

Aboriginal Participation in Tourism Planning in British Columbia

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Tourism has been identified as a strategy for Indigenous communities worldwide to adopt in order to stimulate economic and social development. The goal of this research was to evaluate Aboriginal participation in tourism and the role it plays in economic and social development of Aboriginal communities. This research also addressed Aboriginal participation within the context of a mega-event, the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The need for this research came from the common acceptance that tourism can be an effective development strategy for Aboriginal communities. However existing literature is often case-specific with limited research focusing on Canada. Additionally, limited research had addressed Aboriginal participation in Olympic planning and hosting. The goal of this research was met by examining Aboriginal tourism development in British Columbia (BC), Canada, ultimately addressing the aforementioned gaps in the literature.

This research used a qualitative approach to investigate Aboriginal participation in tourism planning in British Columbia, Canada. The objectives guiding this research are as follows: (1) To identify the types of involvement; (2) To evaluate the extent of involvement; (3) To explore the relationship between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal tourism-related businesses, associations and institutions; and (4) To identify the significance of Aboriginal tourism to the Aboriginal community, British Columbia and Canada.

The findings of this research indicate that although Aboriginal tourism in BC has evolved considerably in recent years to establish a place in Non-Aboriginal tourism, it requires more support to grow the sector. As well, the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia (AtBC) appears to be guiding the future of the sector through the continued implementation of the ‘Blueprint Strategy’. This research revealed that there are still considerable barriers that inhibit Aboriginal participation in tourism. Until these barriers are addressed, an increase in Aboriginal participation in tourism, particularly in ownership and management capacities, is limited. Participants reported that Aboriginal involvement in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games was an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to showcase Canada’s Aboriginal culture on an international stage. It also highlighted the collaborative relationships between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal. Participants also reported that tourism could help increase cross-cultural understanding, while diversifying Aboriginal communities. Future research should be directed towards understanding the effects of increased Aboriginal participation in tourism; the role tourism can play in capacity building; and finally, the economic contributions Aboriginal tourism can make to the tourism sector.

The main conclusion drawn from this study is that BC has been able to encourage and support Aboriginal participation in tourism. Although there is much opportunity to grow the sector and increase participation in ownership and management capacities, the Aboriginal tourism sector is currently being guided towards a successful future. There are many Aboriginal tourism successes happening in BC that could be used as models for other regions in Canada and around the world.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Indigenous communities worldwide have come under the microscope of tourism development strategies because this ‘other’ element of modern society has become increasingly sought after by the ever-curious traveler. However, there are many complex issues associated with developing a tourism experience of this nature because it must accurately reflect traditions, heritage and culture.

Therefore, active Aboriginal participation is necessary during planning and development stages. In the context of an international event like the Olympics, where symbols and images have come to represent a nation, the implications of representation should be considered. Little research has investigated the links between Indigenous involvement and the success of tourism planning, and more specifically within the context of a mega-event. This study will examine the extent of Aboriginal participation in tourism and its significance on the Aboriginal community.

Tourism has been identified as a potential way to stimulate economic development for Aboriginal communities while simultaneously aiding in cultural revitalization and pride (Hinch & Butler, 2007; Collins, 2006; Notzke, 2006; McIntosh, 2004). Aboriginal Canadians are trying to preserve and revive their cultures, which can be achieved through participation in cultural industries, like tourism (Sisco & Nelson, 2008). Not only will this create wealth and provide income for Aboriginal communities, it will help to enrich Canadian identity and heritage (Sisco & Nelson, 2008). However, the realities of tourism development must be understood in the context of the Aboriginal community.

The extent of participation in tourism planning has been identified as a determinant in evaluating the success of such initiatives (Hinch & Butler, 2007; Notzke, 1999; Smith, 2000; Ryan, 2002). In the past, Aboriginal involvement in tourism was sporadic, small scale and indirect (Altman, 1993). However, challenges and barriers specific to Aboriginal communities influence the extent of Aboriginal participation in tourism projects. These traditionally marginalized communities have not had the same opportunities as Non-Aboriginals, which could potentially impact the success of Aboriginal tourism development. Additionally, because Aboriginal peoples, past and present are often associated with politically and socially charged issues (valid or not), sensitivity is necessary when attempting to develop proposals or recommendations that involve showcasing their culture for economic purposes that ultimately impacts their traditional livelihoods. Therefore, identifying and

evaluating their participation, as well as its significance to Aboriginal peoples, can lead to community empowerment and help to dispel stereotypes.

