WELCOME STRANGER: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AMONG THE SHUSWAP
PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH-CENTRAL INTERIOR OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.
CANADA

by

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ABSTRACT

Tourism development has become an important source of economic and socio-cultural development for many communities. However, mainstream or conventional tourism as a developmental tool has been criticized for its negative effects on the culture and environment of many destination regions. This thesis examines and explains the adoption of small-scale tourism development among the Shuswap Nation of the south-central interior of British Columbia, a destination region where tourism development is in its formative stage. Small-scale tourism development, mainly controlled and managed by the community members, has been adopted. This is because small-scale tourism is seen as a way to overcome the many problems associated with mainstream or conventional tourism and also to build community identity and involvement. As an exploratory study, this thesis presents the origin, nature and types of tourism events and the impact of tourism development on the Shuswap Nation.

Using an interview survey of 110 informants, which was supplemented by participant observation, the thesis reflects and analyzes data on the major events, aspirations, motivations and expectations of tourism from the point of view of the following: Local First Nation residents (residents not necessarily involved with tourism development); Chiefs, Councils and tour guides (residents involved with tourism development); and visiting tourists. The framework for analysis of this thesis is the "locally appropriate" tourism development scheme used by D'Amore (1983) and Butler (1992). The thesis observes that although the scheme is useful for small-scale tourism development, what is most important is how residents perceive tourism development.
The theoretical orientation taken in this thesis is derived from Jafari's (1989) "adaptacy platform" and informed by the ideas of MacCannell (1973) on "staged authenticity," Van den Berghe (1984) on "recreated ethnicity," Cohen (1988) on "emergent authenticity," and Greenwood (1977) on the "commoditization of culture." It is argued that, although the conceptualizations of Cohen and Van den Berghe are especially useful, these need to be located within the historical, political and socio-cultural context of the community being examined.

Finally, some recommendations are made concerning the future development of Shuswap tourism, and also for future research in this area.
DEDICATION

To Joanna for her love and support.
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CHAPTER ONE

SCOPE OF THE THESIS

INTRODUCTION

Even twenty years ago, it would have been virtually inconceivable to speak of tourism development among the Aboriginal people of Canada. However, the situation has changed substantially in recent years. Aboriginal people have adopted tourism to meet demands created by growth in world-wide travel, and also to gain from the economic and socio-cultural benefits that accompany its development. Also, communities are opening up, and a growing number of people are curious to find out more about Aboriginal peoples and their way of life. Aboriginal tourism has, in the process, become an important catalyst for development, especially among groups with limited economic options but attractive natural and/or cultural resources.

Despite the potential benefits of tourism for Aboriginal communities, concerns have been raised regarding the environmental and socio-cultural impacts that accompany the development of tourism. This has been the case with the Shuswap Nation. With few economic options open to them, some Shuswap believe that tourism can provide economic opportunities as well as socio-cultural benefits. They therefore adopted tourism in the early 1980s as a means of reviving their culture and economy. The communities involved with tourism development have adopted a brand that is small-scale, set within the context of their communities, and controlled by community.

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1 This refers to the Aboriginal peoples located in the south-central interior of British Columbia. The Shuswap Nation is made up of seventeen communities. These communities will sometimes be referred to as bands or reserves.
members. This approach is expected to have a better chance of being accepted, supported and appreciated by most community members; more important, this approach is viewed as reducing the negative impacts that have been observed to accompany tourism development.

Tourism, in this thesis, is defined differently than it is by the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO)\(^2\). Although many tourism studies have defined tourism in terms of pleasure travel, the IUOTO plays down the pleasure aspect. In its search for a comprehensive definition, the IUOTO uses the concept "visitor". The IUOTO defines a "visitor as any person visiting a country other than that in which he/she has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited" (The Statistical Commission of the IUOTO, 1968). It classifies a "tourist" as a "visitor" staying in a destination area for more than twenty-four hours; a "visitor" who stays for less time is classified as an "excursionist".

The IUOTO's definition is limited, in that it is too broad, subsuming virtually all kinds of travel.

The emphasis in this thesis is mainly on tourism for recreation, for example, traveling to attend one or more of the activities organized by the Shuswap people. However, there is a difficulty, since most of the tourists who go to the Shuswap area do not stay in the communities, and it is not meaningful to use the twenty-four hour time limit. In studying Shuswap tourism, therefore, a "tourist" is defined as a "visitor" who attends one or more of the activities organized by the Shuswap people, whether he/she

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\(^2\) The IUOTO's definition of tourism is mainly to assist in the collection of international tourism statistics.
stays for twenty-four hours or not.

This thesis, which examines tourism in the Shuswap communities in the south-central region of British Columbia (BC), is essentially an exploratory survey of small-scale, community-managed tourism development. The information it presents may provide a useful baseline from which to track and assess changes in Shuswap tourism as it develops in the future. Generally, the thesis aims to increase our understanding of the preferences and expectations regarding Shuswap tourism, as well as the expectations of tourists. Apart from this broad objective, the thesis addresses a number of specific research questions:

1. What are the principal aims of Shuswap tourism and how do they relate to local aspirations?
2. How is Shuswap tourism organized and operated?
3. Are community members supportive of, or resistant to, tourism development?
4. Who are the tourists, what attracts them to Shuswap country, what are their expectations, and are their expectations being met?
5. How well does Shuswap tourism meet generally accepted criteria for identifying "locally-appropriate" tourism?

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Examination of Relevant Literature

Although a wide variety of published sources were examined during the planning

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3 See Methods section in this chapter for a list of the communities involved.
stages of this research, the most useful were studies providing insights into one or another of the following subject areas: a) Shuswap history and culture\(^1\), b) North American Aboriginal tourism, c) Alternative forms of tourism, and d) Community development.

Despite the archaeological history of the Shuswap people, documentation of their history and culture dates to only around a century ago. Teit (1909), in an ethnographic study, presents Shuswap culture through a number of interviews with Shuswap elders. His work, which provides an important source of information for this thesis, describes Shuswap culture before contact with Europeans, in terms of the traditional subsistence economy: clothing, travel patterns, games, warfare, and relationship with their neighbors.

Teit describes the Shuswap people as courteous to strangers and kind to their friends and by nature affectionate. While Teit's work offers important information on traditional Shuswap culture, Ignace (in press) describes the pre-contact culture and also explains contemporary cultural adaptations and social history. For instance, she examines the effects of the Indian Act on the political activity of the Shuswap nation in the 1960s and 1980s. She also examines the reasons that led to the establishment of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society (SCES).

Jack et al. (1993) observe the Shuswap culture from both an historical and a contemporary perspective. They analyze the historical effects of the fur trade, gold rush, epidemics and other significant events on Shuswap culture. They also examine the contemporary Shuswap situation with reference to territory, people, education, governance, and the roles and responsibilities of elders. These writers conclude that the

\(^1\) This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.
above historical events help explain the contemporary Shuswap situation. The literature reviewed on the Shuswap nation so far, takes into consideration traditional culture before contact with Europeans, as well as some contemporary events.

To understand the context of Shuswap tourism, literature on Aboriginal communities that have adopted tourism is examined. The next section reviews literature on North American Aboriginal tourism and its effects on the culture and economies of the communities involved.

Jansen (1993:6) observes that although some Aboriginal people had experienced some form of tourism in their communities in the nineteenth century. they mostly served as guides and boatmen. She notes that in the Ontario region, for example, the demand for native services in tourism corresponded to the remoteness of the region being explored and the necessity for native expertise. She points out that in areas where their services were sought on a regular basis, the cash income from tourism became an important element of the native economy. Jansen also notes that native people in the Niagara region voluntarily entered into the tourist industry as sellers of a wide variety of souvenirs, especially near the Falls where the tourist traffic was greatest.

Browne and Nolan (1989) focus on tourism among Aboriginal people of the western United States, observing that many have turned to tourism in their communities because it offers a potential for economic development. They suggest that by capitalizing on the natural beauty of their land and native cultural traditions, the Aboriginal people have asserted a measure of economic independence. These writers suggest that the increased economic independence that tourism brings to the community increases self-esteem and self-determination. Positive results from tourism development include
economic benefit, as well as cultural rejuvenation and maintenance of cultural identity.

While Jansen and Browne and Nolan emphasize the benefits that tourism brings to Aboriginal people, Parker (1993) presents a more critical view of Aboriginal tourism in Canada. He observes that Aboriginal people have had some success in the industry, and that tourism has growth potential. Some of the benefits that accrue to the community include local ownership, employment creation, increased income, and cultural education. At the same time, Parker points out that danger lurks in the tourism industry if it is not approached with an understanding of the damage tourists can cause to Aboriginal communities, their land and culture. He indicates that concerns have been raised by Aboriginal people about tourism's exploitation of their culture for example, misrepresentation of Aboriginal culture to outsiders. In addition, Aboriginal peoples have questioned whether they should extend a welcoming hand to the traveling public when there are political issues yet to be settled and serious social problems to be solved. Similarly, Mercer (1994) observes that government's attempt to meet the needs of the tourists may conflict with the goals and policies of minority native peoples. He cites Canada as an example where resource development has raised concerns about the quality of the environment and the rights and welfare of Canadian people of Indian or Inuit ancestry (1994:129).

More specifically, Blundell (1993) concentrates on the Aboriginal souvenir trade in Canada. She points out that although the sale of souvenirs depicting Aboriginal peoples of Canada is an extremely profitable business, Aboriginal peoples are only minimally involved in it. She expresses concern over the fact that when such "native type" objects are offered for sale, they are not marketed solely as representing Aboriginal
cultures in Canada, but are sold as "authentic" souvenirs of Canada. The objects are sometimes presented as having been "carved" or "handmade" by natives, when in reality they are manufactured by non-natives (1993:66). Blundell concludes that Aboriginal peoples of Canada are exploited through the manufacture and sale of Aboriginal arts and crafts, and identifies this as an issue the federal government needs to address. Graburn (1976), and Graburn and Moore (1994), however, believe that symbols of identity may be borrowed, stolen, or sometimes exchanged because these are some of the ways groups can enhance their prestige in their own eyes and/or in the eyes of others. They observe that such practices in history are common, and that it would be difficult to identify any culture or sub-culture whose cultural symbols were totally of their own creation. These differing views which show how the appropriation of cultural artifacts is controversial and debatable, need to be taken into consideration by researchers when they examine cultural reproductions and the sale of artifacts depicting Aboriginal peoples and their culture.

It has been observed by Deitch (1977) that the impact of tourism on the Aboriginal arts and craft trade is enormous. He suggests that, for the first time since white contact, Aboriginal people have a commodity besides their land that is sought by members of the wider society. He argues that tourism development has, in the process, awoken the national consciousness of Aboriginals regarding the importance of preserving their roots and heritage. Tourism, according to Deitch, has brought about pride among most Aboriginal communities in North America.

The effect of manufactured arts and crafts for an outside audience on the community's ethnic arts and crafts have also been examined by Cohen (1993). He asks
whether the production of tourist arts preserves or destroys ethnic cultures? Are tourist arts a supplementary source of income for people with few alternatives, or a means of exploitation? Do they constitute a source of artistic creativity, revival or innovation, or are they a route towards the degeneration of the arts of their producers? (Cohen 1993:1).

He argues that while answers to the above questions are complex, the interest shown by outsiders in these arts and crafts has led to their preservation and revival in many communities, as well as to the invention of new forms. He suggests that the evolution of ethnic arts is not unilinear - one of degeneration of authentic traditional arts and crafts or one of transition from traditional to modern art - but rather "multi-linear" and "bi-directional."

The literature on Aboriginal tourism reviewed so far brings into focus the conflicting consequences of tourism on Aboriginal communities. That is, the introduction of tourism can have both positive and negative consequences on the economic and socio-cultural life of destination communities.

Socio-cultural, economic and environmental concerns regarding increased tourism development have led some researchers to raise the hope of "alternative tourism" (Johnston 1990, Nielsen 1984). The following section examines some of the issues raised by researchers concerning "alternative tourism" development.

Dernoi (1981) defines "alternative tourism" as a type of tourism in which the visitor obtains accommodation in the home of the host, where other services are also provided. He distinguishes between "alternative tourism" and "conventional mass tourism" in terms of the relationship that develops between the host and guest. Holden (1984:15) on the other hand defines "alternative tourism as a process which promotes a
just form of travel between members of different communities. It seeks to achieve mutual understanding, solidarity and equality amongst participants.” Both of these definitions emphasize contact between hosts and guests, rather than the development of projects or facilities. Other researchers have also discussed alternative tourism in relation to the protection of the cultural identity and environment of the destination area (Broggi 1985). These researchers similarly criticize conventional mass tourism, but they describe “alternative tourism” in different ways. These differences leave one wondering what exactly “alternative tourism” might be. Alternative to what? If alternative tourism becomes incorporated into mainstream tourism, does its definition change?

Several researchers have examined the concept “alternative tourism.” Pearce (1992) begins by pointing out that the concept “alternative tourism” has emerged in different forms and in different parts of the world. This makes it difficult for researchers and tourism theorists to provide an all embracing definition. He observes that projects and policies introducing “new” forms of tourism appeared in many developing countries during the 1970’s and 80’s, with such projects usually being “small scale,” and “low key” in nature. His examples are primarily from St. Vincent and from Saglio’s (1979) study of the Lower Casamance project in Senegal. Although there are differences between these two projects in terms of underlying policies and ideologies, they were both aimed at promoting locally-owned and operated small-scale accommodation units. The different policies and ideologies of the St. Vincent and the Lower Casamance projects illustrate the differences among the many projects labeled “alternative tourism.” Pearce points out that not only will various forms of “alternative tourism” be alternative to “conventional mass tourism,” but also alternatives to one another. He concludes that since different forms of
"alternative tourism" exist, advocates should develop typologies of "alternative" and "conventional mass tourism" instead of a single "alternative" to "conventional mass tourism."

Butler (1992) also presents a critical view of "alternative tourism," seeing it as one of the most over-used phrases of recent years. Like Pearce, Butler admits that because of the numerous problems associated with conventional mass tourism, a new approach would be welcomed. Butler observes that what makes "alternative tourism" open to criticism is the fact that it is not an alternative to all other forms of tourism, but what advocates have described as the least desired type of tourism, that is, "conventional mass tourism." He asserts that to promote one form of tourism over another because of the problems associated with it is not an objective exercise, especially since the problems could have resulted from extensive and long-term tourism development (Butler 1992:35). He compares characteristics of "mass tourism" and "alternative tourism" in terms of agents of change (tourists, resources, the economy, and the political climate). He concludes that in the short term "alternative tourism" appears to be less likely to change host communities, in part because of the need for fewer and smaller facilities. In the long term, however, certain factors such as degree of contact and length of stay, can result in a greater and "more serious" change (Butler, 1992:37). To Butler, therefore, one form of tourism cannot be said to be all things for all areas, and that to think in these terms is both naive and unrealistic. D'Amore (1983) a relevant source for this thesis (see data analysis), concludes in his study that the community's carrying capacity is an important

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5 Carrying capacity is used in the context of both physical and social tolerance level (D'Amore, 1983:142).
factor in tourism development. He recognizes the negative effects that tourism can have on destination areas if the carrying capacity is exceeded. What emerges out of the work of both Butler and D'Amore is the need to understand and respect a destination's carrying capacity.

Mason (1994) discusses the environmental consequences of tourism development on communities, noting that tourists and tourism development have reached even the remotest regions of the globe. Tourism has, in the process, raised concerns regarding its impact on the people and communities involved. To address these concerns, efforts are being made to change the leisure patterns, attitudes and behavior of tourists while on holiday, giving rise to the growth of "green holidays" or "ecotourism" in the 1980's (Mason, 1994:93). Mason observes that tourism of whatever form or type (mass or supposedly environmentally sensitive ecotourism) has the potential to affect the landscape and culture of the destination area. The issue is how to reduce the negative effect on the environment and culture while at the same time providing tourists with a worthy experience. He suggests "visitor codes" as a way of dealing with these issues.

Although critics have suggested "alternative tourism" as a solution to the numerous problems associated with mass tourism, it is clear from the above reviewed literature that researchers agree on the problems of conventional mass tourism, but they also agree that tourism of whatever form could cause similar problems. This view, however is neglected by many advocates of "alternative tourism."

