

# Native Tourism: Endangered Spaces?

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**ABSTRACT.** The heritage tourism industry currently accounts for one-third of the \$2.3 billion in tourism revenue generated annually in Alberta. This discussion examines the heritage tourism industry in southwestern Alberta — particularly a triangular sweep encompassing Fort Macleod, Crowsnest Pass, and Cardston — with special reference to the as yet touristically dormant Peigan Nation and Blood Indian Reserves enveloped within this “triangle” of cultural tourism. The purpose is to examine some of the socioeconomic and sociocultural impacts of stacking these facilities within such a confined area of southwestern Alberta. There is a need for sensitive management and industry sustainability that will, in turn, challenge conventional understandings of how Native cultures should be represented and interpreted.

**SOMMAIRE.** L'industrie du tourisme historique représente, à l'heure actuelle, le tiers des revenus de 2,3 milliards de dollars générés annuellement par le tourisme albertain. Cet article examine l'industrie du tourisme historique dans le sud-ouest de l'Alberta — en particulier dans le triangle englobant Fort Macleod, le Col du Nid de corbeau et Cardston — et fait référence tout spécialement aux réserves de la nation Peigan et des Indiens Blood où le tourisme n'est pas encore développé. Dans cet article, on veut étudier l'impact socio-économique et socio-culturel que peut avoir l'entassement de toutes ces installations dans un si petit périmètre du sud-ouest de l'Alberta. Il faut une gestion judicieuse et une industrie capable de survivre qui, à son tour, remettra en question le point de vue conventionnel qui dicte comment les cultures autochtones devraient être représentées et interprétées.

*A Third World in Every First World*

*A First World in Every Third World*

Trinh T. Minh-ha<sup>1</sup>

The heritage tourism<sup>2</sup> industry is big business in Alberta, accounting for approximately one-third of the \$2.3 billion in tourism revenue generated annually.<sup>3</sup> The geographic focus of this discussion (hereafter referred to as the “triangle”) is a triangular sweep in southwestern Alberta that includes Fort Macleod, Crowsnest Pass and Cardston, which hosts the highest concentration of multimillion dollar heritage facilities in the province (Figures 1 and 2). The investigative focus of this paper is on the touristically dormant Peigan Nation and Blood Indian reserves encompassed within this “triangle” of cultural tourism.

Since 1985, Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism has overseen the planning and implementation of a \$27 million heritage facility investment in the “triangle,” a figure which, to date, represents roughly one-quarter of the total provincial investment in such facilities.<sup>4</sup> The Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump Interpretive Centre, Frank Slide Interpretive Centre and the soon-to-be-completed Remington Alberta Carriage Centre are all in the process of carving out a readily identifiable “tourist space”<sup>5</sup> and rearranging the area's socioeconomic and sociocultural patterns.

What follows is an examination of some of the spatial, socioeconomic and sociocultural impacts of stacking<sup>6</sup> these facilities within such a confined area of southwestern Alberta — an area that also envelops virtually all of the Peigan Nation Reserve and slightly less than half of the Blood Indian Reserve (Figure 2). The intent is to open a dialogue on the need to challenge conventional understanding of how Native cultures, lifeways and histories should be interpreted and represented, particularly in light of the rising curve



Figure 1. Alberta, Canada. Adapted from Chinook Country Tourist Association, *Chinook Country: A Whole Lot of Heritage* (promotional pamphlet, 1990).

of domestic and international tourism and the seemingly erratic investment of millions of government dollars.

Heritage tourism in southwestern Alberta has emerged like a fragmented image in a cubist painting seen from a number of simultaneous but conflicting perspectives. Each distinct perspective, as seen through the “language” and medium of its characteristic mode of enquiry, features its own strengths and weaknesses. In a changing world, in which former methods of investigation may not apply, or may not entirely embrace the full complement of relevant analytical options, the consideration of the “postmodern” perspective in touristic and Native studies enquiry ensures that valuable interdisciplinary and cross-cultural insights are not lost.<sup>7</sup> As Barraclough<sup>8</sup> has observed, much of the most fascinating and productive research occurs at or across the frontiers between different disciplines. Moreover, as University of Alberta professors David Whitson and Trevor Slack suggest, the postmodern





Figure 2. The "Triangle." Adapted from Alberta Tourism, *Province of Alberta, Canada, 1989 Official Road Map*.

perspective also leads us to suspect that society itself might be in danger of being restructured to serve economic ends rather than the opposite.<sup>9</sup>

The heated debate on postmodernism assumes many forms. At the heart of postmodernist deliberation, however, is a thoughtful look at the rationality of modernism and the existing order. The postmodern perspective compels us to weigh the ironies, contradictions and absurdities in order to make us see its objective in a new light, hinting perhaps at a hidden agenda of power modalities, language games and interest-motivated rationality behind the appearances. For example, the postmodern frame of reference exposes the disquieting irony of Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism seemingly compromising its primary mandate through its transformative foray into big business, high finance, and the heritage tourism advertising industry.<sup>10</sup> How? Upon careful scrutiny of the primary mandate of Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, together with the ministry's

multimillion-dollar heritage facility investments and its glossy "Experience the Past" advertising campaign, one might well be left in a quandary. If Alberta Culture is rushing headlong into big business, advertising and marketing, who is going to champion, without conflicts and "bottom-lines," Alberta's cultural and Native heritage in places such as the "triangle"?