The purpose of this study is to determine the extent of Aboriginal participation in tourism in British Columbia. By specifically addressing the challenges and barriers to Aboriginal tourism development, as well as the role tourism can play in capacity building will help determine if Aboriginal participation is meaningful. As well, determining the impact of Aboriginal participation within the context of an international event will contribute to a better understanding of Aboriginal participation. These aspects will help in gaining a holistic understanding of the significance of Aboriginal participation in tourism and the benefits that can result from active participation.

1.1 Problem Statement

Tourism has been touted as a vehicle for economic development for Aboriginal communities (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Williams & O'Neil, 2007; Notzke, 2006; McIntosh, 2004). However, research focuses on specific Indigenous groups such as Maori in New Zealand and Aborigines in Australia, with limited studies addressing Aboriginal groups in Canada. Additionally, little research exists that evaluates Aboriginal involvement in the Olympics or its significance to the Aboriginal community. Little is known how active involvement in planning and hosting of a major international event will impact livelihoods and cross cultural understanding. Therefore, research needs to address individual Aboriginal groups and how their involvement in tourism encourages economic independence and promotes cultural revitalization.

1.2 Research Objectives and Research Questions

This thesis will attempt to understand Aboriginal participation in tourism in British Columbia, generally and in the 2010 Winter Olympics, specifically. The five objectives guiding this research are as follows:

- (1) To identify the types of involvement;
- (2) To evaluate the extent of involvement;
- (3) To explore the relationship between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal tourism-related businesses, associations and institutions;
- (4) To identify the significance of Aboriginal tourism to the Aboriginal community, British Columbia and Canada;
- (5) To make recommendations for future Aboriginal involvement in tourism planning.

To achieve these objectives the following research questions will be addressed:

- How is the Aboriginal community involved?
- What is the relationship between Aboriginal Tourism BC and other tourism-related organizations, businesses and institutions?
- What avenues/policies exist to enhance the role of Aboriginal people in tourism development and planning?
- What are the benefits of Aboriginal participation in tourism development?
- What is the significance of Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Olympics?

This research will continue to build upon our understanding of how Aboriginal people are involved in tourism planning and the significance participation has to the community. Additionally, this research will build upon our understanding of Aboriginal participation in planning and hosting a mega-event like the Olympics. Aboriginal people in Canada have faced numerous political, historical and social challenges and a detailed description of the case study area is presented in Chapter Four. Overall, this research is intended to contribute to the growing body of Aboriginal tourism literature and to help inform future Aboriginal tourism planning and development.

1.3 Organization of Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. This chapter has introduced the topic of this research and has presented the research problem, the research objectives and research questions and finally the rationale for this research. Chapter Two examines the bodies of literature relevant to this research. Chapter Three discusses the research methods undertaken. Chapter Four provides background information of the study area. The findings of the research are reported in Chapter Five. Chapter Six interprets the findings of the research and discusses how they relate to the literature. The final chapter of this thesis provides conclusions, presents a set of recommendations for future Aboriginal tourism development and suggests directions for future research.

1.4 Definitions

This study investigates Aboriginal tourism development, therefore, it is important to understand some key terms. Although this research is focused within a Canadian context, the literature review includes research conducted outside of Canada; therefore, different terms will be used throughout this report and will be clarified here. It should be noted that the choice of the particular term is usually based on geographic context, the specific group that is the focus and the way the group refers to their own

ethnicity (Butler & Hinch, 2007). Throughout this thesis an attempt will be made to designate Indigenous people by their preferred term of self-identification.

Aboriginal People

In Canada, Aboriginal people are direct descendants (at least in part), from the original inhabitants of North America (Anderson, 1997). Canada recognizes three groups as ‘Aboriginal Peoples’: Indians, (more commonly referred to as First Nations) which include status and non-status, Métis and Inuit (INAC, 2006). Additionally, each identity is then further divided into specific bands or tribes, and each of these separate peoples has their own heritage, language, cultural practice and spiritual belief (INAC, 2006). The First Nation term has a more specific meaning.

First Nation

In Canada, First Nations people are Aboriginal people who are explicitly recognized in Canadian Constitution as having ‘Aboriginal rights’ (Anderson, 1997). First Nation people are able to trace their roots as a direct group to pre-colonial times. They possess specific rights to land and resources of their initial occupancy (Anderson, 1997).