This section of the literature examines some of the studies involving the community approach to development. It is important to examine this perspective since the basis for establishing a successful tourism industry is community involvement and
participation, a condition necessary in community development theory.

It has been observed by Bendick and Egan (1995) that worker ownership and participation modestly, but importantly, enhance the ability to create employment in both urban and rural low opportunity communities. They argue that there are benefits associated with community based ownership that are usually not provided by conventional forms. They present two views of worker's ownership and involvement in community economic development: workers' ownership and economic development as mutually supportive: and economic development unburdened by the complications of work-place democracy. Bendick and Egan use these two views in their examination of twenty enterprises, addressing the question: does worker ownership and participation enhance firm-based efforts to create "main stream" employment for persons and communities outside the economic main stream? (1995:63). They conclude that worker ownership and participation should be encouraged in community economic development because the benefits outweigh the problems.

Similarly, Nozick (1992) examines a community-based approach to development, seeing it as one of the ways to meet peoples' needs. She deals with issues that have triggered crises in communities and how these can be solved through community action. Nozick devotes most of her attention to describing "alternative development" as a means of solving community crises, such as, economic decline, environmental degradation, loss of political author.omy, neglected human needs, and loss of community culture (Nozick 1992:8). She asserts that a community-based approach to sustainable development relies on self-help, community economic development, and ecological considerations.
Equally relevant is the role of education in communities. Folds (1984) observes that social problems in Aboriginal communities will not be solved by returning to a traditional lifestyle, even where the granting of land rights has made this possible. He points out that settlements have a high proportion of young people, many of whom have been exposed to Western lifestyles and may oppose a wholehearted embrace of the “old ways” (1984:154). Folds shows that despite this opposition, most Aboriginal communities aspire to recreate and strengthen their traditional lifestyle. In particular, they want to run their own affairs at every level of community life. He argues that this can be achieved through education: community emphasis on education will provide a positive Aboriginal self-image, as well as the skills to enable Aboriginal people to take advantage of local employment and economic opportunities. Folds concludes that community development in Aboriginal societies can be achieved or facilitated through education.

The above studies show that community development is mostly directed at promoting a better living for the whole community, with active participation and initiative on the part of community members.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION AND INTERPRETIVE CONCEPTS

The general theoretical orientation of this thesis is based on the approach Jafari (1989) refers to as the “Adaptancy platform.” Jafari uses this approach to explore alternatives to conventional mass tourism and to examine new strategies and models for tourism development adapted to the needs and interests of host communities. The type of tourism discussed in this thesis falls within a broad category of alternative touristic forms, although care must be exercised in using the term “alternative tourism” to describe this
category. As a defining concept, “alternative tourism” has lost favour with many tourism researchers because of its “catch all” character and the uncritical manner in which it has been promoted by its advocates (Butler, 1992; Pearce, 1992). There are many different types of “alternative tourism” (for example, educational tourism, homestay tourism, ecotourism, and cultural tourism) and each of these can be seen as an “alternative” to the other, as well as to “conventional mass tourism” (Butler, 1992).

Congruence among these alternatives has been suggested by writers who emphasize some of the ideal characteristics or desired outcomes of alternative tourism, such as ecological soundness (Travis, 1982), small scale development within and organized by communities (Bilsen, 1987; Saglio, 1979), non-exploitative development with benefits accruing to local residents (Nielsen, 1984) and sustainability of development (Holden, 1994). However, as Graburn and Lanfant (1992) suggest, these positive features of alternative tourism have been delineated mainly through a process of “semantic inversion” whereby the most negative aspects of conventional mass tourism are used to construct a set of “opposites” which become the defining characteristics of “alternative tourism.” The danger here is that alternatives to conventional mass tourism come to be seen as “good” apriori. In embarking on this research no such prior assumptions were made about the merits or effectiveness of Shuswap tourism. The aim has been to examine this form of indigenous tourism in the spirit of critical inquiry necessary for useful assessment.

The general orientation to the subject here has also been influenced by some of the writings on sustainable development, which have been seen by some scholars as a long awaited recognition of global environmental decay, economic injustice, and the
limits to economic growth (Escobar, 1995; Rees, 1990). According to Rees, "sustainable development represents an opportunity for us to correct an historical error and develop a gentler, more balanced and stable relationship with the natural world" (1990:18). Sustainable development is also seen as development that meets the goals of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Brundtland, 1987). This process involves encouraging smaller enterprises at the local level, and paying attention to the informal economy, as well as promoting the delegation of power to local self reliant communities (De Kadt, 1992:49). The traits of sustainable development include: ecological soundness and consideration; small scale developments; the consideration of all, including future generations; and community involvement in decision making. These traits are also familiar characteristics of many of the new alternative models for tourism development.

A number of theoretical ideas in the sociology and anthropology of tourism have been used in interpreting certain aspects of the thesis. Among the more important of these are: commoditization of culture; cultural authenticity and staged authenticity; ethnic tourism; and recreated ethnicity.

Greenwood observes that the penetration of tourism leads to commoditization⁹, with local customs, ethnic arts, rituals and feasts becoming touristic services and commodities produced for the tourist market (Greenwood, 1977). The critical issue is that commoditization allegedly changes the meaning of cultural products and of human

⁹ It is used here to mean, "the process by which cultural activities and things come to be evaluated primarily in terms of exchange values in a context of trade thereby becoming goods and services; developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things and activities is stated in terms of price from a market" (Appadurai, 1990:15).
relations, making them eventually meaningless, as Greenwood (1977) observes of the Alarde, a public ritual celebrated in Fuenterrabía, a Basque town located in Northern Spain. He argues that the treatment of this ritual as a show for tourists (because of its economic potential) changes the desire of the locals to participate in the event.

Based on these observations, he concludes that.

"We already know from worldwide experience that local culture is altered and often destroyed by treatment of it as a touristic attraction. It is made meaningless by people who once believed in it. Furthermore, since local culture can be commoditized by anyone, without the consent of the participants, it can be expropriated and the local people exploited (Greenwood, 1977:131).

In addition, commoditization is said to destroy the authenticity of local cultural products and human relations replacing these with a "surrogate," "covert," "staged authenticity" (MacCannell, 1989:98). As cultural products lose their meaning to the hosts, and the need to present tourists with spectacular events grows, cultural events are staged to look authentic, and native inhabitants are taught to "play the native" in order to appear authentic to tourists (Cohen, 1982a:19-21). Staged authenticity is said to thwart the tourists' desire for authentic experiences. MacCannell argues that touristic consciousness is motivated by the desire for authentic experiences and the tourist may believe he/she is moving in that direction. However, it is often the case that what is taken to be an entry into a "back region" is really an entry into a "front region" constructed in advance for tourist visitation (MacCannell 1973:597). MacCannell implies that there is no rescue in tourism - the tourist establishment dominates the tourist industry and, by misleading tourists to accept invented attractions as authentic, it creates a false touristic consciousness. It follows that commoditization caused by tourism destroys the meaning
of cultural products for both hosts and tourists. It emerges from MacCannell's work that the more tourism flourishes, the more it becomes a deception.

Cohen (1988) observes that the concept of cultural authenticity needs to be revised because criticisms leveled by some tourism researchers against "authenticity" rely on a static view of culture. That is, cultural practices are seen to be authentic only if they were "traditional" and "non-commercial" in nature (Cohen 1988). Against this view, Cohen argues that authenticity should be seen as "socially constructed" and not a "primitive given." He further stresses that since authenticity is not a "primitive given," but negotiable, we should allow for the possibility of its gradual emergence in the eyes of the visitor. That is, a cultural practice that might first be seen as inauthentic may, with time, acquire the status of authenticity. He also questions whether commoditization of culture necessarily leads to loss of meaning. Although he agrees that losses to cultural meaning may occur, he emphasizes that loss of meaning is not the inevitable result of commercialization.

Van den Berghe (1984:344) sees ethnic tourism as "tourism in which the primary attraction is the cultural exoticism of the local population and its artifacts, such as clothing, architecture, theater, music, and dance." The important element of this type of tourism is its exoticism. Tourists seek a type of experience that cannot be duplicated in their ordinary place of residence; in their quest for the exotic, they must leave the familiar surroundings of everyday life and work. Ethnic tourism thus brings with it a special problem regarding authenticity. The search for the exotic is "self-defeating" because the presence of tourists makes natives less exotic and traditional, and hence, less interesting. Tourists also transform the natives into performers who modify their behaviour for gains.
according to their perception of what is attractive to the tourist; thus the tourist quest for authenticity is doomed by the very presence of tourists (Van den Berghe 1984:348).

Keyes (1976) and van den Berghe (1981) both see ethnicity as rooted in a primordial sense of shared descent; it is always formulated with reference to concrete cultural markers that are taken as distinguishing between groups. There is, in other words, always a self-consciousness about ethnicity, and it is in this sense that MacCannell (1973) speaks of ethnicity as being constructed.

Graburn (1989), following a line of thought suggested by MacCannell (1973), notes that tourists often travel to exotic places in search of the authentic other. Such events, however, are consciously staged, rather than being actions springing from the cultural traditions of the people visited. The conscious staging of touristic encounters is what Graburn (1989) calls "secondary ethnicity" and what MacCannell (1973) calls "reconstructed ethnicity." Both point to the ways in which touristic encounters serve to stimulate the recreation of ethnic identities.

Van den Berghe (1984) also observes that when natives display their cultural artifacts in "bastardized" forms for the satisfaction of tourists, the natives reintegrate such versions into their way of life. By so doing they accentuate their cultural identity. He explains that although the resultant culture might not be the same as the original, it marks the host out as a group distinct from the tourist's home culture (Van den Berghe 1984).

For purpose of this study, ethnicity is seen as a feeling of continuity with the past of a community (both local and foreign adopted), a feeling that is maintained as an essential part of one's determination (De Vos 1975:18-19).
DATA COLLECTION

Field research in the Shuswap region commenced in 1995, when three weekend visits were made in July, August and October to conduct preliminary interviews and work out a strategy for subsequent enquiries. The majority of the information, however, was gathered during a three-month stay in Shuswap country in the summer of 1996. During this period a number of trips were made from the Skeetchestn reserve to seven other communities (Bonaparte, Nesconlith, Little Shuswap, Soda Creek, Kamloops, North Thompson and Whispering Pines) where tourism activities were in evidence and where band chiefs and local councilors had shown interest in the research.

The primary data for this study were obtained in interviews with the following types of informants: a) Band chiefs, council members and tour guides [20]; b) 35 other Band members; and c) 55 tourists. Although there are seventeen Shuswap communities in the region, time and financial constraints limited the enquiry to eight. Here judgmental sampling was employed based on knowledge of tourism ventures, and the accessibility of particular communities and their band chiefs and council members. Other informants from these eight communities (tour guides and other residents) as well as tourist informants were selected by convenience sampling from among those willing to participate. The interviews were conducted using loosely-structured sets of questions which were flexible enough to permit useful digression and the pursuit of matters raised by informants themselves. Three different sets of questions were employed for the three types of respondents:

1) Persons directly involved in the planning and operation of tourism (chiefs, council members and tour guides)
II) Community residents not directly involved in the planning and operation of tourism:

and

III) Visiting tourists.

Sample copies of the sets of questions are presented in Appendix 1.

Supplementary information for the study was obtained through direct observation of a number of activities, including meetings to plan and organize tourist activities: interaction between Shuswap hosts and tourist guests: and a meeting of the Shuswap National Tribal Council (SNTC) which was especially helpful in gaining an understanding of community political issues.

**Data analyses**

The information gathered was subjected to qualitative analysis and interpretation. although tables of some characteristics of the tourists are included in Chapter 3. Since non-probabilistic methods were used in the selection of communities and informants, the results of the study cannot be assumed to apply throughout Shuswap country. In attempting to uncover the basic characteristics of Shuswap tourism, the data was examined with reference to Pearce's (1989) analytical framework which directs attention to the following features:

I) Context

II) Facilities

III) Location

IV) Developers and owners
V) Development process

VI) Tourists

VII) Impacts

The context of Shuswap tourism is outlined in Chapter 2 and the various impacts are discussed in Chapter 4. The other features are discussed in Chapter 3.

In assessing the degree of convergence between Shuswap tourism and popular models of “locally appropriate tourism,” a framework was adopted from the ideas of Butler (1992) and D'Amore (1983). This framework is an ideal-type and directs attention to the following criteria:

I) Prior resolution of growth-related problems

II) Planning comes before development

III) Local ownership and control

IV) Planning based on development goals identified by residents

V) Use of local capital, entrepreneurial ability and labor

VI) Adoption of themes and events reflecting local history and lifestyles

VII) Promotion of attractions subject to residents' endorsement

VIII) Opportunities for broad-based community participation in tourist events

IX) Maintenance of local recreational opportunities

X) Preservation, protection and enhancement of the resources upon which tourism and other local economic activities are based.
CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND HISTORY OF THE SHUSWAP NATION

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we will investigate the link between the traditional and contemporary Shuswap culture with reference to European contact. The intent is to show that the traditional Shuswap culture was modified in part by a process that evolved gradually through a mutually beneficial situation during the fur trade to a state of dependence created in part during the gold rush. Other factors contributing to this change included the introduction of Roman Catholic religion, foreign educational and political systems and the epidemics of the nineteenth century. The contact is therefore seen as resulting in contemporary Shuswap conditions. The idea is not to present traditional Shuswap culture as “then” and contemporary culture as “now,” but to examine Shuswap culture as dynamic. Nevertheless, its direction and pace of change was affected by contact and subsequent colonialization. This chapter will therefore be divided into four sections: “Traditional Shuswap culture,” “contact with Europeans,” “the effects of the contact on the Shuswap culture,” and “cultural reconstruction.” These sections should be viewed as a continuum, and not separate aspects of Shuswap culture.

**Traditional Shuswap Culture**

‘Secwepemc’ is the self-designation of the interior Salish speaking Aboriginal Nation found in south-central BC who are currently referred to as the Shuswap (Ignace in press; Teit 1909). Their traditional territory covered about 180,000 km, stretching from
the BC-Alberta border near the Yellowhead pass across to the plateau west of the Fraser River, south-east to the Arrow Lakes and then to the upper reaches of the Columbia River (Ignace in press).

It has been observed by Ignace (in press) that all the communities that make up the Shuswap Nation have in common elements of culture, history and language, despite the fact that they occupy a geographically diverse and large area. Prior to the 1860s twenty-five of such communities existed; however, following the small pox epidemic of the 1860s, most of these groups became almost extinct, and the remaining communities moved to join others who had survived the epidemic (Ignace in press; Teit 1909). The remaining seventeen communities became Indian Bands 1 as defined by the Canadian Indian Act during the late nineteenth century, and continue to exist as Indian Bands throughout the twentieth century (Ignace in press).

To be able to examine contemporary Shuswap culture, it is essential to first examine traditional Shuswap culture prior to contact with Europeans in order to observe the cultural changes. In this section, we will examine some of the traditional beliefs and practices as recorded by ethnographers and anthropologists. The traditional beliefs and practices considered here are grouped into economic and social organization; political and social control; transportation and religious beliefs. Some of these beliefs and practices forms the basis of contemporary cultural reconstruction in Shuswap communities.

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1 Band here refers to the pre-Indian Act Shuswap communities occupying distinct portions of resource-producing territory; they had economic, social and political systems which were organized in a way that made it possible to meet the needs of all its members (Ignace in press).
Economic Organization

Prior to contact with Europeans, each Shuswap band had its commonly used hunting, gathering and trapping area. Proprietary rights over the resource-producing territory were, however, held by all Shuswap in common (Teit 1909:572). The Shuswap had a strong ethic of equality and of sharing food resources available among themselves. Ignace (in press) observes that at fishing sites for instance, the whole catch procured by fishermen was equally distributed, and further harvests were distributed to elders and others who were unable to fish for themselves. Meat was also distributed to all participants of a hunting party as well as others in need. The Shuswap maintained their natural resources through techniques such as the burning of old plants to enhance new growth, and the pruning of berry-bushes (Ignace in press). They also had a system of harvesting which promoted the use of all parts of animals killed, and those who were wasteful were sanctioned (Ignace in press). This idea of resource management was an essential part of the Shuswap belief system, which viewed humans, animal species, and the rest of nature as connected. Ignace (in press) asserts that this idea of non-wastefulness and the methods of wildlife and habitat preservation outlined above were expressed as the “respect” that humans must show for all living things, and lack of respect was believed to result in spiritual and social sanctions.

