RECLAIMING SYMBOLS AND HISTORY IN MULTIPLE ZONES:
EXPERIENCING COAST SALISH CULTURE AND IDENTITY THROUGH
PERFORMANCE AT *HÍWUS* FEASTHOUSE

by

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ABSTRACT

This ethnographic research project examines the re-creation, performance and dissemination of identity through performance (storytelling, song, and dance) at a tourist site, *Hiwus* Feasthouse. In general, this thesis examines how the Salish negotiate meaning and significance through performance. The overall objective is to explore what *Hiwus*, as a site for creating and performing identity, means to the Coast Salish people who work there.

This thesis demonstrates how the Salish at *Hiwus* have a great deal of agency in terms of the content of performances, unlike many other tourist sites where the corporation often controls the program. I suggest that the Salish employees express layers of a "meshed identity" – local, ethnic-tribal, Canadian, and pan-Indian – at different times throughout the performances. I also suggest that the First Nations people at *Hiwus* deconstruct the "imaginary Indian" via performance and valorize their own re-imagination of history and identity. I propose that they do this by drawing on Salish epistemology and world-views. In particular, I demonstrate how Salish understandings of "place" and the use of a "ceremonial framework" at *Hiwus* provide the Salish a way of sorting through multiple zones of contact.

This thesis contributes to the anthropological literature on tourism in that it focuses on First Nations people's agency, views, and perspectives. I also challenge problematic terms such as authenticity, "staged authenticity," and tradition. The current literature on tourism lacks a workable theoretical framework for examining the dialogical interactions at tourist sites. I attempt to deal with this dilemma by drawing on my own ethnographic data, complemented by the existing ethnographic literature, to examine how the Salish perform identity and culture at *Hiwus*.

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INTRODUCTION

Híwus Feasthouse is located on Grouse Mountain in North Vancouver BC, which is part of Squamish (Coast Salish) territory. This Salish feasthouse is unlike the usual longhouse, as it is situated within a tourism context. As a site for performing and creating culture and identity[1], the zone of contact is multi-layered. That is, interactions take place not only between First Nations community members themselves, but also between them and an international tourist audience, and the Grouse Mountain organization. The marketing image, designed to draw in the tourist, draws on some aspects of the "imaginary Indian," as described by Francis (1992). The "imaginary Indian" refers to a *construction* of an Indian image by whites, based on images perpetuated in dime novels, movies, and World's Fairs, etc. The cultural exchange may not be what the tourist expects. A tension exists between tourist expectations based on stereotypical images of an "imaginary Indian" and the agency of the Salish employees. This thesis focuses on the agency of the Salish people at *Híwus* in terms of content, interpretation, and meaning of "performances." This agency exists in opposition to the colonial discourse of appropriation.

Local understanding of place, social relationships, identity, and ceremonial life are revealed through performance. Scholars have attempted to make sense of "performance" in both sacred and secular contexts. Focusing on sacred contexts, van Gennep's three stages - separation, liminality, and reintegration - explore the transformation of individuals in rituals. A move towards analyzing the everydayness of ritual reveals that "social dramas" occur in the "presentation of self in everyday life" (Goffman 1969), where everyday social interaction is staged. Turner (1986) also argues that social processes are performative, and applies the three stages to social relationships in the secular world. Others compare ritual, social, and theatrical dramas, drawing attention to the role of the audience and similarly arguing that performance can transform individuals (Schechner 1985). In terms of identity and performance, Cruikshank (1998) argues that identity is marked in different ways for different audiences at the Yukon Storytelling Festival. That is, the way identity is presented to diverse audiences and in different contexts varies.[2] When examining performance within a tourist setting, it is useful to consider performance as a "tangible form of social action" (Myers 1994). This thesis explores how performance as "social action" at a tourist site serves as a

conduit for the re-imagining of identity and for working through multiple levels of "contact zones"[3] at *Híwus*. These zones of contact are spaces for the encounter of diverse peoples and for the establishment of interactions (Pratt 1992).

A complex of interactions occurs here. It appears that Grouse Mountain promises tourists a cultural experience consisting of images of the "imaginary Indian." One would expect Grouse Mountain to commercialize, or commoditize, First Nations culture. Some of the advertisements seem to do this, but this is not a complete picture of the *Híwus* experience. The Salish connect to this "place" as more than just a tourist site; they connect to it as the home of their ancestors. As the home of their ancestors, it is a personal place – this is not always visible to the tourist, though it is implied through performance. As a tourist site, *Híwus* is not only a place for economic gains, but also a place for cultural learning and exchange[4], a place to re-create and express cultural identity, and a way of countering stereotypes and negativity held by the general public. Tourists are not the only ones learning, as some of the First Nations people who work at *Híwus* are also hearing these legends for the first time. They are also learning the songs, legends, dances, and stories being presented to the tourist. It is a paradox that the First Nations people here claim authority through oratory and performance and at the same time "learn as they go." It soon becomes evident that the processes of revitalizing and re-creating culture and identity are complex, particularly situated within a tourist setting. In this process of "learning" and performing culture, the First Nations "community" at *Híwus* deconstructs the "imaginary Indian" and re-imagines an alternative.

The goal of this thesis is to examine the re-creation[5], performance and dissemination of identity through storytelling, song, and dance at *Híwus* Feasthouse. First, this thesis investigates how First Nations people at *Híwus* actively re-imagine their culture and identity. In particular, I explore how layers of identity – local (Nation), ethnic-tribal (Salish), Canadian, and pan-Indian (Northwest Coast or First Nations in general) – intersect. Second, this thesis investigates how the Salish at *Híwus* sort through these layers of identity in three overlapping zones of contact. I examine interactions between i) the Grouse Mountain corporation and First Nations, ii) tourists and First Nations, and iii) First Nations community members themselves. I draw on ethnographic literature to determine how the Salish at *Híwus* employ their world-views and epistemology to deconstruct the "imaginary Indian" via

performance and to valorize their own re-imagination of identity and history. In particular, I examine how Coast Salish understandings of "place" and the use of a "ceremonial framework" at *Hiwus* provide the Salish with a way of sorting through these zones of contact. This thesis draws on the anthropological literature on tourism, performance, identity (including nationalism), globalization, regional ethnographies, and on my own ethnographic fieldwork from the summer and fall of 2001.

Heritage sites, experiential adventures, cultural tourism, and tourism in general, have gained popularity in recent decades. In particular, cultural tourism sites like *Hiwus* are in abundance. The sociocultural implications of this phenomenon are immense, providing anthropology with a large domain of study. Yet studies on tourism from an anthropological approach have only recently developed, becoming a field of focus starting in the 1970s with groundbreaking work from MacCannell (1972) and Smith (1989). MacCannell (1972) argues that leisure is an extension of modernity and discusses the tourist's search for "staged authenticity." Smith's (1989) edited volume <u>Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism</u> provides examples of interactions between host cultures and tourists, often stressing the negative impact of tourism on host societies.[6] Recent critiques, however, argue that the dualistic host-guest model is too simplistic (Aramberri 2001) and does not account for the role of "cultural brokers" or mediators, such as tourist companies, advertisements, brochures, and guidebooks, for example.[7] While these critiques provide new insight on the "mediated" nature of tourism interactions, the role of First Nations people in mediating the interaction and their perspective needs further consideration, as tourist sites provide a non-threatening context for cross-cultural exchange within the global society. In particular, cultural tourism claims to offer an interactive and educational experience for tourists. On the one hand, cultural tourism is in the business of packaging experience. For example, words often associated with cultural tourism include "explore," "adventure," "natural," and "experience." On the other hand, cultural tourism provides a context for the re-creation of the host's identity by the hosts themselves. This thesis explores how the Salish at *Hiwus* Feasthouse work out their sense of identity.

The performance and dissemination of culture and identity at tourist sites may be considered within the larger context of colonial discourse, nationalism, globalization, and

identity politics. The colonial project sought to "civilize the Indians." Yet relationships between the colonial and the First Nations were ambiguous.[8] First Nations cultures were both suppressed and displayed during the colonial era. In particular, visual culture was appropriated within the colonial discourse representing the exotic, the Other. For instance, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, First Nations' public performances extended into the arena of entertainment for a primarily white European public. Wild West shows, World's Fairs, and Expositions provided a venue for the consumption of otherness.[9] Though many First Nations people willingly participated, this type of venue was one of the contexts in which the "imaginary Indian" evolved. Consequently, Aboriginals became associated with stereotypical concepts such as "wildness," "nature," or the "exotic."

The exoticism of the Other persists today. Some scholars maintain that those stereotypes mentioned above are often perpetuated at tourist sites (and through advertisements for these sites). It has been argued that colonialism continues in tourism, a "cultural imperialism" of sorts (Nash 1989). The appropriation of First Nations' culture (Blundell 1994), the perpetuation of stereotypes whilst sustaining "the authentic" (Blundell 1995-6, MacCannell 1972), and the consumption of otherness (Schelte-Tencknoff 1988, Johnson and Underiner 2001) has been examined. Generally, these studies focus on the *tourist's* construction of First Nations' culture, or identity. While many studies on tourism and First Nations people have focused on the construction of culture of the Other by non-Natives, this thesis will focus on the *First Nations'* construction of identity within a tourism setting.

Other scholars have examined how the construction and appropriation of First Nations' "cultural identity" may be understood within the larger context of nationalism. Cultural symbols, such as dance and art, become detached from their original owners and become symbols of nationhood at public functions and festivals, for instance. These symbols are often based on an "authentic pre-colonial past." MacCannell (1976) discusses how the outcome of modernity is a search for the authentic, and tourism provides us with the opportunity to experience a "staged authenticity." On the other hand, some scholars have examined how indigenous communities have reclaimed their cultural symbols (see Adams 1997b). When indigenous communities in Indonesia reclaimed their symbols, they also negotiated local and national aspects of identity; consequently, indigenous communities

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reasserted indigenous history while simultaneously negotiating their sense of identity (Adams 1997b). Thus, a tension exists between the colonial discourse of appropriation and the agency First Nations people have to re-appropriate those symbols. Whereas much of the tourism literature focuses on the appropriation of First Nations' culture in tourism, this thesis considers the agency of First Nations people and centers around their understandings of culture and identity.

Within a tourism context, the agency First Nations people have plays an important role in how culture and identity are re-imagined. However, the possibility for negotiation at tourist sites has often been ignored. Instead, much of the tourism literature is concerned with the *sustainability* of cultural tourism (Grekin, J. and S. Milne 1996, Li 2000). While studies on sustainability outline issues of content (representation) and tourist expectations from a marketing perspective, the *processes of negotiation and cultural exchange themselves* are often ignored, particularly in terms of First Nations' agency. This study provides an example where negotiations do occur. In fact, Grouse Mountain has collaborated with various individual Aboriginal people and whole First Nations communities from the planning stages. First Nations people continue to negotiate with Grouse Mountain, with tourists, and within their own communities. This thesis explores interactions at each of these levels or zones of contact.

Although studies on sustainability may discuss Native *involvement* at tourist sites, they do not investigate the Native's *view and perspective* of the tourist sites and the meanings and significance of these sites for them. However, recent analyses have begun to give attention to the Native's perspective in tourism (Adams 1997a, 1997b, 1995, Glass 1999, and Peers 1999). Peers (1999) describes how ongoing tensions between stereotypes and Native people's own interpretations play out at historical-interpretive sites. She argues that this re-interpretation of history by First Nations people is one that offers a counter narrative to the dominant narrative. While Peers offers insight on the tourist-First Nations interactions from the Native person's perspective, interactions at different levels need to be considered further. What negotiations took place before dissemination at tourist sites? Many studies examine another context of cultural contact, powwows and pageants (Dewhirst 1976, Lerch 1992, and Lerch and Buller 1996). These studies likewise consider Native involvement and perspectives, but also do not fully examine the processes of interaction at different levels.

