spiritual and non-technological lifestyle, yet also wild, exotic, unpredictable, dangerous, violent, primitive, outside of society and unable to function in modernity (Doxtator 1992a: 18, 27, 45 and 59). In the past these ideas were used to justify Canadian policies of non-Aboriginal settlement and non-Aboriginal control over Aboriginal people (Doxtator 1992a: 59).

It was widely believed that Aboriginal people of North America would eventually disappear or assimilate into Canadian or American society (Ames 1992: 79). Particularly in Canada, the unique cultures of Aboriginal people were an important part of Canadian

heritage and efforts were made to preserve many elements of their cultures in museums. There was also a concerted effort to make them a part of the country's tourism industry, since they added a unique element to Canadian heritage that appeals to foreign visitors, and particularly to Americans (Blundell 2002: 39-40). Since the majority of Canada's tourists came from the United States, the Canadian landscapes (which are similar to those in the United States) were not an adequate draw. The stereotypes of Aboriginal people were performed at tourist sites, sustaining the desire to "...consume nativeness..." (Scarangella 2010: 163) in a safe, nonthreatening, sanitized way (Nash 1996: 71-73; Root 1996: 82).

In tourism, what has resulted is a desire for the 'real Indian', which is of course, largely fictional. From Edward Curtis (Griffiths 2002: 236) to today (Forte 2010: 1), the idea of the 'real Indian' is still quite pervasive. It has also influenced what has been called a 'pan-Indian' identity, where distinct groups are lumped together under blanket terms, ideas and expectations.

In the case of the indigenous peoples of North America, the mass media powerfully shapes tourists' expectations of Native peoples, in part by lumping them all together and ignoring each nation's distinctive history and culture. This results in a blurred, generic "seen one Indian, seen 'em all" image that expects the teepees and feather bonnets of the Plains to appear on the Pacific Coast (Pitchford 2008: 99).

Doxtator (1992b: 25) and Ames (1992: 54) write that the pervasiveness of these images and ideas of what Aboriginal people should be have in some cases made it difficult for them to access their own interpretations of their cultures.

While these images, symbols and ideas of Indigenous cultures persist today, in Canada there have been some major turning points that have begun to change engrained perceptions held by the collective imagination. Clifford writes,

It has become widely apparent in the dominant culture that many Native American populations whose cultures were officially declared moribund, who were “converted” to Christianity, whose cultural traditions were “salvaged” in textual collections such as that of Boas and Hunt, whose “authentic” artifacts were massively collected a century ago, have not disappeared. In some parts of their life dramatically changed, in others profoundly connected to tradition and place, these tribal groups continue to resist, reckon with, adapt to, and ignore the claims of dominant culture. Exploitation – substandard schools, inferior health care, poor job prospects – continues in many places. So does political resistance and the crucial resources of a strong, supple tradition (1997:145).

Political resistance and the growth of cultural esteem and cultural revitalization have emerged through many of the political and social changes that have occurred over the last 50 years. Ames summarizes,

Crucial turning points – in Canada at least – included the following: since the 1960s, integration of indigenous peoples into white schools; since the 1970s, federal funding for their political associations and cultural programs, growing indigenous participation in post-secondary educational institutions, and the introduction of Native studies courses and programs; and in the 1980s, an emerging alliance between aboriginal land claimants and environmental activists who, together, are attempting to preserve traditional lands against intrusion by governments and resource industries. Indigenous peoples point out that the land is part of their cultural identity; the trees, rocks, and rivers are historical sites containing memories and records of their past. Land is thus their primary source of spiritual inspiration, the economic means of maintaining a tribal lifestyle, and their only guarantee of a culturally distinctive future (1992: 80).

The 1960s and particularly the 1970s, with the beginnings of the Indigenous Peoples Movement and the social rights movements, many Canadian Aboriginal communities found that their socioeconomic situation was not going to change so long as dependency on the federal government remained. Anderson, Dana and Dana report that in the mid-90s, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP), “...estimated that the total cost to the Canadian economy caused by the dismal socioeconomic circumstances of Aboriginal people in 1996 was \$7.5 billion, rising to \$11 billion by 2016 if the

Aboriginal socioeconomic circumstances remain the same relative to the circumstances of non-Aboriginal Canadians” (2006: 46). This lose-lose situation encouraged even greater federal support of Aboriginal Canadians self-determination and the more serious consideration of land claims by the national government (Anderson, Dana and Dana 2006: 47).

These changes, as well as the establishment of Aboriginal institutions by Aboriginal people have afforded them the power to present their own images of who they are (Ames 1992: 13). Pan-Indian identity (for instance, represented by popular imagery associated with the pow wow or feather headdress) signifies positive, “...strong modern-day First Nations identifiers” (Ashley 2005: 33) despite the fact that not all Aboriginal peoples had these historically as part of their cultures. These are, as Ashley (2005) argues, hybrid identities that have in some cases changed their meaning. Linda Scarangella writes, “...pan-Indian identity provides opportunities to make statements of cultural survival” (2010: 184). These messages are portrayed in a communal way through an identity that was essentially built through detached symbols meaning ‘Indian’ in the public imagination, but now in a paradoxical way are being used to reinforce that identity from the inside. Beyond interpreting these symbols through the development of their own institutions, such as schools, and cultural and heritage centres, Aboriginal peoples are further able to challenge stereotypes and public perceptions, and able to alter the tourist gaze.

Aboriginal Tourism in British Columbia

The beginning of tourism in Western Canada is linked to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in 1885 that connected Alberta and British Columbia

(BC) to the rest of the country. The railway was built and operated at such cost that tourism was implemented as a solution to this economic quandary (Hart 1983: 7; Boyd and Butler 2000: 16; Dawson 2004: 24; Hall and Frost 2009: 33 and Mackey 1999: 36). The CPR built hotels along its tracks and worked to "...[capitalize on] the scenery" (Hart 1983: 7). Through the promotion of Canada's picturesque Western landscapes and the establishment of National Parks, Banff for instance, tourists were lured out West (Boyd and Butler 2000: 16; Dawson 2004: 19-24; Hall and Frost 2009: 33 and Hart 1983: 42). Aboriginal peoples were part of the CPR's Rocky Mountain promotion. As Daniel Francis writes, "For many, the thought of seeing 'wild Indians in their natural setting from the safety and convenience of a railway car... was every bit as exotic as visiting the depths of Africa'" (1992:177-181). Canada's aboriginal populations, particularly in the West, were involved in Canadian tourism from the outset. Apart from their almost side-show exoticism in the context of the CPR, a market already existed for West Coast First Nations' art, particularly in Europe (Nicholson 2001: 190). As Nicholson notes,

Some indigenous communities began the commercial production of masks, poles and chests – distinguished by their quality, size and subject matter – to satisfy collectors and travellers. Aboriginal guides, hunters and interpreters also emerged to assist nineteenth-century travellers and attest to the economic opportunism which accompanied early tourism even though such encounters were usually based upon unequal relations between visitor and local expert (2001: 190).

Despite these avenues of early participation in tourism by Canada's Aboriginal populations, in BC specifically there was actually very little Indigenous presence in tourism advertising during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Dawson 2004: 72 and 163).

The lack of representation of BC First Nations in early tourism materials was largely due to common-held preconceptions about Aboriginal peoples in general during this time. As Michael Dawson (2004: 72) and Mackey (1999: 29 and 36) report, scientific racism that pervaded Western thought at the turn-of-the-century, not to mention the policies of assimilation implemented by federal and provincial government, had relegated BC First Nations to the margins of society literally and ideologically. First Nations were viewed as a 'dying race', and apart from their presence in international exhibitions and World's Fairs, for example Chicago in 1893 or St. Louis in 1904, they were connected to an international and national tourist interest through museums displaying their material culture as curios. While an earlier appropriation of West Coast First Nations' aesthetic and a romanticised image of Aboriginal Canada in early tourism campaigns did exist, specifically with the CPR, Dawson notes that there was still a great deal of hesitation to use Aboriginal imagery in BC's tourism campaigns and exhibitions: "...international exhibitors were also wary of employing Aboriginal artifacts and performers to promote Canada for fear of frightening potential settlers and investors... [they] did what they could to promote the image of Canada as a safe, invigorating and welcoming destination" (2004: 72). It is important to note that early BC tourist campaigns were in large part directed towards encouraging investment and settlement in the province. There was a concerted effort to depict the area as one that was open to settlement and full of opportunity for industrious immigrants – without fear of conflict, which was especially pertinent for attracting American settlers in the wake of the Indian Wars. Regardless, while Aboriginal imagery and mystique was used in early tourism campaigns, it was used

sparingly; as was participation in tourism by Aboriginal people in turn-of-the-century BC.

It was not until the 1930s that BC, particularly West Coast, First Nations' cultures were widely appropriated for the purposes of tourism. Dawson (2004) argues that with the Great Depression came a change of direction for tourism advertising. Firstly, it needed greater organization and coordination across the regions of the province, as well as nationally (Dawson 2004: 91-92). Secondly, advertising was adjusted to target American travellers even more specifically, since during this period of economic distress, those who still had the means to travel generally opted to travel close to home. While Americans have always made up the bulk of visitors to BC, efforts were made to create a refined and consistent image of the province. While BC's British heritage was utilized extensively in tourism advertising to emphasize the 'foreignness' and unique character to Americans, the "...mystique surrounding its Aboriginal population..." (Dawson 2004: 69) was also capitalized upon. West Coast First Nations' imagery and aesthetics were used more readily in tourist advertising; for example, the totem pole became a symbolic part of BC's image. There were attempts to create overtly Indigenous-themed attractions by appropriating West Coast First Nations' artistic motifs for buildings and campgrounds, or for example, the proposal to 'improve' the Indian Reserve along Admiral's Road in Victoria by placing war canoes and totem poles for view by sightseers, and have "...the Indians themselves..." sell arts and crafts (Dawson 2004: 74). Dawson writes,

By reducing Native culture to the useful and marketable symbol of the totem pole, British Columbia's tourism promoters encouraged visitors of the province to embrace its history in a simplistic but comforting way – one that encouraged consumption rather than contemplation (2004: 168).

'Native' BC and the mystique surrounding 'Native' lore was popularized in the 1930s and capitalized upon for attracting tourists and boosting souvenir sales. This meant that while there was demand for 'Native' lore and authentic 'Indian' souvenirs, the image of BC's First Nations was idealized, romanticized, generalized, and reduced to a few symbols, commonly appropriated from the West Coast. These representations were far from the actual experiences of First Nations in BC during this time (2004: 164-166).

As Aboriginal cultures were being reduced to sell-able Canadiana kitsch, Indigenous groups in BC were segregated to reserves and banned from participating in such things as potlatches, totem pole construction, and other ceremonies – the very things that were packaged and sold in BC for tourists (Mackey 1999: 36). There was a denial of BC First Nations contemporary existence through the idealization of a fictive past that could be packaged and sold. The Great Depression further marginalized the presence of Aboriginal people in the workforce, let alone in tourism, as businesses shut down and jobs became scarce (RCAP 2007: 1.1). While the Second World War provided some opportunities for employment, once the war was over Aboriginal peoples again found themselves with few options (RCAP 2007: 1.1). By the 1960s the federal government had initiated welfare and income security programs, which often worked to increase communities' dependence on government aid (RCAP 2007: 1.1). The period of time from the 1930s to the late 1960s has largely been referred to as 'the period of dependence'. As Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) summarizes in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*,

...contemporary dependence and economic disadvantage emphasizes the role played by disruption in traditional ways of making a living and dispossession from a rich land and resource base. It also points to laws,

regulations, and government policies that blocked the rebuilding of Aboriginal economies (RCAP 2007: 1.1).

A shift in power relationships and the regrowth of Aboriginal tourism developed in the late 1970s, and as Heather Nicholson writes, Aboriginal groups “...began to develop a basis for sharing their culture more on their own terms...” (2001: 192). Particularly during the 1980s, tourism was being seen as an economic and social opportunity. This occurred alongside a period of increasing Aboriginal political recognition as communities fought for social and economic justice, primarily through land claims (Nicholson 2001: 191). “The recognition of legal claim to long-disputed land-bases signaled the first step towards greater economic self-reliance which, in turn, could help to break the vicious cycle of poverty, alienation, and dysfunction which perpetuated under-development” (Nicholson 2001: 191). The 1980s were also a time of increasing diversification and competition within the international tourism market. Many First Nations communities used their unique cultural identities to differentiate themselves and their products in the budding tourism market, supplemented by Canadian federal and provincial governments through funding, and advising and training services (Nicholson 2001: 191). Vast improvements in infrastructure since the beginning of the century in BC opened up tourism opportunities to Aboriginal communities living in the interior regions and more rural areas, whereas before Indigenous tourism attractions had to be located close to other tourist sites – cities like Victoria and Vancouver or National Parks (Nicholson 2001: 190).

In 1980 the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia (NBBC) published a document for the Government of Canada on *The Development of Tourism in British Columbia*. In this document, the unique economic situation that affected Aboriginal

communities living on reserve was explained in the context of tourism development. Reserve lands are not legally owned by a Band, they are collectively held by the federal government and any sort of development will inevitably involve the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (NBBC 1980: 5-13) (now called Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC)). There are also other legal factors that inhibit the creation of small businesses on reserves:

Section 89 of the Indian Act does not allow lenders to take security on reserve lands, nor does it allow borrowers to offer the land or the assets of the project as collateral for a bank loan. While Section 89 is not a total obstacle to on-reserve development (as, for example, conditional sales contracts and ministerial guarantees are still available), it does make it difficult for many Indian people to access capital from commercial lending institutions (NBBC 1980: 5-14).

In addition to restrictions put on reserve lands, the document also notes further impediments to Aboriginal people trying to start a business in tourism, or otherwise. These include a general lack of infrastructure that makes commercial development in rural areas more expensive, a general lack of business expertise, and the social improvement priorities of many Aboriginal businesses can serve to deter commercial lenders, among other issues (NBBC 1980: 5-15).

The NBBC (1980) also warned against the appropriation of socially valuable materials and practices for the purposes of tourism and the potential consequences of commercialization and granting public access to certain knowledge and activities (as cited in Nicholson 2001: 192). There was a distinct fear of ‘cheapening’ culture to appeal to consumer demand and competitive budgets. This maintained significance throughout the 1990s, when Canadian tourism commissions at provincial and federal levels called for the broadening of tourist attractions in the country to match diversifying consumer tastes

(Nicholson 2001: 188). As Nicholson notes, “Pragmatism and economic opportunism thus prompted both mainstream society and First Nations to greater involvement in tourism activity” (Nicholson 2001: 189).

The 1990s also saw many political changes for Aboriginal peoples. During this time,

...indigenous tourism development became a measure of wider political changes which rekindled hopes of settling Aboriginal land claims and calls for self-government. Prospect of gaining control over resources and a more secure economic future prompted capital investment projects in many Aboriginal communities (Nicholson 2001: 194).

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in 1996, for instance, helped to improve equity and lender support for First Nations people (RCAP 2007: 2.6 and Williams and O’Neil 2007: 41). Support for Aboriginal participation in tourism to aid in the development and diversification in Canadian tourism in general continues today.

However, as Peter Williams and Beverly O’Neil reiterate (2007: 52) and as stated in the RCAP, in taking steps to economic, political and social redress and release from government dependency, “An obvious starting point on the road to self-reliance is the fulfillment of treaty promises and the conclusion of modern treaties (comprehensive claims agreements) in areas where such agreements have not yet been made” (2007: 2.2). Settling land claims is of fundamental importance to the further development and sustainability of Aboriginal tourism (Williams and O’Neil 2007: 52).

In the late 1990s greater efforts were made to organize and coordinate tourism commissions at the federal and provincial levels to Aboriginal tourism enterprises. In 1992 the Canadian National Aboriginal Tourism Association (CNATA) was formed, an organization made up of Aboriginal tourism leaders supported by the federal government

via Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and Industry, Science and Technology Canada, dedicated to the promotion, protection, and preservation of "...the integrity of aboriginal tourism" (Notzke 2006: 25). The goal of the CNATA was to promote Aboriginal tourism, "...in ways that are consistent with First Peoples' values and aspirations" (Blundell 2002: 41). Around the same time, Tourism Canada was absorbed into the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC), and with it came a change in perspective on Aboriginal tourism. Aboriginal tourism was no longer considered a branch of 'ethnic' or 'cultural' tourism, but its own niche, as well as an integral part of the already well-established outdoor and adventure tourism product line. "This changed outlook was a direct result of the increasing global interest in indigenous cultures and environmentally benign tourism" (Notzke 2006: 26). Hence, the Aboriginal Marketing Program was launched in the late 1990s by the CTC.

In 1998 the Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada (ATTC) was established, scrapping CNATA, to coordinate and promote Aboriginal tourism businesses (Nicholson 2001: 196). The ATTC was funded through the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and Aboriginal Business Canada, providing assistance, regulation, and accreditation to Aboriginal tourism owners and operators (Nicholson 2001: 196). The Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) implemented a strategic plan for Aboriginal tourism from 1997 to 2007, which had the primary goals of improving regional coordination of tourism sites through provincial government bodies, to market Canadian tourism along the themes of culture and adventure, and to unite the provinces, "...to make Canada the world leader in Aboriginal tourism" (Nicholson 2001: 196). The integration and systematized

organization of Aboriginal tourism is coordinated today through the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia (AtBC).

Generally, First Nations communities in BC have approached tourism with healthy skepticism and caution. In 1996 at the first ever Aboriginal Tourism Convention in BC, First Nations groups warned:

Native tourism can degenerate into the kind of carnival freak show common in Florida, where hand-painted road signs point to Authentic Seminole Village, peopled by Mexicans in chicken feathers and war paint... We don't want to become third world entertainers and arts and craft sellers (in Nicholson 2001: 195).

Some of the voices at a CNATA conference in 1995 shared similar concerns, including the management of poor or disrespectful visitor behaviour, the repatriation of artifacts from museums, challenging stereotypes, and challenging cultural appropriation by non-Aboriginal entrepreneurs (Blundell 2002: 41). Organizations such as the ATTC and AtBC have been instrumental in maintaining a positive relationship between First Nations communities and the tourism industry.

Today, AtBC has sixty-six stakeholders and fifty-six advertised attractions that offer a variety of unique 'Aboriginal experiences' including: accommodations; art galleries; cultural centres and museums; cultural tours and cruises; food and wine; golf; spas, sweat lodges or hot springs; wilderness and adventure tours; and wildlife, flora and fauna tours (AtBC 2009: 6-7). AtBC is,

A non-profit, membership-based organization that is committed to growing and promoting a sustainable, culturally rich Aboriginal tourism industry. A sustainable Aboriginal tourism sector with diverse products in communities in every region of the province is recognized as one of the major focuses for achieving the target set by the Premier to double tourism revenues in B.C. by 2015. Through training, information resources, networking opportunities and co-operative marketing programs, AtBC is a one-stop resource for Aboriginal entrepreneurs and communities in British

Columbia who are operating or looking to start a tourism business. AtBC works closely with tourism, business, education and government organizations to help B.C.'s Aboriginal tourism businesses offer quality experiences and actively promote these experiences to visitors and local residents (AtBC 2010).

In 2005, with the combined efforts of the federal government, represented through INAC (now AANDC) and Aboriginal Business Canada, Tourism British Columbia, and the Province of British Columbia, AtBC developed the *Blueprint Strategy* to create a comprehensive framework for the development and maintenance of Aboriginal tourism. The *Blueprint* plan is meant to help Aboriginal tourism ventures conform to certain common criteria. For instance, businesses "...must be respectful and responsive to the protocol of First Nations and their cultures...[and]...it should not operate independent of the mainstream tourism industry, but where possible partner and build upon existing programs" - and through shared networks and business alliances, build a strong industry for First Nations' tourism (AtBC 2005: vi).

The *Blueprint* and AtBC's vision is to see, "A vibrant and sustainable Aboriginal cultural tourism industry that contributes to Aboriginal community health and well-being, respects First Nations languages and culture, and ensures that the originators of the culture enjoy the benefits from Aboriginal tourism" (AtBC 2005: 49). Through the collective organization of Aboriginal tourism businesses and their integration within the larger industry, there is an interesting but necessary balance between retaining control over representation and adhering to tightly regulated institutional guidelines. There has been a huge shift in control over the representation of First Nations people in tourism, and while the marketing of culture is largely on their own terms, First Nations in the industry must still meet the criteria set out by governing bodies such as AtBC. AtBC, in

turn, must draw much of their market strategy from the influence of the CTC and their nationwide branding strategy (for example, CTC 2009). Considering the greater ease of access to resources such as marketing, funding, and advising and networking services, overall one could argue that the tourism industry in BC has created positive opportunities for some Aboriginal communities. However, Aboriginal tourism today exists in an atmosphere that is still unsettled. As mentioned previously, a key to the sustainability and viability of Aboriginal tourism in BC is intrinsically connected to land rights and ownership, which is to say, control.

Chapter 5: The Osoyoos Indian Band

The Osoyoos Indian Band and British Columbia Tourism

The Osoyoos Indian Band (OIB) was formed in 1877, a year after the passing of the first Indian Act. Like other communities in the Okanagan, life was forever changed with the arrival of Europeans at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and before them, the first smallpox epidemic that reduced the population by 80%. The gold rush, fur trade, and missionaries brought settlers. The first reserves were established in the 1860s, and the Indian Act made assimilation and the repression of Okanagan tradition, language and culture federal policy. Across Canada since the 1860s and into the 1980s, Aboriginal children were removed from their families and communities to be sent to residential schools, where ‘education’ was guided by these misguided policies. The story on the Inkameep Reserve went differently.

After writing to the Department of Indian Affairs for months, Chief Baptiste George established the Inkameep Day School in 1915, built and staffed through the OIB’s funds. As Anthony Walsh described him, “...he was ahead of his time in that he wanted his children taught within their own background, not sent away to residential schools” (Walsh n.d.). Chief George, “...foresaw a need to empower his people as he realized a new era was beginning in the Inkameep Valley, an era for which he wanted his children and his people to be prepared” (Baptiste 2005: 17). He wanted to maintain Okanagan traditions in education and keep families and the community together while still preparing his people for life amongst an increasingly dominant non-Aboriginal population. Teachers at Inkameep had a high turnover rate. Living and teaching on the reserve was not always easy and finding teachers was a process of negotiation between

the Band, the Department of Indian Affairs, and the Roman Catholic Church (Baptiste 2005: 17-18). In 1932, Anthony Walsh was hired as a teacher at Inkameep Day School and he stayed until 1942.