What first drew me to postmodernist thought was its sensitivity to heterogeneity, particularity and uniqueness — the very attributes that draw visitors to attractions. The philosopher Jean François Lyotard claims that "postmodern knowledge is not simply a tool of the authorities; it refines our sensitivity to differences."<sup>11</sup> Lyotard speaks of a postmodern crisis of narratives which profile a multiplicity of "language games" that, in turn, give rise to "institutions in patches."<sup>12</sup>

As previously mentioned, the tourist space of the "triangle" encompasses two of these so-called "institutions in patches." The reserves of the Peigan Nation and the Blood Tribe constitute patches of a "Third World" environment within the broader industrialized Canadian framework.<sup>13</sup>

The following facts and statistics make it clear that Canada does have its own Third World within. According to a recent article in the *Globe and Mail*, in 1985 the annual earnings of 35.5 percent of Canadian full-blooded Natives were in the lowest category, from no income to \$4,999.<sup>14</sup> Only 19 percent of the population as a whole had incomes in that range. The top category, more than \$25,000, included only 10.2 percent of the Native population, compared to 26.3 percent of the entire population. Kelly Frank, native economic development officer for the Blood Reserve, notes that unemployment levels on the reserve currently run as high as 80 percent.<sup>15</sup> A recent Treaty 7 Community Futures Workshop discussion paper calls attention to an 85 percent unemployment rate among its seven member tribes.<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, Natives living on reserves are seven times more likely than other Canadians to lack central heating and sixteen times more likely to be overcrowded.<sup>17</sup> A cursory drive through the residential areas in Stand Off (Blood Reserve) or Brocket (Peigan Reserve) reveals the dilapidated living conditions on the reserves, conditions that could benefit from an infusion of tourist dollars.

The phenomena of tourist space and conventional "top-down" tourism development are made manifest by the outgrowth of metropolitan capitalism.<sup>18</sup> So, too, are the reserves subject to the exploitative relationship prevailing between the metropolitan cores and their geographic peripheries. Claudia Notzke emphasizes that "the metropolis not only exploits its hinterlands, it creates them, and perpetuates as long as possible their economic, social, and political dependence."<sup>19</sup> Native people of Canada living on reserves are, in essence, colonials embedded within the overarching dominance of the governing nation.

Indian reserves exhibit a distinct form of socio-spatial organization. Reserves were not conceived as an altruistic spatial gratuity set aside as



homelands for Native peoples; rather, they were an integral part of the government's program of cultural imperialism. These government-issued pockets of socio-spatial constraint were put in place to contain and "civilize" the Indian. Once "the Indians" were thoroughly schooled and processed in the image and likeness of their colonizers, reserves were to be abolished.<sup>20</sup> As time went by, however, Natives began to see the reserves as their homelands. This was not a phenomenon wherein brainwashed prisoners ultimately identified with their captors; rather it was an instance of a people becoming inseparable from the sacred land to which they were tied.

Kay Anderson's study of the development of Vancouver's Chinatown,<sup>21</sup> an investigative exercise into cultural hegemony and landscape as "text," bears directly upon the Native history of the "triangle." Anderson argues that it was in the context of defining Chinatown as physically, culturally and racially "apart" and "other" that the coherence and legitimation necessary to underpin the political policy (of social control through spatial control) was formulated. A similar study on the Peigan and Blood reserves would shed light on the social and geographic impetus of prejudice in the "triangle" and the machinations of the "white imagination"<sup>22</sup> in southwestern Alberta.

The Peigan and Blood reserves are a captive, and as yet passive, audience within the socio-spatial structure that is currently being processed by tourism.<sup>23</sup> Native economic development officers on both reserves expressed curiosity about, and suspicion of, cultural tourism.<sup>24</sup> Both officers noted the massive increase in traffic flows over the last decade, with millions of provincial dollars being funnelled into nearby "generator" projects.<sup>25</sup> But neither seems able to envision what might constitute a comfortable, yet beneficial, entry point for the Bloods and the Peigans into the cultural tourism industry.

Moreover, there are conflicting federal and provincial government jurisdictions and funding policies with which to contend. The reserves fall under the auspices of federal guidelines, while most major "generator" funding is derived from provincial sources. Furthermore, private investors are reluctant to develop "generators" on reserve land for a number of economic, political and cultural reasons, not the least of which is the spectre of Oka and Kahnawake,<sup>26</sup> militant roadblocks, and ongoing Native unrest hanging over the collective Canadian and tourist consciousness.

Let us imagine for a moment that the convoluted labyrinth of governmental and investor "red-tape" could be placated or somehow side-stepped. What, then, would natives stand to gain from cultural tourism? Geographers Rita-Jean Browne and Mary Lee Nolan suggest that tourism offers the greatest potential for economic development on some reserves, and that if sensitively managed it can also stimulate cultural revitalization, help maintain cultural identity and act as a promotional vehicle toward a better understanding of Native culture.<sup>27</sup>

By capitalizing on two of their most valuable assets — the natural beauty of their landscapes and their cultural traditions — Native people have the

opportunity to assert a measure of badly needed economic independence. Moreover, according to Browne and Nolan, this increased economic independence could, in turn, provide Native people with a heightened sense of pride, self-esteem, and self-determination. On the other hand, authors such as Turner and Ash claim that tourism is the betrayer of authenticity and cultural identity.<sup>28</sup> Others, Davydd Greenwood among them, warn of the displacement of traditional life by the overriding cultural process of "commoditization."<sup>29</sup>

Recent studies in several parts of the Third World, as well as in certain "third worlds within first worlds," indicate that tourism's forecasted panacea of beneficial economic development has not always profited the local people, the supposed principal beneficiaries.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, a number of the initial efforts to develop reservation tourism (in the western United States, for instance) have had negative consequences or have fallen short of the anticipated level of benefits.<sup>31</sup> Malcolm Crick suggests that only one certainty prevails within the contradictory nature of tourism; that is, for virtually any effect of tourism discovered, a counterexample likely exists.<sup>32</sup>

Beneath the economic and cultural debates persists the socio-spatial reality of Native location within the tourist space of the "triangle." With chronic unemployment levels running as high as 80-85 percent, the reserves cannot afford to ignore the \$27 million investment at hand. But, once again, how is this entry point to be suitably broached?