Furthermore, boundaries are drawn between what is local, ethnic-tribal, or pan-Indian identity. This thesis explores how these identities intersect and examines the process of interactions at different levels.

Cultural exchange at tourist sites is a multi-layered process; interaction occurs between various groups of people. Some studies have examined the interactions between the Native and non-Native public in tourism. Phillips' (1998) study on Huron tourist arts considers historical interactions between First Nations people and Europeans. She demonstrates how both groups contributed to the construction of "identity" through tourist arts, producing "dual signification" imagery. Furniss (1999) and Harmon (1999) examine Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relationships in a broader sense. Interactions also take place between First Nations people and the general public. These discussions may consider First Nations' performances and "public events" in terms of reinforcing First Nations identity and increasing solidarity (Dewhirst 1976), or as a political strategy (Miller 1998). Interactions between indigenous communities and corporations have largely been ignored. However, Reed (1997) does investigate power relations in planning community based tourism and how they affect the collaboration process, and Cheong and Miller (2000) examine power utilizing a Foucauldian framework. In general, these studies discuss one point of contact or interaction.

This thesis explores the interactions at different levels or zones of contact. I examine how exchanges between First Nations people and the Grouse Mountain corporation interact with the re-imagining of identity. I also explore the tourist-First Nations interface. Finally, I take a step back and examine how First Nations people have negotiated meaning and significance among themselves. It is important to recognize the personal meanings of performances, as identity is constantly negotiated and is often both represented and contested within indigenous groups themselves.[10] My own data and a review of the ethnographic literature on Salish culture illuminate the processes of negotiation in these zones of contact.

While much of the tourism literature generally ignores the large body of ethnographic data in its analyses, it is a central component in this project. Early ethnographies (Barnett 1955, Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, Hill-Tout 1978) tend to describe separate "categories" of culture, such as religion, art, hunting. Others (Amoss 1978, Duff 1955, Jenness 1955) provide detailed, comprehensive discussions on specific aspects of Salish culture, such as

spirit dancing, spirit helpers, or ceremonial complexes. Some works (Biewert 1999, Kew 1970, Suttles 1987) provide more holistic accounts of Salish culture and offer theoretical analyses. As a whole, these works provide valuable information.[11] Informed by these ethnographies, this thesis considers Salish understandings of culture historically and the transformation of Salish culture through time in the analysis of the re-imagination of culture and identity at a tourist site. This thesis explores how the world-view of First Nations people, in particular their sense of "place" and their participation in ceremonial life, intersects with the re-creation of identity at *Híwus*.

The "localness" of ethnographic research has its advantages; it gives a partial picture of how everyday life is experienced by some members of a group. Yet this perspective needs to be balanced by an analysis of larger processes, such as colonization or globalization. Scholars such as Appadurai (1990, 1996) and Bhabha (1990) have discussed how identity transforms within a global society. The implications of a transnational context have been discussed by Appadurai (1996). Appadurai's (1990) thesis on "-scapes" calls attention to the challenges associated with analyzing and understanding fluid and borderless identities. Where cultural transactions occur, these borderless identities mesh together in diverse ways to form an "entangled" identity. This notion of "hybridity" has been discussed by Bhabha (1990) and critiqued by Thomas (1998, 1999). Hence, the creation of identity is further complicated by globalization.

However, while these discussions shed light on the "transnational" and "diasporic" nature of identity, they do not reveal localized or specific understandings of identity. In this thesis, Salish conceptions of locality revealed through ethnographic research illuminate the processes involved in the re-creation of identity. Hence, this thesis contributes to the literature in that it considers how locality relates to identity, while still considering larger processes. Moreover, locality will be further situated within the framework of colonization – the effects of which motivate Salish people to assert their culture and identity. Therefore, situated within a framework that considers colonization and globalization, I explore how First Nations people at *Híwus* connect to locality or "place" through the legends and songs they perform.

Method

The data for this project is the result of ethnographic research conducted mostly at *Híwus* Feasthouse from June to the end of October 2001. However, relationships and conversations continued past October. The methods I used included participant observation, semi-structured interviews, informal interviews, and free-flowing conversation. I observed a total of 15 performances at *Híwus*. My first visit to *Híwus* Feasthouse was as a "tourist" because I wanted to first experience it through the eyes of the tourist. After introducing myself to the First Nations employees there, I visited as a "student-researcher." I attended performances once or twice a week. Observations and responses were recorded by handwritten notes and then transcribed. I paid particular attention to the songs and dances performed, who performed them, and what was said about them. I also took notes on the stories and legends shared. I sat in the background and wrote notes when it was unobtrusively possible. Otherwise, I wrote notes upon leaving *Híwus*.

The people at *Híwus* were very open, friendly, and willing to share with me. Sxananult (Wendy), who is one of the First Nations hostesses and the *Híwus* manager, took me under her wing at the very beginning, introduced me to people, and made me feel welcome. After attending a few performances, I established a rapport with certain people who were there most often; these consultants became my teachers.[12] Because scheduling varied, I took the opportunity to ask questions whilst conversing in a more informal manner. Most often, I asked questions before performances, during "warm ups," and after performances. Several times, I arranged more formal meetings at Grouse Mountain before performances to have a chance to talk more one on one. These meetings were semi-structured interviews, but free flowing conversations usually followed. I also met with some performers outside of Grouse Mountain. The benefit in allowing conversations to develop freely instead of arranging more structured interviews is that the Salish employees were able to guide the subject matter for discussion. That is, they were able to express and share what *they* felt was important and prudent about *Híwus*. As such, I think that this project has benefited in that it has been guided by Salish perspectives.

These observations, conversations, meetings, and interviews form the bulk of my data. The discussions were aimed at determining how the Salish at *Híwus* re-imagine the

"imaginary Indian" through performance. The challenge was organizing and analyzing this information because of the dialogical and fluid nature of culture and identity. Rosaldo's (1989) discussion on the intersections of those fuzzy and fluid places, or "borderlands," helped me sort through the overlapping conceptions of identity to be found here at *Hiwus*. Rosaldo argues that "...such borderlands should be regarded not as analytically empty transitional zones but as sites of creative cultural production that require investigation" (1989:208). Thus, investigating the zones of contact at *Hiwus* provided a way of describing and understanding the unfixed parts of culture and identity.

It was never known in advance when there would be a performance at *Hiwus*. Sometimes a performance would not be confirmed until several hours before the show scheduled for that day. The weather and tourist activities (*Hiwus* relied mostly on tour group bookings) also affected the frequency and scheduling of performances. As such, I attended whenever possible. Moreover, I never knew who would be performing there, until I got there. This unpredictability affected my methods. "Planned" interviews and intended questions were often diverted. In most cases conversations and "interviewing" were advanced by my teachers instead of by me.

Current debates in ethnographic research call attention to issues of representation, voice, interpretation, and agency. One issue that came to the forefront was a questioning of the role of an anthropologist. How did the First Nations people who work at *Hiwus* feel about being interviewed and investigated yet again? My teachers at *Hiwus* from the very start acknowledged the presence of an "outsider." Kwel-a-a-nexw was present at one of my first meetings, a "formal" interview with Rosie; Rosie started by asking me what program I was in. I told her I was in anthropology, and proceeded to explain my project to her. Rosie said, "You were right," and Kwel-a-a-nexw replied, "I told you so." This comment crystallized for me how my positioning at *Hiwus* had already been discussed. How would I fit in? What would be my role? They were keenly aware of my role as an outside interpreter who needed to be taught. Would my interviews result in the same rehearsed information given to tourists? Is there a different perception to be uncovered? Can I be both "outside" and "inside"?

Outsider and insider perspectives were not as distinct as they seemed to be at first. Rosaldo's (1989) discussion on narratives and "relational knowledge" offers some guidelines

in dealing with this notion of emic and etic perceptions. He defines relational knowledge as a situation where "both parties actively engage in the interpretation of culture"; both parties (the researcher and the participant) participate as both analyst and "subject" (1989:206). This exchanging of roles, positioning, and perspectives occurred in a number of ways during the research process here at *Híwus*.

Once I had a complete draft of this thesis, I gave copies of it to several of my teachers for feedback. Some have been difficult to contact for feedback; others were more readily available and provided significant feedback. Kwel-a-a-nexw went through the entire thesis and offered feedback, suggestions, and corrections. I appreciated this opportunity for further knowledge exchange, and I found the experience to be very valuable (though I was hesitant at first because this thesis has been written for an academic audience rather than for the general public). I acknowledged his comments and I included all of his suggestions in this final version, whether we agreed or not.

Background: Salish World-Views and the Colonial Project

This section includes a general description of Coast Salish culture and society as it relates to this thesis. In addition, I give a brief account of the historical context of Native – non-Native relations. The First Nations people who work at *Híwus* Feasthouse are mostly from the Squamish and Sechelt Nations, part of the Coast Salish culture group. It is important to note that though this culture group belongs to the larger Northwest Coast culture area, there is sociocultural variation among the different groups and Nations. Furthermore, the history of colonialism affected different Nations at different times to varying degrees. The following is by no means a comprehensive or homogeneous account.

It is fitting that I take an anthropological perspective on tourism since anthropology, like colonialism, has influenced how First Nations people are viewed. The Northwest Coast culture area includes Nations along the coast of British Columbia, from the Pacific Ocean to the Coastal and Cascade mountains in the East, and from Yakutat Bay in Alaska down into Washington, extending into Northern California in the south (McFeat 1997:xii). This is not a political area, as it includes many different Nations which are politically autonomous. This is a grouping of Nations based on cultural similarities. Anthropological thought and the work

by museums influenced the construction of this "culture area." The Northwest Coast culture area concept comes from the work of Otis Mason in the 1900s. He grouped Nations together based on theories of diffusionism, correlations based on adaptations to environment, and museum classification based on typologies and trait complexes (see Suttles 1978).

The Coast Salish are one of the groups within this culture area, and they do share some sociocultural ideologies. One would be the importance of the family as the main social unit in the Salish world. The family and their kin form a social network that participates in ceremonies, such as naming ceremonies and spirit dancing, which often take place during potlatches. This social network functions as a corporate entity (Miller 2001:38).[13] Furthermore, performance – oratory, song and dance – has always been part of the ceremonial, social, and political life of Aboriginals on the Northwest Coast. In Coast Salish communities, performance takes place in either the summer (or secular) season, or in the winter ceremonial season.[14]

The Salish participate in what are often viewed as either private or public performances and ceremonies within their communities. However, I would suggest that these performances are not so easily separated; performances may fall anywhere along a continuum of more private to more public. At *Hiwus*, performers give tourists a glimpse of what private ceremonies consist of, but they do so by performing public songs and legends. Public performances occur within the community, and though owned by certain people or families, members of the community may participate. Visitors from other First Nation communities may attend as well. Private performances, like spirit dancing, occur during the winter ceremonial season and are considered sacred knowledge.[15] This knowledge is not shared with others in the community. Spirit dancing is a special expression of spirit power, and although not everyone can be a spirit dancer, everyone has the possibility of getting a spirit helper. These helpers afford "gifts," such as the ability to fish, carve, or cure. The acquisition of spirit power involves ritual preparation, after which a spirit helper reveals itself to that person. This person may acquire a song and/or dance, which embody this spirit power. Therefore, the ceremonial network and "gatherings" are important aspects of Salish life, the family unit being the main conductor at these occasions. The notion of a family unit and participation in the ceremonial network are featured at *Hiwus* in modified form.