Anthony Walsh valued Okanagan traditions, language, and culture and encouraged the children in his classroom to share and express their identities through the visual and performing arts; "...he supported the children's learnings [sic] of Okanagan teachings from their families and elders while he taught the fundamentals of the dominant education system" (Virtual Museum of Canada 2004: "Chief Batiste [sic] George"). The extraordinariness of this style of teaching in a climate where forced assimilation and cultural repression through the residential school system was the norm cannot be understated. Walsh sent some of the children's drawings overseas throughout his tenure, where they received international exposure and accolades from the Royal Drawing Society in London, England (Walsh 2005: 20-21). The children performed "...dramatized versions of ancient legends..." (Walsh 2005: 21) at the opening of Thunderbird Park in Victoria, and recorded their traditional songs at CBR studios in Vancouver. A selection of their drawings, paintings, and performances make up the Day School Gallery of the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre (NDCC) today. They mark a piece of history that exemplifies and reinforces OIB identity. Anthony Walsh and the Day School children brought positive national and international attention to the arts and traditions of First Peoples that were otherwise so quickly being eroded by federal policies. As Andrea Walsh describes them,

The children initially bridged the seemingly insurmountable gap between native and non-native cultures through their production of visual art and through dramatic plays. The drawings and plays reflect the children's

traditional Okanagan identities while simultaneously depicting their experiences of everyday life in mid-20th-century British Columbia (2005: 7).

The school closed eight years after Walsh left.

The Band continued to pursue ‘meeting the world on their own terms’¹ after the era of the Day School. In 1962, the OIB initiated an economic development project by leasing reserve land to the Cherry Grove Golf Course and Cherry Grove Motel. Electricity came to the reserve in 1965 followed closely by more developments: the establishment of the Inkameep Campground (the Band took over operation of the lease in 1984) and Inkameep Vineyards in 1968. In 1981 the Okanagan Nation Alliance was formed, which, as the inaugural First Nations government in the Okanagan, represents seven other communities (including the Okanagan Indian Band, Upper Nicola Band, Westbank First Nation, Penticton Indian Band, Lower Similkameen Indian Band, and the Upper Similkameen Indian Band), as well as the Coleville Confederated Tribes in the United States. The Alliance works “collectively to advance and assert Okanagan nation Title and Rights over the Okanagan Nation Territory” (Okanagan Nation Alliance 2010). The 1982 Repatriation of the Canadian Constitution and Constitution Act, Section 35, recognized and affirmed existing Aboriginal territory and treaty rights. This was followed by a federal claim settlement worth close to one million dollars for the loss of 71-acres of Okanagan Nation territory and its resources. Another settlement in 1989 resulted in the return of the Sacred Spotted Lake to the Okanagan Nation. Following that was the 1992 Zosel Dam Settlement and another settlement in 1997 worth 11 million dollars for the land unlawfully purchased by J.C. Haynes back in 1879. These settlements demonstrate

¹ From Chief Baptiste George’s quote, “I want you to teach my people how to meet the world upon its own terms”. http://www.museevirtuel.ca/Exhibitions/Inkameep/english/story/baptiste_george.php Last accessed January 2012.

the changes happening from the local to national level in regards to the recognition of Aboriginal rights in Canada. They also exemplify the growing political and economic power of the OIB.

In 1985, Chief Clarence Louie succeeded his grandfather Manuel Louie as Chief of the OIB. Economic and social development under his leadership has been unprecedented. “Since he took over...his band has gone from bankruptcy to annual revenues of more than \$13 million...” and by 2006, created more jobs in Osoyoos than there were band members to fill them (Pulfer 2007). Numerous businesses have been developed and proven successful², and social infrastructure has been built including the Osoyoos Indian Band Health Services Centre in 1989, Sen Pok Chin Primary and Elementary School in 1991, and the Nk’Mip Preschool and Day Care. By 1995, Band-earned revenue surpassed income from federal government transfer payments for the first time in history.

Following a model of social entrepreneurship and refusing to accept federal dependency under the Indian Act, Chief Louie developed the Osoyoos Indian Band Development Corporation (OIBDC). The OIBDC owns and operates Inkameep Construction, Oliver Ready-Mix Ltd., Inkameep Campground and RV Park, the golf course, a forestry company, “...two housing developments and a grocery store...” (Anderson, Dana and Dana 2006: 52). The OIBDC has four primary objectives, according to the study done by Anderson, Dana and Dana (2006). These are, to paraphrase: (1) to increase the standard of living for every Band member, (2) to decrease

² These include: Inkameep Construction 1986; Nk’Mip Canyon Desert Golf Course 1989; Nk’Mip Gas and Convenience Store 1997; Oliver Ready-Mix Ltd. 2000; Nk’Mip Cellars 2001 (with Vincor International Inc); Sonora Dunes Golf Course 2004; Spirit Ridge Vineyard Resort and Spa 2004; Nk’Mip Desert Cultural Centre (as it stands today) 2006; future plans include a partnership with the Mount Baldy Ski Corporation and the Senulkemen Enterprise Park.

dependency on government funding and aim for a future of economic self-sufficiency, (3) to develop programs that encourage community involvement and revive traditional concepts of honor, caring, sharing and respect, and (4) to increase education in academics, athletics, vocations, and culture (2006: 52). The Band's businesses and economic success directly affect the its social well-being.

As Anderson, Dana and Dana note, for the Chief, the self-sufficiency created by entrepreneurship and business development, "...is the best way to secure the right of his people to be who they are, to take pride in their heritage and to protect the fragile desert landscape in which a good part of their cultural identity is forever rooted" (2006: 52). This message is precisely what is expressed through the exhibitions and architecture of the NDCC.

Research Context

I arrived in Osoyoos in December of 2010 to conduct fieldwork at the NDCC. Fieldwork for this project was short and focused. For logistical reasons, my time in Osoyoos was limited to one week. However, this was an ideal period of time to experience Osoyoos and the NDCC more or less as a tourist. I say 'more or less' because my experience was much more in depth and personalized than a typical tourist experience would be, but I retained the benefit of experiencing the Centre as a tourist would. This gave me insight into the exhibits and how they have been built to convey messages in a setting where the experience of them is typically fleeting.

From December 5th to December 11th, 2010, I stayed with Charlotte Stringam, Councilor on the Osoyoos Indian Band Chief and Council and Manager of the NDCC. Arriving in December (when the Centre is closed for the season) had benefits as well as

disadvantages. For instance, I was not able to view or participate in interactive exhibits and programs, such as the Critter Corner, since these are not active during the off-season; I was unable to witness guest interactions with the exhibits or cultural interpreters; also, some outdoor signs were covered to protect them from the winter elements. However, this also meant that some of the NDCC's employees were able to spend a greater amount of time with me that they would have been had the Centre been open. I was able to act as a shadow to Charlotte for the duration of the week, which may not have been possible during the regular summer season. It also granted me access to some of the behind-the-scenes activities that during the Centre's open season I would not have seen. This included the construction of the new replica pit house, part of the Okanagan village exhibit, and preparations for the new Spirit Quest program.

As Charlotte's shadow, we spoke continually, formally and informally, about the OIB and the NDCC. While we spent the majority of our time at the Centre, Charlotte also took me to the Osoyoos Museum and the Oliver Museum to see how the history of the Band and the area are represented at these locations. She also took me on a guided tour of the NDCC and of the OIB reserve. As part of the data collection of this project, I took photographs of the art and architecture of the Centre, the gift shop, signage throughout the Centre, and interior and exterior displays. These photographs are the primary record for the analysis of visual data. Photographs were taken to record detail of the visuals presented to visitors to the Centre, as well as a record of the larger context within which these visuals are found.

Photography

Photographs were used purely as mnemonic devices to aid in the visual analysis of the exhibits, art, and architecture. Many photographs were also taken as a record of the written information found throughout the Centre and have been used as data. There were two days at the NDCC that I used to take photographs. On the first day, immediately following the guided tour of the interior and exterior of the NDCC I photographed the interior displays, exhibits, and gift shop. The following day I took photographs of the exterior of the NDCC, including the outdoor trails, the Okanagan village, the building itself, and the surrounding resort that is visible from the Centre.

Photographs were taken from distance and as close-ups. For instance, photographs of the Day School gallery depict the exhibit as a whole, the individual displays, and the individual objects found in each display. They were taken to capture the content of the Centre in order to essentially rebuild it pictorially for visual analysis. Not all of the photographs will be used in analysis, however. Only those that I feel best represent the main exhibits of the NDCC and are useful for visual analysis are used.

Organizing the Exhibits at the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre

The lands, the legends and the people are the three categories the NDCC exhibits are organized around. Photographs were initially organized by exhibit, and then by these categories. However, overlap made it difficult to organize the data in this manner, so they were instead categorized by means of presentation: as art or architecture, stories about people, or stories about the land. As demonstrated by Figure 6, exhibits belong to overlapping categories, but have been organized by their most obvious category.

It is through these categories and their exhibits that the OIB express their identity to visitors to the NDCC. However, intangible identity is expressed as the three main

messages embedded throughout the Centre's exhibits. These are: transformation, authenticity, and temporality. These themes were developed by summarizing the ideas presented in interviews, data collected, and through the tour of the Centre. They are represented in Figure 7 below.

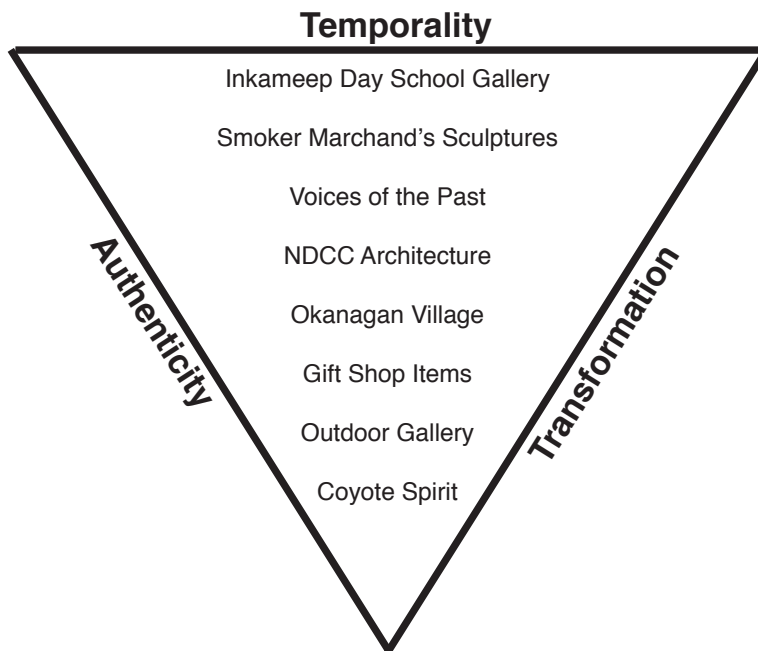


Figure 6 Exhibits and the Means of Presentation.

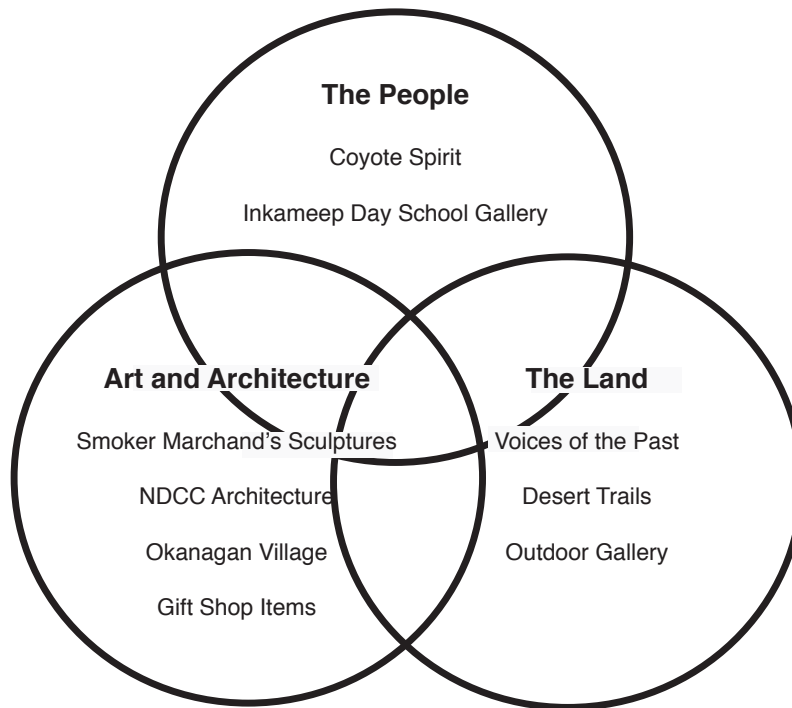


Figure 7 Exhibits and their Meanings.

These three messages are interrelated and found throughout the Centre's exhibits.

Interviews

All interviews were conducted in person except for the interview with Brenda Baptiste, which was conducted over the phone. Interviews ranged in time from half an hour to just over an hour; the time fluctuations depended on the length of responses given. All interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed. Transcriptions were returned to the interviewees for comment and approval before being used as data in this project. All interviewees were given due dates to add comments by, and informed that once this date had been reached their interview script would be considered approved for this project unless stated otherwise before this due date had been reached. They were also

notified that they retained the right to withdraw from this project until the point of defense.

Formal interviews were conducted with Charlotte Stringam, on December 10, 2010, and again on February 7, 2011 due the corruption of the original digital audio-recording; Robert (Bob) Etienne, Interpreter at the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre, on December 10, 2010; Chief Clarence Louie, Chief of the Osoyoos Indian Band, on December 9, 2010; and Brenda Baptiste, previous Co-Manager and Developer of the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre, current Project Manager for the Osoyoos Indian Band Centre for Aboriginal Community Enterprise, and Co-Chair and Ex-Officio Member of the Board at the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia, on March 9, 2011.

Cultural Centre Tour

On December 8, 2010, Charlotte Stringam conducted a personal guided of the NDCC for me, which was carried out in essentially the same way that a tour would be given to a visitor during regular season. The entire tour was audio-recorded and then transcribed when I returned from fieldwork.

A visit to the NDCC usually begins with the viewing of the film *Coyote Spirit* in the Chaptik Theatre, but I watched this film two days earlier. I also watched the other short film, *Voices of the Past*, on the same day, though this is typically viewed at any time during one's visit to the Centre. After viewing *Coyote Spirit*, the guided tour begins with the main exhibit of the Centre: the story of Anthony Walsh and the Inkameep Day School. However, due to my interest in the gift shop for the purpose of this research and given that it is located at the entrance of the NDCC, Charlotte began my tour there.

After a brief explanation of some of the gift shop items and the role of the gift shop at the Centre, Charlotte and I walked over to the exhibit of the Inkameep Day School, which takes up the majority of the space inside the main room of the Centre. A triptych display case (Figure 8) holding artifacts, artwork, photographs and items of significance stands floor-to-ceiling against the main wall, with a mock-façade of the Inkameep Day School (Figure 9) to its adjacent left. On the right side of the display case is the outer wall of the theatre reserved for the *Voices of the Past* film, which was designed to resemble a pit house. On this curved wall is a timeline that was produced by the children of the Day School (Figure 10). It was made up of a number of separate drawings that were enlarged and combined into the format of a timeline. Charlotte began the Day School story here, by using the timeline to describe the history of the OIB.



Figure 8 Display Case. From left to right: 'Discovery of Talent and Culture', 'People of the Land', and 'Traditions Old and New'. © Kathryn Bresner

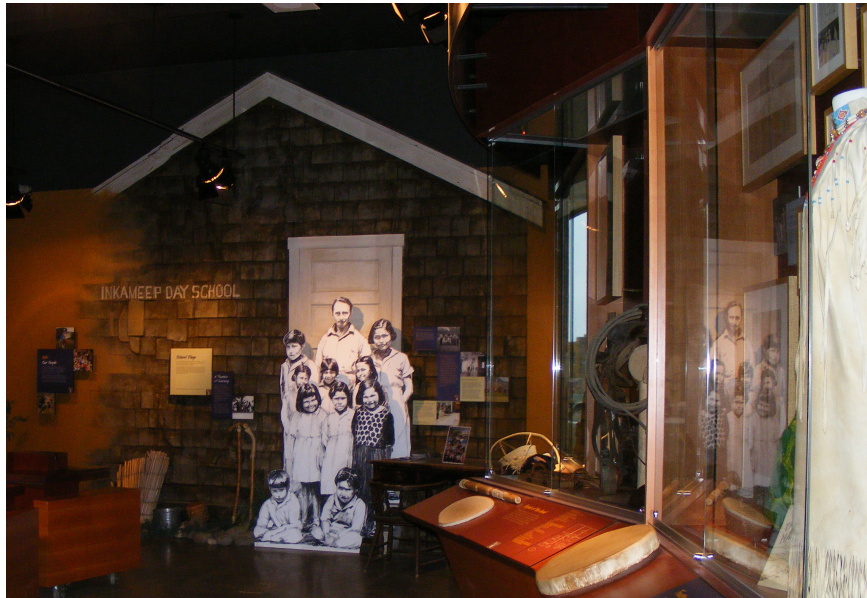


Figure 9 Mock-façade of the Inkameep Day School and the display case to the right.

© Kathryn Bresner



Figure 10 Exterior wall of the *Chaptik Pit House Theatre*, showing the OIB timeline created by the children of the Inkameep Day School. © Kathryn Bresner

Charlotte turned to the display case to show me two pictures displayed in the ‘Traditions Old and New’ section: one of the Day School before it burned down, and one of a church that still stands on the reserve. She then walked over to the mock façade of the Inkameep Day School to point out some of the individuals represented in the life-sized sketch depicting Anthony Walsh and his students. She then proceeded back to the display case, guiding me through the exhibit beginning with the ‘Discovery of Talent and Culture’ section. Charlotte told the stories behind some of the artifacts, including a letter from Walt Disney Productions and the story of the Day School children’s art as the inspiration behind Bambi. Also found in this display are the drawings by and pictures of Francis Baptiste (Sis-hu-lk), one of the most celebrated Okanagan artists and a student of Anthony Walsh.

Prompted by the images and artifacts displayed, Charlotte continued the tour by telling stories that came out of the time Anthony Walsh spent with the OIB. Primarily focusing on the latter of the three display cases, ‘Traditions Old and New’, she told me about *The Nativity Story* – a play developed and performed by the Day School children. The play continues to be performed by the children at the Sen Pok Chin. Charlotte went into more detail about the interactions between the children and Anthony Walsh, how they inspired each other, and what she described as the inherent creativity of Okanagan people.

Charlotte emphasized the importance of sharing the success of the OIB with other Indigenous peoples. The story of Anthony Walsh and the Day School is a positive one, coming out of a period in Canadian history marred by the mistreatment of First Nations people. While some of the Day School children were eventually forced to attend

residential schools, this period of time is remembered in the exhibit with great pride. It is also a celebration of both Anthony Walsh and Chief Baptiste George for employing values based on community, family, teamwork, and creativity that have been revitalized by the recent history of the OIB through the leadership of Chief Clarence Louie. These stories parallel each other in such significant ways and currently at the Centre they are stories that are important to share. Charlotte reiterated the point in stating, "...our main focus maybe isn't even on tourism, it's on other Aboriginal communities...[to say to them]... 'if we can be successful you can be successful too.'" Both these stories occur during different periods of change and they are stories about leadership through these changes. As Charlotte said, as well as educating the public, sharing these stories has the additional goal of inspiring and helping other Indigenous communities throughout the world by hosting International visitors, and where possible, visiting international Indigenous communities³ to share their message.

Following the interior tour of the Centre, Charlotte briefly took me to see and talk about the facilities that make the Rattlesnake Program possible. Afterwards we went outside to begin the outdoor portion of the tour. Outside, the tour's mission continues in teaching visitors about the lands, the legends, and the people. The first outdoor exhibit (see Figure 11) is a gallery of metal statues in human and animal forms made by Smoker Marchand, natural features of the land re-created for the exhibit, information placards, and replica artifacts and structures. Charlotte began the outdoor tour by telling me one of the *Chaptik* stories, what she called 'the creation story'. It is told in the outdoor gallery through the sculptures and information placards. A large teepee sits at the apex of this

³ For example, Chief Clarence Louie and members of the Band Council have travelled to the United States to contribute and learn what others were doing to share and preserve their stories; Charlotte travelled to southeastern Guatemala to work with the Ch'orti' (Maya) and share the OIB story.

area and leads to the desert trails. It functions as an example of a traditional Okanagan structure and is designed as a place for visitors sit and ask questions while the interpreter shares this Okanagan legend.

A large part of the exterior tour, whether it is taken with an interpreter, with an audio guide or independently, is to teach visitors about the ecology of the area. The desert pathways are dotted with placards that provide information on the plants and animals of the area. These plants and animals are described both through their ecological importance as part of the web of desert life, and through their cultural importance and the traditional uses of flora and fauna by the Okanagan people.

See URL:
<http://www.archdaily.com/10629/nkmip-desert-cultural-centre-hbbh-architects/>

Figure 11 Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre site plan (Saieh 2008).

During the exterior tour, Charlotte and I also briefly spoke about the different businesses the OIB runs, the different interpreters who work at the Centre, and the importance of community, cohesion, and working together, which I was told was typical conversation fodder between cultural interpreters and visitors as they walk from the outdoor gallery to the replica Okanagan village. Soon we arrived at the Okanagan

Village, which was under construction. Charlotte told me a bit about the construction process, what the village used to look like, and what the village would look like once it was ready for the summer season. The primary difference between the old village and the new village was greater attention to ‘authentic’ construction. The construction of the pit house, which was taking place while I was there, was done as closely as possible to the way they were constructed in the past, based on the guidance of Thomas Louie – pit house expert and member of the Shuswap Nation.