First, a quality attraction — a heritage "generator/ecomuseum"<sup>33</sup> combination — could be developed on one, both, or somewhere between the two reserves. The generator would render the desired degree of "tourismagnetism" (the ability of an area to draw tourism),<sup>34</sup> and the ecomuseum would engender an understanding of the animating principle of Native life: the land. After all, Native reserves, due to their communal structures, their distinct spatial confines and the permeating role of their culture, are already "virtual built-in ecomuseums."<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, it would be beneficial to the larger socio-spatial environment if the "generator/ecomuseum" were to complement the tourist space already underway in the "triangle."<sup>36</sup>

Second, information booths might be set up at strategic points on both reserves. The booths could emphasize genuine and meaningful community involvement, with an all-Native staff of attendants handing out literature conveying the cultural and geographic information deemed important by the Bloods and Peigans, not the stereotypical image currently generated by the tourism industry. The content of the travel literature is crucial for, as Crick suggests, tourism can be an activity that perpetuates and reinforces stereotypes rather than the reverse.<sup>37</sup>

Third, visitors need to be assured that they will be greeted warmly. For instance, when a Blood splinter group blockaded Highways 2 and 5 just north of Cardston in 1990, a couple from New York, who had spent "two miserable days" visiting Canada, were reported as saying, "[t]his really sucks. I don't know what kind of laws you have here, but it's illegal to do



something like this where I come from."<sup>38</sup> This kind of obstructive activity, although understandable within the broader geohistorical context, does nothing to endear Native culture to a pleasure-seeking and vacationing public, much less investors and government agencies.

This brings us to the key issue and point of contention in discussions on Native tourism — that of control.<sup>39</sup> Natives demand it, and investors and administrators are hesitant to relinquish it. But there is also an essential consideration that runs even deeper than the issue of control — that of mutual and self-respect. Native people require the means to reestablish self-respect in order to further their cultural renaissance,<sup>40</sup> while the Native and non-Native communities must develop mutual respect before they can cooperate effectively. Personal interviews with such "Chinook Country"<sup>41</sup> tourism notables as Hugh Craig and Randy Smith<sup>42</sup> suggested that the non-Native community has not moved far enough towards accommodation and cooperation. Major investors simply do not have enough confidence in current levels of Native economic, business, and organizational skill.<sup>43</sup> Yet Natives want complete control over the interpretation of their culture, the planning and operation of programs, including fiscal management and the level and intensity of tourism development.

Ken Eaglespeaker, former chief interpretation officer at the Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump (and acting facility manager when I interviewed him), believes that Native people are capable of managing both the economic and interpretive aspects of a major attraction. Eaglespeaker points out that "one of the things that the various levels of government have been promoting over the years is to get the tribes on their feet to do something for themselves... I think it would be wrong to deny them an opportunity to prove themselves."<sup>44</sup>

At present the Buffalo Jump Interpretive Centre comes closest to solving the issue of "control" in the "triangle." Even though Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism oversees the grand design of the facility's fiscal and ideological advancement, in a unique cooperative effort the provincial government, Alberta's scientific community, and Native elders combine to promote Native heritage and to enrich the understanding of aboriginal culture.<sup>45</sup> Eaglespeaker and his staff of fourteen interpreters offer tours, classes, seminars, and videos depicting how the region's Native people lived in prehistoric times. Eaglespeaker notes:

[The] typical visitor here is non-Native, so we promote a cross-cultural exchange. That's why we have an all-Native staff of interpreters and advisors. ... One of the things that Head-Smashed-In has been responsible for ... is the changing of attitudes in the museum world of Canada, and in the Canadian Parks Service, because of our initiative and our mandate that we must interpret our Native culture — including our interpretation of plants, animals, landscapes, environment — through and by Native people. It has not been done in Canada on a grand scale ... like it is presently being done at Head-Smashed-In. In fact, the U.S. Parks Service, after hearing so much about what we are doing up here at Head-Smashed-In, has just invited me to deliver workshops on Native interpretation starting in October of this year.<sup>46</sup>

These observations led me to believe that Eaglespeaker might embody the solution to the control issue which, in turn, could represent a comfortable entry point for the reserves, at least as far as the "triangle" is concerned. The solution, as I see it, involves four basic steps. First, Eaglespeaker might be asked to spearhead a steering committee and a feasibility study to look into the development of a heritage "generator/ ecomuseum" on the most appropriate site. Second, a fully detailed economic and interpretive proposal might be submitted to an amalgam of private and public (both federal and provincial) concerns. Third, Eaglespeaker might be invited to assume the managing directorship of the heritage facility. Fourth, the facility in question might become, like its Head-Smashed-In counterpart, a model interpretive centre of Native culture, art and tourism.

At the outset, prior to the steering committee and the feasibility study, a memorandum of intent could be circulated to concerned band and municipal councils in order to give them an opportunity for input. The Heritage Canada Foundation used such a memorandum of intent — an element that had not been a part of earlier regional heritage tourism projects in western Canada — to include the diverse groups and areas involved in organizing a heritage program on Manitoulin Island.<sup>47</sup> In this case, the Manitoulin Municipal Association, the United Chiefs and Councils of Manitoulin, the Manitoulin Tourism Association and the island's two Community Futures Organizations combined with Heritage Canada to launch an "historic co-operation that supersedes east-west and native-non-native differences."<sup>48</sup> The memorandum of intent is an effort to include all parties, while never losing sight of diversity and particularity. As Jacques Dalibard notes, "heritage is not things, it is people."<sup>49</sup>

Another fundamental consideration must be weighed and determined by Native people prior to opening a Native tourism "generator/ ecomuseum" — that of a threshold for social carrying capacity. Peter Murphy points out that "one guide to the development of sensitively managed and appropriately scaled tourism is the creation of a social carrying-capacity approach,"<sup>50</sup> while Louis D'Amore defines social carrying capacity for tourism as "that point in the growth of tourism where local residents perceive on balance an unacceptable level of social disbenefits from tourism development."<sup>51</sup> (Figure 3) This approach is essential to any Native tourism development as well as for each individual destination and the "triangle" as a whole. Young, in his deliberations on the negative local impacts of tourism, claims that "one obvious solution is to influence national [as well as provincial and regional] tourist policy so that the flow to each particular region is optimal — neither too high [nor] too low — and to convince the policy-makers that beyond a certain level further increases are counter-productive."<sup>52</sup>

Waterton Lakes National Park (less than an hour from Cardston) closes its gates to campers and other overnight visitors when its carrying capacity has been reached. Perhaps a similar system could be devised to limit the tourist flow onto the Blood and Peigan reserves and, if necessary, into the "triangle" itself.