Spirit power is significant in the Salish world in that it expresses the relationship that the living share with their ancestors and powerful beings or spirits (referred to by some as the "supernatural"). Myths, legends, songs, and dances speak of the relationships between ancestors and spiritual powers or beings. For example, one Stó:lö legend personifies Mt. Cheam as a lady and ancestor; thus, the landscape serves to reference history and their relationship with ancestors (Biewert 1999:39-41). This narrative acts as a teaching or guide to relationships. Furthermore, "place" and landscape figure prominently in oral history, as both are agents of power.[16] That is, power is located in place and ancestral beings and *history* lives through the landscape. Biewert describes how transformer stories link these aspects: "...immediate and personal spiritual awareness is related to the histories of supernatural contact and both are also related to the myth time marking of the land" (1999:206). While songs about spirit powers are private, the public songs and legends performed at *Hiwus* suggest the relationships that the Salish have with the landscape and their ancestors. The songs and legends underline the importance of Salish ceremonies and relationships with the "supernatural." In spite of colonial efforts to suppress Salishian culture, family networks, and the ceremonial complex, performance has continued, though not unchanged, throughout Salish history.

What is represented at *Hiwus*, and how it is represented, has been influenced by historical events, in particular, events put into motion because of the colonial project.[17] Several events during the contact period affected family-kinship and ceremonial systems. At first, early explorers had little impact on daily lives of Salish people. The establishment of Forts, however, resulted in more regular contact between the Salish and colonial populations; many Natives established relationships with Forts as middle-men. Later, Natives began to feel the effects of contact. Population numbers declined due to epidemics. Traditional lands were appropriated. Indian agents, such as Douglas and Trutch, pushed Natives onto reserves; many Nations remained without treaties. Hence, Natives were displaced first by fur traders and then by settlers. In addition, timber industry and canneries depleted the once resource rich area, changing Native subsistence and economic patterns. The work of missionaries like Father Durieu resulted in the early assimilation of the Sechelt[18]; however, Catholic missionization projects also affected the Squamish Nations (Carlson 1997, Dickason 2002, and Kew 1970).

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Generally, assimilation was the main theme in both colonial and missionary projects. Theories of sociocultural evolution from savagery to civilization, influenced by anthropological thought, belied Natives as primitives in need of assimilation. Hence, a Native "way of life" stood in the way of assimilation and "economic productivity." Social systems and cultural expressions were prohibited; the potlatch was banned, and children were sent to residential schools where the use of Native languages was forbidden. Furniss traces the legacy of colonial power as it is expressed today in the relationships between Aboriginals and Euro-Canadians through normalized expressions of the "frontier cultural complex" and "protective paternalism" in Cariboo-Chilcotin / Williams Lake communities (1999:5).

In spite of the challenges Natives faced in their dealings with non-Natives, the Native people did not passively sit by. Some attempted to reaffirm their presence and express their concerns in 1906, for example, when a group of chiefs went to London (Kirkness 1994). Land claim issues continue to be at the forefront today, as with the famous Delgamuukw case.[19] In this case, land claims put forth by the Wet'suwet'en and the Git'ksan were supported by oral histories, which were used as evidence. First Nations people also responded to assimilation attempts in other ways. Potlatches went underground, ceremonies were adapted to new circumstances, and new family networks emerged. First Nations culture was never static, and it continues to change. Today, First Nations people are reclaiming their identity and culture; those very aspects banned and appropriated by non-Natives are reinstated as cultural symbols.

It is important to note that, historically, the relationship between Natives and non-Natives was ambiguous. First, while Native culture was being suppressed, anthropologists, such as Boas, were collecting Native cultural symbols for museums in order to preserve the culture of a "vanishing race." Second, Natives participated in Wild West shows, World's Fairs and Expositions, where "civilized" society could witness this "savagery"; these venues provided a space for the consumption of otherness.[20] Yet even here the relationship was indeterminate. Many First Nations people *sought* these opportunities as a way of affirming their culture and furthering their concerns (Francis 1992, Raibmon 2000). These venues were sites of negotiation and agency. Harmon (1999) argues that indigenous people in Puget Sound (Washington) not only had agency and choice, but at times also the upper hand in the relationship. In her examination on how "Indianness" has been redefined through history,

Harmon demonstrates how relationships (particularly economic and political ones) between Native and non-Native people in Puget Sound were a two way process; non-Native "customs" *and* indigenous frameworks were adopted by *both sides*. Thus, First Nations people historically had agency, and Native/non-Native relations involved finding a "middle ground"[21] or common ground. Finally, even as Natives were viewed as savage, they were also seen as "noble," in touch with nature, spiritual, and possessing a naïveté like children.[22] Some admired Native society as representative of a simpler way of life. Contradictory images of this "noble-savage" persisted, and many of these ambiguous images of Natives as noble, savage, or akin with nature, still exist today. At *Híwus*, this contradiction exists in the different zones of contact.

"CONTACT ZONE" 1:
THE GROUSE MOUNTAIN CORPORATION-FIRST NATIONS INTERFACE

The Inception of *Híwus* Feasthouse:

In this zone of contact, a tension exists between Grouse Mountain's conception and Salish[23] conceptions of identity. The tension centers around the problematic concept of authenticity. Grouse Mountain's criteria for defining First Nations' identity relate more to visual aspects of culture, while Salish people's criteria relate more to a sense of "place" and experiential concepts. However, Grouse Mountain does acknowledge the importance of involving First Nations people as employees and recognizes the significant role a feasthouse plays in community life. Negotiation and collaboration are key for making *Híwus* successful for both parties.

According to Grouse Mountain employee GM,[24] Grouse Mountain conceived the idea for an "Aboriginal experience" on the mountain in about 1995. The goal was to promote tourism of an Aboriginal nature that would appeal to an international audience. Grouse sought out the Aboriginal community and eventually made a connection with Richard Krentz, who is an artist and community leader of the Sechelt Nation. The idea was to construct an Aboriginal building that would host a dinner show, consisting of storytelling, song, and dance. Krentz and his team built the feasthouse on Vancouver Island and then

brought it to Grouse Mountain. The feasthouse is called *Híwus*; the name was given to Krentz by his Sechelt elders "in honor of all past, present, and future Sechelt chiefs" (Grouse Mountain Resorts Ltd 2001). Richard Krentz and Bob Baker wrote the *Híwus* program and songs for the video presentation. The program extended to include school programming in its second year. GM said that Grouse established some "rules of the house." First, they would hire all Aboriginal workers; second, employees would be drawn from three Nations; and finally, that they would respect the original intent of the house as a spiritual place.

Some important points of this collaborative process need to be explored further to highlight issues of authenticity and place. GM's first words to me were that *Híwus* is an "authentic feasthouse," except that it is on a mountain, it has a cedar floor instead of dirt floor, and there is a propane fire. The performers do in fact refer to *Híwus* as one of their four longhouses located in Squamish territory.[25] However, this discourse of authenticity is problematic. How do you judge what is authentic? Who determines what is authentic? I suggest that Grouse Mountain's corporate notion of authenticity considers how the *tourist* would define, and most importantly recognize, authenticity as something that conforms to the larger image of Northwest Coast artistic culture. I propose that this sense of authenticity is important for Grouse Mountain, as one of the questions on the visitor survey form asks tourists to rate the authenticity of their *Híwus* experience. Furthermore, I suggest that authenticity is gauged by their "rules of the house." GM states that *Híwus* is an authentic feasthouse because it was built by First Nations people, the art designed by a First Nations person, and First Nations people work and perform there. These are some conceptions of "authenticity."

Later on I asked Rosie, who is one of the performers, what makes *Híwus* authentic for a First Nations person. She responded that *Híwus* is an authentic experience because "we speak the truth." In other words, authenticity may be seen in the recounting of legends that are known to them and express what it means to be Squamish, or more generally Salish. Authenticity is not related to the degree of artistic "realness," or any of the criteria mentioned above. The embodiment of legends through song and dance authenticates their experience. Furthermore, it connects to the place and what it means to be Squamish. Rosie told me that they wear *temélth* on their faces so they speak the truth and they don't harm anyone with their words or their looks.[26] She said that it is important to speak the truth and pay attention

to protocol, so as not to shame their Nation. Thus, authenticity may be found in recounting the legends, in speaking the truth, in following protocol, and in their sense of connection to place.

Even though Grouse Mountain's perception of authenticity may differ from the Salish conception of authenticity, collaborative initiatives between Grouse Mountain and the First Nations people allow these two views to coexist. Credit should be given to Grouse Mountain for coordinating a collaborative project with the Aboriginal community, but the "call" to participate went out to the *general* First Nations community. Grouse Mountain did not pick up on importance of "place." George Taylor and his dance group was one of the original performance groups at *Híwus*; perhaps the group was chosen on recommendation. Nonetheless, what is noteworthy here is that Taylor's group is in fact Kwakwaka'wakw, neighbors of the Northern Coast Salish. Upon hearing of the Kwakwaka'wakw involvement, William J. Kwel-a-a-nexw Nahanee and S7áplék Bob Baker co-wrote a letter to Grouse informing them that according to protocol, the hosts of this area (Squamish) should be represented, not an outside group not related to the land. After all, this mountain is on *Squamish* territory. Consequently, Taylor's group was joined by the *Spakwus Slu-lum* dancers (Squamish). Taylor's group was eventually phased out in the summer of 1998. Thus, contrary to Grouse Mountain's understanding of "Northwest Coast" communities as a homogenous category, for the Squamish community, the "localness" of the mountain is an important factor.

In sum, it may seem at first glance that Grouse promotes the notion of authenticity by feeding into a generic, homogenous view of Northwest Coast culture. Mostly it appears to provide the tourist with something culturally identifiable as "First Nations." What is authentic for Grouse Mountain as a corporation does not necessarily match what the Salish at *Híwus* believe to be authentic.[27] I have suggested that Grouse Mountain considers what the tourists may recognize as authentic. While the Salish also make concessions so that tourists "recognize" what they are seeing as something that is "Northwest Coast," authenticity for the Salish involves the expression of identity through the embodiment of legends and oral history. Both notions of authenticity coexist. Grouse Mountain recognized the need for collaboration and for an Aboriginal presence. However, based on their homogeneous preconception (or perhaps they were unaware of the local Squamish presence) Grouse

approached the "general First Nations community," not particular Nations. As a result, Grouse Mountain first made arrangements with Kwakwaka'wakw dance group instead of with a group from one of the Salish Nations. Through time, the Salish component expanded and a video was added. The Kwakwaka'wakw group eventually left. In the end though, Grouse Mountain and the Squamish dance group negotiate "authenticity" for the *Híwus* cultural experience.

"CONTACT ZONE" 2: THE TOURIST-FIRST NATIONS INTERFACE

The *Híwus* Cultural Experience:

The play of cultural symbols and identity finds a forum in tourism. At *Híwus* Feasthouse, historical contradictions persist, yet First Nations are reclaiming and re-creating their cultural symbols and identity. Ambiguity prevails, as stereotypes are both represented and contested, but the working out if identity is fluid. Tourist sites are like "mediascapes" where cultural images flow and "realistic and fictional" narratives of the Other are blurred and reconstituted (Appadurai 1990:299). The contradiction of images is a result of "cultural brokers," which intercede in the tourist-First Nations interface. Brochures, advertisements, and tour operators play a role in constructing tourist expectations. Scholars have argued that these "cultural brokers" sometimes use stereotypical images in order to intrigue audiences. While these stereotypical images are played on by mediators, they are also re-configured by First Nations people who put forth other images as well. Thus, in this zone of contact, a tension exists between tourist expectations and a re-imagined First Nations identity revealed through performance. Underlying this interaction between tourists and First Nations people are the interactions that have occurred between First Nations people themselves. That is, while performers at *Híwus* are providing tourists with a "re-imagined Indian," they are also experiencing personal meanings through these performances.