Charlotte then took me to the area where they were developing the new outdoor Adventure-Dynamics Program. This program was oriented towards groups with the goal of fostering team building through sharing cultural stories, team-oriented activities, and a collective spiritual experience (through participation in a smudging ceremony and the reinterpretation of a traditional vision quest). This is not part of the cultural tour – that ended in the Okanagan village. Once that portion of the tour is over, visitors are invited to experience the desert trails on their own terms. Charlotte described the current and future cultural programming at the Centre and noted that there is an effort to move more towards offering spiritual and embodied experiences rather than just teaching history, culture, and ecology. Charlotte said of the cultural programming and the future of the Centre: “...I think that we’re on the right track of finding something that people are looking for and I guess that’s what tourism can be about. I think that people...aren’t just wanting to go swimming anymore, go to an area and just sit on the beach and read a book. They like doing that but I think they want more.” The cultural component of the NDCC is clearly being adapted to work at both sending important messages about nature,

respect, and being human, as well as cater to visitor desires and offer an unique tourism product.

Chapter 6: The Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre

Introduction to the Centre

The Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre (NDCC) opened in 2006 as part of the 200-acre Nk'Mip Resort. This nine-million-dollar, state-of-the-art interpretive centre was designed by Aldrich Pears Associates, a Canadian design firm; the architecture is the work of Hotson Bakker Boniface Haden Architects. The design and architecture are the result of an on-going consultation process between these firms and the OIB. Its design was largely influenced by its predecessor, a temporary culture centre housed in 2000 square feet of space in a series of trailers, which was used as the location to gather market information for the future centre. Travel to other cultural centres in Canada and the United States by Chief Clarence Louie and some of the Council members also influenced the design of the Centre. Limits on building were defined by plans for the rest of the Spirit Ridge Resort and simple economics. As Chief Louie told me, "It's easy to dream, but costs stop your dreaming pretty quick" (Personal interview. Dec. 9, 2010). What the Band could afford limited how big the Centre could be, where it could be located and the extent of the exhibitions (as well as influencing the choice of what and how to exhibit). The investment put into the Centre, like an investment put into any business, was based partially on consumer feedback and market desires in an attempt to build a business that at the very least breaks even. However, a cultural centre or museum is not known for its profitability. Subsequently, the primary purpose of the NDCC is to teach visitors who the OIB are.

The NDCC's mandate is two-fold: to promote Okanagan Aboriginal culture and heritage and the conservation of the rare desert plant and animal species found in the

area. The Centre and its displays are organized around three themes: the lands, the legends, and the people. These themes are expressed through the various displays, exhibits, and programming at the centre. For instance, the Inkameep Day School exhibit, the replica Okanagan village and the film, *Coyote Spirit*, teach visitors about the people; the film, *Voices of the Past*, and the ‘creation story’ in the outdoor gallery teach visitors about the legends; and the rattlesnake exhibit along with the outdoor displays, information placards, and trails teach visitors about the land. Of course, these themes are overlapping since the displays at the centre are not isolated; learning about the lands also teaches visitors about the people, in terms of how they use and used the land. Sharing the legends incorporates messages of land use, and by extension, a glimpse of the peoples’ perspectives and understandings of the land, themselves, and the relationships in-between.

The programming offered by the centre also adds to the expression of the lands, the legends, and the people theme. Three programs run daily during the summer season (the Centre is open only by special request from October to March): the guided tour of the centre, the *Snakes Alive* rattlesnake demonstration, and *Pow and Wow!* a multimedia presentation on the Powwow. New programs were added to the roster in Summer 2011, including rappelling, in cooperation with HooDoo Adventures, and fishing excursions in partnership with the Okanagan Nations Alliance (ONA). Both of these activities fall loosely into the category of ‘the lands’, where outdoor adventure activities are padded with culturally relevant information. For example, the fishing excursion is advertised as part of the ONA’s efforts in salmon conservation and asks visitors to, “Come on board and discover the local First Nation’s knowledge of (*N’tytyix*) Sockeye Salmon and hear

Chaptik stories of the Lands, the Legends, and the People” (Nk’Mip Desert Cultural Centre, 2011a). The rappelling program is meant to give visitors, “...a novel tactile experience with the desert environment” (Nk’Mip Desert Cultural Centre, 2011b). Perhaps not obviously culturally oriented, when Charlotte spoke to me well before its inception she described the program as potentially being infused with legends and stories. Primarily participation in these programs serves as a team building exercise. These active and interactive programs were developed from the influence of itineraries used for corporate groups staying at the resort for conventions, such as the smudging and vision quest programs designed to both teach guests about Okanagan culture and help participants bond. Certainly, the experiences at the NDCC are moving away from the purely visual to the embodied and spiritual. This is a deliberate strategy to increase the personal impact of the experiences and aim for a deeper understanding of Okanagan culture, while at the same time increasing the appeal of the Centre as a conference location, offering new programming to attract repeat visitors, and increase the number of new visitors by offering varied experiences.

For the average visitor to the NDCC, the experience is largely a visual one. Save for the additional programming, visitors spend time watching films and looking at the Centre’s galleries. The following visual analysis of the NDCC is based on the average visitor experience, via my personal experiences and the tour that I was taken on. While the visuals at the centre convey the three themes of the lands, the legends, and the people, they also carry messages about OIB identity. I have organized these as (1) transformation, (2) authenticity, and (3) the temporality.

In this chapter, I will discuss the architecture of the Centre, the gift shop, films, interior and exterior galleries, and the replica Okanagan village. As I move through the Centre, the Day School Gallery and the outdoor gallery are examined through semiotic analysis, since they lend themselves easily to this form of analysis. Where the messages of transformation, authenticity, and temporality are found within these different elements of the Centre is discussed in the conclusion. The issues of authenticity, hybridity, and power are discussed in the context of the NDCC in the final chapter.

The Architecture of the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre

After passing rows and rows of grape vines and climbing up Rancher Creek Road on the east side of Osoyoos Lake, you are greeted by Smoker Marchand's mounted Chief statue to the left, Spirit Ridge Vineyard Resort and Spa to the right, and directly ahead is the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre against a backdrop of the hills and forest of the Anarchist Protected Area. The massive rammed-earth wall that makes up the façade of the Centre appears as though it stands flush to the hill directly behind it, then protrudes outward to the left as the land seems to drop-off like a natural lookout into the valley and Lake below. The building has been called an architectural marvel. Designed by Bruce Haden of Hotson Bakker Boniface Haden Architects (HBBH), its environmentally innovative architecture has won several awards, the 2008 World Architecture Festival Award, the 2008 Governor General's Medal in Architecture, and the 2007 Lieutenant-Governor of BC's Medal of Excellence in Architecture.

First and foremost, the NDCC was designed to be sustainable, which is part of the reason why it is so extraordinary. The OIB monitored the design process through continuous feedback and negotiation with HBBH. As Brenda Baptiste explained, original

designs for the building put it at 20,000 square feet. It was quickly realized that this would be unsustainable, so decisions were made to build a centre that could be managed in the off-season by one person, and have enough room for exhibits, archives, offices, and a research area (Baptiste, Brenda. Telephone interview. March 9, 2011). The Centre was reduced to 12,000 square feet (1,115 square metres) on approximately 1,600 acres of land being preserved by the OIB as a conservation area. The Centre's modest size means low overhead. The goal of environmental sustainability equipped the Centre with low-water use restrooms, a radiant heating and cooling system, and three architectural features that make it unique. Built partially underground as, "...a homage to the traditional winter dwellings of the Okanagan First Nations" (Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre 2012c), the surrounding hillside functions as an insulator and extends over top of the Centre to form a green roof. The interior and exterior woodwork is also an important architectural element to the building's aesthetic. The repetitive, clean lines that run horizontal throughout the Centre are distinctly contemporary in style, but the wood that covers the interior and exterior walls is unusual. The wood, called Bluestain Pine, comes from trees damaged by a recent infestation of pine-beetles in BC that caused the blue discoloration of the wood. Perhaps the most remarkable of the building's unique architectural features is the massive rammed-earth wall that makes up the exterior façade.

As Chief Clarence Louie reiterated to me, "...money controls everything..." (Personal interview. Dec. 9, 2010), and the construction of the Centre was limited by the Band's budget. The rammed-earth wall, however, was a worthwhile but unexpected expense. While rammed-earth itself is not a unique building method, the sheer size of this wall is impressive, the largest of its kind in North America. The wall is approximately 2

feet thick (0.6m), 18 feet high (5.5m), and 263 feet long (80m). Reinforced with steel and sandwiched with insulation, the wall was created to be both earthquake resistant and energy efficient since the construction allows it to retain heat in the winter and as *Arch Daily* explains, "...its substantial thermal mass cool[s] the building in the summer – much like the effect the surrounding earth has on a basement" (Saieh 2008). The wall was built layer by layer. Earth that was dug out of the hillside to make room for the Centre was mixed with concrete and iron oxide, laid down one layer at a time and tamped down pneumatically. Carving out the hillside was what ignited the idea for the wall in the first place – the striations in the earth caused by the layers upon layers of sediment that formed the hills around Osoyoos inspired the wall's design. These layers of sediment are replicated through the careful layering of different colours of earth in irregular rows. These are contrasted with the sharp geometrical shape of the wall itself – a union of contemporary design with organic aesthetic.

The rammed-earth wall is hugely important to the Centre – Bob Etienne, one of the Centre's interpreters, considers it a landmark of the Okanagan (Personal interview. Dec. 10, 2010), and certainly as one can see with future developments of the OIB, such as the currently under-construction enterprise park, it has become a meaningful symbol for the Band. Charlotte showed me the much smaller rammed-earth walls that function as a foundation for two of Smoker Marchand's statues marking the entrance of the Senulkemen Enterprise Park. She told me that future developments plan to incorporate rammed-earth since it has become a signature for the Band (Personal communication. Dec. 11, 2010). The Centre's wall has brought the Band some prestigious awards and international attention, which was part of the plan. Chief Clarence Louie stated that it was

important to build the wall, "...because of the attraction of it. You can build any building a hundred different ways and we wanted something unique and something different, something eye-catching" (Personal interview. Dec. 9, 2010). The use of innovative technology and contemporary design, paired with a distinct link to cultural heritage, and an environmental aesthetic and prerogative, has resulted in an architectural marvel that is definitely eye-catching.



Figure 12 Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre. (Saieh 2008) © Nic Lehoux Photography. Printed with permission from the photographer.

The structure of the NDCC is the first thing that visitors see, and visually and corporeally its size and appeal definitely leave an impression. It is at once a part of the land but separate from it. While Charlotte told me that for her, the striations of earth that make up the wall represent both dark and light periods of the Band's history, a visitor's first impression may not be so thoughtful. As Charlotte told me, visitors are often surprised when they first visit, not expecting that "...[the OIB] could develop a 4.5 star resort, and that we could develop and how we can work together and ... build the success

and build the confidence that we have within our people” (Telephone interview. Feb. 7, 2011). The wall makes a bold and proud statement about the value of history, the value of heritage, the value of the environment, and the economic success the Band has had through development and positive leadership. The use of the natural environment in the contemporary design of the building is illustrative of what Brenda Baptiste described as “...something so true and significant for First Nations: we are people with our foot in the past and our foot in the future” (Personal interview. March 9, 2011). That message is held within the architecture of the centre and is clearly expressed at the outset of the visitor’s experience upon their visual engagement with the rammed-earth wall.

Entering the Centre: Coyote’s Gifts

Entering the NDCC, the first thing visitor’s encounter is the gift shop. There are two display cases immediately to the left of the front door housing hand-crafted jewellery made from local materials. Another case holds carved art pieces for sale, such as wooden wolf masks and carved bone knives, made by First Nations artists. To the right of the door is a table, also exhibiting artwork by First Nations artists. Artist profiles displayed on information cards behind or near the object for sale inform visitors about the artists who created them. Displaying these items as individual objects, behind glass and clearly visible, marks them with an importance beyond some of the other objects in the gift shop. This form of display enhances the value of objects since they are separated, protected, and physical access by visitors is restricted – they can only view them like a museum display. These hand-crafted objects are some of the most expensive and high-quality items in the store.

Placing these objects and the gift shop itself at the front entrance of the NDCC serves three purposes. Visually, I argue placing these items in the immediate visual field of visitors entering the centre provides them with what they expect to see. Like one of Valene Smith's (1996) four H's, "...handicrafts...", and as Blundell (2002: 41-44), Doxtator (1995), and Nicholson (2001: 195) have pointed out, traditional arts and crafts are one of the hallmarks of 'Indigenous cultures'. Some indigenous tourism businesses are nothing more than arts and crafts outlets. Drums, feathers, dream catchers, and animal figures have long been associated with First Nations art – as Doxtator's *Fluffs and Feathers* (1992) and *Basket, Bead and Quill* (1995) exhibits attested. So far, visitor expectations are satisfied.

Secondly, the arts and crafts sold at the gift shop are a testament to cultural survival and a form of encouragement for the continuation of traditional and contemporary crafts and fine arts in First Nations and Native American communities. The pieces for sale are not from just the Okanagan region, but from communities across Canada and the United States. For example, the shop sells artwork by Chippewa, Ojibwa, Kwakwaka'wakw, Mohawk, and Sioux, to name a few. Works of art from these and other First Nations and Native American artists are selected and purchased by the OIB based on their quality and story, Charlotte explained to me. She said, "We find that all over there are more people interested in their past, so they start to learn to bead, or make jewellery, or whatever they're deciding" (Personal communication, Dec. 8, 2010). Coyote's Gifts is just one avenue in which Aboriginal artists can benefit economically from making art and finding inspiration in past creative traditions, as well as maintain them. Inspired by heritage and the past, these works of art sold to the gift shop are

contemporary works that illustrate the longevity and persistence of First Nations and Native American cultures. The information cards that stand behind the works and the works themselves offer a learning experience for visitors by showcasing contemporary First Nations' and Native American creativity. Significantly, these information cards add authenticity to the items being sold. By sharing the stories behind the items (though text and through knowledge provided by gift shop retail employees), as well as a picture of the artist along with their Aboriginal affiliation, visitors know they are purchasing 'authentic' Aboriginal art. This works in the same way as certificates of authenticity that are typical in the international art world. From the authentication of an autograph to an Andy Warhol print to West African sculpture in Abidjan (see Steiner 1991), proof of authenticity, whether it comes in the form of a certificate or reliable testimony, is an internationally accepted means to endorse and increase the status and cost of an object.

Bob Etienne stated that featuring Aboriginal artisans from both the Okanagan and outside of the Okanagan is,

...a good way of celebrating our Native culture and bonding with other Bands and tribes that are around. We're not just being selfish and saying, 'this is all mine and this is all we sell'. So when we come into a store like the one that we have and we have a wide variety of gifts and other unique things, it's representing all of us, it's not just one Band involved (Personal interview. Dec. 10, 2010).

The gift shop is just one way in which the NDCC works to being a sense of solidarity to Aboriginal communities inside and outside of the Okanagan. When talking about the gift shop, Charlotte told me that "[Chief] Clarence works with other Aboriginal communities in teaching about economic development and trying to bring up their spirits and so we just feel it's important that we show other art work from other communities and some of the talents that they have" (Telephone interview. Feb. 7, 2011). Creating partnerships and

taking the significance of the NDCC and other OIB businesses well beyond the reserve territory has been a major factor in the economic development of the Band. Encouraging, teaching, and supporting other Aboriginal communities in various ways through the Centre is met with a practical need at the gift shop – the art for sale adds variety to the inventory and, given the fact that there are not many artisans from the Okanagan Nation, the inclusion of arts and crafts from other Bands and Tribes bolsters the artistic showcase.

Thirdly, Coyote's Gifts is perhaps the most important money-maker as far as the NDCC is concerned. As Chief Clarence Louie made clear in our interview, "[Museums and Cultural Centres] don't make money, they lose money" (Personal interview. Dec. 9, 2010). Brenda Baptiste reiterated this point as well (Telephone interview. March 9, 2011). The hope is to at least break even, Chief Clarence Louie continued, "...but the chances of that are pretty remote" (Personal interview. Dec. 9, 2010). The gift shop and some of the new programs, such as the 'Vision Quest' and rappelling wall, as well as attempts to better integrate the Centre with the rest of the Spirit Ridge Resort are also in place to help generate revenue. Visitors enter through the gift shop, and leave through the gift shop, which encourages them to look at what is for sale, and hopefully buy a souvenir.

The gift shop does not only sell fine art and jewellery: there are T-shirts, sweaters, hats, and binders with Nk'Mip logos; moccasins and eyewear; Pemberton blankets and wallets; stickers, magnets, and temporary tattoos depicting First Nations art motifs; stuffed toys of local animals and, for whatever reason, panda bears; arrowheads; rocks and minerals; organic healing salves, mud masks, soaps, and sage grass; onyx and marble giftware; cards; seeds; decorated figurines of horses and wolves; tea towels; books; and

so forth. As Charlotte explained to me, the NDCC's retail manager travels to a retail conference held in Vancouver every year and purchases Coyote Spirit's inventory.

Some of the other things that we put in the gift shop are Aboriginal in nature but they're bought out of Vancouver. Our retail manager goes to a retail conference every year and he purchases for the gift shop... [We] have Pendleton blankets... we try to pick out t-shirts and different things that relate to the desert, our Rattlesnake Program, or something to do with our culture. So there are just a lot of things that people can come and can pick up [as] gifts (Stringam, Charlotte. Personal communication. Dec. 8, 2010).

The gift shop is a part of every museum, for instance Griffiths has stated, "For present day visitors, shopping is an integral part of the museum experience, with satellite shops selling merchandise relating to an exhibit constituting the final room of a show, requiring all visitors to walk through the shop in order to exit the space" (2002: 11). Coyote's Gifts falls into this rubric as well. It functions to fulfill visitor expectations and desires, but also to create revenue for the Centre and support First Nations and Native American artists, artisans, and business owners.

Coyote Spirit

To enter the Centre, visitors purchase an admission ticket from the gift shop cashier. At this point, visitors have the option of exploring the Centre on their own, opting for a tour led by one of the cultural interpreters, or take a self-guided audio tour. Charlotte took me around the centre as if I were on a tour with an interpreter. The first stop is the viewing of the film, *Coyote Spirit*. The film depicts the story of a young girl who was raised off-reserve and comes back to the reserve to visit her grandparents. At first hesitant to the experience, the young girl, with the help of coyote and the guidance of her grandparents, begins to change her perspective and reconnect with her heritage and where she and her family come from.

The film is significant to the OIB for a couple of reasons. First, it shows a lot of the physical landscape and important places to the Band, such as the cemetery and Spotted Lake. It also features local actors. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, is the message of the film. Brenda Baptiste described the message simply as “...transformation...” (Personal interview. March 9, 2011), a theme repeated throughout the Centre. The story of the young girl, of her transformation, is one that was experienced by many of the Band members I was able to speak to: Bob (Personal communication. Dec. 10, 2010) and Charlotte (Personal communication. Dec. 8, 2010) told me about their similar experiences, both having left Osoyoos to return years later. Russell Podgurny, one of the Centre’s interpreters as well as a champion singer and dancer of the Cree Nation, also shared stories of transformation with me (Personal communication. Dec. 2010). These are essentially stories of transformation through embracing heritage and sharing that pride. The intention behind the film is to share these similar experiences with visitors to create a contemporary setting, a mental framework and perspective from which to understand the rest of the Centre. For Brenda it goes even further:

All people, if you go back far enough, all people are indigenous. They all have a culture and a belief and a way of looking at the world through a spiritual, cultural lens. It’s... what makes up your identity. You get your identity from your great grandparents, which are passed on to your grandparents and to your parents. You still hold onto that. And what we wanted was [for] people to engage and understand that their indigenous roots were just as powerful as ours (Baptiste, Brenda. Personal interview. March 9, 2011).

The film was intended to go beyond merely sharing a common story and important local landmarks. As it builds a mental framework for visitors to view the rest of the Centre, it is meant to simultaneously break down any perceived cultural barriers between host and guest. It is not just a film about the OIB, but fundamentally a film about being human and

coming to terms with, or coming to understand our identities. All people have a heritage and family history, and from this foundation *Coyote Spirit* uses spirituality and attachment to place to bring about transformation. It is also from this foundation that visitors can begin to relate and refocus their gazes as they tour the rest of the Centre.

Introduction to the Anthony Walsh Story and Inkameep Day School Gallery



Figure 13 Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre ground floor plan (Saieh 2008).

After exiting the theatre, visitors enter the main room of the NDCC that houses the Inkameep Day School exhibit and gallery. A centre island stands as an interactive station for learning about the *Nsyilxcən* language. Surrounding this area are the Inkameep Day School displays covering two walls and the Bluestain Pine wall that runs the length of the *Chaptik Pit House Theatre*. Charlotte explained that on her tours, after viewing *Coyote Spirit* visitors walk over to the artwork displayed across the pine wall. Four paintings by Dorothy Tinning, an Okanagan-Similkameen artist, hang for-sale above a drawn timeline. The content of these paintings is familiar – they reproduce the sculptures of Smoker Marchand that are found at the Centre (the Chief holding a peace pipe that stands at the entrance of the Centre and the man spearfishing for salmon in the outdoor gallery), and in the Osoyoos area (the rider found outside of the Destination Osoyoos office and the canoe found atop the Sen Pok Chin school). The paintings combine these

sculptures with a vibrant and colourful Okanagan landscape, making it appear as though the sculptures are truly interacting with the world around them. While these paintings hang as clear examples of a continued dedication to the arts by some talented Okanagan people, it is what lies below these paintings that is of greater significance to the Inkameep Day School exhibit.

The timeline is made up from several separate drawings that were put together (Figure 10). They illustrate a period of transition, from the ‘Early Indian Period’ before the arrival of Europeans to the ‘Present Day Indian Reserve’, which would have been between the 1930s and 1940s. Like the other children’s art at the Centre, the timeline is a reflection of the children’s experiences during this time period (Walsh 2005). Charlotte moved image by image as she explained the timeline to me, peppering this description with stories about how the changes in life in Osoyoos affect the Band to this day. For instance, following the arrival of the first horse, which is depicted through the text ‘The First Horse’ and an Okanagan man riding a wild horse bareback, there are scenes showing domesticated horses carrying Europeans and East Asian miners. A depiction of men using horses in ranching and agriculture follow this scene. Here, at the ‘Stock and Orchard Period’, Charlotte told me about the contemporary cowboys and cowgirls of the OIB and the popularity of rodeo (Personal communication. Dec. 8, 2010). From this timeline, visitors gain a brief illustrated history of the band, from time before European contact, through important changes, and to the period of the Inkameep Day School, where the story is continued through the rest of the exhibit.