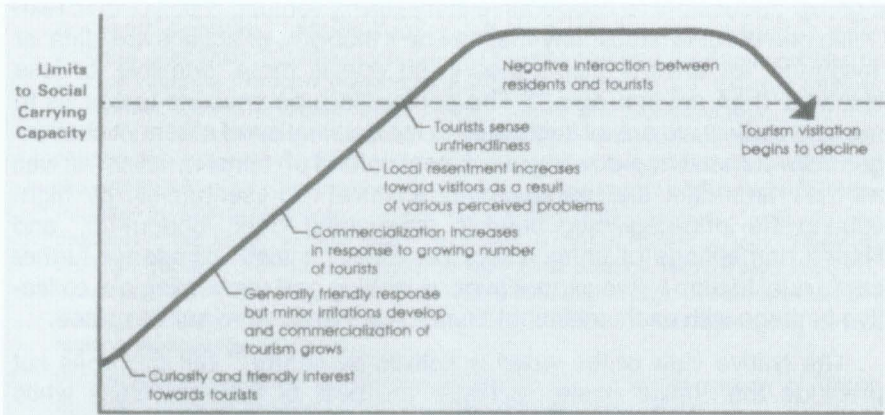


Figure 3. Tourist Resident Relationships: A Theoretical Model. Source: L.J. D'Amore, "Guidelines to Planning Harmony with the Host Community," 136.

A social carrying-capacity approach provides two constructive functions to tourism planning. First, it promotes the realization that every destination has a bounded supply of resources, including that of conviviality and hospitality. This perspective is generally forgotten in the heady enthusiasm of the early stages of development. Second, it imparts and sustains a framework within which to assess the relative social impacts of tourism development. Precise guidelines are simply unattainable within the framework of a social carrying-capacity approach,<sup>53</sup> and because of the wide spectrum of residents' perceptions of tourism and its impacts, such precision should not be sought after or expected.

James Clifford observes that "[m]arginal, non-western groups constantly ... enter the modern world. And whether this entry is celebrated or lamented, the price is always this: local, distinctive paths through modernity vanish."<sup>54</sup> But this is a static notion, one of cultures seen to be moving out of tradition and into the modern (or postmodern) world, a static notion that sees overriding structures as being equipped with cultural appendages that either "resist or yield to the new but cannot produce it."<sup>55</sup> The postmodern sensitivity to cultural difference and "otherness" is vital for a balanced approach to heritage and "other" tourism in the "triangle" because it cuts through the static geohistorical imagery and lays bare a tangle of dynamic and conflicting reflections on the way that knowledge is constructed and contested rather than being simply received. In other words, it calls into question the linear Eurocentric perspective of time and domination as well as conventional understandings of how Native cultures and histories should be represented and interpreted. These "institutions in patches," if given the opportunity to help themselves, can indeed prove to the "triangle" and the world, that they have not continuously resisted the new but rather have always contributed in their own way to its production.

The postmodern perspective encourages a cooperative and collaborative conversation among people, not the report of an observer. It advocates

a group discussion, "a cooperative story-telling venture, a polyphonic text. ... No one is out to 'study' anyone, no one's thoughts or actions are 'data' or 'evidence' for anyone else's theory, no one is more 'primitive' or less 'evolved' than anyone else."<sup>56</sup> The postmodern perspective forces us to reexamine how we are all implicated in the domination of others. It challenges conventional "top-down" government control of tourist facilities, as well as their attendant and approximated cultural representations, by highlighting the long-neglected need to understand local, "bottom-up," and Native perceptions of change and continuity. It also exposes a further contextual friction — we cannot avoid remaking and reinventing our collective heritage with each additional "heritage generator" we put into place.

The Native view of the world is holistic by nature,<sup>57</sup> but this does not preclude the Native desire to foster the best of their traditions while accepting the best of change. It is often the encompassing societies of these "institutions in patches," and not the Natives themselves, that perceive as paradoxical the interest of traditional Natives in contemporary paraphernalia such as graphs, tables, flow charts, and computer models. By way of illustration, Jerry Potts, Jr. of the Peigan Nation recently spoke of his intention to form a Native corporation that would simultaneously handle all future tourism development on the reserve and shield traditional Native elements from any outside negative impacts.<sup>58</sup> Potts also enquired about the possibility of adapting the Tiebout Local Economic Impact computer model to a specific Indian reserve application in the hope that such an adaptation might provide an estimation of the local economic benefits that might accrue from an influx of tourist expenditures.<sup>59</sup>

This article has attempted to examine, with special reference to the inhabitants of the Peigan Nation and Blood reserves, some of the spatial, socioeconomic, and sociocultural impacts of placing \$27 million of heritage facilities within such a confined area. This "triangle" of cultural tourism envelops virtually all of the Peigan Nation Reserve and slightly less than half of the Blood Indian Reserve. In addition to the ideas suggested for suitable Native tourism entry points, the article has striven to open a dialogue on the need for sensitive management and planning in an industry with great potential for Native control, expression and education about their culture.