So what does the "*Híwus* cultural experience" consist of? Tourists come from all over the world to visit Grouse Mountain in North Vancouver, British Columbia, seeking adventure or to experience nature. Some have come to experience Aboriginal culture first hand. Many of these tourists arrive at the mountain by bus from Vancouver as part of a tour

group. Once at Grouse Mountain, they ride up the tram and get a bird's eye view of the Greater Vancouver area. Tourists then proceed to the chalet, where a hostess (or host) awaits to bring them to *Híwus* Feasthouse, a Coast Salish longhouse situated on the peak of the mountain. As they trek towards the feasthouse, the hostess shares Squamish and Sechelt legends, such as that of the Hemlock tree and Queneesh the whale; they also learn about cedar. So even before arriving at the feasthouse, they are given a sense of the Salish people's personal connection to this mountain, this place. The hostess stops at the entrance and shares the meaning of the figures carved on the entrance pole. The tourist now has a wonderful photo opportunity, as the hostess thanks guests with a *huy-chexw-aa* stance.[28] Inside the feasthouse, First Nations people await them, ready to share their history and legends. Tourists are treated to a wonderful meal, showcasing the hospitality of First Nations people. They are told legends, embodied through dance, and they also see a video about "The Awakening" of the spirit of man. Lastly, they dance together as different clans.[29] The First Nations employees at *Híwus* are in a way their own "community," a family. Through storytelling, song, and dance, some of which have only recently been brought back to life, this First Nation "community" at *Híwus* welcomes tourists into its family, and offers them a glimpse of ceremonial life and an idea of what it means to be Coast Salish.

This synopsis of the *Híwus* cultural experience reads much like a brochure and underscores how this tourist site may be viewed from many different perspectives. First, this description highlights the fact that on the one hand, this cultural experience is a "product." On the other hand, it is also the sharing of something very personal for the First Nations people who work there; these stories and legends form part of their epistemology and they reveal important relationships between them, their ancestors, the supernatural (spiritual), and their connection to place. The "*Híwus* product" is advertised and marketed like any other valuable product. Advertisements need to give tourists a reason to come. When dealing with unknown cultures, people often revert to stereotypical ideals as a way of "connecting" (Evans-Pritchard 1989:102). As such, marketers generally capitalize on these images to draw in visitors. It may be suggested then that these images, like the image of a mystical or spiritual Native and the image of the Native as more in touch or even as part of nature, contribute to the exoticism of the Other.

First, stereotypical images relate Aboriginals to nature. The *Hiwus* backlit[30] depicts one of the hostesses of *Hiwus*; on its own, it is a lovely picture. Once juxtaposed with backlits advertising Grouse Mountain, however, words like "explore," "experience," "nature," and "adventure" become associated. Blundell (1994) describes how advertisements for the Northwest Territories and Canada, like these backlits, relay a message that Aboriginals are like nature, something to explore and experience. She elaborates that these advertisements promote "a place where visitors can experience a timeless, primitive otherness" (1994:270). Furthermore, a spiritual, pure, primitive culture is often used as a benchmark of authenticity, a result of modernity and feelings of alienation from nature (Taylor 2001:9,10). This example of the backlits illustrates how images of the "natural" and "mystical" Native are closely connected.

In another example, the first word on the front of the *Hiwus* brochure is "supernatural." This reference billets Aboriginals as supernatural and "mystical," but there is yet another sub-text. Blundell argues that souvenirs and advertisements employ "local signs" to differentiate Canada from other nations while providing recognizable signs for itself (1994:253). That is, cultural representations of First Nations people are used in nation building (Blundell 1994:252). The "supernatural" reference similarly serves to associate the First Nations at *Hiwus* with provincial identity. British Columbia (BC) is often represented to the international community as "Supernatural BC" - a place to explore the natural beauty of the land. Nature is "ours," it is what is distinctive about BC. Similarly, Aboriginals become distinctively "ours," something that BC may be identified with. In general, this "natural beauty" discourse is associated with both national and provincial identity. Thus, while reference to the supernatural portrays the "mystical Native," it also plays a role in identity politics. Both the backlits and the brochure provide examples where Aboriginals are associated with nature, and subsequently with provincial identities and nationhood.

Second, some images promote the "exotic," the mystical. For instance, the brochure also depicts a performer wearing regalia and an exotic mask; smoke surrounds the image. The dance itself is also quite spectacular; it is the Grouse dance. The dancer rises out from a trap floor surrounded with smoke. Dizzying lights circle the floor and the fire. The music is an energetic soundtrack, with more than 80 beats per minute Kwel-a-a-nexw tells me. In a way this presentation feeds into the stereotypically marketed images of the exotic, feeding on

the spectacular. *This is a marketing image.* Influenced by postmodern thought, the effort of many scholars has been to deconstruct the construction of images, text, and history itself. As a result, the deconstruction of images and text used in tourism leads to critiques of advertising and marketing designs. To a certain extent, in my analysis I have also been critical of advertisements. However, this is not a complete or fair picture. To focus only on the deconstruction of these kinds of representations - the advertisements, brochures, the hype - ignores the agency the Salish have and the collaboration processes that have taken place.

An analysis focused on the appropriation of First Nations symbols and the construction of an "imaginary Indian" misses the deconstruction that First Nations people themselves take part in. In fact, the stereotypical and the personal coexist. In the example of the Grouse dance, the performer *draws on* the hype and image to re-imagine his own version of the image and assert his identity. The *Yawat-tsút* video of "the Awakening" tells tourists how the Creator asked the Grouse bird (spirit) to be the caretaker of the human spirit. So tourists hear about part of the deeper significance of the dance, that the Grouse dance is part of a Sechelt legend. What other meanings are associated with this dance? I asked Kwel-a-a-nexw about the Grouse dance. He told me about the first time he danced it at *Híwus* in front of the Sechelt elders. It had not been danced for a long time, and he said that the elders cried, seeing this dance come to life. *This is a Salish perspective* of the meaning of this performance. It relates to a legend about human's relationship with the Grouse spirit through the embodiment of one of their legends. Furthermore, the opportunity to perform at *Híwus* resulted in a revival of this dance. These more personal aspects are not visible to the tourist. This illustrates how seemingly stereotypical representations may be both represented and contested at the same time. Images and conceptions of the Grouse dance vary for marketers, performers, elders, and for tourists. Thus, an analysis of performance should consider the construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of all groups involved.

Conclusions

I have demonstrated that the host-guest model does not adequately describe the tourist-performer interface in this zone of contact. Mediators, such as brochures and backlit advertisements, influence the interaction. It seems that Grouse Mountain needs to feed on stereotypes, propagated by these mediators, in order to be competitive and marketable. In fact, mediators promote stereotypical images akin to Francis' "imaginary Indian" - an exotic,

mystical Native analogous with nature. This is a continuation of the colonial discourse of the "noble-savage." Like Blundell's description of tourism advertisements, mediators for *Híwus* relay an image of a mystical Native, who, like nature, is something to explore and experience. Furthermore, the nature discourse appropriates First Nations as part of the "Canadian landscape." However, I will argue in the subsequent section on "place" that the Salish at *Híwus* conceptualize the landscape in a different way and assert their own connections to "nature." To summarize, at first glance it appears that mediators promote the exoticism of the Other in a form of "cultural colonialism."

The role of First Nations people as mediators in the interactions at tourist sites has generally been ignored. I have suggested that the Salish at *Híwus* are also active mediators, reconfiguring stereotypical imagery. Furthermore, the Salish are not necessarily opposed to this particular imagery; in fact, they may even incorporate and re-interpret it. Not only do the Salish mediate interactions, they also assign their own meanings and significance to these images and cultural symbols. As with the Grouse dance, the Salish experience performance in their own way. While the Salish re-imagine the "imaginary Indian," their personal experiences and meanings are not always visible to tourists, and these meanings coexist with stereotypical images. Consequently, while an apparent ambiguity between the imaginary and re-imagined continues, how the Salish employees and community members experience their culture and identity at *Híwus* is personally satisfying for them. They experience performance in a different way from the tourist. One way this happens is that Salish frameworks and epistemology have been imported into a tourist setting.

Tourism Experienced as Ceremony

As stated above, the *Híwus* cultural experience represents a zone of contact between tourists and First Nations people. I have demonstrated how "cultural brokers," brochures and advertisements in the example above, mediate the interaction. Scholars have not fully examined another mediator. First Nations people themselves mediate the interaction and experience performance in a personal way. Thus, there is an *overlapping* zone of contact between the First Nations people themselves.

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Exploring the *Híwus* cultural experience further, the personal meanings and negotiations that occur between First Nations people are revealed. In this section, I demonstrate how the Salish at *Híwus* perform at the tourist site much in the same way that performance would take place in a feasthouse in the community. I suggest that ceremonial procedures and protocol are used as a model for sorting through interactions in the "tourist-First Nations contact zone" while at the same time providing a way to negotiate significance and meaning of *Híwus* for the Salish people themselves.

One might argue this type of cultural experience satisfies the tourists' search for what MacCannell (1976) refers to as "staged authenticity," where tourists seek access to the "backstage" aspects of Salish life. I suggest that this tourist site is not superficial or "staged." I argue that the *Híwus* cultural experience is not an attempt at representing an authentic ceremony, even though it progresses much like a ceremony, following protocol or *chiax*.

Salish ceremonies and associated songs and dances of the winter complex are private. Other songs are more public, such as the ones presented at *Híwus*, which are mostly personifications of public legends. Many of these types of legends may be found in books (Hill-Tout 1978, Johnson 1961, Kirkness 1994, and Wells 1966). In fact, when I first asked Sxananult, and later Kwel-a-a-nexw, about the songs, inquiring who they belonged to, what they were about, and so forth, I was told to refer to some of these books. Nonetheless, the performers explain to the tourist a bit about what the more private ceremonies are about. For example, Kwel-a-a-nexw explains the rules of the longhouse or protocol called *chiax*, about spirituality, their use of *temélth* paint, the role of elders, the importance of cedar, the act of witnessing, and how to thank the Creator. He tells us that the Salish have lived through "thousands of years of ceremony." The number itself does not matter; the fact is that the Salish have a long history of ceremony and protocol. Kwel-a-a-nexw reminds us that this is "just the tip of the iceberg," meaning the tourist is not privy to the full meaning or extent of these ceremonies.

Even though the *Híwus* cultural experience does not include any songs from winter ceremonies, Kwel-a-a-nexw explains what these ceremonies are about, underscoring the importance of protocol. A winter ceremony, potlatch, or naming ceremony, for instance, has several elements and follows certain procedures.[31] These ceremonies usually include a welcome speech, rights and genealogies expressed through oratory, song and dance, the

witnessing of claims, feasting and gift exchanges. (Below I expand on how these procedures or protocols are represented at *Híwus*). I suggest that Kwel-a-a-nexw's (and also S7áplék's, when he performs) explanation of the rules and protocols of sacred ceremonies provide a *model* for the *Híwus* cultural experience, which progresses much like a Salish ceremony. In her analysis of Kahnawake Mohawk entertainers at Chief Poking Fire Village, Nicks similarly argues that the "embellished and commoditized" naming ceremony followed "tradition" and historical practices of alliances and gift exchange (1999:307-8). These ceremonies have been re-imagined to suit different contexts.