The wall opposite to the *Chaptik Pit House Theatre* and the timeline is made up of a false façade meant to recreate the front of the Inkameep Day School (Figure 9). It

appears to emerge from the walls of the Centre. A large plaque-mounted drawing stands in front of the door as the life-size recreation of a 1941 photograph depicting school teacher Anthony Walsh standing at the front door of the school with his students (Figure 14). While the realism of the display makes it appear as though Walsh and his students are present in the centre, the black-and-white drawing reminds viewers of their existence in the past, and the fact that they are in a gallery, since a drawing has been used rather than the reproduction of the photograph it was taken from. The use of a drawing immediately acknowledges one of the goals of the exhibition, which is to emphasize the artistic prowess of the Okanagan people.

See URL:

<http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/expositions-exhibitions/inkameep/english/catalogue/pages/0095.php>

Figure 14 'School Children 1941' Image #0095 (Virtual Museum of Canada 2004).

Information placards with text and photographs surround the life-size drawing of the day school students. They provide an introduction to the Day School and the Anthony Walsh story, as well as some background on education on the reserve. They describe the significance of the *Chaptik* stories to traditional learning, as well as the role of Chief Baptiste George in the development of education on reserve. The Inkameep Day School opened in 1915 following an appeal made by Chief George to the Department of Indian Affairs that a school be established on the reserve. During a time when residential schools were the norm and children were removed from their homes as part of the government's assimilation policy, Inkameep Day School was an anomaly. Wanting to

keep children with their families to maintain a strong community, the OIB funded the school entirely, from construction to payroll. Through the advisement of the Department of Indian Affairs, new teachers were hired continually (Baptiste 2005: 17). That was until 1932 when Mr. Anthony Walsh was hired to teach at the school; he resigned from Inkameep Day School after a decade in 1942.

The wall between these two displays houses a large display case (Figure 8), the contents of which makes up the primary portion of the exhibition. The display case presents a collage of photographs (11), paintings and drawings by Inkameep Day School students (20), information placards containing text (9) and material objects and artifacts (20) to convey aspects of the Inkameep Day School story, the history of the OIB, and of course, the lands, the legends, and the people. The band of the timeline is repeated at the crown of the display case, showing another drawing from the Inkameep School, *Animal Tug-of-War* by Frank Stelkia (Showkame). The drawings found within the display cases are all framed by wood and white matting, which visually connects the three parts of the display. These drawings are the product of the Day School and a period of history that is so important for the OIB to share, they are the purpose for the exhibit as a whole, and a vehicle for expressing contemporary and collective OIB identity. For these reasons they are the visual anchors for the semiotic analysis of the display.

The Inkameep Day School Gallery

The Inkameep Day School Gallery is separated into three sections and the story of the Day School and information about the lands, the legends, and the people are told through the three corresponding themes (Figure 8). Moving from left to right, as one would read a book, the themes are the ‘Discovery of Talent and Culture’, ‘People of the

Land’, and ‘Traditions Old and New’. The analysis of the display begins with the ‘Discovery of Talent and Culture’, though it should be noted that the display is set up in such a way that its sections can be experienced in any order. The content of each section is also arranged in such a manner that the eye moves randomly across it, from point of interest to point of interest. This makes viewing and interpretation subjective. Where the viewer begins to look at the display, the path their eyes follow over the display, and what is overlooked in the display will vary from person to person. Therefore, these analyses are not exhaustive and based on my personal experiences and interpretations from looking at the displays.

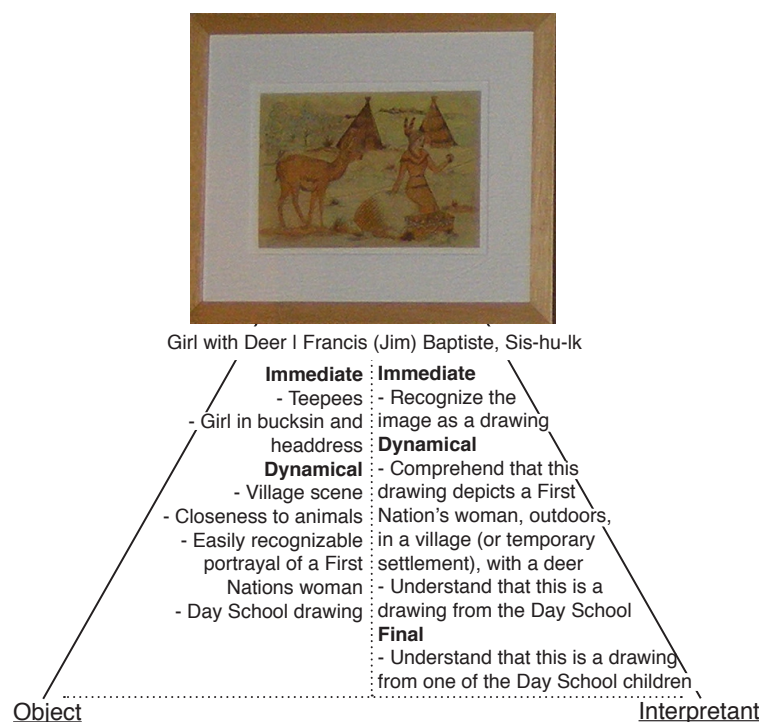


Figure 15 The Discovery of Talent and Culture. Semiotic Analysis Part 1. © Kathryn Bresner

‘Girl with Deer’ by Francis Baptiste, Sis-hu-ik, is one of the seven children’s drawings found in the ‘Discovery of Talent and Culture’ portion of the exhibit display. I

chose to begin with this drawing because of the familiarity of it – Figure 16 confirms the familiarity of it as it is paired directly with a letter from Walt Disney Productions, which is easily recognizable due to the presence of Disney in popular culture. In reality, the two images are viewed almost simultaneously. As with the other elements of the display, which elements are viewed in relation to each other is determined both by the items' proximity and subjective interpretation. However, for the purposes of demonstrating these relations through semiotic analysis, I start with Figure 15.

It is immediately apparent that there are a number of signs found within this drawing: the teepee, the deer, the girl, and the trees. Collectively they make up a drawing, which in itself is considered a sign made up of a combination of icons, indices, and symbols. As demonstrated by Figure 15, some knowledge must be present in order to begin the interpretation of this drawing. First of all, knowing that this is an exhibit showing drawings done by children from the Inkameep Day School leads one to assume that this is an example of such and its creator must have attended the school during Anthony Walsh's tenure. Secondly, familiarity with iconography that is representative of North American 'Indian' culture – the teepee, the buckskin clothing, the feather headband, closeness to nature illustrated by the landscape and animals – and of course awareness that they are in a band's cultural centre, allows the viewer to comprehend what the scene depicts. It is a drawing of an Okanagan woman, holding an apple, near a village (or temporary settlement), with a deer. Further examination of the image shows a basket of apples at the woman's feet and an apple orchard in the background. Beyond the visually obvious imagery, little more can be correctly extracted from this drawing without any additional knowledge.

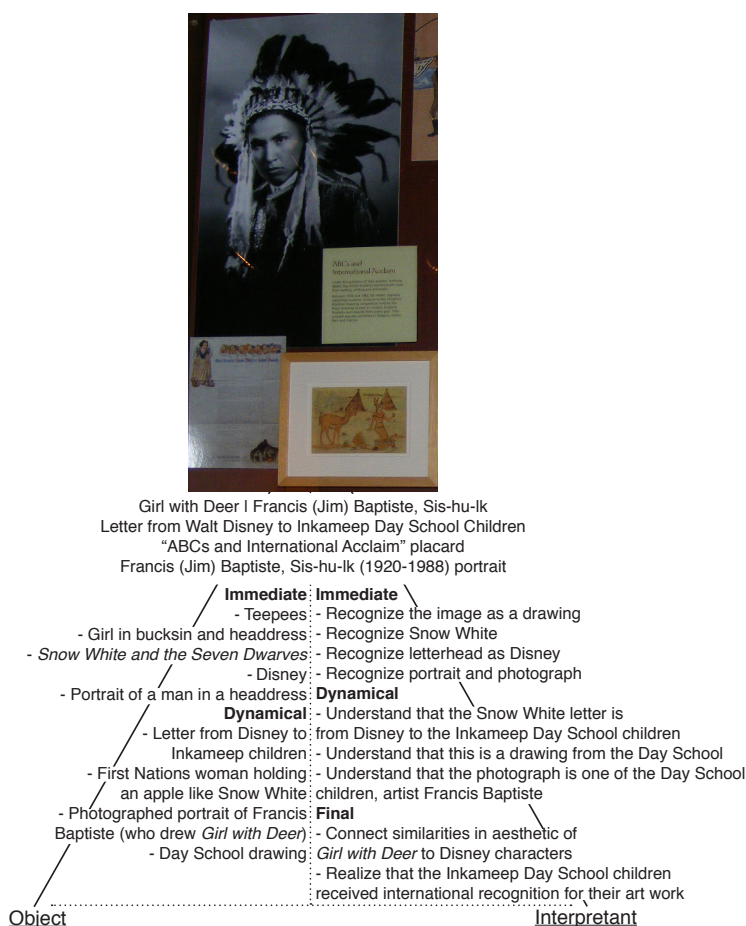


Figure 16 The Discovery of Talent and Culture. Semiotic Analysis Part 2. © Kathryn Bresner

In the immediate visual vicinity one is given much more information through additional content. The content – a photograph, a letter, and an information placard – all inform each other, adding information to better understand each element. In Figure 16, viewers see the photographed portrait of Francis Baptiste, Sis-hu-lk. Though to know this, one has to consult the display’s legend that contains additional textual information, primarily titles and artist names, matched with a numbered map. Again, with the aid of the legend, it becomes clear that the man pictured above is the artist responsible for ‘Girl with Deer’. The letter from Walt Disney Productions placed with the drawing slightly overlapping it suggests a relationship. Viewing these elements and acknowledging the

Disney-like style of ‘Girl with Deer’, one might conclude that Francis Baptiste was influenced by the drawings and animation of Walt Disney studios. Reading of the text of the information placard also provides more information about the display as a whole. The placard briefly describes Anthony Walsh’s efforts to submit his students’ artwork for international competitions, where they were very successful and were awarded with international acclaim. Upon learning that the talent the children possessed was acknowledged and respected well outside the boundaries of the reserve, in my experience, added a greater appreciation for the children’s art. External verification of the art works’ worth lowers the value of the viewer’s personal aesthetic taste and heightens the value of the art. If international authorities have acknowledged it as valuable, then it must be.

As the view expands to engage with more of this section of the display (Figure 17), visitors consume more information about the Day School story and the OIB. A drawing of soldiers going off to war (the same drawing found in a section of the timeline), paired with a photograph of Ernest Baptiste who lost his life in Italy during the Second World War, stand as evidence that Band members participated in the War and it relates to a familiar part of world history, providing a frame of reference. A drawing, ‘Chief Wearing Headdress’, overlaps the two. The physical proximity it has to the photograph of Ernest Baptiste suggests that he is responsible for this drawing – this is confirmed by the legend.

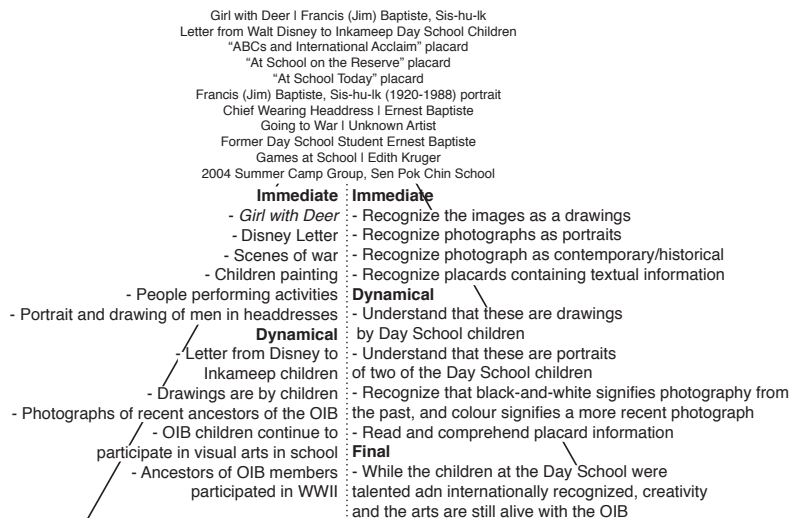


Figure 17 The Discovery of Talent and Culture. Semiotic Analysis Part 3. © Kathryn Bresner

The information placards also provide important information for the overall message of this display – visitors have already learned that the children’s drawings played a role on the international stage. The placard entitled ‘At School on the Reserve’ provides text indicating that Anthony Walsh did much more than just popularize the children’s art. He was a part of the BC Society for Indian Arts and Welfare and opened up an avenue for the celebration of First Nations art and culture, and at some level, initiated a change in attitude towards First Nations people and reconsideration of the Indian Act. As the placard states best, “The Day School students, their art, and their lives had reached out of a small reserve to capture the hearts and minds of people across Canada and around the world.”

However, this important part of OIB history is not isolated to the Anthony Walsh period. A colour image, which suggests that it is contemporary, depicts children painting. An information placard that is found to the left of the image provides information with which to understand this picture. From it, one learns that the OIB continue to support their children and culture through an on-reserve school, Sen Pok Chin. The school provides a combination of contemporary learning and education in Okanagan language and culture. The values encouraged by Anthony Walsh – a deep appreciation for tradition, talent, and culture – and importantly, the pride in his people and the importance of education that guided Chief Baptiste George during a period of great transition, continue today. These values are an entrenched part of OIB identity.

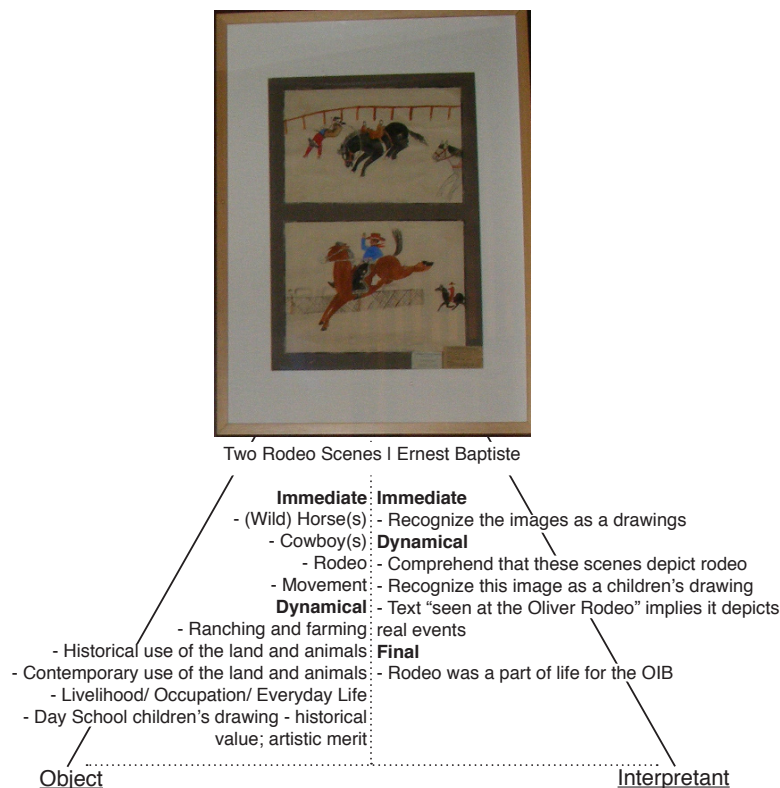


Figure 18 People of the Land. Semiotic Analysis Part 1. © Kathryn Bresner

The middle section of the display case is entitled, 'People of the Land'. The drawings I begin my analysis with are by Ernest Baptiste, and according to this section's

legend, are collectively entitled 'Two Rodeo Scenes'. Horses, men, and a fence are clearly decipherable. Previous knowledge of rodeo (for instance, typical riding attire - cowboy hat, chaps - may signify that the figure depicted is a cowboy) is helpful to correctly interpret this image. The fence depicted suggests a confined area, which is also commonplace in rodeo competitions. The movement suggested by the positioning of the horse and its body parts, as well as the position of the cowboys on top of the horses, suggest that these are scenes freezing action, as well as adding evidence to the interpretation that they illustrate rodeo. The drawings also contain text that clearly directs the viewer to a favoured interpretation: "Seen at the Oliver Rodeo". The drawings depict an actual, local event.

Nearby photographs and an information placard confirm the interpretation as seen in Figure 19. The large black and white photograph is of Ernest Baptiste riding a rodeo horse during the 1940 Calgary Stampede. The photograph provides evidence for what is claimed by the drawing. While they depict different events, the fact remains that a former Day School student participated competitively in rodeo, and other band members probably did as well. A small colour photograph, which indicates it was taken much closer to present day than the photo of Ernest Baptiste, overlaps the black and white photograph along with an information placard. The colour photograph shows a scene with horses and people: some working on the ground and two riders. The information placard briefly describes the role of ranching and farming in the Okanagan and its impact on Okanagan people. Introduced by European settlers during the nineteenth century, ranching and farming, breeding horses, and rodeo riding continue to be a part of

Okanagan life and livelihood. The photographs that frame the information placard connect the past to the present, demonstrating temporality.

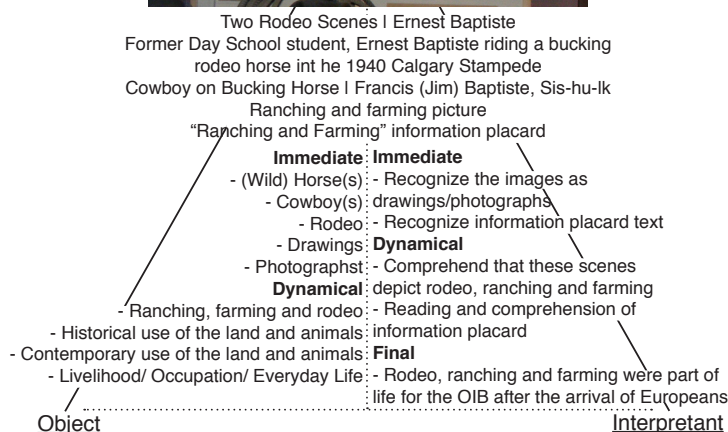


Figure 19 People of the Land. Semiotic Analysis Part 2. © Kathryn Bresner

A saddle, visible in Figure 20, is the main feature of this section, placed prominently front and centre. Along with other drawings from the Day School, there are more artifacts, such as a basket, spear, and cowboy hat, another colour photograph and two awards: the 2004 National Aboriginal Achievement Award awarded to Chief Clarence Louie and the 2007 Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia's Inspirational Leadership Award. The accolades are demonstrative of the Band's achievements and the outstanding leadership of Chief Clarence Louie. Such honours function to acknowledge outstanding achievement and separate the bearer from others that fall into the same category of success. Placing these awards in public view as a part

of the exhibit does a few things: it impresses upon visitors that what the OIB has accomplished to date is extraordinary; it is through the Band structure, and the leadership of the Chief that this has been made possible; the success and international acclaim granted in the past with Anthony Walsh and through the leadership of Chief Baptiste George does not remain in the past – management of change and development is continuous.



Two Rodeo Scenes | Ernest Baptiste
 Former Day School student, Ernest Baptiste riding a bucking rodeo horse in the 1940 Calgary Stampede
 Cowboy on Bucking Horse | Francis (Jim) Baptiste, Sis-hu-ik
 Ranching and farming picture
 "Ranching and Farming" placard
 "Living Here Today" placard
 Cowboy and Horses | Johnny Stelkia
 OIB members in vineyard
 2004 National Aboriginal Achievement Award
 Saddle

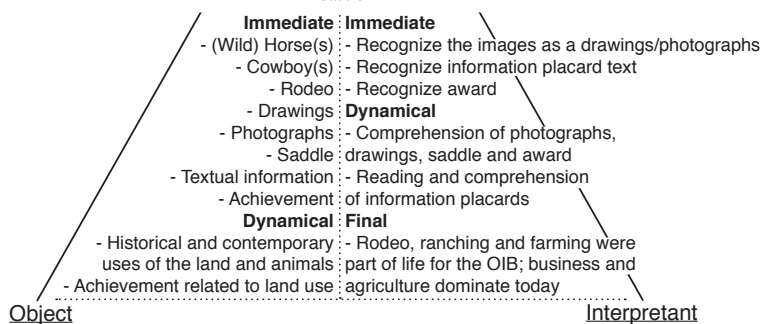


Figure 20 People of the Land. Semiotic Analysis Part 3. © Kathryn Bresner

‘The People of the Land’ section of the display teaches visitors about just that – how the people use and used the land. An information placard describes traditional land use. The Day School drawings surrounding it, alongside some key artifacts, verify these

claims. A spear for fishing and a birch bark basket for collecting roots stand as evidence for their past uses. Two drawings, 'Women Digging Bitterroot' and 'Woman Tanning Hide' by Francis Baptiste to the left of the saddle show women in action, interacting with the land and animals, respectively. The women and the technology used to aid their actions are the only images depicted in these drawings, giving them an ethnographic quality. These scenes are replicated outdoors through the sculptural work of Smoker Marchand: the woman digging for bitterroot appears in the creation story exhibit of the outdoor gallery and a replica stretched hide ready for tanning is in the Okanagan village.

To the right of the saddle is another information placard that describes the economic priorities of the Band today. In addition to ranching and farming, "The band administers commercial, residential and industrial businesses and partnerships in addition to health, social, educational and governance services." Agriculture is also a large part of the OIB's economy – a colour photograph of OIB members in Nk'Mip Vineyards that the placard overlaps attests to this. The display as a whole suggests the centrality of ranching and rodeo through the size and quantity of drawings related to these practices, and the saddle that, through its size and positioning, dominates the display. Visually separated by the large fishing spear, the even more distant past is isolated on the left side of this section, with the more recent past on the right.