At present, these ideas are unfunded and amorphous, and the Native tourism opportunities within the "triangle" remain largely dormant. But we have within our grasp the opportunity to plan it sensitively and properly. If Native tourism in southwestern Alberta is developed tastefully, with respect, and with genuine and meaningful Native involvement, as well as with a view toward fresh investigative perspectives and "retextualized" understandings of how Native cultures should be represented and interpreted, everyone can benefit.

#### NOTES

1. This quote by Trinh T. Minh-ha is taken from James Clifford, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm," in Hal Foster, ed., *Discussions in Contemporary Culture* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1987), 125.



2. The terms cultural tourism and heritage tourism will be used interchangeably throughout this paper. According to Alberta Tourism, cultural tourism has been defined as those activities, attractions, facilities, networks, and services that are based upon heritage or cultural elements (*Tourism Development Network Bulletin No. 20: Cultural Tourism*, [Edmonton: Alberta Tourism, 1990]). Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism notes that Alberta's network of heritage facilities includes over 135 museums and twelve interpreted historic sites, two major heritage parks and thirty-eight archives, with a total visitation of more than 5.5 million visitors annually (*The Economic Impact of Provincial Heritage Facilities in Alberta* [Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, 1989], 3). The concepts in this article were originally developed as part of Robert L. Rock, "Regional Heritage Tourism: The Bottom Left-hand Corner of Alberta" (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1991). See also, Heritage Canada Foundation, *Regional Heritage Tourism Strategy* (Ottawa: Heritage Canada Foundation, 1988) for more information on the regional heritage tourism concept.
3. William Byrne, "Museums and Cultural Tourism in Alberta," in *Proceedings of Alberta Museums Association Conference* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1988): 13.
4. Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, "Contributions for Minister's Speech on 'Planning for Cultural Tourism'," *Historical Resources Intern Programme* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1989): 2.
5. J.M. Miossec, "Un Modèle de L'Espace Touristique," *L'Espace Géographique* 6, no.1 (1977): 41-48. The term "tourist space" refers to the form, structure, mediation, and evolution of socio-spatial organization arising from the influence of touristic activity. See also Geoffrey Wall, "Cycles and Capacity — Incipient Theory or Conceptual Contradiction," *Tourism Management* 3, no.3 (1982): 188-92. Used here, the term is concerned with the series of events, as well as their cumulative socio-spatial consequences, by which a once peripheral area (or low-intensity tourism region) is shaped and reshaped through the addition of new facilities and infrastructures until the human and physical landscape is modified, and commodified, to the point that it is essentially a built environment with urban characteristics.
6. The term "stacking" is taken from a personal communication with Robert Graham (former director, Alberta Main Street Programme, Alberta Historical Resources Foundation. Letter to author, 1 November 1989). When asked to comment on my proposed thesis topic Mr. Graham responded with, "[a] study of the effects of tourism on the area [Cardston, Crownsnest Pass, and Fort Macleod] and the cumulative effects of stacking such facilities would probably be seen as a very good academic thesis topic."
7. Postmodernism, as the term is used throughout this article, represents an attack against the rationality of modernism, an assault on the modernist "foundational" epistemologies. The postmodernism concept has grown out of architecture, aesthetics, and literary theory to confront the contours of the human and social sciences as a whole. The postmodernist perspective questions claims for a privileged path to truth or to accurate representations of reality. Two other constructs of postmodernism (although they are not addressed in this discussion) are prevalent at present. The first deals with postmodernism as a style (architecture, art, and design in general), and the second deals with postmodernism as an epoch (a belief that there has been some kind of radical break with past trends). For more information on both postmodernist constructs noted above, see Michael J. Dear, "Postmodernism and Planning," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 4 (1986): 367-84, and, "The Postmodern Challenge: Reconstructing Human Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 13 (1988): 262-74. See also Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* (London: Verso, 1989).
8. G. Barraclough, *Main Trends in History* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979).
9. David Whitson and Trevor Slack, "Deconstructing the Discourses of Leisure Management," *Society and Leisure* 12, no.1 (1989): 19-34.
10. The primary mandate of Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism is the preservation and

- public presentation of the province's heritage resources, and the development of a cultural environment that nurtures the arts and multicultural activities (Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, "Contributions for Minister's Speech on 'Planning for Cultural Tourism'").
11. Jean François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1984): xxv.
  12. George Marcus and Michael Fischer also refer to Lyotard's usage of the term "institutions in patches." See *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 8. Marcus and Fischer recognize the term as one of the key features of the "experimental moment" currently underway in the human sciences, a "moment" that is prompting a "loosening of the hold over fragmented scholarly communities of either specific totalizing visions or a general paradigmatic style of organizing research. The authority of 'grand theory' styles seems suspended for the moment in favour of a *close consideration of such issues as contextuality, the meaning of social life to those who enact it, and the explanation of exceptions and indeterminants rather than regularities in phenomena observed* [emphasis added]." I have adapted the term "institutions in patches" and applied it to Native reserves for two reasons: because the loosening of the hold of "grand theories" and the growing healthy suspicion of the "existing order" have encouraged a new perspective of the dominated and the methods of those doing the dominating; and because I find the phrase to be a useful and descriptive characterization of Canadian reserves. They are indeed government-issued institutions with a very distinct form of socio-spatial organization that form a sort of random "patchwork" across the country. This healthy suspicion of the powers that be, in turn, creates an intellectual climate that begs such questions as: who are the "real authors" of our collective heritage landscapes? Of our reserves or "institutions in patches?" Is our Eurocentric ideology in place merely to "naturalize" our social reality and make it seem as ingenuous and unchangeable as nature itself? Is cultural interpretation, as it presently stands in the "triangle," merely a political practice with contrived and calculated material aims and consequences? It was an article by Allan Gould ("Aboriginals in Canada Subject of Exploration," *Prince Albert Daily Herald*, 13 August 1991), that prompted me to reflect further on Native reserves as "institutions in patches." Gould speaks of a "cold slap across our moral face..." when he thinks of the Indian Act. "The Indian Act ... should have been called the 'Anti-Indian Act,' and there would have been a lot less confusion... [It was] a legislative witches' brew of regulations that covered every imaginable contingency in an Indian's life, leaving government agents hovering over his or her every activity from birth to death, with the power to snatch children from homes, monitor movements, prohibit 'undesirable' activities, seize property, deny freedom of speech, religion, and self-expression, and throw 'trouble-makers' into jail promptly. Indians could not vote, drink, or own any land. The occupation [within these pockets of socio-spatial constraint or "institutions in patches"] was complete."
  13. Claudia Notzke, "The Past in the Present," in L.A. Rosenvall and S.M. Evans, eds., *Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West: Regional Perspectives on the Settlement Process* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1987), 95.
  14. Michael Kesterton, "Social Studies: A Daily Miscellany of Information," *Globe and Mail*, 22 September 1990.
  15. Kelly Frank, economic development officer, Blood Tribe administration. Personal interview, 23 August 1990.
  16. Treaty 7 Community Futures Workshop, "Treaty 7: Development of Five Year Strategies" (Blood Tribe, Peigan Nation, Siksika Nation, Sarcee Nation, Bearpaw Tribe, Chiniki Tribe, Goodstoney Tribe). Lethbridge, Alberta, 31 May-1 June 1990.
  17. Kesterton, "Social Studies."
  18. In other words, tourism, and the resultant phenomenon of tourist space, helps to maintain the dominance of the metropolitan (and political) core by providing "new frontiers" for capitalistic accumulation. According to Winston Husbands, "Centres, Peripheries,