Here are some examples of how protocol and ceremonial processes have been transposed into a tourist setting. Sxananult welcomes tourists to *Híwus*; they will enjoy a feast and be shown hospitality. Sxananult begins with a testimony of her genealogical affiliations. She is the fifth generation descended from Chief George Capilano and she received her ancestral name Sxananult from her grand-aunt, Josephine Paul, wife of Andrew Paul. Later, Kwel-a-a-nexw makes claims and announces rights in regards to their Salish history (specific and general). For instance, claims are made in terms of their occupation here and the survival of their culture, which is expressed by legends like *Sequalia Slu-lum* and *Yawat-tsút*. Besides the evidence presented through oral narratives, Kwel-a-a-nexw offers "scientific" evidence. He states that archaeologists date their occupation to six thousand years ago and that they speculate the Salish may have been here from eight to ten thousand years ago. Singing and dancing takes place, most often by the performers Kwel-a-a-nexw, Rosie, and/or S7áplék. Tourists also participate in the ceremony by dancing. To finalize the tourist experience in a ceremony framework, tourists receive a gift[32] and act as "honorary witnesses," hence accepting the claims made by the Salish at *Híwus*. This participatory aspect is a significant part of the ceremony.

Besides the gift, tourists participate in the "ceremony" as temporary clan members. At the end of the *Híwus* cultural experience, tourists dance in four different groups representing the different clans – Wolf, Whale, Eagle, and Raven. By dancing, tourists experience "Salishness."[33] Conversely, at Tillicum Village on Blake Island in Washington State, the "spectacles" (demonstrations and shows) take place on platforms, separating tourists from performers. The authors argue that this maintains "a sense of distance, otherness, and power imbalance" at Tillicum (Johnson and Underiner 2001). Tourist

participation at *Híwus* attempts to close the distance, and tourists get a chance to experience Salish culture. So in a way, it is giving tourists what they want and what the brochure promises – a seemingly "staged authenticity." However, this participatory aspect also gives life to the songs by having tourists dance them because tourists are accepting Salish claims by dancing.

At the end, all four clans dance together. In this final act, the tourist has been welcomed into the "*Híwus* family" via a "tourism as ceremony" experience. As Kwel-a-a-nexw says, "Once you come in that door, we are all family." Thus, this "family," which now includes tourists from around the world, plays an important role in witnessing historical, cultural, and, indirectly, political claims. While tourists may not be aware of this "contract," it is a reaffirmation for the Salish who work and perform there. The Salish at *Híwus* have agency, and as such *Híwus* has been situated within an existing Salish framework emphasizing the family network, the making of claims, and the act of witnessing.

Just as the Salish re-imagine stereotypical images, they re-define ceremonial protocol for a different context. My interpretation of this "tourism as ceremony" interaction is that it demonstrates the fluid and dialogical nature of culture and identity. The fluid nature of culture allows the Salish to pick through cultural alternatives. "Tourism as ceremony" also calls attention to the problematic terms of tradition and authenticity. Tradition is often thought of as some*thing* unchanging, old, and "pure" (Mauze 1997:1-5). Changes or "inventions" to tradition for a new context appear inauthentic. However, Mauze suggests that we should not think of tradition in terms of "purity," but in terms of "the conditions which a discourse and actions must fulfill to be considered traditional" (1997:5). The ceremonial framework at *Híwus* satisfies the conditions of protocol for a tourist context.

The notion of tradition has been debated by objectivists, who argue that authentic and inauthentic traditions may be distinguished, and constructionists, who see tradition as in a constant state of "renegotiation and redefinition" (Hanson 1997:1996). Hanson suggests that the notion of "invented tradition" is not a futile position, as long as we acknowledge the fact that there is no absolute truth to be found (1997:214). As far as authenticity is concerned, it is useful to think of tradition not in terms of the "continuity of manifest cultural practices," but as "a measure of the *effectiveness of symbols*, and especially their ability to constitute and motivate a group" (Harkin 1997:100, emphasis added). Key to this notion of authenticity =

effectiveness is the "ritual reframing of cultural symbols" (Harkin 1997:98). At *Hiwus*, the Salish re-imagine and "re-frame" images that were appropriated in the past. Moreover, they reconfigure a ceremonial framework in order to negotiate meaning and significance for a different context. Cruikshank demonstrates how narratives may shift in meaning and depend on the narrator, audience, and context (1998:28,44). Kwel-a-a-nexw says his ancestors have always been innovators. Perhaps scholars should also think of tradition as something that is innovative and that is drawn on as a reference for inter*action* and the negotiation of experience and meaning.

Does this final tourist participation dance epitomize the search for a "backstage experience" of an authentic Northwest Coast ceremony? The *Hiwus* brochure does advertise a "backstage experience" or "staged authenticity." The brochure reads "experience authentic West Coast Native Culture in its *natural setting*," where "... inside you are welcomed by a ritual of Native song and dance" (emphasis added). However, the Salish are not attempting to recreate the "most authentic ceremony," it is just how they do things. That is, it makes sense that a public gathering would follow protocol. Thus, MacCannell's idea of a staged authenticity is problematic. Because participation at *Hiwus* follows much of the same protocol that would take place at a ceremony, I suggest that this tourist site is not superficial or "staged." The *Hiwus* cultural experience is not a representation of an actual ceremony, though tourists are told a bit of what that would involve, but a representation of Salish identity in a broader sense. It is not a "model culture" where identifiable characteristics of different Nations are chosen to construct one non-existent National representation "of Salish"[34] because it is not an attempt to produce a facsimile, mimesis (Taylor 2001), or mimicry (Bhabha 1990) of an *actual* winter ceremony or song.[35] Instead, tourism is *experienced* "as Salish." Furthermore, as Adams (1997a:6,7) found for the Tana Torajia in Indonesia, cultural productions of rituals in tourism, in this case reinterpretations of ceremonial protocol, do not result in the loss of ritual meaning for the locals.[36] I agree with Taylor, who argues that authenticity discourse underestimates the importance of these spaces for local communities and that we should view these types of cultural interactions as "sincere" communication of local identities (2001:16,24). Hence, the concept of "staged authenticity" is problematic.

Conclusions

I have argued that Salish understandings of social networks and ceremonial life are used at *Híwus* to interact with a non-Native audience. I have described how ceremonial protocol, such as expressions of genealogy and the act of witnessing, has been introduced in a tourist setting. This ceremonial framework has been redefined by the Salish, and is "effective" (authentic) because it motivates the group to identify with the performances. In the next section, I will show how this reframing is effective because it also serves to constitute a diverse group of Nations. Though a "Salish framework" is used, it is important to reiterate that these are public songs and legends, which are lighter; there are no ceremonial dances performed at *Híwus*.[37] Hence, I have also suggested that the notion of "staged authenticity" is problematic because i) *Híwus* is not an attempt to replicate a private ceremony, and ii) the concept of "staged authenticity" implies that there is no significance to performances at tourist sties for the Salish performers. Clearly, this is not the case at *Híwus*.

The performers use a "Salish framework," that is, they rely on their Salish world-views and knowledge, to interact with tourists. This "Salish framework" serves to unite diverse Nations at *Híwus* in the re-imagining of identity. For example, as I stated previously, family is the social web for Salish communities. Besides the welcoming of tourists into the Salish family, the hosts, hostesses, and performers of *Híwus* likewise form a new type of family, as they come from different Nations. Even the category "urban Native" does not quite fit. Some do live on reserves, others do not, and others have lived on reserves in the past. Thus, at *Híwus*, the social boundaries of a "Nation" are blurred, with participation of mostly Squamish people, but also including participation of members from Sechelt, Git'ksan, and Athabasca (and the tourist).

While the boundaries of "Nation" and "family" are blurred, this does not imply a disconnection to place. For the First Nations people at *Híwus*, several layers of identity – local (Squamish or Sechelt), ethnic-tribal (Salish), Canadian and pan-Indian (Northwest Coast or more generally First Nations) intersect. This overlapping sense of belonging and identity is more inter-tribal than pan-Indian (Cronk in Lerch and Bullers 1996:391). This "site" encompasses multiple levels of interaction and identity, which are complex and without boundaries. They overlap and cross over Western (and academic) defined categories. *Híwus* is an example of how Salish people deal with the fragmentation of

communities resulting from globalization and colonization. In terms of globalization, Appadurai states that everyday "social practices of intimacy are no longer contained in those envelopes of space and time - call them localities, or communities, or cultures, or even societies..." (1997:116). I suggest that even though social interactions and identity may be without boundaries, they are still bounded somehow in locality and a sense of connection to place.

"CONTACT ZONE" 3: THE FIRST NATIONS INTERFACE

Personal Meanings - Expressions of Place

A sense of place figures significantly in how the Salish relate to this tourist site and how they decide to participate at the site. For example, Becky (one of the hostesses) comments that the photo opportunity by the entrance pole lets people bring her home with them. She says that she does not get to all these places where tourists come from, but she can still make their presence known. That is, these photos announce Salish presence here in Vancouver. Similarly, Rosie says that *Hiwus* contributes not only to what it means to be Squamish, but Coast Salish, by announcing "we are here, this is Coast Salish territory, and there are so many of us, Sechelt there, Musqueam here, Stó:lö there..." She elaborates by saying that it gives people an idea and sense about the ceremonies and what the North Shore is about. It is a subtle yet affirming point. Participation at *Hiwus* is a way of announcing Salish presence in British Columbia.

Connection to place via Becky's link with her ancestors led her to work at *Hiwus*. Becky says that she went to visit six of her relatives (three males and three females) at the cemetery and told them about *Hiwus*. The same day she ran into six deer (three males and three females) on Grouse Mountain; this was their way of telling her it was okay. These comments demonstrate the importance of participating at *Hiwus* to honor ancestors and to be connected to a sense of place. At *Hiwus*, First Nations community members form their own zone of interaction, since the people who work here associate personal interpretations of *Hiwus* to a sense of place. These personal meanings are not always revealed to the tourist;

therefore, I suggest that *Híwus* does indeed carry significance for the Salish besides participation in the tourism economy.

"Place" links myths and legends with ancestors and history. Basso discusses how Apache placenames not only describe the "geographical" location, but also refer to historical events and activities that took place at the site (1990:110-111). Apache historical narratives refer to these placenames, which make "... Native claims about the symbolic importance of geographical features and the personalized relationships people have with them" (Basso 1990:114). Similarly, Cruikshank argues that narratives told by Yukon storytellers of First Nations ancestry reveal how "stories link human history to place"; that is, narratives are a way of establishing connections (1998:2,18). Becky's story of the deer illustrates how experience, place, and ancestors connect in the Salish world. Therefore, these types of connections also hold true in the Salish world.

When I first came to Grouse Mountain, I asked people to explain what this place, meaning *Híwus* as a tourist site, means to them. The conversation always came back to place and a connection of place through their relationships with ancestors and elders. For example, Sxananult shared stories about growing up on the mountain. She told me about how Chief George Capilano's vision (her fifth generation grandfather) on the top of the mountain foresaw the coming of white man. She also told me how her grandmothers, being powerful medicine women, collected berries and medicines on the mountain. Another time, S7áplék also told me that *Híwus* is right on the place of his ancestors. He says that they are still here, and their presence is strong. These examples further illustrate how power, meaning, experience, ancestors, and legends live in and through the landscape. Thus, I would suggest that the Salish participate at *Híwus* not only because the tourist site per se allows them to express culture, but also because Salish conceptualize an understanding of their world at this "place."