The third section of the display case is dedicated to *Traditions Old and New*. It begins like the others, with the legend, which gives viewers a brief context to understand what is being displayed. It describes Anthony Walsh's teaching at the Day School, which encouraged learning both traditional Okanagan culture and encroaching European culture - an unusual acceptance of hybridity during this period in Canadian history. 'Animal Tug

of War' by Frank Stelkia is one of the 7 children's drawings found in this display (Figure 21). Like the other works of art, it is difficult to discern a correct interpretation of the images without additional information and context. Anthropomorphic animals dressed in buckskin are depicted. The knowledge that the real versions of these animals do not have bodies like human beings places the content of this work somewhere outside of reality, perhaps in the realm of myth and legend. In popular culture, anthropomorphic animals are found in cartoons and storybooks, so it is reasonable to assume that a visitor may think that the drawing illustrates part of a children's story. A visitor must also be familiar with tug-of-war to understand what the animals are doing.

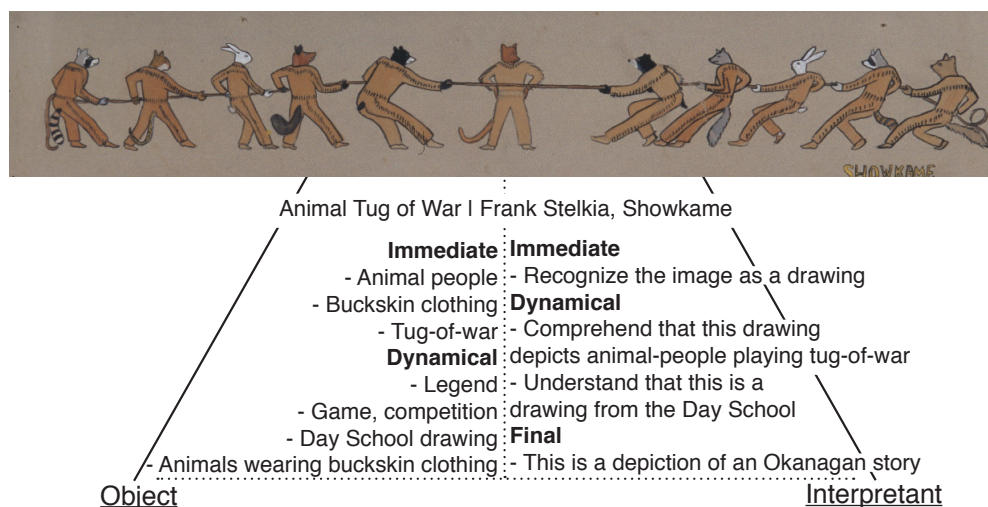


Figure 21 Traditions Old and New. Semiotic Analysis Part 1. © Kathryn Bresner

Additional information is needed in order to grasp what this drawing actually depicts, which is where guidance from a cultural interpreter or audio guide is necessary.

'Animal Tug of War',

...depicts a popular game played by the children at the Inkameep Day School. [Frank Stelkia's] drawing is an example of how the children often anthropomorphized animals in their art. By visualizing animals in this fashion, it would appear that the children's viewpoints were consistent with many First Nations beliefs about animal/human relationships and narratives

of transformation. Traditional stories of transformation often describe a change or shift in being whereby humans acquire animal form while retaining human characteristics (Walsh 2005: 27).

The drawing is further assessed to represent the children of the day school playing tug-of-war, with Anthony Walsh as coyote the referee. This information is unavailable to visitors merely viewing the images and text of the display.

Viewing more of this section's content enhances the context of the section as a whole and the viewers understanding and interpretation of the messages within the art, photographs and information placards.

The expanded view of Figure 22 encompasses more of the children's art, a black-and-white photograph and an information placard. From the information placard, 'Okanagan Tradition through Legend and Song', one learns that the children were more than visual artists; performance also played a large role in their education with Anthony Walsh. The children's performances, like their drawings, received attention and recognition outside of the reserve. A black and white photograph directly beside the placard shows eight people dressed up in the outdoors. With the help of the legend, we learn that this is a photograph of the Day School students performing a play. The drawing directly above it, 'Animals Dancing' by Johnny Stelkia, Thith-Hak-Kay, shows more anthropomorphic animals. This time, however, they are dancing in a circular pattern with the tallest character in the centre, which is repeated in the photograph where the children appear to be standing in a semi-circle, with one of the children elevated above the others in the middle. This drawing, in conjunction with the information placard, may lead the viewer to determine that the children are dressed as animal-people, directly connecting their buckskin dress and masks to the buckskin and animal faces of the characters in

Johnny Stelkia (Thith-Hak-Kay)'s drawing. Through drawing and performance the children retold traditional Okanagan stories.



Animal Tug of War | Frank Stelkia, Showkame
 Animals Dancing | Johnny Stelkia, Thith-hak-kay
 Day School students performing plays
 Page from the Tale of the Nativity Booklet | Francis (Jim) Baptiste, Sis-hu-lk
 Holy Family in Canoe | Bertha Baptiste, Clotill

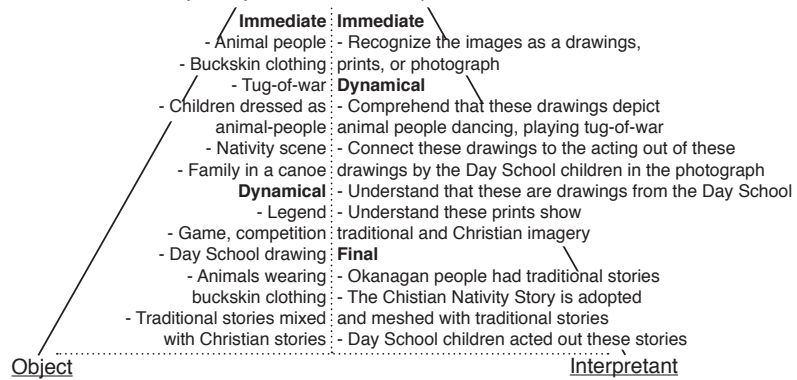


Figure 22 Traditions Old and New. Semiotic Analysis Part 2. © Kathryn Bresner

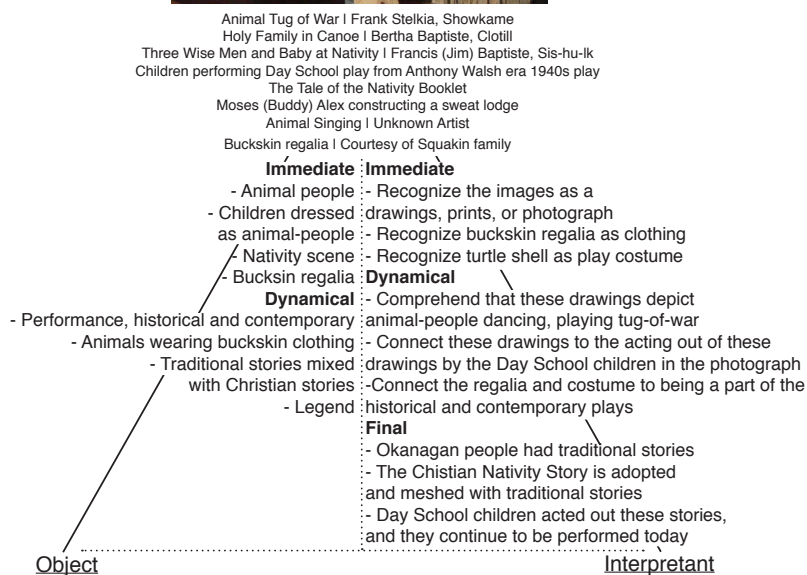


Figure 23 Traditions Old and New. Semiotic Analysis Part 3. © Kathryn Bresner

Two material objects stand out in this section of the display: a painted turtle shell costume and buckskin regalia. Standing amongst the drawings and photographs, a viewer might conclude that these objects were used in the children's performances. Glancing at the legend, visitors can read that they are more than that. The turtle shell costume was certainly used in a children's performance of a Day School play – in 2004. From this object and its accompanying text there is a direct interpretation that children continue to perform the plays created in the 1940s by the Day School children. A contemporary colour photograph attests to this as well, showing children dressed up in costume posing for the camera – including a child wearing the turtle costume standing just left of centre.

The information placard directly beside the turtle shell confirms the importance of maintaining these new and old traditions of performance and storytelling. This example of continuing tradition also serves as an opening for cultural interpreters to discuss the significance of maintaining other elements of traditional Okanagan culture: food, spiritual practices, political organization, and social relationships.

There are a few other important elements to this display that may be at once familiar and different to visitors. A booklet with the title ‘The Tale of the Nativity’ and a drawing of the Nativity story show that it was not only traditional Okanagan legends that were performed and drawn by the children in the 1930s and 1940s. The ‘One Reserve, Two Traditions’ information placard partially explains the duality of the Day School, teaching both Okanagan and Christian traditions. Upon reading this placard, another more discrete element of the drawings becomes apparent: some of them are signed in a child’s Okanagan name, while others are signed in a child’s European name. At the Day School they were encouraged to use both – another rare practice as the use of Aboriginal names was entirely discouraged by government policy. The placard also states, “The children also interpreted both Okanagan and Christian traditions through Okanagan eyes”. While this provides some context for understanding the drawings, it does not fully explain the Nativity themed items on display beyond the assumption that they are the presentation of the Nativity story “...through Okanagan eyes”.

While the interpretation that the Nativity story was reinterpreted “through Okanagan eyes” by the Day School children is not incorrect, it is not the entire story. During a Christmas card making exercise, Anthony Walsh found that the children had created a number of images featuring Aboriginal peoples as the Holy Family. As Walsh explains,

“He asked the children, ‘If the Nativity had taken place in the lower Okanagan Valley, what would have been the setting?’” (2005: 11). The end result of this question was the writing of ‘The Tale of the Nativity’ play, evidenced by the booklet in the display case. During my visit, Charlotte told me that children at Sen Pok Chin school perform this play every year, and they were currently rehearsing in order to present it to their friends and family at the Oliver Theatre (Personal communication. Dec. 2010). However, this information cannot be derived from the visuals present in the display. Though, the overall message is that it is important to the OIB to maintain these mixed traditions and celebrate the ingenuity of the Day School children by continuing to perform their plays.

The three sections of the Day School exhibit tell the story of the Anthony Walsh period through the children’s art that was produced during that time, material objects and artifacts, photographs, information placards, and the legends that help guide the viewer’s understanding of the visuals presented to them. The three sections share three messages: the creativity and successes of the OIB in the past and present, the uses of the land in the past and present, and the maintenance of traditions in the past and present. The present of the OIB is directly linked to a past time, the period of transformation where life for the First Peoples of the Okanagan was drastically changing. Managing these changes in a productive and protective way is attributed directly to the leadership of the Band; during the Inkameep Day School period this was due to Chief Baptiste George and today Chief Clarence Louie parallels that success and foresight. Artistic prowess and the value of the visual and performing arts is also maintained through the examples provided by the displays – for instance, that the plays created and conducted by the Day School children are still performed today – as well as through the Centre itself, its architecture and the

collection of contemporary artwork. The Day School story and the meanings attributed to it are an integral part of OIB identity, and this is expressed throughout this exhibit and reiterated throughout the Centre.

Chaptik Stories: Voices From the Past

In the centre of the NDCC is the *Chaptik Pit House Theatre*. A circular structure meant to resemble a pit house, the theatre is a multi-sensory experience that tells a story about coyote and the land. The theatre was dark when I entered it, with seating around the perimeter and a fake fire pit in the centre. Noises, those one might hear outdoors, begin to play and the screens light up on the angled ceilings. The film opens with a man speaking *Nsyilxcən*, stating that it is through storytelling that one learns to speak the language and respect the land, setting the stage for the story about to be told. The story begins, and it takes place back in time, before the arrival of human beings, when the world was ruled by animal-people. Coyote is again a main character in this story like *Coyote Spirit*. In the story, a dam made by a monster prevents the salmon from reaching spawning grounds and coyote, *Sinklip*, eventually saves the day, opening up the river again. The story is told in the pit house theatre through a series of sound effects, lighting effects, and film.

In *Museums as Contact Zones*, James Clifford (1997) discusses how the stories presented in cultural and heritage centres are often metaphorically inlaid with the present conditions of the host. This story does exactly that. The film uses animal-people to set the story in a different time, but the story itself is based on recent events. The blending of past and present through storytelling is also a way to demonstrate to visitors the importance of maintaining oral traditions, and opening themselves up to more spiritual means of expression that does not necessarily conflict with Western preferences for

corporeality. At once, *Voices from the Past* teaches about Nk'Mip language, oral traditions, spirituality, the value of the nature and the natural world, and its temporality makes it perpetually relevant.

The story of coyote and the salmon is literally the story of the Okanagan Nations Alliance working to restore spawning sockeye populations to the Okanagan River that were depleted following, “Construction of dams, channelization, urban encroachment, water management practices, and predation...” (Okanagan Nations Alliance 2004). The effort to reverse the damage has so far been successful and the *Chaptik Theatre* is one venue for visitors to learn about the importance of this mission to the OIB.

The three themes proposed by the centre, as well as the three messages these themes convey are all present here. In the former, this story is about the land – the animals that inhabit it and the river itself; the story is presented as a legend; and finally the people exist in the form of the animal-people – coyote is the protagonist and akin to the Okanagan people, and the monster is the antagonist, a manifestation of the intruders into the area, settlers, business people, and the federal and provincial government who have in various ways disrupted the natural flow of the river and the animals that live within it. In the latter, the past and present are made ambiguous by telling this story as a legend and therefore easily overlaid into any time period. The result is a message of transformation – the negative transformation of the river in the past and the positive transformation of the river in the present. Authenticity is, too, present at the *Chaptik Theatre*. Perhaps most significant is the way the story is told, with both literal and spiritual meanings presented through the mode of storytelling. Also, authenticity is

reiterated through the use of the traditional language, which both binds the story locally to the Okanagan Nation and gives it authority.

***Chaptik* Stories: The Creation Story and the Outdoor Gallery**

After *Voices of the Past*, visitors on the cultural tour are taken outside to the outdoor gallery and exhibits that make up the ‘outdoor interpretive area’. Upon exiting the Centre, visitors see a historical timeline to the left, theatre seating for the rattlesnake program to the right, and the outdoor gallery directly ahead (Figure 11). At the apex of the gallery is a huge teepee-like structure, which is an area reserved for storytelling and other interactions between interpreters and visitors. The outdoor gallery is made up of information placards and sculptures deliberately placed through fenced-in patches of natural habitat that teach visitors about the land: the plants and animals, and their traditional uses by Okanagan people. Through these elements it also shares what Charlotte calls the Okanagan ‘creation story,’ a *Chaptik* legend about the animal-people preparing for the arrival of the first human beings.

The colours used in the statues by Smoker Marchand blend in with the surrounding environment, but still stand out, demarcating areas of interest and a sometimes surprising visual stimulus as they interrupt the gaze over the landscape. Smoker’s statues are unique in style and easily recognizable; they are also found throughout the Spirit Ridge Resort, at Sen Pok Chin School, the health clinic, and in front of the Osoyoos Visitor Centre. The repetition of Smoker’s artwork in its distinctive style, mechanical and metal, yet simultaneously earthy and worn, connects these different locations together aesthetically. Their prominence at the Centre and Spirit Ridge Resort, particularly ‘The Chief’ that overlooks their entrance creates a signature aesthetic that is

directly associated with the OIB. It is for this reason and the fact that these sculptures stand out as the primary visual stimulus in the outdoor exhibit that they are used as anchors in the semiotic analysis of these displays.

The creation story is told through the displays found in the outdoor gallery's centre island that visitors can walk around and view in any order they please. This island contains natural habitat populated with four of Smoker Marchand's metal sculptures and their affiliated information placards. The creation story is about the animal-people preparing for the arrival of the first human beings. They would have to provide for them, since humans could not care for themselves. The four Food Chiefs are the prominent characters in this story, as they gave themselves as food for the People-To-Be; they are Black Bear (*skemxist*), Salmon (*ntiytiyx*), Saskatoon Berries (*siya?*), and Bitterroot (*sp'itλ'm*). As Charlotte summarized during my tour, "Bear was something to hunt for, *siya?* are the things that we pick, salmon are the things that we fish for and *sp'itλ'm* are the things that we dig for. So when we traveled we either fished, hunted, picked berries, or dug for root" (Personal communication. Dec. 8, 2010). This story simultaneously teaches about the lands, the legends and the people – through legend, how people use(d) the land is described, and the interconnectivity between people, the land and the plants and animals is explained. Through exhibition, temporality, in terms of land use and beliefs, are visually expressed in Smoker Marchand's sculptural work. The creation story, the spiritual significance, and details on how the four Food Chiefs were accessed, harvested and processed are expressed through the supplementary information placards and the oral narrative provided by the cultural interpreter or audio guide.

One of the gallery's sculptures is the black bear, painted black (Figure 24). Large sheets of metal come together to create the animal and make it appear as though the bear is interacting with the landscape. The immediate object, being a sculpture of the black bear, coupled with the landscape it exists in, leads one to the conclusion that real black bears probably exist in this environment, and given the context of the NDCC, must hold some significance to Okanagan people. This is verified through the additional information provided by the information placard (Figure 25).

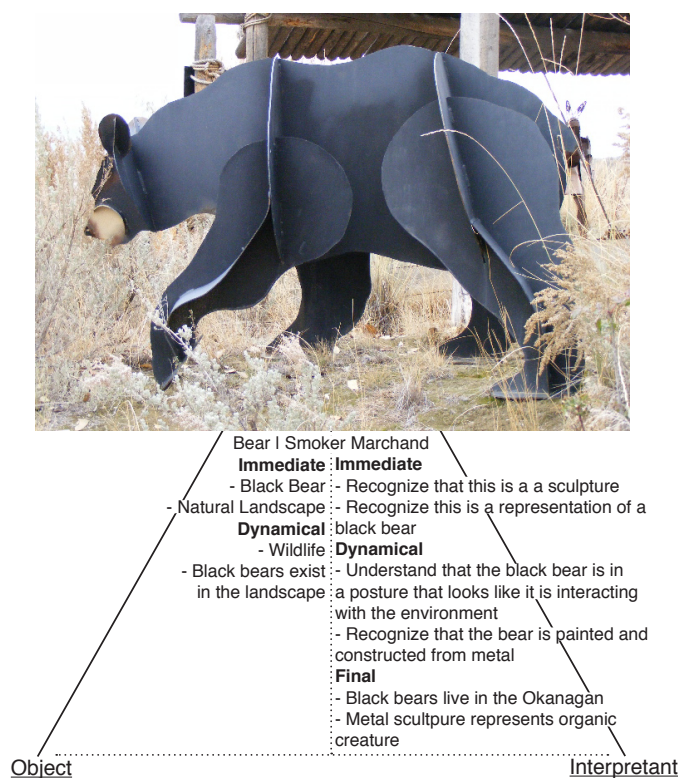


Figure 24 Black Bear *skemxist*. Semiotic Analysis Part 1. © Kathryn Bresner

The image of a real black bear on the placard in Figure 25 adds to the interpretation that the sculpture represents the real animal. The image and the text verify correct (or deny incorrect) interpretations of the sculpture. However, given the nature of the exhibit, one cannot discern where visual interpretation begins – with the information placard or with the sculpture. If the information placard is interpreted first, it will serve to inform the

understanding of the sculpture, but in the end the messages are the same. Text is clearly necessary to provide the additional information about the black bear – its *Nsyilxcən* name, spiritual and cultural significance, and information about hunting. The sculpture alone cannot express this information. As Figure 24 demonstrates, little knowledge can be extracted about the black bear and Okanagan people from the sculpture beyond acknowledging its presence.

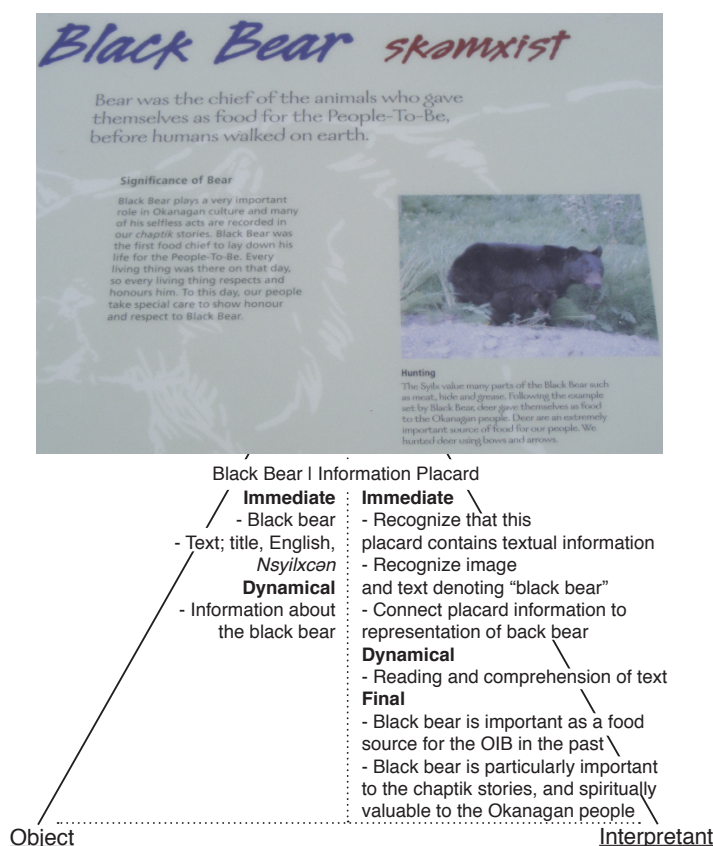


Figure 25 Black Bear *skemxist*. Semiotic Analysis Part 2. © Kathryn Bresner

Like black bear, the sculpture of the two salmon jumping is painted in colour, which is unique for these two animal sculptures – the rest of Smoker Marchand’s sculptures at the Centre are black or rusted in colour. The significance of this would have to be assumed, so this will not be analyzed. The salmon sculpture (Figure 26) is not realistic, but the subjects depicted are obvious. Standing alone, little knowledge can be

discerned from the sculpture, beyond its presence indicating some significance to Okanagan peoples and that salmon must exist in the natural landscape of the area. Additional information is needed. Another sculpture in close proximity shows a man hunting salmon. This provides some additional information – men hunted salmon, salmon were hunted with spears, and the outfit depicted on the man is a representation of what men wore in the past (Figure 27). More information is available in the form of an information placard.