The Shuswap had clearly defined roles for men and women. Men were, in most cases, in charge of hunting, fishing, trapping, making tools and weapons, fighting, and the training of male children. Women, on the other hand, were mostly in charge of food gathering and domestic chores, which included making lodges and beds, cooking which
included processing meat and fish, fetching water, making clothes, and caring for the young in general (Ignace in press). Outside this general pattern of division of labor, some women were expert hunters of large game. Although some men assisted in berry-picking, the processing of fish and game, making clothing and cooking, these tasks were usually considered women's (Ignace op. cit.).

Social organization

Kinship ties among the Shuswap were usually bilateral, although there was preference for patrilocal residence (Ignace in press; Teit 1909). This encouraged most individuals to develop a sense of primary association with their father's band. Most Aboriginal bands were made up of a network of loosely-associated extended families and households centered around the habitual use and occupation of camping grounds, winter village sites and hunting, fishing and gathering grounds. Before the establishment of reserves in the late nineteenth century, settlements were dispersed, and the sense of identifying with one band or another was flexible (Ignace in press; Teit 1909:457).

Ignace (in press) contends that the residential and economically productive units were extended households centered around senior males and their wives, their children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews, and sometimes their wives' relatives. These groups gathered, fished and hunted together as well as processed and shared their foods. Ignace observes that households, through their members' consanguinal and affinal ties with other households in the same village or other villages, engaged in continuous cycles of reciprocal obligations.
Prior to the introduction of western-made products and implements, Shuswap dwellings were made from plants. The main dwellings of the Shuswap were semi-subterranean homes. These were occupied during the coldest season from November to March. They also had tent-like lodges at different hunting, fishing and gathering camps throughout the rest of the year. The semi-subterranean homes were inhabited by groups of interrelated families, with each home housing anywhere from fifteen (15) to thirty (30) people (Teit 1909). Many winter homes had separate entrances, through the top for men and through the side for women (see figure 13 in appendix III). Other shelters and structures included lodges or shelters for girls during their seclusion period at first menses, and women’s menstruation huts, which were minuscule winter homes (Ignace in press). In many of the Shuswap communities, the winter homes and especially summer lodges continued as main shelters until the late nineteenth century, when they were gradually replaced by log cabins to which the Shuswap were introduced by the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC).

**Political organization and social control.**

Aside from war chiefs, hunting chiefs and chiefs of dances, who were mostly task group leaders for specific occasions based on seniority and expertise, the Shuswap had one hereditary Chief for each band. The office sometimes descended in the male line. When a Chief died, leaving several adult sons, they, and sometimes also all the immediate male relatives of the deceased, held a meeting to elect the son considered best “fit” (Teit 1909:569). If no son was available, however, then a grandson, nephew or
brother of the deceased was selected or even a person not closely related to the previous chief. Although no paramount chief existed, some chiefs based on their oratorical and negotiating skills were selected to represent the Nation to outsiders. This practice took on added importance in the late nineteenth century, when the Shuswap, along with other British Columbia Aboriginals, filed a grievance over the invasion of their lands to the Canadian federal crown, sending delegations of chiefs to the Canadian capital and to London (Ignace in press).

A chief had an informal body of "advisors," made up of elders and representatives of all extended families of an Aboriginal community (Ignace in press: Teit 1909:569). Chiefs had no special privileges, their duties being basically to oversee the welfare of the community, through regulations to ensure that each member had an equal opportunity. The chiefs also functioned as mediators within the bands, and representatives of their peoples' interest to the outside, giving advice and setting a good example and acting fairly in all matters without having any material gains (Ignace in press: Teit 1909).

**Transportation**

Prior to the introduction of horses, canoes were the Shuswaps' main source of transportation. However, where no easy access to water existed, everything was transported on the backs of men, women, children, and dogs (Teit 1909). Teit sees the introduction of horses in mid eighteenth century as a process that revolutionized travel and hunting in Shuswap country. Teit observes that the horses in Shuswap country were obtained from the Okanagan and Thompson tribes, who seem to have had large numbers
during the early 1800's (1909:533). For overland traveling, there existed a network of trails that were continuously maintained. These connected the Shuswap communities and also connected them with their neighbors. Many of these became brigade trails with the fur trade, and eventually the modern traffic routes of the interior of B. C. (Ignace in press). The Shuswap people also manufactured a variety of implements to aid traveling, such as saddles for the horses, canoes and paddles for river transportation, as well as snowshoes.

Religious Beliefs.

Ignace (in press) observes that Shuswap spiritual beliefs are not centered on public rituals, but are private ideas, which focus around showing respect for all living creatures and for nature and the earth, in general. The Shuswap people believe in souls, they acknowledge all living things; even rocks; fire, water and other natural objects were believed to have souls. Ignace suggests that this was rooted in the traditional belief that these objects were people, or were originally connected to people. If a person died his/her soul was believed to separate from the body and start its journey to the land of spirits. If a person's life on earth included an "unfinished business" his/her soul will wander around trying to find peace of mind and visit the living, often as a ghost (Ignace in press).

Most of these beliefs were threatened with the presence of the Europeans, either consciously, through foreign ideas, or unconsciously through the trade patterns that developed between the Shuswap and foreigners. The trade patterns made the Shuswap
dependent on European goods, neglectful of their Aboriginal technology, and in some cases their food base. The next section will examine contact with the Europeans and its consequences on the Shuswap people.

**Contact with Europeans**

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, of the North West Company (NWC) is credited as the first white man to get in contact with the Shuswap people. His journal reports of his meeting with a Shuswap chief on the banks of the Fraser River near Soda Creek in 1793 (SNTC 1989; Teit 1909). The event leading to this contact was Mackenzie’s search for a direct passage from the Peace River to the Pacific Ocean in an attempt to extend NWC’s trading west. He realized that his personal safety and the success of his mission depended on the goodwill and assistance of the Indians. He therefore tried to win their friendship and enlisted their aid by presenting them with gifts of beads and tobacco (SNTC 1989).

Simon Fraser, also of the NWC, fifteen years after Mackenzie discovered the passage to the Pacific. Fraser named the large river flowing from the east after his friend, David Thompson. Fraser, realizing the importance of native support, enlisted the aid of Soda Creek chief, Xio’sem, as guide and interpreter who saw him safely into Lillooet territory (Teit. 1909:449). The explorers found that Indian guides served to enhance their chances of gaining the trust and support of other Indians, which helped stimulate their business.

David Stuart and Alexander Ross, of the Pacific Fur Company, (PFC) were the first white men to reach the Kamloops area in 1811. Alexander Ross however returned in
1812 to build a small post on the South Bend of the Thompson River junction (SNTC 1989). Within weeks, the NWC under Joseph Laroque also erected their post northwest of the river junction. In 1813 however, the NWC bought out the PFC after which the Kamloops post was used by all the surrounding Shuswap bands and neighboring Indian nations. In 1821 Fort Alexandria was built on the banks of the Fraser where Alexander Mackenzie had met the Shuswap. In that same year the NWC was amalgamated with the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) under the name of the latter. The French-speaking HBC employees, who had been retained by the HBC after the two companies merged, are the people with whom the Shuswap and other Aboriginals of the interior had social relationships and who were referred to as their "guests." To the Shuswap people and other Indians of the interior, therefore, guest referred to the "real whites" (first whites) or Same7u'wi (SNCTC 1989). From the point of view of the Indian peoples, the traders became "guests" as they entered their homeland. "Guests" in Shuswap understanding are people who come into the country and who are not related to everyone else. Sexlitemc. A main characteristic of interior Aboriginal society was that the people identified one another as k'wseltkten, "relatives" or "family," a term that encompasses the wide and intricate network of kinship which stretches over the entire nation, even between nations (SNTC 1989). Moreover, k'wseltkten are all those people who, by birth and affiliation, have had title to the ownership of and access to a territory. Sexlitemc are individuals who are without such rights. They are considered as being "at the mercy of their hosts." As an elder explained:

With us when a person enters our house [territory] he/she becomes our guest, and we must treat him hospitably as long as he shows no hostile intentions. At the same time we expect him to return to us an equal
The amalgamated companies (NWC and HBC) established a fur-brigade route from Fort Alexandria on the Fraser River to Little Fort on the North Thompson, then southward by way of Kamloops and Okanagan Lake to the main Columbia River. Although some pelts were collected at Fort Kamloops, the outpost functioned mainly as a way station on the fur-brigade trail. The end of Canadian commercial interest on the lower Columbia became apparent in 1846 when the 49th parallel was established as the international boundary. In anticipation of this decision, the HBC moved their headquarters to Vancouver Island (Kamloops Bulletin Area 1972).

In 1858, with the discovery of gold along the Fraser and Thompson rivers, there came about a complete transformation of BC and the interior. As a result of pressure to provide access to the river bars, a trail, later improved to a wagon-road, was built from the head of Harrison Lake to Lillooet in 1858. The canyon section of the Fraser between Yale and Lytton was not provided with easy access until completion in 1863 of the Cariboo wagon-road between Yale, Cache Creek, and Clinton (Kamloops Bulletin Area 1972). Tremendous economic stimulation resulting from the demand for miners' transportation, supplies and accommodation encouraged the establishment of cattle-ranches along Nicola and Thompson Valleys. Truck gardens, hotels, gristmills, and other commercial enterprises sprang up at places such as Lytton, Spences Bridge, Cache Creek and Clinton.

In 1858 the mainland of BC became a Crown Colony, and its union with the Crown Colony of Vancouver Island in 1866 produced the united Colony of BC. By 1871, when BC entered Confederation as a Province of Canada, the Federal Government
agreed to construct a railroad to unite the new Province with Eastern Canada. The route selected was by the Fraser, Thompson, and North Thompson Rivers and through the Yellowhead pass. In 1880, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company (CPRC) took over construction and decided a more southerly course along the South Thompson, through Eagle, Rogers, and Kicking Horse Passes.

Kamloops was selected as a divisional point, and settlement expanded eastwards to the Shuswap Lake. In 1870, a freight-and mail-wagon road had been completed from Savon to Kamloops. The road was extended to Okanagan Mission on the Okanagan Lake in 1876. By 1915, the Canadian Northern Railway (later absorbed by the Canadian National Railway) was completed. It ran from Vancouver to Kamloops, up the North Thompson Valley, and through the Yellowhead pass. Transportation has kept pace with the expanding economy of the area. First-class highways now converge on Kamloops from Vancouver, Edmonton, Princeton, and Revelstoke. The North Thompson Highway (Yellowhead Route), linking Kamloops to Edmonton was recently reconstructed to first class standards.

**Effects of the Contact**

Before the arrival of Europeans, the Shuswap did not have a system of writing. Traditional knowledge was passed on from one generation to the other by oral tradition. The arrival of the Europeans brought about many changes to the lives of the Shuswap. Within a single century the traditional lifestyle has almost disappeared. It all began with the fur trade, during which time a means of employment was created for the Shuswap
people, because of their traditional skills in trapping. This, however, affected the social institutions and customs of the Shuswap people, because trade became central to activities in the communities, which led to cultural borrowing and adaptation (SNTC 1989).

Jack et al. (1993) asserts that the relationship between the Indians and the "whites" changed with the discovery of gold. Unlike the fur traders, the miners did not need the skills of the Shuswap people; they relied on European technology for mining, thus creating a tense atmosphere between them. Apart from the competition for scarce food that developed, problems arose regarding land usage. Jack et al. suggest that the miners believed that an individual could own a piece of land to the total exclusion of others, and this was in contrast to the Shuswap traditional belief in communal land ownership. Coupled with these problems was the presence of missionaries whose main aims were to change the lifestyle and values of the Shuswap people (SNTC 1989). Residential schools were set up at Williams Lake and Kamloops to "educate and civilize" Indian people (Jack et al. 1993). These writers also acknowledge that this process hastened the deterioration of Shuswap culture, since children were moved from their traditional homes and placed in residential schools where it was forbidden to speak the Shuswap language or practice any traditional culture. Anybody caught breaking this rule was punished, and this resulted in children giving up their culture.

Although the factors above threatened the Shuswap culture, the greater threat to them, however, divulged in the many new diseases the Europeans brought to the Indian territories (e.g. small pox, measles, diphtheria, tuberculosis, influenza, and whooping
These diseases took the lives of hundreds of thousands of Indian lives across North America. In BC, the Indian population declined from an estimated 70,000 in 1835 to approximately 28,000 in 1885, a span of fifty years. (Jack et al. 1990:29). It is estimated by Ignace (in press) that the Shuswap population was reduced by about two-thirds in 1862/63 due to smallpox. The population of the Shuswap people by the turn of the century were estimated at around 2000 (Teit. 1909). The results of the reduction in the population were devastating to the Shuswap Nation, because it encouraged the settlers to be more aggressive in their dominance over the land. Coupled with this, was the loss of important cultural information due to the deaths of many elders. After the 1920s, however, the population began to recover gradually, as living conditions and health care facilities began to improve (Ignace in press). The population as of 1990 was estimated at 6058 (Jack et al. 1990:32). There is a regular movement away from the reserves and into more populated areas where educational and employment opportunities are more readily available. Many off-reserve Shuswap natives live within the territory in the larger communities of Kamloops and Williams Lake. Others have moved further away to obtain jobs, for training, or to be near relatives. But many Shuswap people still live in one of their seventeen communities located within their traditional areas (see appendix 2 for map).

The contact with Europeans and its subsequent effects (trade, mining, diseases, introduction of Catholic Religion, colonization and political domination) are therefore seen as leading to the deterioration in traditional lifestyle and culture because of the efforts of the settlers to assimilate the Shuswap people into mainstream culture through
the foreign educational system. Jack et al. (1990) have observed that the influences of foreign culture on the traditional Shuswap culture have resulted in a misunderstanding of how culture is defined in a contemporary setting. They note those skills, beliefs, values, attitudes and knowledge which were the backbone of traditional culture have had to adapt to the mainstream educational system. The influence of the mainstream system is that many beliefs and lifestyles have been neglected. The result is that many Shuswap people grow up with little knowledge of their own traditions and way of life. This is not to suggest that the Shuswap culture was static before the arrival of Europeans, but the direction and magnitude of change was certainly affected by the Europeans. The effects of these are the problems faced by the Shuswap in the 1990s towards cultural revival and retention. Below is a comparison illustrating some of the changes to Shuswap traditional ways that have been observed in the course of this chapter.

**Shuswap Traditional Culture and some Changes through Contact**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Traditional main features</th>
<th>Some changes through contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Hunting and trapping areas, ethic of food sharing, division of labor, environmental consciousness, self-sufficient.</td>
<td>Creation of reserves, not self-sufficient but dependent on a wider economic system, some employment opportunity off the reserve, reduction in ethic of sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Bilateral relations, extended families association, pit houses</td>
<td>Live in homes like any other Canadian, reduction in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Implications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political and Social control</td>
<td>Chiefs were for life. Advisors, male inheritance</td>
<td>Chiefs don't have the same power over the land. Bands operate under federal Indian Act. Elections are held for councilors and chiefs every two years, and all designated Status Indians can run for office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Horses. Canoes and traveling by foot. Implements for traveling were mostly made locally.</td>
<td>Introduction of cars and trains, these are made off the reserve.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cultural Reconstruction**

Today, Shuswap people live on lands that are "reserved" for Aboriginal people which is under the jurisdiction of the Federal government. Although these lands are located within the traditional Shuswap territory, they represent a fraction of the original territory. Some of the changes to Shuswap culture and traditional lifestyles are summarized in the section preceding this. These changes have raised a sense of urgency among the Shuswap people in contemporary times to reconstruct and revive activities.
which were not totally lost, such as: hunting, tanning hide, berry picking, root digging, construction of traditional homes and fishing techniques.

The idea is not to re-live the past lifestyle, but to teach the youth of their communities as well as outsiders that they are a people with a history and culture. In the words of a chief "our elders have gone through a lot to maintain aspects of our culture, language, and belief system, it is now our duty to pass it on before it becomes too late." Another chief also explained that "although our culture ceased to exist with European colonization, we now have the opportunity through tourism to revive and reconstruct our culture so as to educate the youth and outsiders alike the ways of our elders and how they used to live."