How does this sense of place manifest itself at *Híwus* Feasthouse? Several references to place and connection to the area come through at *Híwus*. For example, the evening starts with a welcome on behalf of the owner of Grouse Mountain, Richard Krentz, and the Squamish and Sechelt Nations. Sxananult's welcome includes her claims of genealogy and ancestry. Kwel-a-a-nexw also shares his historical connections with the land via his relations. Also, Kwel-a-a-nexw or S7áplék refers to a mountain that has been named after

Chief Jimmy Jimmy; the Chief's history is represented by the mountain and declared in the Squamish song *Kwata'yalh*. The performers first words are in Squamish because, Kwel-a-a-nexw reminds us, this is Squamish territory. We are even told about the archaeological evidence that dates their occupation back 6000 years. These examples demonstrate how the Salish at *Híwus* announce their connection to place.

Performances at *Híwus* proclaim a continuity of culture while connecting to place. Biewart (1999) describes place in the Salish world as a "container of experience." Accordingly, place and performance - being expressions of experience - are closely connected. *Huphupché* (Entrance Song), for example, expresses how First Nations have experienced "place" in the past. The expression is personal because tourists are not told what the song is about. *Huphupché* used to be a winter song, but it is not used as such anymore; any Nation may use it. The song was composed for the Chiefs from different Nations. Chief Joe Capilano was one of those Chiefs who went to England in 1906 to express concerns about land claims, fishing and hunting, and education (Kirkness 1994:11). According to Kwel-a-a-nexw and Rosie, the song was for all Nations to use after the Chiefs returned from London. Even though performers do not tell tourists what the song is about, it is still an acknowledgement and re-affirmation for the First Nations people themselves. The song expresses a First Nations experience.

If tourists are not given the background story, why perform this song at a tourist site? I suggest *Huphupché* is part of *Híwus* because: i) it follows protocol - this used to be sung at the beginning of gatherings in feasthouse; ii) it illustrates how songs and contexts of songs may change; and iii) the story of song attests to rights of ownership and privileges that have been expressed for a long time. The song expresses personal meanings and significance for First Nations people; it expresses a respect for their elders, acknowledges ceremonial protocol, and attests to their struggles and rights. Hence, this song expresses something about First Nations history and also their connection and rights to this "place" in a more physical sense.

To summarize, place affirms rights, privileges, obligations, and relationships with ancestors, which are expressed through oral histories. *Híwus* is located within the Squamish realm of place, both in a physical and ideological sense. I have argued that *Híwus*, because it is situated within their landscape, is like a "container" of both experiences of Salish people as

a group and personal connections with their ancestors. It can be a personal connection, as for Becky, or a larger connection for the Nation, as with the songs *Kwata'yalh* and *Huphupché*. Because of this connection, Salish people, in particular the Squamish members, feel a need to participate at *Híwus*. Place envelops experience and culture. In other words, place is a container of cultural identity and history. Historical events are "recorded" in song and performed at *Híwus*. Since many of these meanings are unknown to the tourist, as is the case with *Huphupché*, I have suggested that Salish participate in this tourist site because it carries personal significance for them.

Place, history, and identity are connected. Performances at *Híwus* convey this connection and affirm the First Nations presence to an international audience. Both the *Kwata'yalh* and *Huphupché* songs demonstrate how performances at *Híwus* serve to connect the performers to their landscape of experience. However, they connect to different aspects of identity. *Kwata'yalh* expresses a local (Squamish) identity whereas the *Huphupché* expresses a wider scope of identity, what it means to be Salish, and even more broadly, what it means to be First Nations. I suggest that these layers of identity overlap, but that association with a particular identity, Squamish or Salish for example, is emphasized at different times. In the next section, I further examine how the Salish at *Híwus* re-imagine history and negotiate layers of identity through performance.

Affirming History-Performing Identity

Cultural tourism sites, like museums, deal with many issues of representation. Both sites consider issues such as the display of "objects" as commodities, as representations of history, and/or as symbols of identity. In other words, both types of sites deal with cultural representation and present a version of history (more often called "heritage" or "culture" at tourist sites). Tourist sites differ from museums in that in addition to "objects", people themselves represent culture. The people of whom objects and symbols represent at museums are present at tourist sites. Therefore, tourism involves more face-to-face cultural interaction than museums, and this interaction takes the form of performance at *Híwus*. The Salish have negotiated within their communities for permission to use the legends at *Híwus*. The legends performed also express personal meanings for them. I suggest that these

performances are significant conduits for the re-imagination of history and identity for two reasons. The legends verify [historical] events and they confirm what it means to be Squamish, Sechelt, Salish, First Nations, and Canadian.

First, Aboriginals experience and reclaim their history through the Salish legends they perform at *Híwus*. These legends, embodied via performance, resonate with the Salish. Visual culture signifies collective memory and results in both national memory making and ethnic memory making (Adams 1997b:14,121). However, not all tourists may recognize this exchange as "memory making," or as a reclaiming of history, as was the case with the *Huphupche* Song described above. Thus, as for Salish ceremonies themselves, there are private and public aspects to the performances at *Híwus*. The nuances which suggest the reclaiming of history are subtle and only become visible by understanding how Salish culture has been re-imaged through time, and through changing circumstances. In particular, Salish history is reaffirmed through those legends performed at *Híwus*, which speak of stories of resistance and continuity.

The legends and songs performed at *Híwus* reinforce the notion of cultural strength and survival and contest the images of a vanishing, assimilated, savage, or self-destructive Indian. The performances "de-exoticize" the Other and present a positive alternative. During the Introduction Song *Kwata'yalh*, the performers introduce themselves, reciting both their English and Native names and their affiliations, alerting ancestors of their presence. The song comes from Chief Jimmy Jimmy, who was so well respected that a mountain was named after him. Kwel-a-a-nexw and/or S7áplék recount how the Chief held onto his culture when it was slipping away and continued to follow the traditional ways. The Greeting of the Day Song, *Sequalia Slu-lum*, makes reference to a specific historical event, missionization. Kwel-a-a-nexw tells tourists how they [missionaries] came into Burrard Inlet set on converting everyone [Squamish] to Christianity, but *Sequalia* didn't want any part of it because she had a strong ancient spirituality, one that still exists today. So she moved from her village near Brockton Point to the Mountain, where she continued her traditions and kept them on the straight path. Another example of a song that reinforces the notion of cultural survival is the Rediscovery Song from the 1992 Youth Conference. This song speaks about a reconnection to spirituality. These are the legends and songs of resistance and persistence.

Does this expression of cultural strength and survival have a larger purpose? Kwel-a-a-nexw says he deals only with the cultural, not the political. Yet performances at *Híwus* do proclaim their existence. As Rosie says, "We are here, this is Coast Salish territory." This feeling came through in another interview. I asked Becky what she wants the tourist to leave here with. She said that she hopes that tourists leave "with a different look towards Aboriginal people, how we've come to life," and leave with good feelings. Similarly, Rosie said she hoped tourists leave with positive feelings and goodness, as Robert Davidson says, "With a light heart." Certainly, presenting a positive view of Aboriginals and "that there is some good stuff happening" can only be beneficial politically.

Second, the legends performed at *Híwus* express diverse aspects of a meshed identity at different times. Performers emphasize local (Squamish or Sechelt), ethnic-tribal (Salish), Canadian, and "First Nations" identity at different times; the expression of identities also overlaps. For example, *Kwata'yalh* and *Sequalia Slu-lum* express a strong connection to local Squamish identity, as these songs belong to certain families of the Squamish Nation. Other songs and dances express a connection to a meshed Salish identity. For example, the Grouse dance is part of Sechelt legend *Yawat-tsút* but is performed by a Squamish person, Kwel-a-a-nexw. The presence of the Sechelt Nation in this area is represented at the site by the re-telling of the legend *Yawat-tsút*. While the dance does not belong to Kwel-a-a-nexw or his Nation, he shares in the *experience* of revitalization of this legend. Therefore, the Nations unite to perform this dance as Salish. This (inter)national experience is not unusual; recall the *Huphupche* song which once belonged to a single Nation, but then became available for all First Nations people to share its meaning and experience. However, performers do specify song *ownership*, and that the use of these legends at a tourist site has been negotiated within First Nations communities. For example, performers will say "this Squamish song…" or "this is a Sechelt legend given to us at *Híwus*…" or "the Stó:lō call them *Sasquatch* and we call them *Smaylilh.*" Thus, performers account for the diversity of culture when appropriate, but also emphasize the similarities in how culture is *experienced*.

The Nations are able to unite in performance at *Híwus* because the Nations are similar in their ethnic-tribal connection as Salish people; they share how they experience culture. Besides sharing a common Salish experience, Nations share similar Salish ideologies, such as the importance of the family unit and ceremonial networks. There is also a prescription for

being a Salish individual, the idea of proper conduct, which involves following protocol and the teachings of elders. The examination of one legend performed at *Híwus* may reveal how Salish identity is experienced in terms of following proper conduct.

Kwel-a-a-nexw tells tourists the legend of the *Smaylilh*[38]; he recounts the legend of *Ká kalilh*, who is one of the most famous *Smaylilh*s. The first *Smaylilh* were a couple who broke protocol and became outcasts. They moved up into the mountains, where they became wild people who did not follow the traditional ways. Rosie dances the *Ká kalilh*[39]. *Ká kalilh* was known to kidnap children and eat them, and one day, she went to a village and stole all the children. One boy, who was an outsider because of his harelip, saved the children. Kwel-a-a-nexw tells tourists that the lesson of the story is that we should all be treated equally and with respect, that one should not have to be a hero to be accepted. This seems to be a call to the larger international community, asking for the acceptance and respect towards people in general.

The emphasis on the "teaching" of the story downplays the notion of cannibalism, which is often called attention to in representations of "the traditional Native". The cannibal image has been de-emphasized or "de-exoticized." Most importantly, the *Ká kalilh* performance reveals much about Salish epistemology. It demonstrates the importance of following protocol and traditional ways. Therefore, part of being "Salish" involves following proper conduct or behavior.

Salish culture and identity is expressed not only in performances and representations of culture but in how one behaves or lives. Culture is passed on from the elders through teachings, which outline proper conduct. The idea of proper conduct and protocol and its relation to the expression of culture and identity is an ever-present theme at *Híwus*. I asked Richard Krentz how *Híwus* expresses what it means to be Salish: .

> ...these things [art, objects, etc] are just things and don't make culture, people make culture by the way we treat each other. That's why we give away things. Everything I have is a gift, so why would I worry about giving it away? I do this not to enter into the [white] "world" and economic system, but when you give things, things come back to you.... I've converted to Christianity, but I have also learned from my elders.

My understanding of this is that their culture and identity is not located in material culture, but in incorporeal experiences that involve following protocol (*chiax*) and living according to

the teachings, as indicated above, in how people treat each other and the importance of "giving away." Therefore, I would suggest that it is possible to unite Squamish and Sechelt Nations because of shared conceptions of what it means to be a Salish person who follows protocol and the teachings.