Tourism, and Socio-Spatial Development," *Ontario Geography* 17 (1981): 51 — "As capitalism 'outgrows' itself at the centre it must, like other natural systems, produce the conditions for its own demise — it cannot maintain growth without, at the same time, transforming itself."

19. Notzke, "The Past in the Present," 95.
20. A.A. den Otter, *Civilizing the West: The Galts and the Development of Western Canada* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1982), ix-x. See also Notzke, "The Past in the Present," 95-96.
21. Kay Anderson, "Cultural Hegemony and the Race Definition Process in Chinatown, Vancouver 1880-1980," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6 (1988): 127-49. See also Kay Anderson, "Chinatown' as a Public Nuisance: The Power of Place in the Making of a Racial Category," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77 (1987): 580-98. Both of Anderson's articles will help illuminate the process of prejudice (historically and presently) in the "triangle" as well as the utility of applying Anderson's methodological approach to the recognition and, possibly, to the eventual dissipation of this ongoing social problem.
22. See note 12, particularly the section on Allan Gould's article, for an example of the "machinations of the 'white [Canadian] imagination'" and its applications with reference to the Native "colonials" living on Canadian reserves. Moreover, Doreen Indra, professor of Anthropology at the University of Lethbridge, (letter to author, 26 July 1990) speaks of a local example of the burgeoning "machinations of the 'white imagination'" in the "triangle." Dr. Indra observes that "the Mormons at Cardston are claiming the new Carriage Museum in order to compete and claim historical legitimacy in an area where Bloods and Peigans" have laid the first cultural and historical claims, where natives, not newcomers, have deposited the first layers of "ideological sediment."
23. Brian Goodall, *Dictionary of Human Geography* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 438, defines "socio-spatial structure" as "space as perceived and used by members of a particular social group, and within which that social group carries on its interrelations. It is the framework within which the subjective evaluations and motivations of members of the group can be related to overtly expressed behaviour and to the external characteristics of the environment." Note 5 defines "tourist space" as well as the manner in which the "triangle" is currently being processed by tourism.
24. Jerry Potts, Jr., economic development officer, Peigan Nation, personal interview, 17 August 1990; Kelly Frank, personal interview.
25. Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, "Contributions for Minister's Speech on 'Planning for Cultural Tourism'," 4. According to this document the highest heritage tourism priorities were identified in the Provincial Tourism Generators Programme. Southern Alberta, formerly a "pass-through" region for visitors en route to the Rocky Mountains, and the cities of Edmonton and Calgary, were deemed the most significant of these "generators."
26. Canadian Press, "Chronology of Mohawk crisis at Oka and Kahnawake," *Prince Albert Herald*, 11 July 1991:

"March 11, 1990: Kahnatesake Mohawks set up road blockade to prevent town of Oka from expanding a golf course onto land the Indians claim.

July 11: One-hundred provincial police officers attack blockade with assault rifles, concussion grenades and tear gas to enforce injunction ordering blockade be torn down. Cpl. Marcel Lemay, 31, is fatally shot. Police surround the Kahnatesake reserve, block off food and medical supplies. Mohawks in Kahnawake, across St. Lawrence River from Montreal, block highways leading to the Mercier Bridge in an act of solidarity.

August 8: Prime Minister Brian Mulroney makes Canadian army available to the Quebec government.

August 12: Provincial police in Chateauguay, near Kahnawake, use tear gas to

disperse several hundred rock- and bottle-throwing people who want Mercier Bridge re-opened.

August 17: Army replaces provincial police at barricades near Oka and Chateaugay.

August 20: Whites throw rocks and stones at a caravan of 75 cars carrying Mohawks leaving Kahnawake because they fear an army assault.

August 29: Army and Mohawk Warriors agree to bring down the barricades blocking roads leading to the Mercier Bridge.

September 1: Army advances on Mohawk positions and takes down the barricades at Kahnawake cornering about 30 Mohawk Warriors inside the community's detoxification centre.

September 26: Mohawks leave the centre, ending standoff."