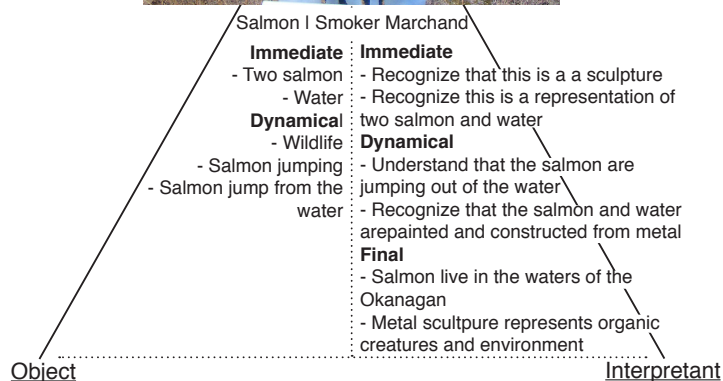
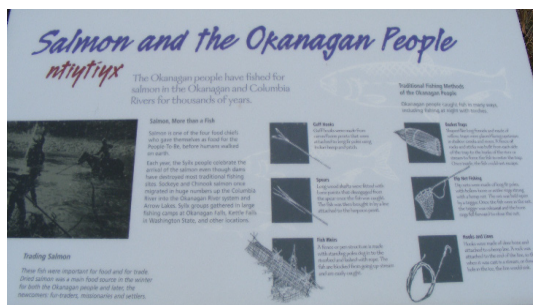


Figure 26 Salmon *ntiytiyx*. Semiotic Analysis Part 1. © Kathryn Bresner



Figure 27 Man Hunting Salmon | Smoker Marchand. © Kathryn Bresner



Salmon I Information Placard

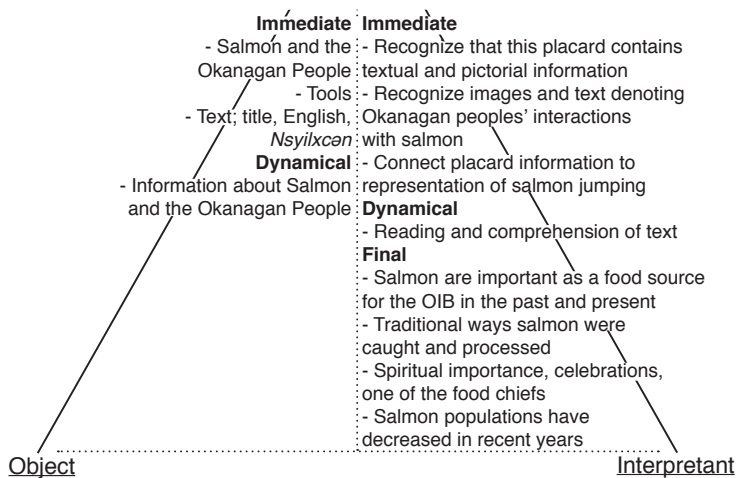


Figure 28 Salmon *ntiytiyx*. Semiotic Analysis Part 2. © Kathryn Bresner

Through the textual and visual information provided on the placard (Figure 28), more information is expressed than the sculptures can express alone. The reading and comprehension of the text on the placard reveals the role of the salmon in the *Chaptik* story, the tools and methods used to catch salmon, and that salmon were not only important as a food source for Okanagan people, but early settlers and trade as well. Like the display of black bear, the information placard informs the interpretation of the salmon sculpture. However, there is no visual depiction of real salmon – previous knowledge of salmon as a type of fish, knowledge of what fish look like, and more specifically what salmon look like, is required to connect the information placard to the salmon sculptures.

Siya?, Saskatoon berries, are the third element of the *Chaptik* creation story.

Unlike the black bear or salmon, the plant is not literally represented by a sculpture. Instead, visitors are encouraged to read the information placard in order to understand what it is informing. It cues the visual connection with the environment, once viewers have learned the pattern that information placards are connected to some other visual element in the exhibit. Assuming the visitor viewing the exhibit does not have previous knowledge of the region's botanical diversity, the placard shows photographs of Saskatoon berries and bushes, prompting the viewer to look for the plant in the proximate natural landscape (Figure 29). The text of the Saskatoon berry's information placard presents more information that is useful to the visual understanding of another one of Smoker Marchand's sculptures that stands in proximity (Figure 30). Seasonal information, food processing information, and additional uses of the Saskatoon bushes is presented as well. With some previous knowledge of berry picking, primarily the necessity of a basket or carrying vessel for storing picked berries during the process, is

needed to associate the sculpture with the Saskatoon berry information placard. However, during the summer seasons the connection between the sculpture and the Saskatoon bushes may be more obvious; since I visited during the winter the plant was not present.

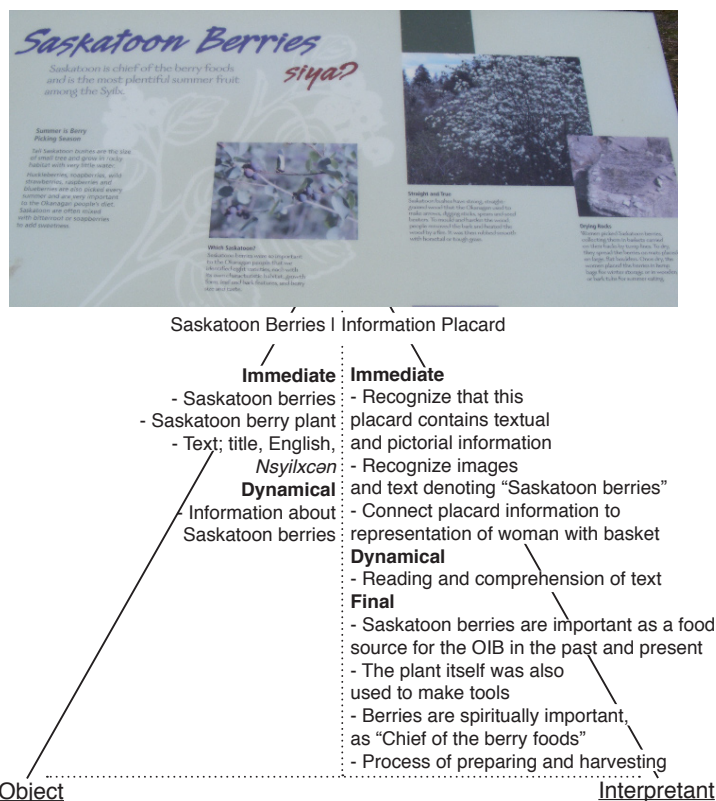


Figure 29 Saskatoon Berries *siya?* Semiotic Analysis Part 1. © Kathryn Bresner

The sculpture is not painted, but rather rusted and weathered in appearance like Smoker's other humanoid figures. The semiotic analysis shows that preliminary visual interpretation suggests that the sculpture is probably female (considering the dress and hairstyle), she is interacting with the environment and she is interacting with the basket placed on her hip. One requires previous knowledge of what a basket is, what it is used for, and what it looks like to correctly interpret the object as such. One also requires knowledge of gendered differences in dress to interpret whether this sculpture represents a man or a woman – the same is true for Figure 27.



Woman Picking Saskatoon Berries | Smoker Marchand

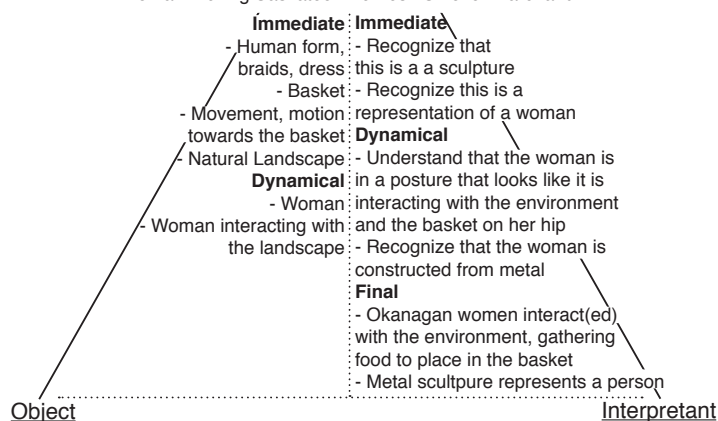


Figure 30 Saskatoon Berries *siya?*. Semiotic Analysis Part 2. © Kathryn Bresner

In order to accurately interpret what the sculpture is depicting – how is the woman interacting with the environment? What is she doing? – the information placard of the Saskatoon berry, or a cultural interpreter, is required.

Similar to the Saskatoon berries, the bitterroot, the final Food Chief in the creation story, cannot be interpreted quite as literally through the visual connections provided. Like the Saskatoon berries, bitterroot is represented through human interaction with the plant. This is a particularly useful tool for the visual expression of the cultural importance of this plant, since it grows underground is not immediately visible. The bitterroot information placard expresses important cultural information, what it looks like, and how it is harvested and processed (Figure 31). The placard contains a

photograph of a woman using a digging stick, or *pica?*, to harvest this root. This photograph provides an explicit visual cue to connect and understand the sculpture the placard is associated with (Figure 32).

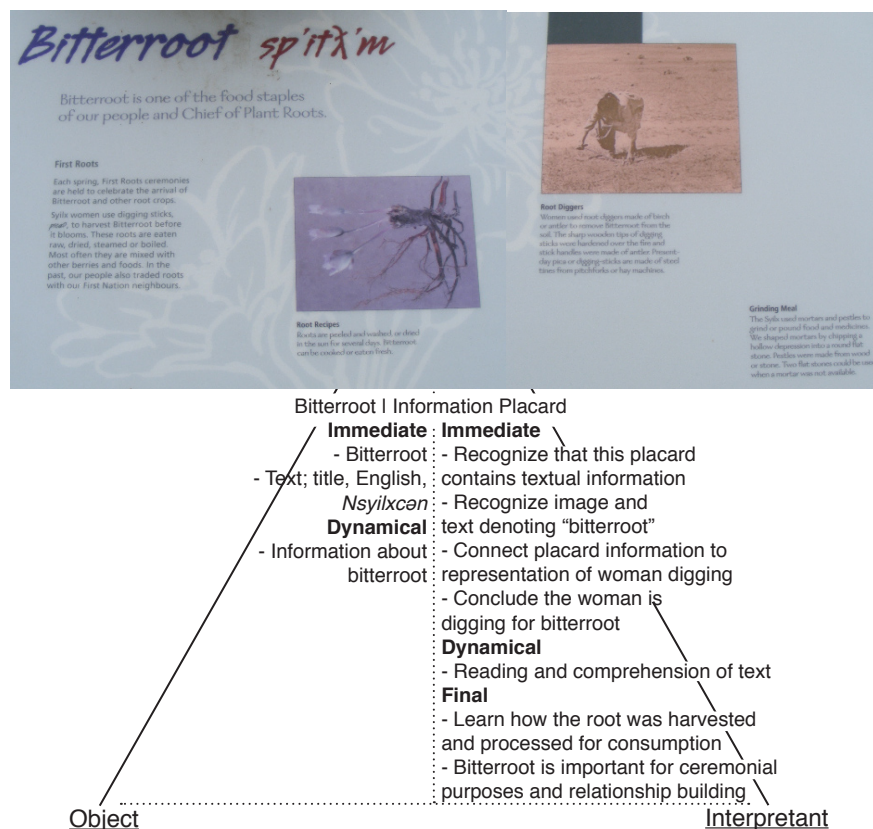


Figure 31 Bitterroot *sp'itλ'm*. Semiotic Analysis Part 1. © Kathryn Bresner

Once again, the viewer is presented with the representation of a woman with a basket. Unlike the sculpture of the woman picking *siya?*, this sculpture is using a digging stick. While it is not readily apparent, close examination of the photograph on the information placard in combination with the text stating, “Women used root diggers made of birch or antler to remove Bitterroot from the soil” in direct proximity to the photograph, leads one to the correct interpretation that this sculpture depicts a woman digging for bitterroot. The repetition of the woman’s interaction with the landscape through tool use in both the sculpture and the photograph is part of the dynamical process

that exists between the comprehension of the information placard and sculpture in consort with each other. The final interpretation of this relationship reveals the answers to the same questions asked previously that are also applicable here – how is the woman interacting with the environment? What is she doing?

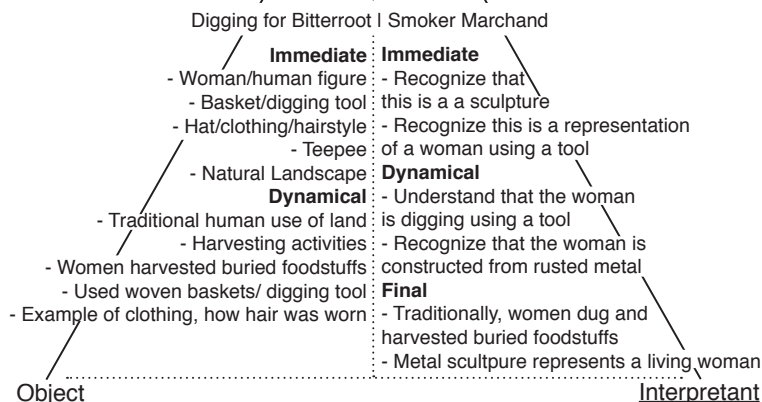


Figure 32 Bitterroot *sp'itλ'm*. Semiotic Analysis Part 2. © Kathryn Bresner

The correct interpretation of this section of the outdoor exhibit is made possible through the written text that is provided. The natural environment that surrounds the sculptural work is also important in providing a context to understand the different sculptures and accurately interpret what their presumed movements indicate. As is evidenced by the semiotic analysis of the isolated sculptures, the viewer can only receive

the most basic information: the literal comprehension of the object(s) depicted.

Furthermore, even with the information that is provided by the information placards is considered in conjunction with the sculptures, the *Chaptik* creation story is not expressed. It is alluded to by titles on the information placards (Chief of Plant Roots, Chief of Berry Foods, Chief of the Animals; and in the case of Salmon “one of the four food chiefs”). Figure 25 and Figure 28 are the only information placards that explicitly reference the legend. Figure 28 is the first one that would be encountered by visitors exiting the main Centre and entering the outdoor interpretation area; and it can provide a frame of reference for understanding the other three elements presented in the exhibit. However, it is short and concise and without a contextual frame of reference: “Salmon is one of the four food chiefs who gave themselves as food for the People-To-Be, before humans walked on earth”. Without the storytelling provided by a cultural interpreter or audio guide, the message and significance of the legend are not readily understood by a visitor with little-to-no previous knowledge of the context. These visuals – text, sculpture, natural environment, illustration and photograph – can only be interpreted literally.

As previously stated, temporality is also expressed in the outdoor gallery. The visual information presented through the sculptures and information placards describes four resources that were important to Okanagan peoples in the past – and significantly, still are. They are important in a spiritual sense through the *Chaptik* legend, but as the visuals illustrate, they are culturally important historically (for understanding how past peoples used the land and its resources and interacted with one another), as well as today and for the same reasons. The sculptures provide interesting visual elements to further understand the timeless significance of these resources. As described before, the

distinctive style of Smoker Marchand's artwork, its repetition throughout the Osoyoos area, and the inherent juxtaposition between the mechanical and organic, modern and traditional, references the past in a distinctly contemporary way. In a sense they are loci of temporality. Pedagogically, too, the sculptures depict what existed in the past, and continues to exist today – the salmon are still fished, the black bear is still honoured and respected, bitterroot is still dug, and Saskatoon berries are still picked.

The Historic Okanagan Village Restoration Project

The replica Okanagan village is the last stop on the cultural tour. While I was there the village was in the process of being reconstructed. The village represents both the summer and winter homes that Okanagan people used in the past. The teepee, used in the summer, was mobile and could be set up at campsites where resources were harvested. The pit house was a winter home; it was permanent and revisited annually. These structures were typical shelters roughly 200 years ago. As stated on the village's information placard, "After the arrival of the horse, Okanagan families could transport larger tipis and more gear. By the mid-1800s, most Nk'Mip People had begun to ranch or farm". The construction of the Okanagan village, referred to on the information placard as the 'Historic Okanagan Village Restoration Project,' is financially supported by the Government of Canada through the Department of Canadian Heritage's Museum Assistance Program. During my visit, the village was empty except for two pit houses: one old and one in the process of construction. While this decreased my visual experience of the village, it gave me an incredible opportunity to learn about the development of the village, the types of decisions that are made in the creation of the village, and the role of

authenticity in its development, such as the importance of using traditional construction methods and adherence to the traditional design of the pit house.

Walking on the desert trails on the way to the village with Charlotte, she explained that during this part of the tour, the interpreter brings replica artifacts down to the village for the ‘village program’. The program is a show-and-tell of replica artifacts, a time for storytelling, and an opportunity for visitors to ask and interpreters to answer questions. Jon, who works with the snake program, and Russell were busy building the pit house with Thomas Louie while Charlotte described what she hoped the village would look like by the summer: “[We’ll] probably put three teepees up with tule mats on them and we had a sweat lodge over there that we’re going to reconstruct. We’re also going to [put up] some meat drying racks and make it feel like when people come here that they’re actually going into a village” (Personal communication. Dec. 8, 2010).

One of the primary reasons the pit house was being reconstructed was because the previous version had been built with too many inaccuracies and mistakes. For instance, the wood had been machine-stripped, the walls built too high, and the opening in the roof was too large in comparison to traditional pit houses. While much of the preparation for construction was assisted with power tools, the wood used for the new pit house was hand stripped, and with the supervision of local pit house expert, Thomas Louie, much more care and attention to detail were put into the construction. This reconstruction project was based almost entirely on a concern for authenticity.

The construction of the pit house is an excellent example to discuss authenticity at the Nk’Mip Desert Cultural Centre. Is the Okanagan village authentic in the sense that it is an actual Okanagan village? No. It is somewhat misleading to call it a ‘restoration

project' since the village is being build from scratch; nothing is being restored. However, in the context that it exists, the actual restoration of an ancient village would be impractical, if not impossible. The function of the village has changed, and so the construction of the village – from the materials used to the tools used to the shape and size of the entrances – may be altered to make the buildings more effective in their current context. The pit house was traditionally built to last the winter season and was shaped and formed and maintained by its residents – the pit houses at the NDCC are not built for residential use and they need to be constructed to have a much longer lifespan (since rebuilding a pit house every year is not economical or efficient for its new purpose). As the pit house has moved from a residential to a pedagogical purpose, its construction has had to be adjusted to match its new context. The experience of the village is not meant to be one of long-term occupation, but a short-term visual and bodily experience, open to subjective interpretation (for instance, see Synnestvedt 2006).

The Okanagan village at the NDCC is not authentic in the sense that it has been built for real residential use. Authenticity is defined by both authority and agency. It has already been established that the OIB have the agency to exude authority over the displays at the centre. How and by whom authority is determined is slightly more complex, and perhaps best understood through Chief Clarence Louie's definition of authenticity: "Something is authentic...[if it is] historically able to stand up to whatever story is behind it" (Personal interview. Dec. 9, 2010). Using Thomas Louie's knowledge, historical research to construct the village, and the support of the Canadian Government gives the village social, historical and political authority. In this case, an authentic-as-possible standard is sufficient to teach visitors, as well as the OIB, about their history.

The village is not advertised as the real thing, its status as a replica is not concealed. Is it an authentic device for learning about the way Okanagan people used to live? Yes.

It is possible to consider the Okanagan village as existing in a hybrid space, between a true village that existed at some point in the past, and a centre for education and the preservation of cultural heritage in the present. Thus, it is authentically hybrid in purpose and construction. It is imbued with the agency and authority from the OIB and their partners to be considered an authentic reconstruction.

Conclusions: Messages of Transformation, Authenticity, and Temporality at the NDCC

The messages of transformation, authenticity, and temporality are prevalent throughout the NDCC's visuals, from the architecture to the films and exhibits. As I have demonstrated through the semiotic and visual analyses of these parts of the cultural centre, the visuals presented to visitors are limited in the information they convey. While the lands, legends, and the people are the themes that run through the exhibits and programs, what, exactly, they express about the lands, the legends and the people are not so easily attained purely through visual means. Images are supplemented by text, and these are in turn supplemented by the aural annotations made by a cultural interpreter. So while the broad categories of the lands, the legends and the people create a framework to understand the organization of the exhibits, they do not necessarily enhance a visitor's deeper understanding of the OIB and Okanagan people standing alone. As was reiterated to be by Charlotte and Bob, the interaction between visitors and cultural interpreters create the most meaningful experiences. However, the visuals, I argue, are successful as conduits for the messages of transformation, authenticity, and temporality.

Transformation

The messages of transformation are multiple at the NDCC. The message is literal, as in the examples of *Coyote Spirit* and the creation story exhibit, and it is also subtle, for instance, in considering the existence of the NDCC itself. The Centre was designed to elicit feelings of transformation – for tourists, for Band members, for employees, and for other Indigenous peoples.

The message and act of transformation at the Centre were something the OIB wanted the Centre to deliver since its inception. Brenda described the intention:

...we realized very quickly that what we wanted to achieve through our visits, through our customer service, through our promotional campaigns, through marketing, through everything; what we wanted to achieve was a philosophy...of transformation (Personal interview. March 9, 2011).

Visitors first encounter the transformation message in the story of the young girl who transforms after rediscovering her heritage and identity in *Coyote Spirit*. Following the film, visitors enter the main gallery where children's art, text, photographs and artifacts also tell a story of transformation. However, as I have argued, to ensure that unknowledgeable visitors receive the profundity of this message, the visual materials cannot necessarily be solely relied upon. They provide evidence for and illustrate the story. They provide a glimpse into what life looked like during the time that Anthony Walsh ran the Day School, and how those values are repeated and replicated in modernity. As demonstrated through semiotic analysis, it is primarily through the text that other visuals can be correctly interpreted. Without this as a guide, the other visuals are open to multiple interpretations, although their arrangement in relation to each other creates interpretive boundaries.