The question is, does an ethnic-tribal Salish identity superimpose local identity? Does *Hiwus* homogenize diverse Nations in another expression of pan-Indianism? It appears that, on the surface, the expression of Salish identity predominates at *Hiwus*. The uniting of diverse Nations at a tourist site should not be a surprise, given that, as discussed earlier, the Salish have always interacted with other families and Nations in broad social networks. Consequently, the focus of this thesis has been on the broader Salishian conceptions of identity. However, Nations have been specified when appropriate. As I pointed out in previous sections, Squamish or Sechelt identity has been specified in expressions of legend, ceremony, and place. Most of the legends and songs belong to the Squamish, and some belong to the Sechelt. Therefore, local, Salish, Northwest Coast, First Nations, and even Canadian identities intersect. Due to space and time limitations, it is not possible to discuss in great detail *how* all these expressions of identity mesh at a tourist site. Nonetheless, I suggest that the Salish at *Hiwus* mesh together layers of identity, or more precisely, emphasize different aspects of a meshed-identity at different times. McIlwraith similarly discussed how the Stó:lö blend and alternate between local and pan-Indian expressions (1996). The meshing at *Hiwus* is selective and mostly controlled by the Salish. The video presentation of the legend *Yawat-tsút* or "the Awakening" exemplifies this intersection of identities.

Yawat-tsút is a Sechelt legend about the coming of the spirit of man. Kwel-a-a-nexw introduces the video, pointing out that it is a different medium but that it follows the precedence of their ancestors who have also been innovators, and " We don't hang on the [coattails] of our ancestors." This "creation story" recounts the discussion among the council of spirits – Raven, Eagle, Wolf, Salmon-Woman, Thunderbird, Whale, and Bear – about whether or not the spirit of man is ready to arrive. The legend is disseminated on multiple video screens affixed on beams in the feasthouse. I was told that Richard Krentz wrote the program and songs and that it was done in collaboration with Disney technicians. In my opinion the songs also have a Christian musical sound to them and Christian

references in phrases like "everything I do has been planned, to help you find the promised land...". Two dances, the Eagle dance and the Grouse dance, performed by Squamish and Squamish-Sechelt members punctuate the video. After the video, Kwel-a-a-nexw, Rosie, and/or S7áplék tell the tourists about their experiences. The performers talk about how they go all around the world to conferences and special events to share and talk about their culture, representing the "the West Coast and Canada." At the end, Kwel-a-a-nexw tells tourists that:

> Our group *Spak-wus Slu-lum* does cultural presentations at various elementary schools throughout Vancouver, sharing with the children, whatever their ethnic background, to learn their roots, because to learn our cultural roots, where we come from, gives a feeling of inner strength and pride, a true sense of identity. We, as a family of human beings, all have thousands of years of rich cultural heritage.

The Salish perform culture and identity for tourists to witness.[40] While scholars often draw boundaries between expressions of local or tribal identities (Lerch and Bullers 1996), I argue that these identities overlap. In particular, local identities (Nations) mesh together to express Salish identity. For example, the Sechelt legend *Yawat-tsút* was given the Squamish people four years ago for use at *Hiwus*, and this legend expresses a shared experience as Salish people. This demonstrates how identity crosses over defined National boundaries, which are actually permeable. Kwel-a-a-nexw tells tourists how the Sechelt and Squamish Nations have been linked in the past and continue to be "related" though marriages, kinship ties, and feasting. The Sechelt are "our neighbors" and " we have never been at war," he says. I suggest that this demonstrates a "relatedness" between the two Nations, again emphasizing the importance of social networks, and allows for Sechelt and Squamish identities to overlap and mesh as Salish. However, the *Salish* are differentiated from other cultural groups, as was the case with the Kwakwaka'wakw dance troupe. Ironically, members from other First Nations groups who are not Salish also work at *Hiwus*. Thus, a tension exists between the assertion of diversity and the expression of unity. I suggest that the ownership of legends and connection to place may be specified as having "local routes," however, shared experiences of survival and continuity, historical struggles (like land claim issues), ceremonial *chiax*, and the concept of protocol and proper conduct, cross local boundaries and express a larger Salish identity.

The re-imagining of a Salish identity is complicated by Christian influences. Missionization influenced Squamish and Sechelt Nations at different times and to different degrees; the Sechelt were converted earlier (Kew 1970). Christian elements seem appropriate, since Richard Krentz (Sechelt) converted to Christianity. He related to me how there are many similarities between Salish beliefs and Christianity. For example, he told me that both have a story about a "virgin" birth. However, when I mentioned the possibility of Christian influences in the video to Kwel-a-a-nexw (Squamish), he firmly opposed this interpretation. Yet Sxananult (Squamish) seemed more open to the possibility of an overlap between Christian and Salish legends. Sxananult told me that all people have an "arc story"; she pointed out the similarities between Noah's arc and the legend of Queneesh the Whale (Sechelt legend). Therefore, the relationship with Christianity varies not only between Nations, but also personally. One cannot assume that all Salish conceptions of identity are always "hybrid" conceptions influenced by contact or affected by the fragmentation of communities. It appears that local identities mesh more freely at *Híwus*, while the degree of Christian influences vary.

Not only do the First Nations at *Híwus* re-imagine National and Salish identities, but they also re-imagine a Canadian identity and situate their experiences within Canadian history. As many other scholars before me, I have suggested that First Nations' cultural symbols have been used to represent a Canadian or provincial identity. Like the brochure and backlits for Grouse Mountain, Canada is often promoted as a place to "experience" and "explore" "nature." First Nations' symbols (and people) have often been appropriated as representing Canada in this "nature discourse." That relationship is now inverted. At *Híwus*, "nature" has been re-imagined as a personal expression and experience of "place." I have also discussed how the "*Híwus* cultural experience" is laden with personal meaning. The Salish have reclaimed those same "Northwest Coast" symbols in their own way to re-imagine Salish identity, while at the same time realizing a Canadian identity.

So how does this sense of Canadian identity enter the mix? How does what Salish people perform or say express Canadian identity or history? I have argued that many of the legends allude to Salish experiences of missionization, land rights, and cultural strength and survival. I suggest that the legends performed present the "missing pieces" of Canadian history, that is, the Salish people's voice and experience within Canadian history. These

experiences also constitute part of what it means to be Salish. Therefore, these legends and performances express not only what it means to be Squamish, Salish, or First Nations, but also Canadian. More accurately, the *act of* performing legends situates the Salish within Canadian identity and history.

Kwel-a-a-nexw and Rosie inform the tourists that they travel around the world performing and representing Canada. This passing statement encapsulates what *Híwus* means to the Salish who work there. It presents them with an opportunity to re-imagine the "imaginary Indian," express National (Squamish, Sechelt, etc.) and Salish identity, experience Salish culture in a personal way, and reclaim symbols and history. Key to this opportunity is the agency that the Salish have at this particular tourist site. Kwel-a-a-nexw summarizes this perfectly: "This place *Híwus* means a lot, it's sharing of culture but it is more than that. It's a sharing of culture with a freedom that we've never had before."

Conclusions

Performances at *Híwus* are expressions of history and identity. These performances are situated within a "contact zone" where interactions between First Nations community members and Salish employees at *Híwus* occur. Both community members (as with the Grouse Dance) and the Salish at *Híwus* experience performance in personal and significant ways. I have described how the *Kwata'yalh* and *Sequalia Slu-lum* songs are a re-affirmation of history and cultural strength. I have also explored how the *Yawat-tsút* video presents tourists with a meshed identity. I have suggested that different aspects of a meshed identity come through via performances. Local identities are reconciled by affirming the origins of legends and songs, Salish identity comes in the form of shared experiences and world-views, and Canadian identity is expressed by filling in the "missing pieces" of Canadian history, that is, the First Nations voice and experience. This Salish dance group also performs internationally; thus, they also play an active role in "Canadian" nation building, but on their own terms. In sum, performances at *Híwus* have significance for the Salish who work there because the performances verify historical events, which speak of cultural strength and survival, and confirm various aspects of a "meshed multi-layered identity."

How do the Salish work through their meshed identity and the interactions in these zones of contact? I have suggested that Salish world-views, outlined in ethnographies, play out in a tourism context. Connection to place, ownership of songs, social-family networks,

the ceremonial complex, and the concepts of *chiax*, proper conduct, and "teachings", affect the interactions that take place at *Hiwus* (and that have taken place behind the scenes with Grouse Mountain and within communities) and the expression of identity. The performers draw on these Salish frameworks and knowledge. Because of these common sociocultural ideologies, Salish performers are able to address the diversity of the Nations and unite them in shared experience.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored what *Hiwus* Feasthouse, as a site for the re-imagination and performance of culture and identity, means to the Salish people who work and perform there. The re-imagination of identity is fluid and dialogical, involving interactions between different groups. The interactions that take place are complex and overlapping. In an attempt to make sense of these interactions, I have discussed how they occur within three zones of contact.

These "contact zones" are like an archaeological palimpsest. One layer builds upon the other, and as you remove one layer and dig deeper, the larger picture becomes clearer. On the surface layer, it appears that this tourist site promotes stereotypes, or an "imaginary Indian." However, further digging reveals how the Salish incorporate personal significance and meaning. The question is how is this done? Though the Salish draw on some aspects of the "imaginary Indian" (which generally tend to be used in tourist promotion), they also deconstruct this image and re-imagine an alternative. The performers do this by drawing on existing Salish frameworks, and then by disseminating culture and identity through performance.

This thesis has uncovered three zones of contact. The first layer is the Grouse Mountain-First Nations interface. This interaction involves the negotiation of "authenticity." On this surface layer, stereotypical images seem to be presented. Advertising is generally controlled by tourist companies, which utilize "recognizable" Northwest Coast imagery. Thus, it appears that these types of images predominate. However, an analysis that focuses only on the deconstruction of images to reveal the representation of an "imaginary Indian" would be superficial. As we move through the layers (zones), the Salish assert more control

in the dissemination of culture; consequently, deeper significances of performance become evident. As interaction becomes more face-to-face, personal meanings become more dominant.

In the next layer, tourists and First Nations people interact. Now we see an apparent contradiction, as stereotypical and re-imagined images coexist. Tourists' first contact with *Híwus* may be the brochure or seeing a backlit advertisement, which draw on "recognizable-stereotypical" imagery to promote the tourist site. As we trowel away at this layer, however, other meanings are revealed. The Salish play on these images and re-imagine their own identity. They begin to de-construct the "imaginary Indian" and re-imagine a positive alternative. The Salish experience performances at *Híwus* in personal and significant ways; many of these meanings are unknown to the tourist. I have argued that the Salish import their "ceremonial framework" at *Híwus* as a way of negotiating meaning and significance and as a way of interacting with the tourist. This interaction challenges problematic concepts, such as "staged authenticity" and tradition, which are often used to explain and critique tourist interactions.

In the deepest layer, the Salish negotiate meaning among themselves. I could not see this layer at first, because it was covered by the other two. The tourists likewise may not see this layer, unless they are avid diggers. Salish epistemology and world-views provide the performers with a framework for re-imagining identity and affirming history. I have suggested that identity is linked to a sense of "place," which connects landscape, ancestors, and history. The importance of "locality" challenges the assumption that identity is only "transnational" or "diasoporic" and reveals the importance of considering how "locality" (and specific local understandings) relates to identity. I have also suggested that performance serves as a conduit for the assertion of history. In this deepest layer, the Salish draw on their own epistemologies, like their understandings of family, ceremonial networks, *chiax*, proper conduct, etc., to negotiate personal meanings and work through identities and interactions in these zones of contact.

The tourist experience at *Híwus* may be described as "bite size" in that it is only a step towards cultural understanding. Private aspects of Salish culture are not revealed, and the full meanings of performances at *Híwus* are not always disclosed to the tourists. This does not mean that what happens here is not meaningful for the tourist or for the Salish.

There are benefits for the Salish people who participate while at the same time giving the tourist a "cultural experience." The Salish situate themselves historically and position themselves favorably in economic and political spheres by providing a positive "Salish" image. While this strengthens the individuals who work at *Hiwus*, it also strengthens the community and gives a sense of pride in terms of experiencing culture and identity in ways that are meaningful and significant for them instead of experiencing identity simply as the "imaginary Indian."