Indigenous

Refers to a group of people that were present and occupied a certain area before modern states and borders were created that are “typically seen to be distinct in terms of their cultural and social identities and institutions relative to dominant groups in society” (Butler & Hinch, 2007:5).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The aim of this chapter is to explore the literature on Aboriginal tourism to provide a contextual basis for the study. This chapter begins with an examination of the literature that addresses the relationship between Aboriginal culture and tourism. Next, literature regarding Aboriginal involvement in tourism planning is examined, followed by limited literature examining Aboriginal participation in Olympic planning and hosting. The chapter concludes by examining the literature that addresses socio-cultural impacts of hosting the Olympic Games. Ultimately, the aim of this study is to fill some of the gaps that have been identified by this literature review.

2.1 Aboriginal Culture and Tourism

Indigenous peoples are playing an important role in differentiating countries among the increasingly competitive global tourism arena (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Schmiechen & Boyle, 2007; Notzke, 2006; Hinkson, 2003; Li, 2000). Moreover, nations that recognize this are eager to promote Indigenous culture as a distinctive aspect of their society. Images of Indigenous people have been used by countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States to embellish the cultural attractiveness of their country as a tourism destination and can be found in traditional tourism marketing materials (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Notzke, 2006; Nauright, 2004) or souvenirs (Blundell, 1993). Traditionally, Indigenous communities have been marginalized by the dominant society and in regards to tourism, Indigenous cultures have often been exploited or appropriated to achieve the goals of mainstream society. Throughout history, tourism has been directed by the ‘majority’ society without the consent of these marginalized communities (Sandlos, 2008; Binnema, 2006).

However, recently there has been an increase in Aboriginal participation in tourism planning that has allowed its development to occur ‘on their own terms’ (Notzke, 2006; Piner & Paradis, 2004; Notzke, 1999; Robinson, 1999). It is hoped that increased participation could alleviate and potentially eliminate some of the negative feelings previously held towards tourism development in Aboriginal communities. Tourism has been an avenue for communities to reap the benefits of globalization because cultures that have traditionally been isolated are now readily available for the hyper-mobile traveller. Indigenous peoples represent a distinctive aspect of their country, therefore, they are being promoted as a rare attraction, while in some cases also representing national identities (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Schmiechen & Boyle, 2007; Notzke, 2006; Hinkson, 2003). Typically

the benefits for such rapid globalization are based on western lifestyles, values and ideas, which are often in sharp contrast to those of Indigenous peoples (Smith et al., 2000). Non-Indigenous peoples may argue they are simply making these cultures more available by finding new and innovative ways to 'sell' it.

The challenge for Indigenous peoples is that traditionally, these groups have been marginalized and exploited for economic rewards associated with tourism. Smith (2000:2) argued that Indigenous cultures are often not considered within the framework of globalization, which leads to such social problems of "increasing commodification of culture, the entrenchment of inequality, growing feelings of insecurity and loss of identity". Coupled with traditional social problems these marginal communities face, such as access to health care, housing and education, the promised benefits of tourism do not materialize. However, some believe that participation in cultural industries, like tourism, could help Aboriginal people "transcend discouraging socioeconomic conditions and enhance their well-being" because such participation encourages cultural preservation and promotion (Sisco & Nelson, 2008:9).

Tourism has been touted for increasing economic diversity, while revitalizing cultures in Aboriginal communities (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Nepal, 2004; Altman, 1992). Especially for peripheral or isolated regions, tourism has been recognized as an opportunity to develop businesses in areas where other economic prospects are limited. As Freeman (2008, in Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009) explained, "tourism provides the opportunity for involvement in the real economy and enables our young people to stay [in the] country. Additionally, it provides the opportunity for Aboriginal people to share their intimate knowledge of the landscape with tourists." A renewed sense of cultural pride can be a result of Indigenous involvement in tourism (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Butler & Menzies, 2007; Nepal, 2004). Community members learn or relearn their culture, which instills a feeling of pride and then individuals transfer the knowledge to others (Sisco & Nelson, 2008). Through encounters with tourists, Aboriginal people are proud to share their culture and heritage with others, which then helps preserve their culture.