27. Rita-Jean Browne and Mary Lee Nolan, "Western Indian Reservation Tourism Development," *Annals of Tourism Research* 16, no.3 (1989): 360-76.
28. L. Turner and J. Ash, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1973).
29. Davydd J. Greenwood, "Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization," in Valene L. Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1989), 129-38. See Greenwood for a more detailed discussion on "tourism [including ethnic tourism] as cultural commoditization." The "Visitor Coupon Give-Away 1990" advertising campaign launched by Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism provides an excellent regional example of this form of cultural "commoditization." According to Catherine Hughes, tourism industry liaison officer, Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism (letter to author, 13 December 1990), this promotional scheme features businesses in Fort Macleod, the Crowsnest Pass, and Cardston. Coupon booklets were distributed from the Frank Slide Interpretive Centre, Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, and the Remington Alberta Carriage Museum. Thus visitors to one interpretive centre are made aware of the other nearby communities and interpretive centres. In other words, the coupon booklet was designed to retain visitors, and by extension, to extract higher visitor expenditures within the "triangle," and in the process, produce, and reproduce an identifiable and commodified tourist space. What we are witnessing here is the nascent promotion of "local color" and cultural heritage as a part of tourism merchandising. The bottom line of advertising, however, is sales, not culture, so I perceive an integral conflict of ministerial misrepresentation here. I feel a profound sense of uneasiness at the prospect of Alberta's Ministry of Culture selling our natural, cultural, and Native heritage for two-dollars-off on a hickory smoked turkey or for two "free laps" on a go-kart. See also Malcolm Crick, "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18 (1989): 336-37.
30. J. Diamond, "Tourism's Role in Economic Development: The Case Re-examined," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 25, no.3 (1977): 539-53; Alistair Mathieson and Geoff Wall, *Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts* (New York: Longman, 1982); O. Pi-Sunyer, "The Cultural Costs of Tourism," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 6 (1982): 7-10; Valene L. Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); Browne and Nolan, "Western Indian Reservation Tourism Development."
31. American Indian Policy Review Commission, *Report on Reservation and Resource Development and Protection: Final Report to the American Indian Policy Review Commission* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976).
32. Crick, "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences," 336.
33. The concept of the ecomuseum (i.e., the Crowsnest Pass Ecomuseum) is really more of a philosophy than something that can be framed in words. With the ecomuseum there is no single structure, as with a conventional museum, but rather a region or territory.



Everything within that designated territory — be it flora, fauna, geographical features, weather, built environment, cultural features, past, present, and future inhabitants — forms part of the ecomuseum's "collection." In other words, it includes everything in the area that makes it unique. According to Heritage Canada, ecomuseums in Canada are an extension of the Main Street Programme — or "Main Street cubed" as the foundation refers to the concept (Heritage Canada Foundation Newsletter, *Main Street's Kissing Cousin: Introducing the Heritage Tourism Programme* [Ottawa: Heritage Canada Foundation, 1988, vol.4, no.4:1-8]). Whereas the Main Street Programme concentrates on the revitalization of the downtown business cores, ecomuseums place more emphasis on the cultural and social dimensions. For more information on ecomuseums, see the discussion by Georges Henri Rivière, "The Ecomuseum — An Evolutive Definition," *Museum* 148, no.4 (1985): 182-83. See also Wilma Wood, "The Cowichan and Chemainus Valleys Ecomuseum: A Case Study," in Walter Jamieson, ed., *Planning For Cultural Tourism* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1989), 115-19. See also Walter Jamieson, "An Ecomuseum for the Crownsnest Pass: Using Cultural Resources as a Tool for Community and Local Economic Development," *Plan Canada* 29, no.5 (1989): 14-22; Jacques Dalibard, "What is an Eco-Museum?" *Canadian Heritage* 1, no.6 (1984): 2-4; Rock, "Regional Heritage Tourism"; James Quig, "Pride of Place," *Canadian Heritage* (Winter 1987-88): 39-40. For a fascinating survey of a variety of ecomuseums located throughout the world (including ecomuseums in Quebec, Africa, and South America) see the special issue of *Museum* (Images of the Ecomuseum) 148, no.4 (1985): 1-245.

34. Charles J. Metelka defines a "tourismagnetic area" as a "place where tourism has become the major source of income and the major cultural influence. Also, an area that draws tourism." (*The Dictionary of Tourism* [Wheaton: Merton House, 1986], 76) By the statement, "[t]he generator would render the desired degree of 'tourismagnetism'," I mean that the hypothetical generator in question would serve as a tourism draw for the, as yet, tourismically dormant Blood and Peigan reserves. The Blood and Peigan tribes would have to arrive at the magnitude of that "desired degree" of tourism depending, of course, on economic feasibilities and expectations and sociocultural considerations.
35. Jacques Dalibard, "What We Can Learn From Native People: Observations on a Cultural Renaissance," *Canadian Heritage* (Spring 1989): 3-4.
36. Tourism Canada, *U.S. Pleasure Travel Market Study* (Ottawa: Department of Regional Industrial Expansion, 1986), 15, indicates that Canada's single strongest attribute for attracting American tourists is the "touring trip." Since touring involves sampling a blend of tourist products, the emphasis must be regional, encompassing a number of individual facilities (together with their attendant socio-spatial structures and linkages) that may not be sufficient travel destinations on their own, but which, when packaged together, make the attractions of the "triangle" enticing combinational and complementary prospects.
37. Crick, "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences," 329.
38. John Grainger, "Tourists Show Mixed Reaction," *Lethbridge Herald*, 30 August 1990.
39. The following discussion on "control" is, first and foremost, meant to raise the issue generally and provide a starting point from which to unleash and air a multiplicity of voices on the subject. I base my observations on (1) personal interviews with the following individuals: (a) Jerry Potts, Jr., economic development officer, Peigan Nation (17 August 1990), (b) Kelly Frank, economic development officer, Blood Reserve (23 August 1990), (c) Hugh Craig, Remington Carriage Collection Steering Committee, Town of Fort Macleod representative (22 August 1990), (d) Randy Smith, general manager, Chinook Country Tourist Association (27 August 1990), (e) Mark Rasmussen, coordinating director, Historical Resources Division, Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism (9 August 1990), (f) Ken Carson, facility manager, Remington Alberta Carriage Centre (25 August and 22 October 1990), (g) Edward Sponholz, marketing and promotion officer, South East Region, Historic Sites Service, Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism (31 August 1990), (h) Ken Eaglespeaker, interpretation officer, Historic Sites Service, Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism (31 August 1990); (2) person-on-the-street interviews and field work on