This is not to conclude that Shuswap culture would have been unchanged without the contact with Europeans. However, the pace and direction of the change was influenced by this contact. It is this notion of cultural change that has prompted the Shuswap people to adopt tourism development, with the hope that tourism will help revive and reconstruct their culture that has survived. The aspects of Shuswap culture focused on in this chapter are those relevant to the reconstruction process of their culture through tourism: economic diversities, dwelling places, social control, modes of traveling etc. Some of these aspects are discussed in Chapter 3 under the section "Tourism activities and facilities."
CHAPTER 3

ANATOMY OF SHUSWAP TOURISM

INTRODUCTION

Having presented the general historical background of the Shuswap Nation in chapter 2, it is appropriate to examine some basic information on key aspects of Shuswap tourism. Specifically, this chapter presents information on some of the tourist activities/facilities that have been put in place, the development process of these activities/facilities, and the socio-demographic characteristics, motivations and expectations of the tourists interviewed for this study. It should be noted, however, that since the tourists were not randomly selected for this study, their socio-demographic characteristics as well as their expectations of Shuswap tourism may not be representative of all tourists to the Shuswap country. This information should be viewed as a possible source for future research, considering the fact that little academic research has been done on tourism in the Shuswap Nation.

Tourism in the Shuswap country emerged in the 1980s, although some have described early explorers to the area as "adventure tourists" (Cheadle and Milton, 1865:323). The basis of modern tourism in Shuswap country can be related to the establishment of Secwepemc Cultural Education Society (SCES). SCES is a non-profit organization, which was established in September 22, 1982 by the Shuswap community leaders. The reason for this society's establishment "[was] to develop curriculum materials, and establish a center that would collect, keep and access Shuswap historical, cultural, educational, legal materials, documents and records in
an effort to preserve, record, perpetuate and enhance Shuswap language, history and culture” (SCES, 1989). The agreement by Shuswap leaders to establish this society became known as the Shuswap Declaration. Such recognition to preserve Shuswap culture led to the establishment of a museum to interpret contemporary and historical artifacts of significance to the Shuswap people. The SCES museum is the only Indian owned museum in the BC interior (Manuel, 1995). As far as modern tourism in Shuswap country is concerned, its beginning coincides with the establishment of SCES in the early 1980s. For the purposes of this thesis, emphasis will, therefore, be placed on modern tourism among the Shuswap since the early 1980s.

TOURIST ACTIVITIES/FACILITIES

In this section we intend to examine some of the facilities/activities that have been and are being developed to attract visitors to the Shuswap country. Most of these activities are viewed as having relationships with traditional Shuswap culture. It is the hope of most Shuswap community leaders that the development of these activities will help generate local interest and also aid in the revival of Shuswap culture. In the words of two chiefs “we hope that the adoption of traditional activities, such as the Rodeos, Trail Rides, and construction of traditional homes will help instill pride in the youth of our communities to learn and practice our culture.” And “Our heritage is going to die in a generation or two, tourism provides an opportunity for our children to appreciate and learn our culture so as to
Some of the activities that are examined here include Xats'ull Heritage Village, SCES museum and Heritage Park, Quaaout Lodge, and Powwows.

Xats'ull Heritage Village

Aboriginal peoples have lived on the banks of the Fraser River for thousands of years. Traces of their habitation can still be seen on the edge of the river and in the forest. There are crater-like depressions on areas where old pit houses (traditional winter homes) have collapsed. Because of this traditional association with the site, it is therefore no surprise that the Heritage Village has been developed on the banks of the Fraser River on the Soda Creek Indian Reserve. This is about twenty-three miles north of Williams Lake on Highway 97.

At this site, traditional reconstructed pit houses, teepees, a sweat lodge and a tanning center are used. The pit houses and teepees provide accommodation for visitors who want to experience Shuswap culture. It is the hope of some elders on the Soda Creek reserve that the Heritage Village will serve as a focal point for the elders of the Shuswap First Nation to teach traditional skills of the Shuswap people and pass them on to the younger generation. They hope the village will revive interest in the ancient customs, culture and spiritual values, and further give the youth a connection to the old ways. The village has two main types of cultural programs as part of its repertoire of tools to attract tourists: a single day, and a

1 The information on the Heritage Village was obtained from an interview with the two project managers and also from tourism brochures produced by the project managers.
fourteen-day program.

The single day activities are made up of a combination of programs, which include a tour of the Heritage Village site and instruction on the techniques used to construct the traditional dwelling places. Tourists also have the opportunity to witness the making of traditional baskets and food preparations, arts and craft activities. On the other hand the fourteen-day cultural program involves actual participation by the tourists in the traditional lifestyle of the Shuswap people. Tourists have the opportunity to stay in teepees and pit houses. They also learn how to pick roots and cook them, as well as how to make baskets, bows and arrows and tan hide. Unlike the single day program, the fourteen-day program was not in progress during the fieldwork. However, arrangements were being made by the project managers to bring in the first group of tourists in early August of 1996 to spend fourteen days at the Heritage Village.

SCES Museum and Heritage Park

The SCES museum and Heritage park are an educational center and a tourist attraction for many locals and visitors passing through Kamloops. The center is used as a source to interpret the history and culture of the Shuswap people. It is located on the banks of the South Thompson River on the Kamloops Indian Reserve. This is approximately 1km north of the city of Kamloops. It serves as one of the sites where visitors and local communities members can experience the

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2 The information presented here is based on an interview with the museum co-ordinator and an unpublished article by Bernadette Manuel, 1995 presented to BC national parks.
rich cultural heritage of the Shuswap people (Manuel, 1995).

The museum was established to collect, research, preserve and interpret objects of cultural significance to the Shuswap people which are documented to have originated or to have been used within the Aboriginal territories of the Shuswap during pre and post-contact with the Europeans.

The museum collection was first started with archaeological materials excavated from band sponsored projects and rare artifacts unearthed during the restoration of the St. Joseph Church (SCES). The SCES museum was officially opened on Heritage Day 1986. The museum has since received donations and loans from Shuswap bands, private individuals and local museums. Exhibits at the museum trace the history and lifestyle of the Shuswap people by way of local archaeological findings, summer food gathering exhibits, native food plants, historical photographs, illustrations and artifacts, including birch bark and dugout canoes. Here visitors learn about the lifestyle of the Shuswap people before the arrival of Europeans in their territory, as well as the changes that occurred in the Shuswap culture due to the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion and foreign economic and educational systems. Visitors also learn about the geography of the Shuswap territory including names and locations of the seventeen bands. A twenty-minute video film, produced by the SCES, also presents a documented account of the history and culture of the Shuswap people. There is a gift shop within the museum, the purpose of which is to provide a commercial outlet for native Shuswap artists and crafts people. This has encouraged the revival of some native
Shuswap arts and crafts production.

Indoor museum exhibits are complemented by outdoors-cultural displays in a park-like setting. Included here are the remains of a two thousand-year-old village site, reconstructed winter houses and a summer lodge display. It also serves as a location for scheduled cultural performances in the summer.

**Quaaout Lodge**

The Quaaout lodge is a seventy-two-room hotel located on the Little Shuswap Indian Reserve on the shoreline of the Little Shuswap Lake. The uniqueness of the Quaaout lodge lies in the blend of modern and traditional designs of the facility. Tourists who spend time here are usually surprised at the location and the amenities available to them. Visitors enjoy all the amenities of a modern hotel, conference rooms for business meetings, a fully equipped gym, and an indoor swimming pool. Yet the location of the lodge right beside the Shuswap Lake allows visitors to swim, canoe, fish, water-ski or simply relax on the beach. Outside the lodge, there are also traditional teepees, which allow visitors to camp outside the lodge rooms. The ability of visitors to go on Trail Rides with some local people adds to the number of activities enjoyed at the lodge by visitors. Visitors who stay at the Lodge come to realize that, although lifestyles of the Shuswap people have been modified, some unique aspects of it still remain intact. This has been made possible through the variety of activities that can be experienced by visitors at the Lodge.
Powwows

The word powwow originated from "pau pau" which means "gathering" (Kamloops Brothers and Sisters Society Annual Report 1992). Most native people traditionally had gatherings for celebrations, socialization and ceremonies. Traditionally, many of the Shuswap communities were nomadic, and bands would travel for many miles to participate in many of these ceremonies. Most native peoples had gatherings in one form or another. It was not until the Europeans settled in Canada, however, that the word powwow came to be associated with all forms of native gatherings, and incorporated into native discourse.

In modern times powwows are celebrated in virtually all Shuswap communities, beginning in late June and running through until August. There are, however, differences between the powwows celebrated by the Shuswap communities. According to a councilor, "the type organized on a small scale is known as traditional and the other type, usually organized on a larger scale, is known as an international powwow." The international powwow is big and well publicized, with lots of visitors attending. Gate fees are charged and dancers receive prize money. The powwows celebrated by the Kamloops and Little Shuswap bands are example of international powwows. In contrast, at a traditional powwow there are no gate fees charged and there are no prize money for dancers. An example is the annual powwow celebrated by the Bonaparte band.

The purpose of all modern powwows, according to the Shuswap people, is to

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3 Most of the information on the powwow is presented from interviews with people involved in its preparation and also tourism brochures.
help rejuvenate Shuswap culture, heritage and traditions. The Shuswap people believe that after years of cultural "genocide," they must now work to rebuild what they have lost (The Shuswap Brothers and Sisters Society, 1994). Through powwows they believe the youth in their communities, in the surrounding communities, the province, and the country will discover first hand their rich and diverse culture. Furthermore, non-native communities will have the opportunity of experiencing Shuswap culture through the display of songs, colorful regalia and dance, the exhibition of arts and crafts and traditional foods available at the powwows.

Other activities.

There are some other activities that are usually celebrated in the summer and have a relation to the Shuswap traditional way of life. Some of these activities are Cattle Drives, Trail Rides and Rodeos. During these events tourists play the role of natives by riding horses and driving cattle through the mountains. Others also ride horses and follow trails led by a native with some knowledge of the route, who interprets the area’s history, plants and traditional stories. On the ride, the tourists enjoy traditional food prepared especially for them. These activities enable the tourists to have a hands-on experience of native life. Most of the Shuswap communities visited organize one or more of these activities in the course of the year. These activities raises questions about authentic Shuswap culture, since horses were not introduced into the Shuswap communities until mid nineteenth
century, yet horses have become an “authentic” Shuswap tradition, which reinforces Cohen’s concept of “emergent authenticity.”

Tourism events observed in this section provide two opportunities for the tourists visiting Shuswap country: on one hand, tourists have the chance to witness some of the traditional Shuswap lifestyle, and on the other hand, they can actually participate in the Shuswap traditional way of life. Shuswap tourism therefore has the ability to satisfy a variety of tourists’ needs, which may range from experiencing Shuswap traditions through observation within a couple of hours, to participation in the lifestyle for several days (see appendix III for some pictures of tourism activities and facilities).

DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM ACTIVITIES

In this section we will examine the development process of tourism-related activities in Shuswap country. This is important because the activities presented to the tourists have a relationship with the development process. That is to say, the ability to control the development process of tourism events has an influence on what is actually presented to the tourists. In other words, if outsiders are solely responsible for the development process of these projects, the final result may be different from what it might be if community members were in charge, or partly involved. Also, the involvement of the local community members plays a role in determining the “authenticity” of such events in the eyes of tourists.

The local band and council or individual community members developed most
tourism activities the Shuswap country. When outsiders are involved, they mainly work as contractors for the band, or as partners with the band, but never as sole owners of the events. Most importantly, their involvement occurs with the approval of the chief and council who are responsible for the social and economic development of the community. Examples of outsiders’ involvement as contractors in the development process of tourism activities were the building of the Kamloops special event center, and the building of Quaaout lodge. The other scenario, where outsiders were seen as partners, was the case of the development of The Heritage Village on the Soda Creek Indian reserve.

Community members believe that when outsiders are involved in the development process of tourism-related activities, the community’s expectation plays an important role in the development process. This was evident in the construction of the Quaaout lodge. Apart from the fact that the final plan was selected from a number of initial plans submitted to the chief and council, portions of the building had to be broken down during the construction stage and rebuilt until the expectations of the chief and council were met. This was done because the chief and council wanted a traditional look, combined with modern amenities. Like the Quaaout lodge, the Kamloops Special Events Center, located on the Kamloops Indian reserve, was constructed by outsiders under the supervision of the Kamloops Indian band, and the organization in charge of special events in Kamloops (Shuswap Brothers and Sisters Society). Although outsiders were involved in the development of these two facilities, the involvement of the community in the
development process has highlighted aspects of Shuswap culture throughout the construction. This is epitomized in the resemblance of the facilities to the Shuswap traditional homes (pit houses).

In situations where outsiders were partners with the community in the development process of tourism facilities, as on the Soda Creek reserve, it was done under the supervision of an elder knowledgeable in Shuswap traditions. The elder supervised the construction process, as well as the interpretation of the historical association of the Shuswap people to the site. Although the project managers (Germans) had taken a course in Shuswap language, it was clear that the community was not going to totally entrust them with the reconstruction of their history and heritage.

In other cases where local community members developed the projects, clubs, and sometimes individual residents, did these. The clubs usually comprise local residents with an interest in a traditional activity. Examples are the Rodeo clubs, which were evident in most Shuswap communities. They are responsible for running the Rodeo activities and also for developing sites where the activities take place.

The last category in charge of developing tourism activity was individuals or their families. It was evident during the fieldwork that this last group was mainly involved in the development of Trail Rides. In some communities Trail Rides were attached to some other activities, for example, the Little Shuswap Reserve, where visitors can use the Quaaout Lodge, hike or go on a Trail Ride, the Trail Rides
mainly depended on the ownership of horses and since horses are usually not communally owned, the organization of Trail Rides rested therefore on individuals or families with horses. Coupled with this, is the fact that renting horses from others for the organization of Trail Rides does not prove to be a profitable venture for both the renters and rentees, so families who have horses played an advantageous role.

The Shuswap people are aware of the importance of maintaining control of the development process of tourism activities within their communities, or having these activities done in consultation with them. They believe this will generate interest, get everybody involved, and enhance the activity's chances of acceptance. The community's involvement is important to the Shuswap people because they believe cultural revival and recreation can best be achieved and enhanced with the total support of community members rather than only a segment of the community. Thus, getting people involved in tourism activity development or in decision making regarding these activities, is a first step toward total involvement and participation. As a chief observed when asked who the developers were and how they proceeded:

"Our community members try as much as possible to develop tourism activities and events, since this creates a sense of ownership and control which are ingredients for any successful project. However, in situations where development of such events are done by people not from our communities, it is done in consultation with us. This is important to us because community member's involvement not only improve our knowledge of Shuswap culture but also builds trust among us.

Tourism activities in Shuswap are usually developed with the history of the
community in mind, because this plays a role in the general acceptance of the activity both among the tourists and locals alike. Ideas relating to tourism development usually originate from the chief and council, and trickle down to individual community members. That is, development projects undertaken by chief and council on behalf of the whole community pave the way for other small scale development projects like Trail Rides established by individual residents or clubs. It is important to note, however, that if the idea has originated from chief and council, other community members through voting also sometimes accept it. In such a situation, it is a representative of the chief and council (a councilor or a former councilor), or a special association like the Shuswap Brothers and Sisters Society, who monitors the development of the project and reports to the chief and council. On the other hand, if the idea has originated from a club or a resident, they become solely responsible for the successful or unsuccessful development of the activity.

If we compare the development process of tourism activities to the actual activities examined in this chapter, we realize that the aim of Shuswap tourism is to help tourists experience traditional Shuswap culture. However, it has also helped Shuswap people recreate and in the process reintegrate aspects of their traditional culture into their contemporary lifestyle, a process that has been discussed by Van den Berghe (1984) and Graburn (1989). Conversely, as much as tourism has led to recreation and revival of Shuswap culture, it has in the process led to modification of it. In the words of a local resident “anytime you have to present your culture to
outsiders aspects are compromised for that purpose.” Most residents, however, attribute this modification of Shuswap culture in part to European settlers and not the presence of tourists in their communities. They believe after about seventy years of residential schools, where they were not allowed to practice their culture, history, or language, no community can perform or revive their culture exactly to the stage it used to be. This has led some residents to accept the modification and hope this comes to be seen as original Shuswap culture in the future. This view corresponds with Cohen’s (1988) concept of emergent authenticity. To the Shuswap, therefore, authenticity is not a major issue in their efforts to revive their culture, although it is considered in activity developments. They try as much as possible to relate activities or the facilities to the past, but not to the same level as it was, because of their history. As a chief explained “because of our history and the political conditions that developed in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, during which time we were not allowed to practice our culture, aspects were forgotten and also modified. However we hope to teach people that we are a group whose existence and culture was threatened.” In spite of this modification, the Shuswap people being able to practice their culture through the inception of tourism is seen as a breakthrough, because it distinguishes them from other people. They acknowledge that tourism has created such an opportunity for them, and will therefore continue to embrace it.
A SURVEY OF THE TOURISTS

In this section, we will examine the socio-demographic characteristics, motivations and expectations of the 55 tourists interviewed in the Shuswap country. The information was collected from tourists visiting for less than twenty-four hours, and those spending more than twenty-four hours. The information presented here represents the material gathered from formal interviews with the informants through the use of convenience sampling technique and also direct observation of tourists.