From exploring all of the visuals, a visitor will learn about the Day School story, which takes place during a historical period of transformation, and its main characters: Chief Baptiste George, Anthony Walsh, and the children. It is not much of a stretch to cognitively overlap this past story with the present one. The trifecta of protagonists today is made up of Chief Clarence Louie; the many partnerships the Band has with external organizations, businesses, investors and experts; and the OIB. The Band is currently in another period of transformation. Under the leadership of Chief Clarence Louie, the OIB has gone through massive developments; the NDCC is just one of the Band's enterprising ventures. Charlotte, Clarence, and Bob communicated the same thing to me on separate occasions, that one of the most surprising things for visitors is to come to the NDCC and see that it is a top-of-the-line, multi-sensory interpretive centre, part of a four-star luxury resort. It exceeds expectations. Visitors are surprised by the wealth, modernity, and quality that the resort as a whole exudes since this is contrary to their preconceived ideas of what Aboriginal people are capable of. In such a case, the NDCC causes visitors to become aware that they have this negative stereotype and transform their perceptions. Simply from seeing the external architecture of the centre and the rest of the resort, this transformation is reaffirmed as they spend more time exploring and experiencing it all.

Showcasing the success of the Band through architecture, business, and historical accomplishments displayed at the Centre is not done just to impress visitors. It also serves Band members as a form of education, a place of reflection, and a space to feel connected and take pride in a collective history. Significantly, it is also a place for the Band's youth to find employment. Getting youth involved in the preservation of culture

and heritage is really the only way to keep it relevant and ensure its survival in subsequent generations.

The Centre was also intended to transform visitors in another, more personal way. “All people, if you go back far enough, all people are Indigenous” (Baptiste, Brenda. Telephone interview. March 9, 2011). As Brenda told me, the exhibits at the Centre have the intention of challenging people to look at Okanagan culture through a particular, human lens that also has within it that “...passion for your identity” and “That celebration of who you are” (Baptiste, Brenda. Telephone interview. March 9, 2011). The intention of the Centre is to also encourage visitors to consider their own culture and heritage in these same terms, and through that reflection establish a greater appreciation and respect not only for their cultural heritage or the OIB, but also for all people.

‘Visitors’ also includes other Indigenous peoples. One of the goals of the Centre is to inspire other Indigenous communities and to stand as an example of what is possible. It is meant to inspire actual transformation and the hope in transformation for communities that may be struggling to maintain or rebuild a culture, a language, or a history that was also victim to systematic discrimination and attempted obliteration. These messages of transformation are found throughout the Centre in its visual displays and the stories that they tell, through the impressive architecture and technology of the NDCC, and perhaps most compelling, simply through the Centre’s existence.

Authenticity

“It would have to be something that’s not mass produced, and it’s an original...You have the genuine, truthful story [behind it]”, Chief Clarence Louie said, describing what makes something authentic. “You can fake a lot of stuff”, he continued, “anybody, even natives can fake a lot of stuff”. Pointing to a hockey helmet signed by Wayne Gretzky sitting on the window ledge above his desk, “Gretzky signed that helmet, that’s

why I bought it. Could somebody fake Gretzky's signature? Easy. I could fake Gretzky's signature. But if somebody finally told me, 'Oh no, that's just copy, that's not Gretzky's signature', all of a sudden I wouldn't even care to have it up there anymore. So authenticity is pretty important. In sports memorabilia and of course with heritage and cultural artifacts or whatever story you're telling... it's got to be authentic and most tourists are looking for authenticity" (Louie, Chief Clarence. Personal interview. Dec. 9, 2010).

Authenticity at the NDCC in many ways comes down to people. The exhibits at the Centre present objects that perform two functions: they work in relation to one another to express intangible messages and meanings, and they also work as learning tools and showcase expressions of Okanagan culture and history. They serve a tangible and intangible purpose simultaneously, which is bolstered by authority and agency. Like Chief Louie's signed helmet, authority and agency work together to legitimize a signature as authentic, Wayne Gretzky signed it under his own agency, and the seller had the authority to verify this as true. It stands up to that story, which gives it value – tangible and intangible value. It is the story, and the person in the story, that makes that helmet more than just a helmet; it makes it an authentic Wayne Gretzky-signed helmet. Authenticity at its core is defined in the same way: that it is true to the OIB story and philosophy, and the objects displayed reinforce and communicate these.

However, unlike a traditional museum where the artifacts and objects displayed function in relative isolation to convey information, at the NDCC it is the people behind the objects that empower their messages, their value, and their authenticity. Brenda stated very succinctly how important the people are to the Centre, from the past and in the present, when I asked her what was the most important thing to exhibit at the Centre. She said,

The most important thing I would have to say has nothing to do with artifacts, it has nothing to do with legends or the technology. It's the people. You walk in and you see the pictures of our people on the wall, you see our pictures, our people's pictures in the film, all the actors in [*Coyote Spirit*] are Okanagan. Even the Day School pictures – those kids are our Elders today... If you're going to have any kind of impact, whether it's in cultural tourism or in business, no matter what you do, it's that relationship with people that is most important (Baptiste, Brenda. Telephone interview. March 9, 2011).

The focus on people and the authenticity that is imbued in their stories are apparent throughout the Centre – in the artwork displayed, the stories told, the photographs, the gift shop items, the sculptures, the employees and partnerships. Authenticity is also found at the Centre in an official way, through the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia's (AtBC) Cultural Authenticity Program, a verification program that works as an external authority, much like certificates of authenticity work in the art trade.

The AtBC is a non-profit, membership-based organization that was created to aid in the development and promotion of Aboriginal tourism in the province, in a sustainable, respectful way. The Cultural Authenticity Program (CAP) developed as a means to measure 'authenticity' of Aboriginal tourism businesses in BC.

The CAP has several criteria. It starts with the business being majority (at least 51%) Aboriginal-owned or controlled, or a non-profit or member-based organization with majority Aboriginal membership, where voting Board members are also majority Aboriginal. The second criterion is that the business "...satisfies industry standards for market readiness and sector requirements" (AtBC Corporate 2012a). To be considered market-ready, a business must meet a list of criteria, including having current and legitimate business and operative licenses, registrations and permits; liability insurance; has been in operation in a safe and professional manner for at least one year; and has all

the professional amenities that are more or less mandatory for the successful functionality of any contemporary business: a website, payment options, year-round customer service, and a product(s) that is in demand (AtBC Corporate 2012b). Essentially, it must be a real, established business that can be verified through the past year or two of records and testimony. The third criterion of authenticity is a demonstrated high standard of operation, which also has its own set of criteria defined in the CAP outline (O’Neil and Payer 2010). The fourth criterion is that the business must have cultural content – Aboriginal owned and operated does not necessarily mean the business or its products are Aboriginal in theme. For this particular certificate, a cultural-orientation is a must. Finally, to be considered authentic by the AtBC, a business must be one of their stakeholders. Meeting all of these criteria grants a business a ‘Cultural Authenticity Certificate’ following an inspection by an AtBC representative.

Only two criteria from the AtBC’s CAP are focused on *cultural* authenticity: that the business exhibits culturally relevant content and that it is majority Aboriginal owned. The others focus on the authenticity of the business as a business. The certificate serves three purposes: it works to protect Aboriginal tourism businesses, consumer interests, and encourages the development of quality businesses with cultural integrity. Brenda presented the following scenario, “People go to ‘White Cloud’s Sweat Lodge’ and expect to get an authentic experience. They go there and find out it’s a pseudo-Indian in beads and blankets selling stuff and a story that really truly aren’t related to authentic First Nations beliefs” (Telephone interview. March 9, 2011). What the AtBC is trying to do is prevent non-Indigenous people from capitalizing on expropriation, enhance the status and quality of tourism-related Aboriginal business in BC, create an environment where

cultural protocols are respected in the tourism industry, and provide those businesses with the resources they need to be successful. The program also adds a guarantee for the consumer. “The biggest complaint that people have about Aboriginal businesses is that they are there one year and the next year they’re not”, Brenda revealed (Telephone interview. March 9, 2011). The AtBC scorecard is a sign that the business is a reliable one, one that has staying power in the unstable tourism market, and a guarantee to meet consumer expectations.

Through their membership requirements, affiliation with the AtBC is a sign that informs people that the business is of a certain status. It raises the business’s value when it meets the criteria of what is generally considered a ‘good, reliable business’. The certificate is a sign that also verifies *authenticity*. The AtBC, a generally agreed upon and trustworthy authority, is a brand, and certification signifies a level of quality and authentic ‘Aboriginality’ to consumers. To display the AtBC brand acts like a short-form verdict, which brings more value to the business. The AtBC authenticity certification is awarded based on meeting certain criteria outlined by the association, and an inspection by an AtBC representative. So then, to take this certification as an example of how authenticity works in general, it is apparent that it is derived through the combination of internal *and* external authority and agency. As Bruner (2004) has noted, authenticity derives its authority from the perceived validity of the message being conveyed. Bruner places the perception of validity solely in the hands of the consumer. However, internal and external agencies are imperative to the existence of authority.

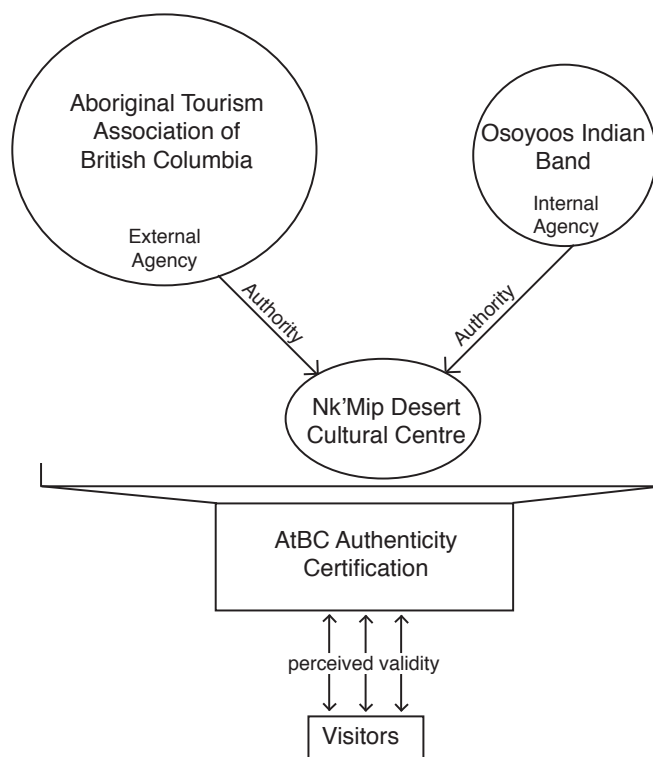


Figure 33 The relationship between authority and internal and external agency in the example of the AtBC Authenticity Certification of the NDCC.

Figure 33 illustrates the relationship between agency and authority and how it relates to authenticity, through the example of the AtBC Authenticity Certification. The certification is a symbol of the relationship between the OIB (who has internal agency, that is, power, to give authority to the messages of the NDCC) and the AtBC (who has external authority to verify the agency of the OIB, and grant authority to the messages of the NDCC). Bruner's (2004) perceived validity is represented as a relationship between visitors and the influence of the certification. The certification works to inform the visitors of the relationships between authorities and agencies, positively reinforcing the perception of authenticity by the visitors. Authenticity can be broken down into these power relationships between agency and authority for any of the signs that visitors interact with.

“We’re trying to tell the stories what were told by our ancestors. Everyone has their own point of view and everyone may have their own way of telling a story, so we try to be as authentic [as possible in telling] those stories,” Charlotte told me (Personal communication. Dec. 2010). The main stories that are shared with the public at the NDCC are difficult to qualify in anyway as inauthentic. The legends that are shared, such as the creation story and *Voices of the Past*, are Okanagan ways of understanding the world. As Charlotte said, every detail may not be consistent across the territory, but the messages and meanings are the same. This is an important point to consider, particularly in the case of other parts of the NDCC where authenticity may be murkier, for instance, in replica Okanagan village, in the Coyote’s Gifts, and also with some of the Centre’s employees since not every employee is a Band member.

As I have argued in the previous section regarding the replica Okanagan village, authenticity becomes more complex when *purpose* is considered in the debate. While the replica Okanagan village is not an authentic Okanagan village in the sense that it would be exactly the same as an Okanagan village transported through time, or that it is a restored original, it is an *authentic reconstruction*. The purpose of this exhibit is not to provide a home for a community of people. Its purpose is to educate people about how the ancestors of the Okanagan peoples lived in the past. Efforts were made to be as close to the original as possible, but due to their different functions, a reconstruction, rather than a *real* pit house is used. According to MacLeod’s (2006) definitions of objective (an externally verified truth), constructive (where it is accepted that meaning evolves over time), and existential (it functions based on the genuine experiences of individuals) authenticity, the Okanagan village meets these criteria. The OIB, acting with the power of

internal agency, and the Department of Canadian Heritage and Thomas Louie acting with the power of external agency, exercise authority authenticating the village in its own right, in its current context.

Coyote's Gifts sells items created by the Okanagan First Nations artists, as well as artwork from First Nations and Native American artists from elsewhere in Canada and the United States. Items that are not Indigenous themed or not made by Indigenous people can also be found in the gift shop. Artworks and items made by Aboriginal artists are displayed separately in the gift shop, on the two adjacent walls that begin at the entrance of the Centre. Who the artists are and where they come from is laid out very clearly for visitors and the staff at the shop are trained to be knowledgeable about the art for sale and able to answer any visitor questions about each work. These specialty items, as well as items produced by Aboriginal businesses, are the only ones linked to a claim of authenticity, which is verified through the profiles provided with each work in the former, and stated claims to their origins and through similar certificates of authenticity in the latter (for example, Mother Earth Essentials products are sold in the shop, displayed in front of a newspaper article about the Aboriginal owned and operated company). They are sold as part of the OIB's aim to share the Centre with other Indigenous peoples, to provide a place where culture and heritage is celebrated, and encourage others in the arts and crafts by providing them with a forum to share and sell their work.

The other items in the gift shop exist for practical purposes – they are meant to add variety and sales. It is a gift shop, after all, not an art gallery. Providing customers with a variety of options that appeal to a variety of age groups is a business strategy.

Brenda explained, “Where the money is made is in the gift shop and usually that’s enough, if you plan it right, to break even. But it has to be competitive and your market, your mix of products, has to be reflective of what your visitors want” (Telephone interview. March 9, 2011). Out of a practical need, and out of visitor demand, *Coyote’s Gifts* sells magnets with Haida imagery, Pendleton Blankets with South West Native American motifs, maple syrup, stuffed animals and rocks you can break apart to reveal a rubber snake inside. They are at worst loosely linked to the NDCC’s themes and exhibits. They also vary in how closely they are associated with Indigenous people, from Mother Earth Essentials to the ‘Growing Pet Snake Egg’, a product from the American-based company, GeoCentral[®], that specializes in educational, “science-based products” (GeoCentral[®] N.d.). Efforts are made to benefit First Nations and Native American business where possible, but the shop does sell items that have little or no impact for Aboriginal business (apart from *Coyote’s Gifts* own). So ‘authentic’ Aboriginal items are available for sale at the gift shop alongside non-Aboriginal products. The origins of these products are not hidden. Like the exhibits at the Centre, the stories told are honest.

There are different layers of authenticity at work here. There is the belief from the OIB that they are presenting their true authentic selves, stories, and tangible objects and that *they* are in control of these representations and reconstructions. The second layer is in the agreement between the NDCC and the AtBC that this is just. Being authentic is not only to meet tourist expectations and desires. The importance of the Centre internally for the OIB and externally for other Indigenous visitors is considered more important to the Band than attracting tourists. To present something false and inauthentic would be counter-productive to these ends. There is no benefit spiritually, socially, or economically

for the OIB to have a culture and heritage Centre that does not represent the OIB's culture and history as accurately and authentically as possible.

Temporality

Temporality is an inescapable theme at the NDCC. The stories that are shared in some cases delineate structured time through visual cues, but written dates are few and far between. Overall, the Centre and its exhibits collapse linear conceptions of time by overlapping the past and present.

The Day School Gallery is a good example of how past and present are unified rather than contrasted. The exhibit is anchored by the Day School drawings that stand out through the use of repetitive framing. Their order in the display case is by theme, not by a measure of time, which changes the way a viewer understands and interprets the exhibit. It is about sharing an important story from the past with the products of that past that continue to exist today – the Day School drawings. Scattered throughout the drawings are photographs, artifacts, and information placards, that, like the drawings, are not organized according to a time line, but jump in time according to theme. For instance, in 'The People of the Land', Day School era drawings are displayed alongside black and white (historical) and colour (contemporary) photographs, text, and towards the bottom of the exhibit space, awards. Together all of these elements provide the viewer with information on how the OIB used the land in the past, and how they use it today. Past and present can be understood separately, but visually they are presented indiscriminately. The way the display is organized makes for a haphazard consumption of the visuals, and so there is little explicit distinction between now and then. In fact, contemporary OIB life pops in and out of the whole display that is primarily focused on a historical story. The goal of

this arrangement is to show how the past has influenced the present; how the past is carried forward and why understanding the past, in particular the Day School story itself, is important to understanding the OIB today. Charlotte sees these past examples set by the Day School children as direct catalysts for the success of the band today. She stated,

We think that in the past history, we've always been a strong people, and I think we have to keep going back to our past and reviewing those stories so that we can move on to the future and even present. We can't forget what our past means to us... Historically we need to keep presenting that so people will see it, and I think it is good for us, too, to be reminded of our past. That's what makes us the people we are (Telephone interview. Feb. 7, 2011).

Past and present are tightly bound together as part of contemporary OIB identity.

The past's importance as a part of contemporary OIB identity is part of the reason the Band has a cultural centre at all. As mentioned previously, a primary function of the Centre is as an archive and a place for Okanagan people to come and learn about who they are. It is a place of self-discovery. The significance of temporality is reiterated again and again; *Coyote Spirit* demonstrates the power of opening up ones mind and spirit to understanding their heritage and identity. The Okanagan village and the other outdoor exhibits teach visitors how people used to live on the land that they are currently walking on. The rattlesnake conservation program and *Voices from the Past* work towards undoing damage from the past to ensure a better future for the environment. The Day School exhibit provides a positive example of OIB creativity and pride in identity, in addition to creating a platform for traditions to be continued today and into the future. For example, we learn that Day School plays continue to be performed; in the gift shop we see that traditional Okanagan arts and crafts continue to be practiced; from the outdoor exhibits, the Day School Gallery, and the Rattlesnake program, we see that stewardship

of the land was and is an important factor in OIB decision-making, project management, and identity. The Centre itself stands behind a monumental rammed-earth wall that is a testament to that identity and to a history of leadership, cultural esteem, social entrepreneurship, and economic success. Inside the Centre visitors learn that all of these traits arose out of periods of transformation in the past and the present, to set an example for the future.

The artwork of Smoker Marchand is also geared towards conveying an idea of collapsed time. Brenda described it as, "...this wonderful marriage between this contemporary material, such as the metal, and traditional images" (Telephone interview. March 9, 2011). Brenda explained, "[Chief Clarence Louie] works very closely with [Smoker Marchand] because it is very much part of the OIB identity. It was the same with the cultural centre and the entire resort. It's amazing how much Clarence has influenced what the resort looks and feels like" (Telephone interview. March 9, 2011). Merging the past and present through demonstrating how important the past is to the present is a deliberate expression of this part of OIB identity. Brenda explained this fusion, as found in Smoker's artwork, as "...something that is so true and significant for First Nations". She continued, "We are people with our foot in the past and our foot in the future...At a very fundamental level, [Smoker's] artwork speaks to that and people understand it" (Telephone interview. March 9, 2011). The life-sized metal sculptures depict popular First Nations imagery – a Chief wearing a headdress, body-paint, and animals like the coyote, eagle, and bear. These images are popularized; visitors do not need to be Aboriginal to visually understand what they are looking at and how to interpret it.

Chief Clarence Louie described building the NDCC as a leadership responsibility.

It is a leadership responsibility to create, share and preserve a tangible representation of OIB culture and history. This is significant for OIB members and other Indigenous people and visitors. It serves to teach people about who the OIB are and what they have accomplished, a piece of Canadian history that is not found in textbooks. The past and present of the Centre teach visitors to consider not only the history that surrounds them, but also their own ancestry and how that has influenced their own identities. It also stands as an example for other Indigenous people to inspire them or help them to reframe their identity in a positive way, to show them that transformation is possible and give them hope for the future by embracing the past and taking pride in their identities in the present.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction to the Final Chapter

The final chapter of this project brings the NDCC and the messages of OIB identity shared within it (authenticity, transformation, and temporality) to the three main issues found in Indigenous tourism discourse: the issues of power and control, hybridity and acculturation, and authenticity. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the NDCC, identity, and the use of the museum as a conduit of expression.

The discourse on power, hybridity, and authenticity are interconnected. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the connections between these elements and interweave them with examples from the NDCC. First, I will discuss the structures of power described by Hinch and Butler (2007), Cheong and Miller (2004) and Hall (2007). I argue that the NDCC fits well into Hinch and Butler's breakdown of power relationships, as well as in the Foucauldian model of power introduced by Cheong and Miller (2004) and Hall (2007).

Secondly, I will describe the issue of hybridity. Hybridity, (as it is defined by Kraidy (2005) as the simultaneous celebration of cultural difference and fusion), exists in several layers at the NDCC, from the tourism industry itself down to the exhibitions on display. Within these layers of hybridity are relationships of power. The second element of hybridity discussed in this section is how the NDCC shares hybridity as part of OIB identity. Finally, I argue that acknowledging hybridity is a form of authenticity.

Thirdly, I recall the definition of authenticity developed in this project that gives recognition to both authority and agency. In this section, I revisit Bruner's (2004) study of authenticity in tourism and MacCannell's (1976, 1992) 'staged authenticity' and bring

it into conversation with the NDCC. I argue that authenticity, like hybridity, is bound up in power relationships that give value to both the objective and subjective perceptions (see MacLeod 2006b and Schouten 2006) of the authentic. This is exemplified through the architecture, exhibits and displays of the NDCC.

Finally, I discuss the elements of identity shared at the NDCC: transformation, authenticity, and temporality. I explain how these elements of shared identity inform discourses of hybridity and authenticity. I also discuss the significance of the structure of the museum as a conduit for expressing collective identity and an arena for reconsidering issues of power, hybridity, and authenticity.