the Peigan Nation and Blood reserves, Fort Macleod, Cardston, Crowsnest Pass, and Pincher Creek; (3) five years of living and working in the vicinity of the "triangle" — including field work and pertinent courses associated with my undergraduate degree in Geography obtained at the University of Lethbridge.

Where is this battle for control being fought in the "triangle?" As I see it, the arena for control includes such venues as: (1) within and between the upper echelons of the Ministries of Culture and Tourism; (2) at the regional level, as the fourteen tourism zones (see Pamela Wight, *Tourism in Alberta* [Edmonton: Environment Council of Alberta, 1988], 3) vie for ever-increasing shares of tourism investment and revenues; (3) at the municipal level; (4) between the Peigan Nation and Blood reserves; (5) within and among the band factions on each individual reserve; (6) over off-reserve sites that relate to one or more bands; (7) over on-reserve sites that are owned by the band but which could be developed either by the band alone or with the assistance of government agencies; and (8) over scenarios such as the one presently found at the Head-Smashed-In site, where the site is being interpreted as a culturally affiliated site by both Blood and Peigan interpreters even though it is doubtful that it was their direct ancestors who ran those particular buffalo over that particular jump. A useful follow-up paper to this discussion might suggest the different ways in which the various control strategies and power-sharing options might be approached.

40. Dalibard, "What We Can Learn From Native People," 4.
41. Alberta is divided into fourteen tourism zones. "Chinook Country" is the name of zone number 1, the zone which is located in the bottom left-hand corner of the province. The "triangle" is completely encompassed by "Chinook Country." For more information, see Wight, *Tourism in Alberta*, 3.
42. Hugh Craig, Remington Carriage Collection Steering Committee, town of Fort Macleod representative, personal interview, 22 August 1990; Randy Smith, general manager, Chinook Country Tourist Association, personal interview, 27 August 1990.
43. This statement is based on my interpretation of the opinions that were offered during the course of my field interviews.
44. Kenneth C. Eaglespeaker, interpretation officer, Historic Sites Service, Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, personal interview, 31 August 1990. Jerry Potts, Jr. and Kelly Frank (see notes 24 and 15), economic development officers of the Peigans and Bloods respectively, also voice their agreement with Eaglespeaker's belief in the Natives' capability of managing both the economic and interpretive aspects of a major attraction. See also note 38 for other sources upon which I base my observations.
45. Jeff D. Morrow, "Buffalo Jump," *Native Peoples* 3, no.3 (1990): 36-40.
46. Eaglespeaker, personal interview.
47. Pat Loosemore, "Heritage Committee Courted with Manitoulin History and Hospitality," *Manitoulin Expositor* (Little Current, Ontario), 24 August 1988.
48. *Ibid.*, 14-15.
49. *Ibid.*, 14. In an interview, Jacques Dalibard, executive director of the Heritage Canada Foundation, said that, "20 years ago, 'heritage' meant physical heritage. 'Heritage is not things, it's people ... if we are going to present what we are and who we are, we have to know what we are and who we were'."
50. Peter E. Murphy, *Tourism: A Community Approach* (New York: Methuen, 1985), 134.
51. Louis D'Amore, "Guidelines to Planning Harmony with the Host Community," in Peter E. Murphy, ed., *Tourism in Canada: Selected Issues and Options* (Victoria: University of Victoria, 1983), 135-59.
52. G. Young, *Tourism: Blessing or Blight?* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 124.
53. D'Amore, "Guidelines to Planning Harmony with the Host Community."



54. James Clifford, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm," in Hal Foster, ed., *Discussions in Contemporary Culture* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1987): 121-30.
55. *Ibid.*, 122.
56. Martha Kendall, Book review of Stephen A. Tyler, *The Unspeakable, Discourse, Dialogue, and Rhetoric in the Post-Modern World*, *Anthropological Linguistics* 29, no.3 (1988): 322-25.
57. Jacques Dalibard, "What We Can Learn From Native People," 4. In fact, our environmentally degraded industrial and post-industrial world would benefit greatly by assuming the Natives' immanent view of the universe. Dalibard also refers to the Eurocentric linear view of time — where time is considered in distinct sections of past, present, and future — as opposed to the Natives' holistic view of time. Dalibard says (p. 4) that the Native past is part of their everyday life, not something to be recorded or kept in museums or historic sites. "Their culture which includes legends, myths, and traditions, is their sense of continuity. It is for daily consumption."
58. Potts, personal interview.
59. In 1986, Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism introduced an economic assessment project — the Tiebout Local Economic Impact (LEI) computer model — in an effort to develop a standardized statistical method of evaluating regional income impacts, employment impacts, and visitor profile characteristics at provincial heritage facilities. See Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, *The Economic Impact of Provincial Heritage Facilities in Alberta* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, 1989), 1. The LEI model was adapted from the Canadian Parks Service, Socio-Economic Branch, *User-Guide: Tiebout Local Economic Model* (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1989): 1-2. See also Rock, "Regional Heritage Tourism," 59-107, for a regional application of the LEI model to the "triangle" as a whole. In closing, it is noted that the postmodern perspective, as advocated in this paper, does not efface or exclude quantification and numerical techniques, it merely places them alongside — without any hierarchy of importance — a wide spectrum of alternatives.