The sample was made up of 35 males and 20 females (table 1). The informants fell within the age range of 25-69 years, with a majority (17) between 30 and 34. The age distribution was as follows: six fell within the age range of 25-29, 17 in the age range 30-34, six in the age range 35-39, four in the age range 45-49, seven in the age range 55-59, 10 in the age range 60-64, and five in the age range 65-69 (table 2). Regarding marital status, 31 of the 55 informants were married, 22 were single and two were divorced (table 3). 36 of the informants had children. The number of children ranged from one to five. The 19 without children were made up of 11 males and eight females. Out of the 31 married informants 20 came with their spouses and children, five came with only their spouses and six came with their friends. Regarding the 22 single informants, 17 visited with their girl/boyfriends, and five came with just friends. The two divorced informants came alone. Forty of the informants were staying for a night or more, eight were passing through to other areas, and seven were returning home from other areas. Of the 40 staying for a
night or more. 25 were staying in a hotel in Kamloops City, seven in Quaaout lodge, six in their RV's, and two were staying with friends. Eight of the 55 informants reported they would “come back to visit Shuswap country at a later date,” not necessarily return on this trip; 44 informants had no plans of returning to Shuswap country at a later date; and three were not sure of their future visit plans.

The majority of tourists interviewed were highly educated. They included eight Doctorates, nine Masters, 22 Bachelors, nine Polytechnic graduates and only seven with Grade Twelve or less (table 4). The country of residence of the informants were as follows: nine were from the Netherlands, three from Italy, 16 from Germany, eight from the United States, five from Japan, six from Canada, five from the United Kingdom, and three from China (table 5). The characteristics together with the tables are presented in the endnotes to this chapter.

Most of the informants were quite well-traveled. Fifty-one of the 55 had visited one or more countries, while the remaining four (all Canadian residents) had just visited parts of their country and had not traveled outside it. Although not all the trips made were for tourism related activities, they nevertheless had all traveled at one point for tourism-related activities, or what the tourists referred to as “vacation” travel. Of the 51 informants who had traveled outside their place of residence, 34 had visited ten or more countries, ten had visited between five to nine countries, and seven had visited one to four countries. Some of the countries they had visited included: Australia, United States, South Africa, Russia, Japan, Cuba, Vietnam, Canada, Kenya, Hawaii, Thailand, most European countries, and “all over
Also noticeable in the travel pattern of these tourists is what Pearce (1987:48) describes as "circuit tourism." This involves tourists visiting more than one destination on a single vacation trip, without necessarily returning to the original destination before departing to their country of residence. On the other hand, however, if tourists visit other areas, but continue to use their main destination area, or return to the area before departing to their country of residence, then they would have practiced "intra-national tourism" (Pearce 1987:82). Data from the formal interviews with the informants suggests that, the former description of travel patterns by Pearce was evident in our survey. Forty informants were going to visit other places apart from Shuswap country, seven had visited the Shuswap country and were returning to their place of residence. In effect, for these seven informants Shuswap was their last destination, and eight were just driving through Shuswap country and decided to visit. What was not clear during the survey is whether the informants visiting other destination areas will returned to the Shuswap country before departing to their places of residence.

So far in this section, we have examined some of the characteristics and travel patterns of tourists interviewed for this study. Although this is useful in providing a base to track future tourists characteristics, it nevertheless presents only a partial view of these tourists. In order to gain a more comprehensive view of tourists, therefore, we will turn our attention to the tourists' expectations and motivations.

Although the Shuswap have had experiences with "guests," as indicated in
chapter 2. there exist differences between the traditional and modern notions of guests. While most of the traditional guests became permanent residents, modern guests are temporary visitors, either staying for a couple of days or driving through the area. However, unlike guests of the past who were mainly at work, the modern guests are at leisure and expect to be treated as such. Another noticeable difference is the formalized relationship between modern guests and the hosts, which involves each party playing a role shaped by the commercialized nature of the relationship. In traditional times, guests did not demand hospitality as a right, although the Shuswap accorded them such hospitality. However, in modern times, it is a right that can be demanded, the effects of which either enhances or detracts from the image of the destination area.

The Shuswap touristic encounters are a combination of traditional hospitality and modern commercial relations. The hosts appear hospitable, yet with commercial interests. The guests, however, treat the situation in a more commercialized manner and expect a service to be accorded them. Despite this, direct observation in the field indicates the hosts were always eager to educate the guests about Shuswap culture and history, and this may have enhanced their relationship. This positive relationship can be a result of the general effort by the Shuswap people to revive their culture. The Shuswap thus see the presence of tourists as a means to achieving their goal, hence treating them with caution.

Despite this positive relationship that exists between the host and guest, a fundamental question is why these guests leave their home areas to visit the
Shuswap Country? It is an important issue to address because ignoring it or treating it lightly may defeat the purpose behind tourism development plans. Knowing why tourists travel to a destination area not only enables the people of the area to prepare or perform activities to meet tourists expectations, but also creates a situation which makes it possible for the host to anticipate tourists expectations. After all, as much as the activities are directed at reviving Shuswap culture, they are also aimed at satisfying the tourists without whom the main purpose of Shuswap tourism may be defeated.

Most of the reasons given by the tourists for visiting Shuswap country make them akin to what Gray (1970) calls "wanderlust" tourists. This refers to people leaving their familiar surroundings to see at first hand different cultures and places. Most of the visitors chose the Shuswap country because they thought they would see "something different and real." Although most tourists cited this as their major reason for their trip, we see from the multiple responses given ["curious" and "educational"] that a variety of inter-related factors accounted for their trip to Shuswap country. From our point of view therefore these different factors that accounted for their trip also accounted for their travel patterns.

Prior information about the destination area was mainly obtained from friends who had visited the area, tourism brochures, and travel agents. Considering the fact that this was the first visit for most of these tourists, one might have expected that their trips would be arranged through a travel agent. However, most of these tourists actually arranged their trips themselves. The tourists are more like the type
Cohen (1972) refers to as “explorers.” These tourists sought “something different.” but also to have the security of familiar things to fall back on if necessary.
END NOTES

Table 1. Tourists by gender.

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Table 2. Tourists by age distribution

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Table 3 Marital status of tourists

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Table 4. Educational status of tourists

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### Table 5. Tourists by country of residence

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CHAPTER FOUR

TOURISM IMPACTS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we will examine the impacts of tourism on the Shuswap communities and people. The study of the impacts of tourism has become an important aspect of tourism literature. This is because tourism has the ability to arouse strong feelings, both positive and negative, concerning its development in destination regions. For some, tourism is seen as the solution for many economic and social ills, and should therefore be encouraged. For others, tourism is seen as a deceitful force, with the potential of negatively affecting destination regions. Both views in reality can be justified because tourism can assume different forms in different places and its effects can therefore vary considerably. The extent of the influence, however, depends on the nature of tourists, their numbers, the speed of tourism development and local control.

This chapter will look specifically at the environmental, economic, political and socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the Shuswap communities and people. These will be assessed from the interviews with community members (chiefs, councillors, tour guides and local residents), as well as direct observation during the fieldwork. Unlike most other regions studied in tourism research, the Shuswap Nation has only recently adopted tourism. Thus, this study presents an early assessment of tourism in a place where tourism development is in its rudimentary stages.
PHYSICAL/ECOLOGICAL IMPACTS

Environmental protection has recently become a major issue in socio-economic development policy. The seemingly sudden realisation that the planet has limited resources has resulted in attempts to identify various methods, which will enable its preservation. Tourism as an industry is often attacked for a number of abuses to the physical nature of destination regions. The above conclusion is made due to the role of the environment in tourism development. The environment is probably one of the most important contributors to the desirability and attractiveness of a destination area. Scenic sites, amenable climates and unique landscape features have an important influence in tourism development and the spatial distribution of tourist movements. Some of the impacts of tourism on the environment that have been identified are air and water pollution, pollution of sites by littering, destruction of flora and fauna, and overcrowding (Coccosissi and Nijkamp 1995:7). Consequently, sustainable tourism development has been emphasised as an efficient means to preserve the environment and better manage tourism's development.

Most of the members of the Shuswap communities are concerned about the impact of tourism on the environment. This concern has been carried into the type of tourism that has been and is being developed, so as to avoid negative impacts. The basis of the concern is the traditional Shuswap notion of land and environmental preservation, and not taking from the land more than one requires. Although most residents believed that tourism has had no negative impact, others suggested it has. Although some suggested the negative impacts, giving examples like, “traffic, overcrowding, garbage left in the mountains by hikers and Trail Rides, and the destruction of plants on Trail Rides.”
on the whole most Shuswap residents were not worried about the negative impact of tourism's on the environment. However, a local resident who felt that tourism has affected the environment in a negative way observed that "tourism of whatever form affects the environment in certain ways, because its introduction or expansion affects areas which were hitherto undeveloped. These areas become vulnerable to the presence of tourists. The important thing is to what extent can the environment be protected and the impacts reduced under tourism's development."

Some informants, however, believed that there is an opportunity for environmental problems to arise if the communities are not careful about tourism development. This group of informants included residents who were directly involved in tourism development, as well as those who were not. They had a general awareness of tourism's negative impact on the environment at other destination regions and were therefore concerned about the likelihood of tourism affecting their own environment in a similar way. A councillor who had visited Thailand a couple of years back reported "if you see what tourism has done to some communities in Thailand you will marvel. It's horrible we really need to be careful here."

Of the informants who felt that tourism had no negative consequences on the environment, most were directly involved in tourism development. Although tourism has not significantly affected the environment, the Shuswap people are cautious about what they develop, as well as who controls it. They believe that the development and control of tourism activities can help address the present and future environmental problems. On the Little Shuswap reserve, for instance, there are plans to develop a golf course, but environmental assessment is being undertaken before such a project can be put in place.
While advocates of the golf course believe that this has the potential to benefit the community economically, opponents believe it will further reduce their available land size and will affect their environment negatively. On the Soda Creek reserve, trails have been developed about 300 metres away from the Heritage Village site, which encourages visitors to park their cars away from the site and hike down.

Because tourism is in its early stages of development, its consequences on the environment have not reached a level that is extremely problematic. On the balance, it can be said to have a positive impact on the Shuswap communities since it has created an awareness regarding appropriate tourism activities that can be developed and strategies to avoid the negative impact of tourism development. As a Chief observed, "the likelihood of tourism endangering the Shuswap environment has raised awareness about environmental protection which otherwise might have been neglected. This has prevented indiscriminate development of tourism events." This is similar to Dearden's (1983) advice to the tourism industry in Canada, in which he urges the industry not to commit the same errors as those made in forestry and fishing. These industries, Dearden observes, have concerned themselves with harvesting and marketing the resources at the expense of protecting the supply. Tourism, forestry and fishing, is a resource-based industry, and to neglect the supply at the expense of harvesting and marketing is not only unwise, but also unsafe for future generations. The idea of not doing anything drastic to affect the environment, which is the basis of tourism, is an underlying principle of Shuswap tourism development.

Tourism developments in Shuswap country are small-scale and developed within manageable capacity. It is not over-exploitative, and since it is managed, controlled and
developed by the communities or its members. most of the benefits accrue to them. This satisfies the conditions suggested by De Kadt (1992) for sustainable tourism development. However, can economic growth be compatible with environmental preservation? If Shuswap tourism grows and tourists' numbers increase, will the communities turn the tourists away? If they do, at what cost? If they don't, at what cost? Is it right to turn away three-quarters of tourists who have come all the way from Europe? All these questions need to be critically examined before any conclusions can be made regarding tourism's environmental impact. For now, however, since Shuswap tourism is in its initial stages of development, conditions associated with sustainable development are being met: ecological soundness, small-scale production and residents' involvement in tourism development. Whether this will remain the case may be determined in future research. But at the moment these conditions have helped reduced the negative environmental consequences that could have arisen due to tourism development.

**ECONOMIC**

Tourism is believed to have both positive and negative economic impacts on destination areas. Tourism researchers have raised a number of explicit economic questions. Krapf (1961) for instance raises questions as to what the nature of economic growth is and what role tourism can play. He goes on to conclude that tourism plays an economic role in most communities that adopt it: it leads to exploitation of a country's resources, it also creates the ability to supply many of the goods and services required, and tourism creates employment for the local people because it is a labour-intensive industry. Krapf's questions and conclusions can be asked of, and hoped for, in Shuswap
tourism development. His emphasis is clearly on tourism's contribution to economic growth. This view has also been expressed by Kaiser and Helber (1978), who observed that:

"Tourism in its broadest, generic sense, can do more to develop understanding among people, provide jobs, create foreign exchange, and raise living standards than any other economic force known.

This notion of tourism has gained greater attention in the late 1980's and 90's.

Murphy (1985) on the other hand sees tourism development as a business for both the individual entrepreneur and the community which acts as a host to this activity. Both hope to benefit economically from it, but while the entrepreneur has a directed and accountable viewpoint, the community needs to assess benefits in the context of a broader and longer term. Murphy goes on to say that tourism is highly desirable to most communities, because by attracting and serving visitors, a community earns new or basic income from other parts of the country or the globe. The income tourism brings to the destination area will however vary according to the kind of visitors they have and their length of stay (Murphy 1985:89). Joy and Wallendorf (1996) do not agree with this economic view of tourism. They see tourism as creating dependency and exploitation of developing communities.

Most Shuswap people believe that because of the few economic options open to their communities, they hope the adoption of tourism will have a positive economic impact on their communities. The community members' conception of tourism is no different from what has been expressed by Krapf (1961). It is not, however, the major impact they hope to achieve. They expect tourism to give them a positive socio-cultural impact first, and then to make an economic impact, which although important, is regarded
as a secondary consequence. As a former councillor observed, "we are not making big
bucks, but the beauty about it is the people who are coming out to help put these events
together are people who do not do anything else. so its good for our community and
hopefully we will make money later."

Nevertheless, tourism has had some economic impacts on the Shuswap communities, although reliable data has not been kept. However, based on the sparse
information that existed, there was some indication of a positive impact. Visits to the
SCES museum from May 1995 - May 1996 (as outlined in the table below), gave the
community extra income which, but for tourism developments may have been forgone.
Table 6: Tourist visits to the SCES museum from May 1995-May 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
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<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>June</td>
<td>355</td>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>189</td>
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<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>518</td>
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<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>198</td>
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<td>October</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td>March</td>
<td>115</td>
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<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between June and July 1996 there were 605 visitors. The actual number may be greater since it was not mandatory to sign up in the visitor's book. However, if the $5 entrance fee multiplied by the number of those who signed up, the community earned a minimum of $13,345 for the period, not including purchases made at the gift shop inside the museum. The Museum employs six natives, (although not limited exclusively to Shuswap people) in the summer months when attendance is at its peak. During other
times of the season the museum employs four people. The same can be said of the Skeetchestn Rodeo in July 1996, which welcomed over 300 visitors, at a gate fee of $7. The total gross income for the event, including tickets and food sale was $14,000. After meeting the operating expenses of about $8,000, the Rodeo club earned approximately $6,000. The Quaaout Lodge on the Little Shuswap reserve was built at a cost of $4.3 million. ($1.5 million was received from Industry Science and Technology, from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, and the remaining portion was a loan from All Nations Trust, a Native lending bank based in Kamloops). The Lodge employs 70 people, with 20 full-time positions, and 50 part-time positions. Currently, 43 percent of the full-time staff are band members. The objective of the band is to have the Lodge completely staffed by local residents by the year 2000. The Lodge receives an average of 23,500 tourists who spend at least a night at the Lodge annually, which puts the average daily occupancy rate at around 64 percent. Annual revenue for 1996 was estimated at $1.8 million, while the annual operating cost for the same period was estimated at $1.82 million, indicating a net loss of $200,000. However, with the location of the Lodge just about half way from both Vancouver and Calgary, a good marketing strategy will increase the occupancy rate, because of the number of tour buses that pass daily within a couple of kilometres of the Lodge's doors.