The NDCC and the Issues of Power and Control

Hinch and Butler's (2007: 6) definition of Indigenous tourism involves the measurement of the presence of an Indigenous theme and level of control over a tourism attraction or destination. According to Figure 4 (page 30 of this paper), the NDCC falls into the category of "Culture Controlled" – the Centre clearly has an Indigenous theme and the OIB retain a high level of control over the business. They have control over the land, since the Centre is located on the OIB reserve territory, and control over their representation in the Centre and over what knowledge is shared with visitors. Like the Taos Pueblo (Sweet 2004), Lennox Island First Nation (Colton and Harris 2007), the Ngarrindjeri's Camp Coorong Race Relations and Cultural Education Centre of South Australia (Higgins-Desboilles 2005), or Maori eco-tourism in New Zealand (Carr 2007), the OIB are experiencing a positive relationship with the tourism industry because they maintain control over that relationship. However, power and control are not absolute.

Figure 5 (page 33 of this paper) illustrates the position of the Indigenous tourism destination or attraction as part of the Indigenous Tourism System (Hinch and Butler 2007: 7). According to this system, the Indigenous hosts are subject to the influences and pressures that exist at a number of different levels, forming boundaries to decision-making. Hinch and Butler's (2007: 7) Tourism System visually depicts what Cheong and Miller (2004) and Hall (2007) have described as a Foucauldian power structure. Power is interdependent, and in reality perhaps much more complex than Cheong and Miller's (2004) tripartite theory that divides power between the host, guest, and tourism brokers.

The AtBC CAP provides an example to illustrate Cheong and Miller (2004) and Hall's (2007) Foucauldian relationships of power at work in the NDCC. Visitors, in this example, do not exert much power. Referring back to Figure 33, it is clear that they have the power of perception and subsequently, of judgement. If they are aware of the NDCC's certificate of authenticity, they can either accept it or reject it and give the Centre their business and recommend it to others, dissuade others from visiting, or choose to not give the Centre their business at all. Those are the limits of the visitor's power. As Bruner (2004) found in his study on the Maasai, the visitor comes from an unstable foundation, often marked with a level of uncertainty:

Even to those tourists most willing to open up to the experience and accept the producers' fantasy, there is still, in MacCannell's terms, "an ineluctable absence of meaning to an incomplete subject". It is what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has called the irreducibility of strangeness (Burner 2004: 151).

Essentially, the visitors do not have the power of agency. The NDCC, the host in this example, has agency granted through the authority of the contributors to the Centre's design and construction and the design and construction of the exhibits. The AtBC, in this

case acting as a tourism broker, maintains the greatest level of power in this relationship.

The association uses its agency to empower or disempower the host by assessing ‘authenticity’ and publicizing positive results in their advertising.

The NDCC stands at the centre of a confluence of relationships. Its construction, design and development are the result of the relationships between the Band, permits, and Hotson Bakker Boniface Haden Architects. The exhibitions and programming exist through support provided by the Band, Chief and Council, Canada Heritage, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Western Economic Diversification Canada, Softwood Industry Community Economic Adjustment Initiative, Aboriginal Business Canada, the Town of Osoyoos, the Province of British Columbia’s Ministry of Small Business and Economic Development; the relationships between the cultural interpreters, the Band, the Centre’s administration, the Okanagan Nation Alliance, Hoodoo Adventures, the input and satisfaction of visitors; and on the products of the past and the contemporary works on display and for sale. Power exists in different respects between each of these relationships.

Beyond the number of relationships that have influenced the Centre from its inception to everyday functionality, are the ideological systems that elicit a degree of control over the hosts, visitors, and the tourism industry. The creation and transmission of identity through cultural property on exhibition is an action with its own embedded ideologies and controls. Clifford explains, this form of “...having a culture...” is the selection and protection of “...authentic collective property...”,

...it can be said that this form of identity, whether cultural or personal, presupposes the act of collection, a gathering up of properties in arbitrary *systems* of value and meaning. These systems... have changed historically. But they are always powerful and rule-governed (1985: 237).

Cultural norms and by extension, the authoritative ideology of the museum, can shape decisions on what to display, how to display it, and how it is interpreted by host and visitor. As I have described earlier, the museum is, too, an “...ideologically loaded space...” (Griffiths 2002: 11) and viewing the objects in the cultural centre is also subject to relationships of power.

Creating exhibits is, in a sense, the reconstruction of history, identity and culture for the purpose of visual consumption. The building of the Okanagan village is an interesting example to consider. Decisions were made to re-build the village to a more ‘authentic’ standard, and at every stage of the building process there were questions and answers that had to be worked out. For instance, there was the issue of whether the main doorway to the pit house was rounded or square. Thomas Louie, the pit house expert, was going to build the doorway using cedar bark – Charlotte had reservations about this because while this might have been standard farther north for the Okanagan-Shuswap, pine needles and mud were commonplace in Osoyoos-area pit houses. Similar to the debate that Scarangella recalls over a shirt during her fieldwork, “...the disagreement... illustrates the power relationships at play when it comes to deciding what is authentic, what is selected for performance, and who has the authoritative knowledge to divide” (2010: 168).

Through semiotic analysis one can see relationships of power at work. The curator creates an exhibit intentionally. In the case of the Day School Gallery, for example, it is arranged by theme. The Day School Story and OIB identity are expressed by the children’s art, photographs, artifacts and information placards. These also work together within relationships of power to inform, verify and legitimize. For instance in

Figure 19, the validity that Ernest Baptiste's 'Two Rodeo Scenes' drawings represent actual events is reinforced by the photograph of him at the Calgary Stampede placed directly beside it. The viewer of the exhibit exerts power in a number of ways – through their level of engagement with the exhibit, through their relationship with the exhibits referents, preconceived notions and expectations. The process of semiosis, that is, of interpretation, is a power negotiation between the exhibitor, the exhibit, and the viewer.

From the tourism industry as a whole to the NDCC to the level of interaction between host and visitor or exhibit and visitor, power relationships are continually active and negotiated. Cheong and Miller (2004) and Hall's (2007) Foucauldian approach to understanding these relationships of power is also appropriate for understanding the complex tourism system described by Hinch and Butler (2007: 7) that the NDCC is a part of (Figure 5). Understanding this system in this manner also informs the interpretation of hybridity and authenticity explained below.

The NDCC and Hybridity

Hybridity is one answer to the homogenization-heterogenization debate that has proliferated from globalization discourse (Hall 1992, Mahon 2000, Niezen 2003). Wood, following Appuradai (1996), defines hybridization as a phenomenon "...where a variety of circulating populations create new types of communities" (1998: 222). What is significant about this theory is that it gives value to the porosity of culture and identity, and denies the notion that culture and identity can exist in isolation. In Indigenous tourism, hybridity is seemingly paradoxical since destinations and attractions rely on a perception of bounded culture to share discrete messages about identity. As the OIB and NDCC have demonstrated, this is only true superficially and implied through the

bounded physical space of the Centre. In fact, the NDCC highlights hybridity as part of OIB identity.

As there are several layers of power relationships at work in the tourism system, there are several layers of hybrid relationships. First of all, Indigenous tourism is hybrid. Participation in tourism is an “...opting-in...” (Anderson, Dana and Dana 2006) to the global economy and international industry in such a manner that ideally maintains and reinforces cultural particularism and integrity. Anywhere on Hinch and Butler’s (2007: 6) quadrants, host Indigenous communities are changed by tourism. For the OIB, one of the results of “opting-in” through tourism and through their other businesses is the development of a hybrid economic model, referred to as social entrepreneurship. As Anderson, Dana and Dana (2006) explain, social entrepreneurship is a mixture of a Western capitalist approach to business executed with a social mission. It is comparable to what Carr (2007) describes in New Zealand in the case of Maori eco-tourism. The NDCC is particularly interesting in this construct. During both formal and informal interviews, the financial drain of the Centre was acknowledged time and again (for instance, Chief Clarence Louie Interview 2010). The Centre mandate is social and ecological, not primarily economical, so the Resort and the Band’s other businesses help to fund its maintenance and operating costs. The NDCC is part of a social economy; its value to the Band comes in the form of social benefit, rather than financial.

The Centre’s everyday operations are hybrid in purpose as well. It is a space that preserves and shares the Band’s heritage and culture and promotes ecological conservation, but it is also responsive to external and internal needs. While at the time of study, I was told that the Centre did not run a profit (Stringam, Charlotte. Personal

communication. Dec. 2010), but working towards the Centre's economic self-sufficiency was not something that was neglected either. Meeting visitor needs and expectations, including encouraging repeat-visitation, has also affected the Centre's programming. These are part of the reason why the new (as of 2011) rappelling program and fishing excursions were added to the Centre's roster. As Brenda (Telephone interview. March 9, 2011) and Charlotte (Telephone interview. Feb. 7, 2011) both noted, visitors are more interested in spectacle. They also both named the interactive rattlesnake show (before the new programs were instituted) as the largest draw in terms of attracting visitors.

Alongside the educational orientation of the Centre's exhibits, there are these interactive programs that (while 'cultural' in some respects) appeal to visitors that are not enticed by learning about culture and heritage. Additionally, after their CAP assessment by the AtBC in 2009, the Centre administration was advised to improve the level of direct interaction between visitors and 'Aboriginal people' and create a 'wow factor'. The recent additional programming was developed as a result of the recommendations made by the AtBC to increase revenue and attract new and repeat visitors. So while exhibits and programming serve an educational and social purpose, some activities have been added and adapted to serve a purpose closer to interaction and entertainment. As Ames (1992) discusses, museums in general are moving in the direction of placing greater value on embodied experience rather than pure visual pedagogy. The NDCC has taken 'edutainment' and adapted it to share their legends, history, perspectives and lands with visitors in different ways.

The NDCC architecture and exhibits directly share a message of hybridity as part of OIB identity with visitors. Like Jane Jacobs, Kim Dovey and Mathilde Lochert describe in their study of Aboriginal architecture in Australia,

In one sense, these buildings are called upon to frame spaces of cultural exchange, to ‘bridge between cultures’, to serve as gestures of reconciliation. In another, the architectural discourse celebrates them as examples of an emergent ‘indigenous’ architecture, defined by a certain creative hybridization of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal style. It is an architecture which is both understood as peculiarly ‘Aboriginal’ but which is also incorporated into a growing body of work which seeks a distinctive architectural expression for the nation (2000: 221).

Similarly, the architecture of the NDCC is undeniably sleek, modern and green. Yet the building’s primary architectural feature – the rammed-earth wall – combines two worlds. Whether one imbues the wall with romantic sentiments where its layers come to represent periods of the Band’s history (Stringam, Charlotte. Telephone interview. Feb. 7, 2011) or simply sees it as a part of the landscape, it is part of OIB identity that brings binaries together: the past and the present, the natural and man-made, and the modern and traditional. It stands as an 18-foot tall symbol of hybridity.

Inside the Centre as well, explained through the semiotic analysis of the Day School gallery and outdoor gallery, hybridity is found throughout the messages of the exhibits. What these exhibits exemplify is the multi-vocality of OIB identity. To use the example of the Day School gallery, the story of the Day School children is told through a Aboriginal voice, a European voice, and an OIB voice. Yet, these voices come through tangible, visual displays that are familiar and thus, legible, to visitors. Ashley summarizes three aspects common to First Nations museums in general:

...1) Alternative constructions of identity using Old World museum techniques, 2) Multi-vocal depictions of identity where both European and First Nations bodies occupy the same space, and 3) New identity

constructed through negotiation of difference using the museum space in entirely new ways; in short, seeing and showing in a hybrid way (2005: 34-35).

I argue that the NDCC has these three aspects in common as well. The NDCC uses exhibition forms that blend display forms that are typical to the traditional museum and art gallery, and uses multi-media, multi-sensory experience, and interaction to engage the visitor in the exhibits. Traditional museums and art galleries encourage passive viewing through the isolation and arrangement of objects. Depending on the enthusiasm of the viewer, the NDCC can be experienced in a passive, visual way as well, but it is not encouraged in the same way. For instance, the themed display of randomized images and artifacts in the Day School gallery forces the viewer to seek out focal points actively – the artifacts that sit outside of the display encourage tactile engagement. The outdoor gallery similarly pairs information placards with objects that need to be sought out in the landscape by the viewer. Beyond the primarily visual displays, as I have discussed, the Centre offers a number of activities and programs that are multi-sensorial. For example, *Coyote Spirit* and *Voices of the Past* use film, the walking trails or rappelling wall use physical activity. These techniques of display and of sharing information pair traditional modes of storytelling and performance with modern technology and media. The result is a hybrid form of interaction.

Through familiar mediums, such as collection, film, and museum and gallery exhibition; and tangible heritage, such as the Day School artwork and Okanagan Village; the OIB not only share and educate, but preserve and revitalize tangible and intangible heritage and culture (see also Simpson 2009). What Clifford (1997) found in his experiences at the U'mista Cultural Centre and the Kwagiulth Museum is also happening

at the NDCC through the interaction between the exhibits, cultural interpreters, and visitors: “Master narratives of cultural disappearance and salvage could be replaced by stories of revival, remembrance, and struggle” (1997: 109). In short, the NDCC uses the hybrid space of the cultural centre to embrace that hybrid-identity and the multi-vocal nature of past and present OIB life. It is a reflection of contemporary OIB reality, rather than a display of the idea of a ‘pure’ pre-European culture⁴.

The NDCC and Authenticity

MacCannell’s (1976, 1992) definition of authenticity assumes that tourism is the pursuit of the authentic. Some tourists do seek ‘authentic’ culture, but often times their idea of ‘authenticity’ is based on popular Indigenous tropes rather than the actual experiences and cultures of Indigenous peoples. Bruner (2004, see also Gable and Handler 2003) defines authenticity as verisimilitude. As I have expressed previously, the definition of authenticity I have developed is largely influenced by Bruner’s concept, and stands in opposition to MacCannell’s description of ‘staged authenticity’. Authenticity is achieved at the NDCC through the active processes of both agency and authority, and here, the acknowledgement of hybridity is an important element to understanding authenticity.

Often authenticity in Indigenous tourism is judged according to metanarratives of cultural purity that were born through the practice of salvage anthropology and social evolutionary ideas that predicted extinction or assimilation. Authenticity was, in a sense, measured by the level of purity from European influence. This lens for assessing Indigenous cultures has not left the popular imagination. For instance, Doxtator described

⁴ This idea of authenticity is a popular one, addressed by Myers (1991, 1994) and Steiner (1994) in terms of ‘authentic’ Indigenous art. Steiner writes that in the West there is a general belief that, “...authentic African art only existed in the past, before European contact” (1994: 102).

a policy instituted in the 1960s that sought to destroy “...all Inuit sculpture that reflected Western innovation...”, including contemporary subjects such as Elvis Presley (1992b: 32). Only artwork that resembled ‘traditional’ Inuit art was deemed valuable in the global fine arts economy. MacCannell’s definition of authenticity applies the same attributions of value, but to the tourism industry. Indigenous tourism’s tourists often expect their experience to be like stepping back in time to see people ‘untouched’ by the Western world. Bob Etienne told me that on more than one occasion visitors have told him, “I want to see an Indian”, which he takes in good humour and helps them search by looking over his shoulders (Personal communication. Dec. 10, 2010). However, while the image of Indigenous peoples existing in a frozen past is inauthentic, what people accept as ‘authentic’ certainly has a price. It is something that must be seriously qualified, as inauthenticity can completely devalue the item under scrutiny, and tourism is, after all, a business.

The AtBC and the OIB recognize the value of authenticity to the business of tourism. The AtBC has set out regulations that are considered acceptable measures for authenticity and their trusted assessment is marked with a certification that can add value to a business (AtBC Corporate 2012a). Chief Clarence Louie also discussed the importance of authenticity to the Centre (Louie, Chief Clarence. Personal interview. Dec. 9, 2010). Authenticity is not a ‘non-issue’ nor is it impossible. Defining authenticity according to agency and authority allows one to understand how it is actually negotiated (Figure 33). It also gives value to the different forms of authenticity that MacLeod (2006b) recognizes – the objective, constructive, and existential – that also encompass the material, conceptual, contextual, and functional (Schouten 2006) values of the authentic.

Knowledge is the basis for the external authorization of agency, and in turn agency bolsters authority. Who is more knowledgeable about OIB identity than OIB members well-versed in the heritage, history, culture and community? The fact that the OIB retain control over their representation gives them agency. The AtBC also authorizes this agency. The irrefutability of this fact by the external community, including visitors and the tourism industry as a whole, also authorizes that agency. In turn, the OIB are accepted as the agents of their own heritage and culture, and where appropriate enlist the help of external agencies in particular realms, such as Thomas Louie in the construction of the pit house, or the curator of the Day School gallery. The stories that the NDCC shares with visitors are authentic because the OIB retain power over them to grant them authority, and this is externally verified. These relationships of power influence the perceived authenticity of the NDCC.

The messages about identity that the OIB share through exhibition and storytelling describe the Band collectively as transformative, hybrid, and temporally nested. Having the authority and the agency to share their authentic story is seemingly straight-forward and unproblematic, but as I demonstrated in the discussion at the beginning of this project, not all Indigenous hosts of Indigenous tourism attractions and destinations have that power – this is where the issue of authenticity becomes truly problematic. The OIB's stories are also authentic because they explain the hybridity of the Band today. The NDCC provides a space for the OIB to share their perspectives and their story, which while it may not match the expectations of visitors who are indoctrinated with particular 'ways of seeing' First Nations, it is the most authentic interpretation of OIB heritage and culture.

The NDCC, Identity, and the Museum

In 1997, James Clifford wrote the following about the ‘tribal museum’:

The tribal museum has different agendas: (1) its stance is to some degree oppositional, with exhibits reflecting excluded experiences, colonial pasts, and current struggles; (2) the art/culture distinction is often irrelevant, or positively subverted; (3) the notion of a unified or linear History (whether of the nation, of humanity, or of art) is challenged by local, community histories; and (4) the collections do not aspire to be included in the patrimony (of the nation, of great art, and so on) but aim to be inscribed within different traditions and practices, free of national, cosmopolitan patrimonies... The tribal or minority museum and artist, while locally based, may also aspire to wider recognition, to a certain national or global participation. Thus, a constant tactical movement is required: the margin to center and back again, in and out of dominant contexts, markets, patterns of success (1997: 122).

Clifford could easily be speaking specifically about the NDCC. It would be difficult to summarize the Centre’s positioning better. How, exactly, the NDCC executes these mandates, I have argued, is through the Centre’s architecture, gift shop, exhibitions and programming. Through analyzing the visual experience of visitors and the intentions of the OIB behind their exhibitions, I have argued that there are three main messages about OIB identity that visitors are supposed to take away: transformation, authenticity, and temporality. This is a collective identity that is packaged for visitor consumption – whether these visitors are OIB members, other Indigenous peoples, or non-Indigenous visitors. While the members of the OIB that I spoke to, including Chief Clarence Louie, Charlotte Stringam, Bob Etienne, and Brenda Baptiste identified strongly with this identity, it is presumptuous to assume that it applies unanimously to the Band members on an individual level.

The museum-format of the NDCC is familiar and it is a medium that shares the stories, histories, and experiences of the OIB into a form that is legible to the majority of visitors. The ideological space of the museum also acts with agency as an authority over

authenticity. The tribal museum or cultural centre is considered part of the spectrum of museum types that have expanded to be more diverse and populous now more than ever before. The traditional museum structure and practices are commandeered in cultural centres, which has given rise to the debates about hybridity versus acculturation and questions of authenticity.

Throughout this project, I have discovered two interpretations of these arguments that best fit the NDCC, and they are interrelated. The NDCC is an authentic product of the OIB and the NDCC is a hybrid space. Collectively, the NDCC reflects the authenticity of the identity held within it, which is itself hybrid. Traditional and modern, Aboriginal and European, the contemporary OIB are not one or the other, but value the influence of both to the contemporary collective self. This message of identity is reflected in the importance of demonstrating temporality.

As Doxtator notes, “The past and present of Indian situations must be dealt with together because they are inextricably connected...Emphasis is placed not on the point of division or disruption between time periods but on the continuity between eras.” (1992b: 27). The Day School gallery and the story it shares is an excellent example to illustrate this point. Through the tutelage of Anthony Walsh, the Day School children were given the opportunity to creatively express the reflection of their reality – a reality that captured a generation in transition, caught between a traditional past and a world that was changing around them, forcing transformation for better or worse. The NDCC creatively reflects the OIB reality today, again, capturing a generation in transition in a period of transformation. The internal and external cannot be easily defined, Aboriginal and

European cannot be isolated as distinct elements. There is a loss of the 'Other' and the result is something new, something hybrid and a presentation that is authentically OIB.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

1. How is the cultural centre important to the OIB community?
2. What ultimately do you hope visitors learn about the OIB after visiting the centre?
 - a. What is most surprising to visitors?
3. Who designed the cultural centre?
 - a. What role did the community play in the centre's design?
 - i. What was the consultation process?
4. Who decided what would be exhibited in the centre?
 - a. What role did the community play in exhibit designs?
 - i. What was the consultation process?
 - b. Why are <exhibit>, <exhibit>, and <exhibit> exhibited?
 - c. What is the most important exhibit to the OIB community?
 - d. What is the most popular exhibit with visitors?
 - i. Has the popularity of this exhibit influenced other current/future exhibits? How?
5. Did tourist expectations play a role in deciding what to exhibit?
6. Why were exhibits arranged in the order that they are arranged? Why are visitors asked to follow a particular path through the cultural centre?
7. How would you define authenticity?
 - a. What does it mean to be an authentically OIB?
 - b. How does the cultural centre fulfill these requirements?
8. Why is the <prominent symbol> so prominent in the cultural centre?
 - a. Is <prominent symbol> significant to the OIB community? How so?
9. The <symbol> is a symbol commonly associated with <British Columbia First Nations> (or more generally, Indigenous Peoples of America/Canada) [and often understood out of context]. What does this symbol mean to the OIB?
 - a. Is it used strategically to appeal to tourists?
 - b. What new information do you hope tourists learn from seeing this symbol in the context of the cultural centre?
10. In the gift shop <item> is for sale to visitors. How is this item representative of OIB culture?
 - a. Why is it being sold?
 - b. Is it popular among customers?
 - c. If an arts/craft item, is the artist/artisan supported through the sales?
 - d. If an item unrelated to OIB culture, why is this item for sale here?