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[1] The term "culture" has spurred much debate. The notion of "culture" as an identifiable "object" of study has been refuted. I use the term culture in this thesis for two reasons. First, the Salish at *Hiwus* use the term culture more than, and instead of, identity to mean a sense of self and community attributes. In this sense I use the term as analogous to identity. Second, I use the term culture to mean a type of social (inter)action that is dialogical. Following Myers'(1994) notion of "culture-making" where rules of production are uncertain, the performances of culture(s) at *Hiwus* are multiple and shifting expressions of identity. Thus, I often use the terms culture and identity together.

[2] This is different from Lerch and Bullers' (1996) argument that local and regional identities are *separate* and do not mesh.

[3] I borrow this phrase from Mary Louise Pratt (1992) who defines "contact zone" as "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and interactable conflict" (1992:6-7). At *Hiwus*, the relationship is not coercive. It is, however, still unequal, though I will demonstrate that the Salish have control over certain aspects.

[4] Kwel-a-a-nexw wishes to make it clear that what he shares at *Hiwus* has been taught to him by his elders (see biography) and ancestors.

[5] A note is required on the use of terms such as re-create, re-imagine, invent, etc. Kwel-a-a-nexw and I met to discuss a draft of this thesis. He questioned the use of terms like "re-imagine," stating that what he presents is what he has been taught by his ancestors, it is not invented or re-invented. To clarify, I use the term re-image in several contexts. First, I use the terms to mean a deconstruction or re-imagination of the "imaginary Indian." I also use these terms to mean the adaptation of something for a different context, such as ceremonial frameworks for a tourist site. Lastly, I use the terms to indicate that culture is always changing and adapting. Perhaps we disagree on this last point.

[6] For example, Greenwood (1989) discusses how the Alarde of Fuenterrabia in Spain has changed in ritual meaning and importance for the locals because it has become a show for outsiders.

[7] See Blundell (1994), Cheong and Miller (2000), McGregor (2000), Taylor (2001), and Whittaker (2000) for discussions on how "cultural brokers" mediate the host-guest interface in tourism.

[8] Schulte-Tenckhoff (1988) examines "Halliday's dilemma" and these ambiguities.

[9] For a discussion on First Nations participation at World's Fairs, Expositions, Wild West shows, etc., see Francis (1992), Moses (1996), Raibmon (2000), and Reddin (1999).

[10] Glass (1999) discusses how performance of the Hamat'sa dance by a professional dance group is contested within the community; the contestation involves issues of ownership and "tradition" of the song. For a comparable examination on the notion of "tradition" in Siberia, see Bloch (2000) regarding the representation and contestation of identity among youth in Siberia.

[11] The Squamish and Sechelt Nations also have websites with information. Another good starting place is the Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7 Northwest Coast. Also, Matthews (1955) provides a record of Salish life as told by Chief August Jack Khahtsahlano.

[12] Please see the Appendix for short biographies on some of my teachers from *Hiwus*. Each person contributed what they wanted to include about themselves.

[13] Following Suttles (1987) and Elmendorf (1993), who recognized the importance of family relationships, Miller (2001) elaborates that these family relationships formed networks that are both temporary and corporate.

[14] See Biewert (1999), Jenness (1955), and Kew (1970, 1978) for discussions on ceremonial life during the winter.

[15] Amoss (1978) provides a thorough discussion on spirit dancing, which is considered private.

[16] See Bierwert (1999) for a further discussion on "figures of power" and place.

[17] This section draws on the works listed here. For a more detailed description on the history of contact, see Dickason (2002), Fisher (1977), Harmon (1999), and Ray (1996), in particular Chapters 11, 12, 14, 15, and 17-20. Carlson (1997) provides an historical account of contact of the Stó:lö, which includes the Stó:lö voice and oral histories.

[18] Due to the earlier missionization projects in Sechelt territory, the Sechelt generally have a stronger tie than the Squamish to Christianity. Sechelt people converted earlier and in greater numbers to Christianity (Kew 1970). Consequently, traditional spirituality was frowned upon (also a result of Residential Schools), and this resulted in a loss of traditional spiritual knowledge. Recently, there has been an attempt to restore traditional practices. For example, Frank Malloway has been acting as a spiritual advisor for Sechelt families who call upon him as a specialist and a healer (personal communication, Bruce Miller 2002).

[19] See Culhane (1998) for a discussion of this case.

[20] For a discussion on First Nations participation at World's Fairs, Expositions, Wild West shows, etc., see Francis (1992), Moses (1996), Raibmon (2000), and Reddin (1999).

[21] Harmon describes this as a "cultural space where people from dissimilar societies could serve their separate interests by observing common, specialized rules," but the term "middle ground" was coined by Richard White "to describe a comparable culture of relations that developed in the Great Lakes region in the seventeenth century" (1998:31).

[22] Ample literature exists on the formation of Native imagery as "savage" or as "noble-savage" during the early periods of contact. For a sample, see Berkhofer (1979), Baudet (1965), and Dickason (1984). These works point to the ambiguous relationships between

Natives and non-Natives and highlight the often contradictory accounts of Natives. There is also a body of literature that contains accounts of early explorers, missionaries, etc. Wagner (1967) for example refers to writings of de las Casas.

[23] When speaking about the First Nations employees at *Híwus*, I use the term Salish (instead of Squamish) to include the presence of those from other Nations or partially descended from other Nations, and because Sechelt legends are also presented at *Híwus* (like Queneesh the whale and "the Awakening" *Yawat-tsút*). Kwel-a-a-nexw believes that "Salish" should be replaced with "Squamish" throughout this thesis. I have chosen to leave it as is in order to be more inclusive of the Sechelt contribution and presence. I acknowledge Kwel-a-a-nexw's comments, and I agree that most of the performances are Squamish. His persistence in changing the "Salish" to "Squamish" further underscores the importance of locality.

[24] Initials have been used in some cases to maintain anonymity.

[25] It is unknown how the other Salish people in the area refer to *Híwus* Feasthouse. Miller notes that there is a larger debate about what makes an "authentic" longhouse within Salish communities; there seems to be a continuum of authenticity. For example, when Frank Malloway built his longhouse, some said it was too "comfortable" to be a real longhouse (Personal communication with Bruce Miller 2002). Kew (1970) points out that longhouses were modeled after barns and that the term bighouse was not used until about the 1970s. It is interesting to note the different terms used in reference to this structure – bighouse, feasthouse, smokehouse, longhouse, etc. Feasthouse, for example, emphasizes its ceremonial importance, while smokehouse suggests a different functional component.

[26] It is not war paint, Kwel-a-a-nexw reminds the audience, which may have preconceived stereotypical ideas about painted faces.

[27] Authenticity is negotiated not only at tourist sites, but within Salish communities as well. There are many notions of what is authentic, and claims of non-authenticity is a way of disputing claims within the community (personal communication, Bruce Miller 2002). See note 24 for example.

[28] *Huy-chexw-aa* means "thank you" and is expressed by raising your arms, elbows bent and palms facing you at heart level. This gesture is also used to thank the Creator.

[29] I use the term "clan" here because this is the word performers use at *Híwus*. The term that would be used in anthropology to describe the grouping (non-corporate) of Salish extended families would be lineage.

[30] A backlit is a poster made of translucent material that is lit from behind, like movie posters at the theater.

[31] Kew (1970) provides a detailed account of winter ceremonials, and the different elements/phases, and describes how ceremonial processes constantly shift. That is, there is not one identifiable way of doing things for everyone and all contexts. Different families have different traditions (personal communication, Bruce Miller 2002).

[32] Tourists receive a mini bentwood box cup holder with Northwest Coast designs on it.

[33] Again, Kwel-a-a-nexw believes this should read "Squamishness", see note 23.

[34] Later I will argue *how* diverse Nations *do unite*, given that the tourist experience is not solely a conglomerate of different characteristics from diverse Nations.

[35] Stanton (1989) describes the construction of a "model culture" at the Polynesian Cultural Center.

[36] Greenwood (1989) argues that these productions do result in loss of ritual meaning.

[37] S<u>x</u>ananult says that if this were a "real" feasthouse where ceremonies did take place, we would not be allowed to take pictures.

[38] See Hill-Tout (1978:96) for one version of the story of *Te Smailetl* (*Smaylilh*). According to Kwel-a-a-nexw, *Kálkalilh* was born many generations after the founding *Smaylilh* couple, as described in Hill-Tout, broke protocol.

[39] This may sometimes be spelled as *Cocalith* in the ethnographic literature.

[40] Notice that the term "witness" is often replaced by "consume" in the tourism literature. Analyses focused on appropriation and consumption of culture at tourist sites may miss other processes that take place. For example, here at *Hiwus* the Salish have utilized a ceremonial framework, and thus tourists are witnessing, not consuming, culture.

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APPENDIX: BIOGRAPHIES

William James Kwel-a-a-nexw Nahanee is a member of the Squamish Nation of Vancouver, British Columbia. The Squamish people are part of the Coast Salish group. Kwel-a-a-nexw spent ten years in an Indian Residential School in North Vancouver. He started learning all about his culture in 1967 from his elders; his teachers were Chief Louis Miranda, Chief Dominic Charlie, and Chief Andrew (Andy) Natrall. In 1971, Kwel-a-a-nexw hand built a Coast Salish house and resided there for three years. He also worked on carving a traditional sea going canoe in 1995. Since 1995, Kwel-a-a-nexw has been sharing his culture through presentations at conferences, schools, workshops, etc. He coordinated the Squamish performing group participation at an international Aboriginal Culture Festival in 1997 in Taiwan, representing all people of Canada. Since 1997, Kwel-a-a-nexw has been sharing culture at the *Hiwus* Feasthouse on Grouse Mountain, and considers it an honor and privilege to represent his people's culture.

Rosie Nexwsxía7m Baker is of Squamish, Sto:lo, and Sechelt descent. She grew up with her elders in Sechelt. Rosie participated in a canoe journey from Bella Bella in 1993. She also went on several cultural exchange programs; for example, she went to Chile, South America in 1992. Rosie also participated in conferences in Montreal and Switzerland in 1994, where she shared her culture with others. Rosie is one of the performers at *Hiwus* and has been working there since 1997. She teaches her two daughters Savahnaha, 7 years old, and Sage, 3 years old, about the songs, legends, and culture.

Rebecca (Becky) J. Areneda is from the Squamish Nation. She is one of the hostesses at *Hiwus* Feasthouse. Becky does beadwork and makes her own jewelry.

S7áplék Bob Baker is a member of the Squamish Nation and one of the performers at *Hiwus*. He was also involved in developing the program at *Hiwus*. S7áplék has been involved with the Hawaiian Council of American Indian Nations and has also worked with American Indians in Honolulu as a special events coordinator. He is still involved with American Indian interests and canoes. He obtained his apprenticeship in air conditioning refrigeration on Maui and has done that for nine years, but he always returns to "cultural work." S7áplék likes to get on the water as much as he can, in particular on canoes. He has been involved with traditional First Nations canoes all his life and with outrigger canoes for ten years. In 1990, he took on a project to build a sea-going canoe for the 1993 Bella Bella journey. This was the first canoe in a long time for the Squamish Nation. He trained the canoers for the journey - taught the songs, how to paddle, how to speak. S7áplék was also involved with organizing the canoe gathering that took place last summer in Squamish. He is a filmmaker and is currently working on a film about this last gathering, "The Gathering of the Great Canoes."