The Kamloops special events centre was built at a cost of $1 million donated by GO BC and other sources. In 1994 the Powwow employed 140 people, an increase of 18 over that of 1991. The 140 employees were paid $26,691 for a three-day event. In 1996, the powwow attracted an estimated 50,000 visitors for the three-day event. $102,420.00 was generated in revenue, and the community spent $105,471.00. Although the total cost
of organising the event ($105,471.00) including salaries paid to the employees was higher than the total revenue ($102,420.00), the benefit may be what Murphy (1985) describes as the multiplier effect. The multiplier effect generally describes the stimulating effects as money spent by tourists' filters into other sectors of the economy of the destination community. Not only will most Shuswap communities stand to benefit from tourists spending, but also incomes of employees and tourism investments could also have repercussion effects in the communities. As a councillor observed: "The intention of our club and organisation is not to make lots of money, but to promote our culture and hopefully break even. However, we create economic opportunities for some residents who sell items at these events and also the whole community."

To be able to assess the economic impact of tourism on any community, income accruing to outsiders (in this case non-Shuswap) should be taken into consideration and deducted from the total income earned by the communities. The Shuswap communities, however, own most of the tourist activities or infrastructure (for example Powwows, Rodeos, Quaaout Lodge, Trail Rides and Cattle Drives) or are part owners (as in the case of the Heritage Village). This allows most of the money to stay within the community. However, in cases where loans were obtained for such projects, most of the money goes into loan repayments. Regardless of this, most of the money earned stays within the community, a criteria pertinent to locally appropriate tourism development. Overall, the Shuswap people are aware of the fact that the economic potential of tourism has not been fully realised and that, like any other business, this will take some time.
It has been argued by some tourism researchers that, since tourism involves the movement of people from one country to another or from one geographical region to another, governments or leaders may encourage the development of tourism to increase understanding between different people. The increased understanding may however be aimed at enhancing their own political objectives (Pearce 1989). Pearce, commenting on the work of Cals (1974), suggests that the Spanish government encouraged tourist development amongst other things, to broaden the political acceptance of Franco's regime. In Israel, the development of tourism has done much to stimulate political sympathy for the nation and to boost national morale (Stock, 1977). Richter (1980) notes that nations like Korea and Taiwan are also finding that the political benefits of world travel may be as rewarding as its much-vaunted economic advantages. She also observes that domestic tourism may serve important political and cultural goals such as national integration and a sense of national pride (Richter and Richter 1985:208). D'Amore examines how tourism can lead to political benefits through an understanding of the "enemy" or the "other" (D'Amore 1988). He sees tourism as transcending governmental boundaries by bringing peoples of the world closer together through the understanding of different cultures, environments and heritage.

As much as the Shuswap people are interested in tourism development for its economic and socio-cultural benefits, they hope tourism impacts their communities politically. In the words of some chiefs, "the education of visitors about the socio-cultural dimensions of the Shuswap people, may enhance the status of our Nation in the
Tourism has in reality enabled the Shuswap people to educate tourists about the traditional as well as their current political situation. This has helped alleviate some negative notions that some tourists had before their experience. This observation was made after a conversation with a Dutch tourist. “One hears so much about the Indians, and you meet them and realise half the stories are not true. I wish other people will have the opportunity to visit and learn for themselves first the situation” (sic).

Tourism has thus in some cases bridged gaps of misunderstanding and mistrust, and alleviated some of the negative notions that have been expressed about Aboriginals through the media. Also through tourism development visitors learn about the geographical locations of the seventeen Shuswap communities, their culture and history. This enhances the Shuswap status as a group of people with a history and culture.

The political impact of tourism is also seen through the alliance that has been built among the communities. Through the presence of tourists, some communities have had to help others develop activities and facilities that attract tourists and also support them when the activities are in process, which otherwise might have not been possible in contemporary times. To some Shuswap community members, therefore, tourism has created a sense of mutual support and co-operation among them. For example during the construction of the Heritage Village, the projects’ managers had the opportunity to visit other Shuswap communities that had similar ventures and learn from them.

Also interesting were the perceived impacts of tourism relating to land issues. However, there were differences between the residents involved in tourism development and those not so involved. These differences were related to what achievements have been made with reference to access to some historical land sites since the inception of
Tourism has enabled some communities to obtain access to historical land sites, for example the Skeetchestn and Bonaparte reserves. The access to the historical land has enabled these communities to deal with the Canadian government on a "government to government" basis. In the words of a chief "but for tourism we would not have had access to some of our historical land site, this in part has led to the recognition of the Shuswap as a nation, this has been made possible because of the inception of tourism and our knowledge of the land." Tourism has also enabled the Shuswap people to deal with, and talk about, the whole political process of colonialism and domination by foreigners in an educative process, which might have not been possible without the adoption of tourism. This observation was made after a visit to the SCES museum, where the visitor is guided through a series of events from European contact to contemporary times. There was also a twenty-minute video film that performed the same purpose. In the summer of 1996, the SCES was trying to translate the video film from English into the German language.

Tourism has led to an enhancement of the community leaders’ positions and has thus strengthened their positions as chiefs. This has been possible because it is only the leaders who can allocate land for development and tourism activities, and since tourism development involves land acquisition, the chiefs continue to play an important role in the lives of the Shuswap people. In almost all the communities visited tourism activities were performed with the active involvement of the chiefs.

The positive consequences of tourism in some communities are obvious, while other communities are yet to experience any political effects attributable to tourism. Despite this, it is the hope of all Shuswap that tourism development will have an impact
on their communities because this could enhance their status both within and outside Canada.

SOCIO-CULTURAL

The outcome of certain forms of tourism development are socio-cultural events for both the host and guest. Part of such events is the opportunity to see different areas of the world and observe foreign cultures and ways of life, and in the process learn about other people and their culture. The adoption and expansion of tourism may lead to changes and developments in the structure of the society to meet the needs of the tourists. Some of these changes may be welcome (income, education, employment opportunities). Others may be less welcome (traditional social or family values may be challenged, new economically powerful groups may emerge, cultural practices may be adapted in order to suit the needs of the tourists). Tourism is a unique export industry in that consumers themselves travel to collect the products from the destination region (Crick 1989). These consumers carry with them their values, beliefs and behavioural modes, which can affect cultures and people of the area visited. As tourism increases, so does the contact between different societies and cultures. To some observers, this interaction threatens to dilute or even potentially destroy cultures and societies. To others, it represents an opportunity for sharing, for peace, understanding and greater knowledge among different societies and nations (Murphy, 1986).

Tourism development in Shuswap communities has had socio-cultural consequences. It has, and continues to have, an impact on the family. Elders with knowledge of Shuswap culture make conscious efforts to teach the youth of the
Tourism impacts 75 communities the Shuswap way of life and values. Although this cannot be totally attributed to the adoption of tourism, the need to perpetuate Shuswap culture, which forms the basis of tourism development, has encouraged the elderly family members to educate the youth in this regard. Despite the degradation of Shuswap culture through earlier assimilation policies and outside contact, families in the communities (still with elders who can speak Shuswap language) make the effort to teach the youth Secwepemc language and other traditional ways of life. This has helped in the process of cultural revival and education. In the words of a councillor, "I don't want my kids to grow and have to learn about Shuswap traditions from a library, so long as interest exists among outsiders to learn about the Shuswap people, it's fair to teach my children in order for them to be in a position to educate the outsiders, as well as their own children."

Tourism has also helped improve relationships among community members as well as between communities. Community members volunteer in support of projects aimed at attracting visitors. Most residents volunteer when such projects are being undertaken. This has led to cohesion among community members which otherwise might not have been possible without tourism development. This has fostered a degree of cooperation among communities especially during tourism-related activities. For instance, during the 1995 Kamloops Powwow, all the Shuswap communities were represented. The official opening of the Heritage Village in June 1996 was also an event, which saw most community leaders or councillors represented.

The Shuswap communities have gone through a transition from traditional existence in the seventeenth century, to adoption of aspects of modern culture during contact with Europeans. This has affected their culture, the basis of their existence. The
Shuswap believe that through tourism development they have been able to revive and also recreate aspects of their culture which may not have been possible, considering the extent of European influence. But the interest generated by visitors in Shuswap history has made their cultural revival process a dream come true. The positive consequences of tourism on Shuswap people have been made possible because most of the activities that are performed for tourists are mainly aspects of traditional Shuswap culture.

This is not to assume that tourism has had only positive impacts on the Shuswap. Elements of "commoditization" and "staged authenticity" were present during tourism activities. Some residents were concerned about the treatment of Shuswap culture as a "product" for outsiders. Particularly, these residents complained about the sale of eagle feathers and traditional clothes (see appendix III, figure 11). They believe that "selling" culture, as a reason for promoting it, not only distorts its meaning, but may also lead to its compromise. In spite of this, the argument in support of tourism development expressed by some residents is rooted in the fact that tourism has given the Shuswap people one more opportunity to practice and teach their culture to the youth of their communities and outsiders as well. These different opinions expressed by the residents concerning tourism reflect the theoretical orientations outlined in chapter one. Van den Berghe (1984) argues that when communities display their culture in "bastardized" forms for tourist benefits, it becomes possible for residents to reintegrate these into their culture. This helps the locals to distinguish themselves from the visitors. It is this recreation of ethnicity that forms the basis of some tourist attractions. The idea presented by Van den Berghe is the main presumption of Shuswap tourism: the revival and recreation of their culture has served as the distinguishing element between the tourists and the Shuswap. It is this element which
also attracts tourists to the Shuswap country. Yet the Shuswap hope that this recreated ethnicity becomes integrated into their ways of life. However, in the process of promoting Shuswap culture, questions have been raised by some residents concerning the commoditization of culture, and the effects that this will have on the Shuswap.

The contributions of tourism to Shuswap culture were also reflected in the attitudes of local residents towards tourism development. Most of the residents were delighted to see outsiders keen on learning about Shuswap history and culture. Upon closer examination of the data, however, there were age differences in the attitudes and perception of residents towards tourism. On one hand, the elderly were not enthusiastic: they believe tourism development has led to the “selling and compromise” of their culture. On the other hand, the younger generation was positive: they believe their community will benefit socially as well as economically. It was also evident that residents involved directly in tourism development saw it in a positive way. Here, age was not a factor. Both the old and the young involved in tourism felt positively about it.

De Kadt (1979), in examining the concept “demonstration effect,” discusses the impact tourists could have on residents, as role models. That is, he believes that tourists entering a community and displaying an alternative way of life have the potential to influence the local resident’s attitudes, values and behaviour patterns (1979:65). It has been suggested that the demonstration effect is unavoidable, because tourists generally possess greater wealth and leisure-time than many local residents of the communities they visit (Bryden 1973). It is clear from the literature (chapter 2) however, that the Shuswap way of life was influenced and to some extent modified by the earlier contact long before the adoption of modern tourism. Therefore, this study contends that the application of the
concept "demonstration effect" to Shuswap tourism, should be done with care and related to their historical context. We cannot, however, rule out the possibility that tourists' behaviour may in the future affect the Shuswap in this direction. This influence may not be as profound as that which may occur in a community that does not share similar historical characteristics with the Shuswap.

In general, tourism development has impacted the Shuswap people and communities in a number of ways. Tourism has had ecological, political, economic and socio-cultural effects in the Shuswap communities. Most residents perceive these impacts to be positive, or at least not problematic, and hence feel that tourism development should be encouraged. However, because tourism is still in its early stages of development, a concrete assertion cannot be made about tourism's impacts on the Shuswap. This is because the impact of tourism on a destination area may change over time depending on the number of tourists, and the perceived threats of tourists towards the way of life of permanent residents (Doxey 1975). This notwithstanding, the current view of tourism among the Shuswap is that it has brought about pride and confidence in the promotion of Shuswap culture, as Brown and Nolan (1989) also observed among Indians in the western United States. This has further generated interest among some youth to learn about their culture. These positive impacts of tourism have helped the Shuswap recreate and revive aspects of their culture, for example, the building of traditional homes, tanning of hides, and educating the youth to be knowledgeable about Shuswap culture in order to act as tour guides.
CHAPTER FIVE

LOCALLY APPROPRIATE TOURISM?

INTRODUCTION

In the course of this thesis Shuswap tourism has been described as small-scale and set within the context of the communities, conditions that are necessary for a successful Aboriginal tourism development. In this chapter, we will examine the degree of fit between Shuswap tourism and the ten criteria for “locally-appropriate tourism” outlined by D'Amore (1983) and Butler (1992), as presented in Chapter 1.

CONGRUENCE BETWEEN SHUSWAP TOURISM AND LOCALLY-APPROPRIATE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Efforts to mitigate local growth related problems should proceed tourism development.

D'Amore (1983) observes that in communities where rapid growth is being experienced, tourist activity poses a number of real and perceived problems. He suggests that an increase in the number of tourists to a destination area will heighten shortages in the supply of accommodation, retail services, municipal services or infrastructure. D'Amore argues that the needs of local residents should be addressed prior to the consideration of additional tourist use. The neglect of the needs of local residents could lead to local resentment toward tourism development because local residents may associate growth problems with tourism development. Thus, for tourism development to be appropriate for a community, it must not be considered ahead of the general community development. It is therefore unwise to begin developing or expanding
tourism when problems related to growth have not been attended to.

The observation above, while appropriate, does not seem to be an important issue in Shuswap tourism development. Although Shuswap community leaders have identified problems that need to be addressed in their communities (education, housing, and employment), current tourism development programs do not seem to exacerbate these problems. This is due to the small-scale nature of tourism development, and the fact that most tourists do not stay on the reserves, but in the city of Kamloops, while others drive through the area without necessarily staying. Therefore, notwithstanding its possible importance to some Shuswap communities, this cautionary observation by D'Amore has little bearing on the current tourism situation in the Shuswap country. It may be an issue in the future, when tourism becomes an important developmental tool for the communities, or more tourist accommodations are built on the reserves. At this stage, however, tourism development is seen rather as a tool to help address some of the problems that the Shuswap have identified, such as employment and cultural education.

**Planning before development**

Butler (1992) stresses the importance of planning preceding actual development of tourism activities. This is important because of recent concerns about the impact of tourism. Therefore to stipulate clearly in advance what activities are to be developed, where, how, and when, puts the community in a better position to evaluate the opportunity costs of such investments. Planning also enables the community to anticipate in advance the needs and wants of the community, as well as problems that could arise, so
that the community is not caught unawares by such developments.

Not all Shuswap communities have a long-term plan, although most of them have short-term plans regarding site, date and marketing of tourism activities. The Kamloops Indian band has by far the best outlined plan for tourism developments, the "Interpretive Plan for the Kamloops Indian Centre." In this document, there is an estimate of the potential market size for visitors to their community. This is based on the number of visitors to the surrounding regions. The numbers are further assessed with reference to residents of Kamloops city, and the native people in BC and Alberta. It also includes the role of the museum, Indian Village and an archaeological site. The "interpretive plan" is meant to provide the visitor with a complete multifaceted attraction. Other activities in the plan include developing quality arts and crafts for sale to visitors. Finally, the document outlines a marketing strategy to help achieve the overall objective of increasing visitors to the destination area. The Little Shuswap band also has a plan to develop an eighteen-hole golf course to complement the Quaaout Lodge on their reserve, because it is seen as having the potential to attract more visitors to the area. This is currently being evaluated because it could have negative effects on residents' perceptions of tourism.

The Shuswap need to recognise the importance of planning for the successful development of any kind of project, and should, therefore, consider it as a first step before engaging in any tourism development activity.
Local ownership and control

D’Amore (1983) claims that for tourism development to be locally appropriate, tourism-related facilities should at least be partly owned and/or controlled by local residents. He suggests that control and ownership of tourism-related facilities or part-ownership and control might invigorate residents’ overall involvement in tourism development. He asserts that whatever the level of local ownership and control may be, band, individual residents or joint ownership may go a long way to reinforce the community members’ positive perception of tourism development. D’Amore concludes that in most small communities in BC the proportion of local investors versus non-resident investors and managers is quite high. However, the opposite is true of larger cities such as Penticton, where residents have the feeling that tourism is in the hands of outsiders, such as big companies or hotel chains (1983:147). This latter view is a function of the scale of tourism development, but it is important to note that this view makes the local residents feel alienated from tourism development.