Despite such positive claims of Indigenous tourism development, some studies have revealed that host communities did not receive promised benefits; instead these benefits were distributed to external parties (Hinch & Butler, 2007; Nepal, 2004; Dyer et al., 2003). Collins (2006:8) described the hardships that Indigenous peoples often face during development, as they become "the disempowered, the unemployed, the undervalued and the lost at the same time as the links to their heritage were severed and blurred". The researcher further suggests that one way to encourage

development is through the revitalization of daily ‘ways of life’, dances or celebrations that represent Indigenous cultures. Notzke (2006) argued that Indigenous tourism worldwide has evolved and that a shift is occurring in how Indigenous people perceive tourism. Over time, Indigenous people have transitioned from feeling trapped by tourism to viewing tourism as a means to protect their land and resources. More recently, Indigenous people are feeling empowered to play a more active role in shaping the industry.

2.1.1 Sustainable Development for Tourism

The concept of sustainable tourism has received a great deal of attention in tourism literature and the topic of Indigenous tourism development, is no exception. Indigenous tourism is often associated with ‘sustainable’ tourism development considering the interconnected relationship between Indigenous culture and the environment (Notzke, 2006; Altman, 1992) and the common desires to preserve and protect both. Indigenous tourism has been suggested as a potential development avenue for destinations to explore when attempting to market sustainable practices and experiences, because it often encompasses nature-based, responsible tourism characteristics (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; BC Ministry of Tourism, Culture & the Arts, 2007; AtBC, 2005; Nepal, 2004).

Despite the general consensus that ‘sustainability’ is an essential element for ensuring long-term success of tourism destinations and the tourism industry as whole, the varying definitions make it difficult to assess its overall attainability. As well, the consistency regarding what ‘sustainability’ entails is a problem. Literature related to sustainability focuses on the environmental and economic aspects, and appears to be missing the socio-cultural component (Robinson, 1999). The World Tourism Organization (2004) developed the following definition:

Sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices are applicable to all forms of tourism in all types of destinations, including mass tourism and the various niche tourism segments. Sustainability principles refer to the environmental, economic and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development, and a suitable balance must be established between these three dimensions to guarantee its long-term sustainability (UNWTO, 2009).

The all-encompassing definition clearly identifies the socio-cultural component must be considered. The socio-cultural aspect, which includes elements of “identity, belonging, spiritual meaning, moral and legal rights” (Robinson, 1999:380) is of particular concern in Aboriginal tourism development initiatives because these elements highlight the differences between cultures. Therefore, these aspects

are likely part of the tourism 'experience' while simultaneously being part of the host's everyday lifestyles. Whitford & Ruhanen's (2009) study identified cultural sustainability as one of seventeen criteria in establishing and operating a successful Indigenous tourism business. In order for tourism to preserve, protect and promote Indigenous culture, there must be cultural protection protocols in place and the tourism experience should include an educational component (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009).

The first step towards achieving socio-cultural sustainability is for governments to acknowledge Aboriginal heritage, which will aid in fostering a sense of identity and place (Robinson, 1999). Cultural sustainability is essential for Indigenous peoples to effectively develop authentic tourism experiences and according to Altman and Finlayson, (1992) is dependant upon Indigenous control. Control within the community and the power to decide first, whether or not development should occur and second, to what extent, is essential to determine the degree of involvement for Indigenous people (McIntosh, 2004; Ryan, 2002; Smith, 2000; Ryan & Huyton, 2000). Yet, how is control determined? By ownership, by collaborative or cooperative decision making processes? These processes are often cited in the literature, however little research addresses whether they are effective, especially in terms of tourism development.

Robinson (1999) identified challenges in determining whether or not an enterprise or destination is 'culturally sustainable', by asking such questions as how does one assess or measure cultural identity within or across cultures? Considering that tourism is a major contributor to cultural change for host communities, Robinson (1999) argued that the concept of cultural sustainability should be a priority in planning and development strategies, particularly for Indigenous communities. Additionally, Li (2000) argued that Aboriginal tourism may be able to operate in a 'sustainable fashion' when certain levels of consumption are determined and planned for accordingly.

Notzke's (1999) study focused on tourism development in the arctic. The goals of the Inuvialuit community were to maintain cultural integrity, facilitate integration and conservation. Concerns regarding tourism included how it would affect their traditional land-based way of life and how tourism could be altered to fit into the Inuvialuit lifestyle. Interestingly, the Inuvialuit were able to successfully incorporate tourism into their way of life, due to their land claim settlement provisions and the flexibility of local outfitters (Notzke, 1999). Although there was still hesitation regarding tourism, this study indicates that if planned properly and in accordance with traditional lifestyles, tourism development can be beneficial to the community.