D’Amore’s condition is to a large extent recognised by the Shuswap in their efforts to develop their tourism industry. The Shuswap people have emphasised the importance of local ownership and control, but nevertheless recognise that this depends on the scale of the project and expertise required. That is, while small-scale projects like Powwows and Rodeos attract large numbers of tourists, they are still controlled by the band or local residents. The Quaaout Lodge, although owned by the Little Shuswap band, has outsiders to help build and run it. In some other projects, like the Heritage Village, the band is a partner, but has local residents assisting in the project development. As much
as the scale of the project such as Powwows, Trails Rides and Rodeos determines the level of ownership and control as suggested by D'Amore, also important is the origination of the idea for the project development, for example the Heritage Village.

The idea of local involvement in tourism development in Shuswap country, whether through voting for project initiation, direct local resident involvement or part ownership and involvement, has strengthened tourism development in Shuswap. The main controversial issue that has arisen regarding tourism development does not pertain to ownership and control, but to the effects of tourism on Shuswap culture. Accordingly, most tourism projects are developed with the involvement of local residents. However, where outsiders are involved, it is done with the approval of the band office. The extent to which this remains the case in Shuswap country, and does not develop into the kind of situation observed by D'Amore in Penticton, can only be answered in future research. However, for the residents to maintain a high level of morale regarding tourism development, efforts should be made by chief and council to maintain ownership or at least part-ownership of the community in tourism activities.

Planning should be based on development goals identified by the residents

D'Amore (1983) asserts that this is the most single important observation resulting from his study of socially-sensitive tourism development. According to D'Amore, "tourism development that is subordinate to local character, identity, and milieu as well as wants and priorities is the best possible method of decelerating the process associated with tourism saturation" (1983:153). In other words, if residents can maintain their
unique lifestyles and fulfil their aspirations. at the same time as visitors can enjoy the qualities of a given area that have not been modified to suit tourists' expectations, then the chances of exceeding the community's carrying capacity may be reduced. If the community's tourism development is to reflect residents' aspirations, strategies like surveys, workshops and information distribution techniques could be used to determine local residents' needs (D'Amore 1983).

Tourism among the Shuswap reflects their aspiration of cultural revival and promotion, as identified by the SCES. This is seen in what has been and is being developed to attract tourists, among which are the Powwows, Rodeos, Heritage Village, and the SCES museum. The initial Shuswap plan as identified in 1982 by SCES is to promote Shuswap history, culture and language (SCES). This is exactly what tourism development projects are focused on. Most local informants preferred that tourism development continue to focus on cultural education and revival rather than on economic benefits. As D'Amore emphasises, tourism development need not change local lifestyle in order to continue to enjoy the status of being locally appropriate: Shuswap tourism has not led to profound changes in Shuswap lifestyles.

Contrary to D'Amore's suggestion, there have been modifications to some of the activities to suit the touristic occasion. Although such alterations have raised concerns about commoditization of culture (Greenwood 1977) and its effects on authenticity (MacCannell 1989), this has not affected the carrying-capacity of Shuswap tourism. This may be due to the fact that the modification to Shuswap activities is not solely attributed to the introduction of tourism, but mainly to the political and cultural impacts of
European colonialization. This has consequently prevented animosity from residents towards tourists which otherwise might have been the case. Nonetheless, there is a consistency between tourism development goals identified by the Shuswap and what pertains to tourism in real life situations in Shuswap country.

Use of local capital, entrepreneurial ability and labour

D'Amore (1983) recommends that communities should be encouraged to use local capital, entrepreneurial ability and labour in the development process of tourism activities. He believes the use of local capital and entrepreneurial resources enables the community to assert a degree of control over the direction of tourism development. This includes the ability to develop activities that reflect local aspirations, an important consideration since non-residents' interests may not always reflect the needs or special problems of a given community. Moreover, the use of local resources will most likely increase employment and generate economic benefits to the community (1983:155).

Most tourism activities in Shuswap country depend for their development on community support and donations from companies off the reserves (for example, the Rodeos and Powwows). Some projects, like the Heritage Village and Quaoout Lodge, depend on loans from outside agencies, as well as community support for their development. For instance, GO BC donated $1 million for the construction of the Kamloops Special Events Centre, while companies like The Horse Barn, Cowboy Shack, Nikki's Eatery and D. C. (Doug) Haughton donated money to the 1996 Skeetchestn Rodeo. However, in some cases tourism development depends solely on individuals and
clubs in a community for its capital and entrepreneurial abilities (for example, Trail Rides and some Traditional Powwows). This situation encourages many community members to volunteer in assisting these activities development. In the case of International Powwows, however, although most residents volunteer for the three-day duration, others are employed for the period. Nonetheless, in situations where the activity or facility's program extends over a long duration, some community members are employed, for example the Quaaout Lodge, the SCES museum, and the Heritage Village.

Considering the formative stages and the small-scale nature of many tourism development projects in Shuswap, it is apparent that most capital for development will be locally generated and obtained from donations by outsiders. Although employment opportunities have been created for some local residents in the process, however, this is not due mainly to the generation of local capital as D'Amore suggests, but because of the scale of tourism development. This conclusion was reached when we compared the scale of the project to the numbers employed, and also to the availability of expertise required to manage the project. It was seen that the communities bring in outsiders who are mainly (but not solely) natives to run large-scale projects (for example the Quaaout Lodge) as well as projects that require specialised skills such as that of the museum coordinator.

The community, clubs or local residents control Shuswap tourism at this stage. It is not only because capital, entrepreneurial ability, and labour are generated locally, but also partly because of the scale of the projects being developed and the kinds of expertise required. Most of the activities developed to attract tourists do not demand trained skills.
but rather knowledge of the Shuswap culture, thus providing the grounds for most native Shuswap people to be employed in the process.

Adoption of themes and events reflecting local history and lifestyles

D’Amore (1983) examines the effects of themes and events that reflect local history and lifestyle on tourism development in his analysis of locally-appropriate tourism. He concludes that the development of unique, appropriate themes and/or events contributes significantly to locally-appropriate tourism development. D’Amore suggests that this is because residents gain a sense of identity and pride from such themes and events since local lifestyle and customs are bolstered. He explains that local themes and events also provide the opportunity for residents to participate in tourism and thus have a sense of control over it (1983:156). He further argues that, in such a situation, tourists also stand to benefit, because tourists enjoy specific attractions that offer a different experience and a chance to acquire knowledge about the area that they are visiting. In other words, local themes and events have a value because they benefit both the hosts and guests, thus creating situations where they both become actively involved.

Most tourism activities in Shuswap country reflect local history and traditional lifestyles. The Rodeos, Trail Rides, and Heritage Village were all part of Shuswap traditional culture, and even a modern facility like the Quaaout Lodge has a traditional touch to it. Although some residents have criticised tourism development as posing a potential danger to Shuswap culture, most residents perceive tourism in a positive way, because of the activities developed to attract tourists. These activities distinguish the
culture of local residents from the visitors (Van den Berghe 1984). The activities also impart to the tourists an understanding of how residents used to live prior to the arrival of Europeans. Tourism development in Shuswap country is thus mutually beneficial to the host and guest in distinctive ways, presenting a sense of identity and history to the local residents, as well as educating the visitors about the history and lifestyle of the people visited.

The presentation of traditional Shuswap culture for visitor raises the problem of authenticity, although, the Shuswap people did not use this term. While some informants complained about the process of presenting their culture to outsiders as being detrimental to Shuswap culture, other informants saw it as a process of cultural recreation and revival (Cohen 1988; Van den Berghe 1984). The informants who had this latter view, explained that, although aspects of their culture have been modified in the process of its revival, these modifications are still a reflection of their historical living conditions and lifestyle.

Promotion of attractions should be subject to residents' endorsement

D'Amore (1983) suggests that the type of tourism promotion given to local events and attractions is an important factor affecting the net impact of tourism on a community. He asserts that promotion will determine both the type and the number of visitors that will be attracted and, more significantly, what their expectations will be (1983:154). It can be deduced from this that residents will have to endure the effects of any false marketing. Thus, tourism promotion involving the local residents enables these residents to inform tourists in advance about local priorities regarding particular issues.
Tourism promotion in Shuswap country is done by specific communities, and it corresponds to the activities these communities actually present for tourists. The promotional strategies adopted are mainly the ideas of people in charge of the activities, and not the community as a whole. That is, if the band, club, or Shuswap Brothers and Sisters society run the activity, it is their strategy that is adopted for marketing the activity.

Some of the tools used for marketing events are the newspaper, brochures, and the Internet (Heritage Village). Although the entire economy is not involved in the endorsement of promotional strategies, there is a correlation between what is promoted and what tourists find. This conclusion was reached after examining a number of marketing advertisements. For instance a brochure promoting the Heritage Village had the slogan “step back in time.... Experience the spiritual and cultural magic of a native Shuswap Heritage Village.” Considering the activities performed at the Heritage Village, this is exactly what the Village performs; it provides tourists the opportunity to encounter traditional Shuswap lifestyles. Although residents' endorsements may not be in effect, the strategies adopted by the operators of Shuswap tourism clearly inform the tourist in advance of what to expect. Thus, despite the importance of local residents involvement in tourism development, the important issue relating to marketing of tourism activities is the extent to which tourists are deceived or not deceived regarding their expectations.

This marketing strategy also influences who is attracted to Shuswap country. Since the activities promoted are mainly cultural-based, only tourists interested in these types of activities are attracted to the destination.
 Opportunities for broad-based community participation in tourists events

D'Amore (1983) believes that opportunity for residents' involvement in tourism events and activities is a necessary condition for the establishment of an appropriate tourism industry. He argues that local tourism best fits with residents' lifestyle whenever most community members are involved in the organisation or provision of tourist services. D'Amore argues that significant social benefits will accrue from face-to-face contacts between hosts and guests and from personalised, rather than commercialised, relationships. This gives both parties a chance to share their lifestyles and attitudes, hence increasing the quality of tourism experience (D'Amore 1983, Pearce 1992).

Shuswap tourism presents the opportunity for broad-based community participation, in that most of the labour required for tourism development is locally based and is usually volunteered labour. Whether this leads to personalised relationships as suggested by D'Amore, depends on the community, the type of activity, and length of stay of the tourists. In some activities like the Trail Rides, tourists have the opportunity to experience face to face contact with the organisers and riders, and although the tourists pay for these services, the situation enables them to learn about Shuswap lifestyle. However, an event like the Rodeo, or a facility like the SCES museum, does not provide this opportunity. These only last a couple of hours and do not provide an appropriate setting for such a relationship to develop.

In Shuswap country, therefore, although residents are excited about the adoption of tourism, it is not only because they are involved in tourism development, but also because it reflects their traditional lifestyle. Nevertheless, the relationships that develop
between residents and tourists depend not only on the events or activities, but also in the type and length of the events or activities.

**Maintenance of local recreational opportunities:**

D'Amore (1983) observes that when visitors' recreational needs take priority over local residents' needs, the ensuing results could be disastrous for tourism development. For a community to effectively develop locally-appropriate tourism, its residents' recreational needs and opportunities should not be ignored in favour of tourists' needs. D'Amore argues that if the same resources serve both locals and visitors, techniques must be adopted to accommodate both groups. He notes, however, that it is possible even in such a situation for local resentment to increase as visitor numbers increases. Therefore, tourism planners should take into consideration the situation regarding conflicts that could arise concerning the sharing of recreational facilities when planning for tourism development in communities where access to urban facilities may be limited. Planning for such communities, D'Amore observes, should include the ability to develop other recreational sites, and cater to the needs of both tourists and local residents, as their number increases.

The above condition is not a major concern among the Shuswap, because most of their recreational needs take place in the residential areas (for example, gathering to play bone games and softball), while tourism activities take place off the residential areas. This helps distinguish between the needs of local residents and visitors, and reduces the likelihood of interference between the two groups. This difference in needs allows the
Shuswap to develop or expand tourism-related activities without threatening the recreational needs of the local residents.

Preservation, protection and enhancement of the resources upon which tourism and other local economic activities are based.

For tourism to be locally-appropriate, it is important that the resources upon which it is based be preserved, protected and enhanced. Since this is one of the most important conditions that permits communities to continuously benefit from tourism development, the possibility of future development and benefits from tourism could be jeopardised if this condition is not taken into consideration. This preservation, protection, and enhancement of the resources upon which tourism is based is, therefore, vital for the development of sustainable tourism.

This above condition is the basis of Shuswap tourism development, and it originates from a traditional Shuswap belief in not taking from the land more than one requires, a view which guided the Shuswap in their use of natural resources. This idea has encouraged the Shuswap to adopt and develop mainly small-scale tourism activities; controlled and managed by the band or its members who are aware of the importance of resource management. Certain measures have been put in place to help manage their tourism resources. An example of such a measure is obtaining a permit before hiking, to keep records of the number of hikers to the area. A condition that also enables the Shuswap to maintain their tourism resources, is the seasonality of tourism activities; with most visitors coming during the summer months, the Shuswap have ample time to
prepare for the activities and deal with problems that may arise in the process.

Because of the stage and scale of tourism development, the resources have not been significantly affected. Yet it is important to remind the people associated with tourism development that the situation might change in the future. Therefore strategies should be devised to handle such a situation before the need arises.

The above discussion has centred on ten conditions that are associated with locally appropriate tourism development in Shuswap country. Observation from the field indicates that tourism is still in its early stages of development, thus most of the conditions outlined by D'Amore and Butler are met, but not in their entirety. The Shuswap themselves consider their tourism development appropriate, not because of the operation of conditions outlined by D'Amore and Butler, but because their tourism is small scale, controlled by the band or its members, and also the activities do not need extensive capital investment, thus enabling them to avoid straining the carrying capacity of the area. They are still able to educate the visitor about Shuswap history and culture, which is the major reason for initiating tourism in the Shuswap country.

Some informants, however, raised the issue that unless strict measures are put in place regarding tourism development, this positive feeling towards tourism and the tourists on the part of community members might not last, especially if tourism development “goes all the way.” The Shuswap need to be aware that unless efforts are made to maintain the conditions associated with locally appropriate tourism, tourism development could affect their community in negative ways. This is because the effects of tourism may become more obvious with time, as Butler observes:

Tourism is an industry, but it is also a form and agent of development and
change and must be recognised as such. Controlled and managed properly, it can be a non-or-low consumptive utilizer of resources and can operate on a sustainable basis. However, if developed beyond the capacity of the environment, the resource base, and local population to sustain it, it ceases to be a renewable resource industry and it instead becomes a boom-bust enterprise (1992:34).
CHAPTER SIX
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

This concluding chapter is organized in three sections. In the first, answers to the major research questions identified in Chapter 1 are summarized and clarified. Some recommendations are proposed with regard to the future development of tourism in Shuswap country in the second section, and the chapter concludes with comments and observations concerning the limitations and utility of the thesis itself.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS REVISITED

1. What are the principal aims of Shuswap tourism and how do they relate to local aspirations?

Although there are some reports of "adventure tourists" in Shuswap country in the nineteenth century, tourism development in Shuswap country has come to be associated with the establishment of the SCES in the early 1980s. The major reasons for its adoption include cultural revival, education, and community economic development. Having said this, however, we must bear in mind that each Shuswap community is different, and the aims of tourism development should not be rationalized too simplistically, or discussed in a manner that suggests it is the same for all the communities involved in tourism development.

Notwithstanding the differences among the communities for tourism's adoption, as was reported by some informants (for example "we don't want to be left out of the economics of tourism development," "tourism has significant social and cultural benefits..."
for the community as a whole.” and “through tourism the Shuswap have realized once again the importance of maintaining our culture, both for the benefit of the younger generation and outsiders”) the principal aim is cultural revival and education. The reason for this conclusion is based on questions related to when tourism was adopted and events developed to attract tourists. Most developments in tourism took place after the establishment of the SCES. Considering that the aim of the SCES was to promote, record and revive Shuswap culture and lifestyle, and tourism consequently developed out of SCES, it can be concluded that the aims of the SCES will play a major role in tourism development. In addition to the above, tourism events are mainly related to Shuswap traditional culture and lifestyles.

The specific questions that aided in the measurement of the two variables- time of introduction and aim of tourism-were: when did your community come to adopt tourism?: why did your community come to adopt tourism?: what benefits do you expect from tourism development?: and of the benefits of tourism which do you say is important? From the answers to these questions we were able to conclude that the predominant aim of tourism development among the Shuswap is socio-cultural (cultural education, and revival), although economic and political benefits were specified.

2. **How is Shuswap tourism organized and operated?**

Shuswap tourism is small-scale and set mostly within the context of Shuswap communities (i.e., control and organization). This enables the Shuswap people to organize tourism in a way that presents certain opportunities to tourists. For example, at the Heritage Village site, the Powwows and also the SCES museum, tourists spend time
by observing or listening to tour guides explain Shuswap events and lifestyles. Other opportunities that also exist for tourists to participate in tourism activities (for example, Trail Rides, Cattle Drives and staying at the Heritage Village). These opportunities have been made possible because tourist attraction are mainly locally-owned and operated, with considerable efforts on the part of the Shuswap to educate visitors about traditional Shuswap culture and lifestyles. This may not have been possible if tourism was not organized and operated by the Shuswap, or at least without their direct involvement in the process.

Just as the organization and operation of Shuswap tourism influences what tourists can do, it has also played a role on the positive impacts of tourism on the Shuswap communities. The impacts of tourism on the Shuswap have been perceived in this thesis as positive, whether ecological, socio-cultural, political or economic. This is partly attributed to the way in which tourism is organized and operated. The Shuswap emphasize community resources in determining which tourism activities are appropriate for the community, thus reducing the potential negative impacts of inappropriate tourism development on the community.

Despite the local organization and operation of Shuswap tourism, some informants expressed concern about tourism’s development as a way of preserving, protecting, and reviving Shuswap culture. Most of the informants’ concerns related to problems such as, environmental degradation and cultural pollution due to tourism development at places other than Shuswap country. In addition, they expressed anxiety about the possibility of similar problems occurring in their own communities in the future. Other informants were convinced that firm conclusions about the organization
and operation of tourism and the effects of tourism on the community could not be made because of the early stages of tourism development. Despite this, there was evidence that the organization and operation of Shuswap tourism was associated with the perception of tourism development by the Shuswap. In the words of one councilor “the community members are given the opportunity to be involved in tourism development. thus, there is the notion in our communities that this is our own creation and its success depends on us.”

3. Are community members supportive of, or resistant to, tourism development?

The attitude of community members towards tourism development is as important as providing the right activities and events for the tourists. That is, if tourism involves contact between host and guest, then the attitudes of the host can enhance or hamper the industry in a particular destination region.

The Shuswap people are generally enthusiastic about tourism development because they believe it provides them with an opportunity to revive and preserve their culture for the benefit of outsiders and the youth in their communities. This enthusiasm has increased the support for, and reduced the resistance to, tourism development among the Shuswap people. Despite this, there were differences in outlook between younger and older people and between those directly involved in tourism and those who are not. The younger generation perceived tourism and tourists in a more favorable way than the elderly did. As an elderly Shuswap person reported “look at Mount St. Paul, its been the same all my life, in the next couple of years they will develop it into a tourist attraction which will destroy its natural beauty.” This viewpoint of the elderly may be due to the
historical effects of European contact on the Shuswap people which may still be vivid in their minds. Another difference was that residents who were directly involved in tourism development were more supportive than those who were not. Among such residents the old and young alike had positive attitudes towards tourism development.

It is possible that the positive attitudes towards tourism development could be a function of the demonstration effect. That is, most community members believe tourists cannot influence them socially and culturally in negative ways because the Shuswap have experienced these influences and changes prior to the adoption of tourism. Thus, most of the residents do not feel threatened by the presence of tourists.

This positive attitude towards tourism could also be attributed to two other factors. First, most of the tourists interviewed stayed only for a day or two. Second, and more importantly, most did not stay in the reserves. The length and place of stay of tourists, therefore, may account for the support of tourism by the local community members. It was also observed that most of the tourists interviewed were "one time visitors." (i.e., not likely to come back to Shuswap country). Perhaps this particular type of tourists plays a part in residents' support for tourism. That is, local residents may only come into contact with new visitors who are enthusiastic about learning about the Shuswap culture, thus providing the grounds for the Shuswap to achieve their main aim for the adoption of tourism.

4. Who are the tourists, what attracts them to Shuswap country and are their expectations met?
The tourists interviewed for this study were mainly from Europe, Asia, the United States and Canada. Most tourists interviewed were educated and married. They were attracted to Shuswap country because they hoped to see "something different." In the words of one tourist "I was attracted to the Shuswap country because of the hope to witness a traditional festival and dance, something out of the ordinary." The tourist activities and events met their expectations, and what they had pictured preceding their trip. They enjoyed the powwows, the museum exhibits and interpretations, especially the twenty minute video film on Shuswap culture and historical events. There were times however, when some tourists were disappointed, especially at the SCES museum, which occasionally had break-downs in the video for the twenty minute film. On the whole tourists were delighted about the location and activities presented to them at the various destinations. However, part of visiting Shuswap was the possibility to travel across the "Rockies" to other destination areas. As a tourist suggested: "The location of Shuswap country along the Trans-Canada Highway provides the opportunity to travel across the Rockies and visit other interesting sites."

5. How well does Shuswap tourism meet generally accepted criteria for identifying "locally appropriate" tourism?

Ten criteria adopted from the works of D'Amore (1983) and Butler (1992) were used in accessing "locally-appropriate" tourism development in Shuswap country. Although there was not an exact conformity between the criteria and the actual situation...
in Shuswap tourism, it seems clear that the "carrying capacities" of the communities are not being strained.

The concept of carrying capacity, although a recent idea in tourism development, has a long history. Discussion of its advantages has spanned over three decades (Wagar, 1964). Despite the lack of a universally accepted definition, carrying capacity has been observed as entailing developing suitable actions for maintaining desired social and ecological impact limits (D'Amore 1983; Gill and Williams 1991). Thus, important to locally-appropriate tourism is a concern with carrying capacity, as well as with sustainable development.

The Shuswap have developed a type of tourism that is small-scale and mostly off the residential areas of the communities, conditions the Shuswap believe help them to reduce the potential negative effects of tourism on the environment and their present lifestyle. Small-scale tourism development, however, does not necessarily solve the ecological problems that come with tourism development (Smith, 1992). If small-scale tourism developments are undertaken indiscriminately, these could result in tremendous negative effects on the environment. What is needed is a plan, stipulating what, when and how projects are to be developed. In a similar vein, the development of tourism activities off the residential areas does not simply resolve the problem of social carrying capacity of the communities. On one hand, it could create tourist enclaves, that is areas developed for the tourists only. This has the potential to endanger tourism development because such enclaves can affect the perception and attitudes of local residents and tourists towards tourism development. Also, extensive tourism development could lead to tourists invading the residential areas imperiling the social carrying capacity of
residents.

In this thesis we have also examined the differences in perceptions of tourism development between local residents, tour guides, chiefs and councillors, which may have an effect on the carrying capacity of the communities. Some local residents thought attention should be given to the number of tourists that their communities can cater to, and, hence, that there should be limits to tourism development. The chiefs and councils, although reporting that attention should be given to the number of tourists that their communities can cater to, nevertheless suggested that tourism development should go "all the way." This view of the chiefs, tour guides, and councilors is in contrast to that of the local residents and also the concept of carrying capacity. Do the responses from the chiefs councilors and tour guides mean that Shuswap communities can handle tourism development "all the way?" This attitude toward tourism development may be due to the fact that those are only the early stages of tourism and that its negative effects have not yet become apparent. However, taking the carrying capacity of communities into consideration will enable the Shuswap to develop their tourism industry within acceptable limits that will benefit both present and future generations. The chiefs, councillors, and tour guides need to re-think their perception on tourism development as their view could affect the future development of tourism.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Shuswap country has excellent resources to develop into a successful tourist destination. To achieve this goal certain measures will have to be taken into consideration. The adoption of small-scale tourism development will partly enable the
Shuswap to continue to maintain control and ownership; however, a business-like attitude towards tourism development needs to be adopted by the Shuswap. For example, at the 1996 Skeetchestn Rodeo, a gate fee of $7 was charged and the organizers also tried to sell the rodeo program for a $1 to the participants. However, most participants refused to buy the program and it would have been more appropriate to charge $9 for both the gate fee with the program included. It is my hope that some of the recommendations presented below might assist the Shuswap in further tourism development.

1. Considering that Shuswap tourism is aimed at educating tourists about Shuswap culture and lifestyles, there need to be joint organizations or programs among the communities to effectively accomplish this objective. This organization and programs will enable tourists to be transported from one community to another or at least convinced to make the journey by themselves to other communities. This will provide a better chance for the tourists to learn more about the Shuswap culture and lifestyle, thus increasing the economic potential of tourism for the communities involved.

2. There needs to be more Native crafts for sale to tourists. This is one of the ways that the Shuswap people can create employment opportunities through the production and retailing of the arts and crafts. The Shuswap people should consider the possibility of increasing and organizing arts producers to be able to provide tourists with a variety of art and craft products. This may be achieved through the SCES directing Native artists, via their educational system (SFU/SCES University) or band sponsored projects. This will not only promote Shuswap culture but also increase their incomes.
A marketing strategy should be adopted by the communities that will target specific tourists interested in the type of events developed in Shuswap country. This is possible because by advertising specifically what tourists should expect will have the potential to attract those tourists interested in Aboriginal culture. Attractive signs at all highways in the south-central interior and at travel agencies in some of the countries identified as tourist generating countries in this research would help to promote tourism. These methods of advertising can be targeted in late spring through the summer months when tourism is at its peak.

4. Records of attendance and expenditure should be kept effectively at all sites. This will allow communities to assess tourist numbers and their spending patterns in order to make projections for future development. Such records are not presently being maintained by Shuswap tourism organizers.

5. The communities involved with tourism should have a section of the band office dealing with tourism as an industry, and not have it as part of the everyday activities of the band and council. This will lead to a more focused “department” with a plan for the future. Furthermore, there should be accountability to the whole community for whatever programs it undertakes. This department should embark on educating the rest of the community members on the potential benefits of tourism to the whole community. These recommendations, if taken seriously and combined with their own plans for the future, will help the tourism industry to run its affairs efficiently and effectively.
CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is acknowledged that the research techniques used in this study - non-probabilistic sampling to select respondents and the communities and direct observation of tourism activities - may seem inadequate to fully assess the complex nature of Shuswap tourism development. This problem could be minimized if the researcher had the opportunity to spend more time in the field, so as to gain a more intimate understanding of the Shuswap people.

Despite these limitations, this exploratory study has described a form of tourism that has been somewhat neglected in tourism research. It concentrates on a destination region that has only recently adopted tourism as a means of socio-cultural and economic development. Also, because there have not been many studies that consider the views of local residents, chiefs, councilors, tour guides, and tourists, this thesis more precisely provides the basis for a more comprehensive study of tourism development in Shuswap country. Finally, this thesis also examines the relationship between host and guest and touches on issues such as when tourism was adopted, activities that are being developed to attract tourists, and characteristics of the tourists who visit the destination area. Future research could focus on the changes in perceptions of Shuswap tourism development from the perspective of residents (locals, chiefs, councilors, and tour guides) and tourists, as well as new activities that have been developed in addition to the existing ones discussed this thesis.
APPENDIX I. QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Short statement about research

Thank the respondent

Why the interview is important

Availability of thesis

A. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHIEFS AND TOUR GUIDES

1. Why did your community come to adopt tourism?

2. In your estimate when was tourism initiated?

3a. What are some of the activities that are being developed and where (site)?
   b. Do these activities interfere with the community’s daily life?
   c. If yes, in what ways?

4a. Who are the developers and how do they proceed?
   b. Are meetings held between the developers and other community members regularly?

5. In your view where do most of the tourists come from and why do they come?

6. Who does the tourism marketing?

7. What activities throughout the year attract tourists the most?

8. Are these activities an original part of the Shuswap culture, or have they been modified or recreated to suit the tourist occasion.

9a. During these activities who is in control
   b. How would you rate the tourist/host relationship?

10a. Do you think there are any environmental issues due to the introduction of tourism?

b. If yes, in what ways?

11. What is the economic impact of tourism on your community?

12. How is money earned from tourism shared or used by communities involved?

13. What are some of the socio-cultural effects of tourism on your community?

14. Has tourism had any political effects on your community?

15. How do most people in your community feel about tourism and the tourists?

16. Are there any measures that are being put in place to check on tourism's growth, or control it if it does grow?

17. Has any thought been given to the number of tourists that a community can cater to?

18. In your view, do you attach limits to tourism development?

19. Of all the benefits you expect to come from tourism, what do you think is important?

**Background information**

Chief or leader of...

Marital status...

Number of children and other dependents if any...

Educational status...

In what year were you born...
B. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LOCALS.

1. Why did your community come to adopt tourism?

2. In your estimate when was tourism initiated?

3a. What are some of the activities that are being developed and where (site)?
   b. Do these activities interfere with the community's daily life?
   c. If yes, in what ways?

4a. Who are the developers and how do they proceed?
   b. Are meetings held between the developers and other community members regularly?

5. What activities throughout the year attract tourists the most?

6. Are these activities an original part of the Shuswap culture, or have they been modified or recreated to suit the tourist occasion?

7a. During these activities who is in control?
   b. How would you rate the tourist/host relationship?

8. Do you benefit directly from tourism?

9. What if you benefited directly, will this change your perception of it?

10a. Do you think there are any environmental issues due to the introduction of tourism?
   b. If yes, in what ways?

11. What is the economic impact of tourism on your community?

12. How is money earned from tourism shared or used by communities involved?

13. What are some of the socio-cultural effects of tourism on your community?

14. Has tourism had any political implications on your community?
15. How do most people in your community feel about tourism and the tourist.

16. Are there any measures that are being put in place to check on tourism's growth, or control it if it does grow?

17. Has any thought been given to the number of tourists that a community can cater to?

18. In your view, do you attach limits to tourism development?

19. Of all the benefits you expect to come from tourism, what do you think is important?

**Background information**

Which community do you belong...

Marital status...

Number of children and other dependents if any...

Educational status...

In what year were you born...
C. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TOURISTS.

1. How did you get to know about this place?

2. Why did you choose this place?

3. How would you rate your relationship with the host population?


4. How extensively have you travelled?

b. What are examples of places visited?

5. How do you rate your experiences here in relation to other places?

6. Did the tourist attractions meet your expectations?

7. Would you recommend this place to a friend?

8. What aspects in your view need improvement?

9. Did you come alone or with other family members?

b. If others, specify?

10. Will you visit this place again

Background information

Gender...

Educational status...

Country of origin...

Marital status...

In what year were you born...
APPENDIX II
MAP OF THE SHUSWAP NATION

Traditional Territory based on James Teit
APPENDIX III
PICTURES OF TOURISM ACTIVITIES AND FACILITIES

Figure 1.

A picture of the Heritage Village on the Soda Creek reserve. At this site visitors have the opportunity to observe and also participate in Shuswap traditional culture.
Figure 2

Volunteers helping in the construction of more pit houses for visitors on the Heritage Village site.
Figure 3

An elder interpreting the purpose and construction process of a sweat lodge to the researcher and a group of single day visitors to the Heritage Village.
Figure 4

The museum co-ordinator explaining the traditional summer lodge of the Shuswap people.
Figure 5

The researcher and an elder on the Little Shuswap reserve. At the background is the seventy-two bedroom Quaoout Lodge.
Figure 6.

Some tourists enjoying the scenery at the Little Shuswap reserve.
Figure 7

A tour bus pulling in at the Quaaout Lodge.
Figure 8

Ernie Philips entertaining guests at the Quaaout Lodge.
Figure 9

A pageant competition at the Kamloops reserve during a Powwow, with visitors looking on.
Figure 10

The sale of traditional arts and crafts at a powwow.
Figure 11

A native dress being sold for $3000. Although the booth where this dress was being sold belonged to a local resident, some residents complained about the effects of tourism on the Shuswap culture.
Figure 12

The 1996 Skeetchestn Rodeo
APPENDIX IV

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