2.1.2 Capacity Building and Tourism

Studies (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Williams & O’Neil, 2007; Bennett & Gordon, 2007; Nepal, 2004) suggest that involvement in tourism can address issues related to capacity development in Aboriginal communities. Capacity development is “ a process by which individuals, groups, organizations and societies enhance their abilities to identify and meet development challenges in a sustainable manner” (CIDA, 1996 cited in Lavergne & Saxby, 2001:4). There are tangible dimensions of capacity such as infrastructure and natural resources and also intangible dimensions such as skills, experience, motivations, values, habits *etc* (Lavergne & Saxby, 2001). Although outside partners can provide resources and facilitate the process, they cannot deliver the outcome (Lavergne & Saxby, 2001). This definition recognizes capacity development is something societies, organizations and individuals do for themselves. Yet there are concerns whether the current processes in place facilitate or hinder this development.

Bennett & Gordon (2007) argued that government policy tends to focus on developing the enterprise as opposed to developing the people, leading to the failure of many Indigenous tourism businesses. Traditional business plans, which are required in most funding applications that many Aboriginal entrepreneurs need, impede the success of entrepreneurship and business development in Indigenous communities. These plans often overwhelm people about what needs to be done as opposed to explaining how to go about it (Bennett & Gordon, 2007). Williams & O’Neil’s (2007) study found that community members had concerns regarding how to deal with financial and bureaucratic requirements of banking and government institutions, how to attract and train staff and finally, how to arrange partnerships and alliances with other tourism industry stakeholders. When these difficulties are encountered, potential entrepreneurs become disheartened and may even abandon their pursuit in participating in tourism; ultimately continuing the cycle of dependency that many Indigenous communities face.

Instead, as identified in Bennett & Gordon’s (2007) study, by developing strong, trusting relationships and learning ‘by doing’, individual Indigenous entrepreneurs gain the confidence and belief they can succeed in tourism business development. This demonstrates the need for social development in Indigenous communities that is often over-looked by ‘western’ business development plans. When this aspect of capacity development is not considered, how can the proposed tourism businesses possibly be successful? Not only does investment in social capital benefit community members and is required for business success, it also means that the tourism experience or product is rich in authenticity (Bennett & Gordon, 2007).

Whitford & Ruhanen's (2009) study that examined Indigenous tourism businesses in Australia, identified that many of the businesses relied almost exclusively on the Aboriginal component of the business to sell it. Additionally, Whitford & Ruhanen (2009) identified that the knowledge, education or training required to successfully operate a business, would be acquired 'along the way'. Based on their study, this approach seems to have created unrealistic expectations and almost guaranteed failure of the business. The study identified that creating, operating and managing a tourism businesses, based solely on the uniqueness of the product offering does not translate into a sustainable business. Therefore, Whitford & Ruhanen (2009) argued that the enterprise should have the essential business skills and education required to operate a business, which requires capacity development in these communities. Again, this emphasizes the need for overall social development, education and training in Indigenous communities.

Nepal's (2004) study argued that Aboriginal youth could adapt to tourism that focuses on the cultural and natural history of First Nations. Therefore, by combining traditional activities related to Aboriginal 'ways of life' like hunting, fishing and tracking wildlife and plants with tourism training and skill development, these young people could eventually become guides and interpreters (Nepal, 2004). This approach could be more successful compared to the conventional Western education system and would allow participation in tourism.

Although limited, the literature indicates that involvement in tourism can lead to increased capacity for Aboriginal communities. However, challenges exist in terms of how capacity development occurs, because many approaches focus on Western ideals of economic development, instead of including traditional Aboriginal learning approaches.

2.1.3 Authenticity and Representation

Authenticity is a fundamental aspect that must be considered when developing Aboriginal tourism experiences. Authenticity is an elusive concept, as visitors, the travel trade and Aboriginal product suppliers and communities all have their own ideas as to what it constitutes (Notzke, 2006).

Additionally, much debate exists in the literature. For the purposes of this research, the following guidelines provide a better understanding of what an Aboriginal tourism business must satisfy in order for it to be considered "authentic" by Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada:

1. Aboriginal people must own and participate in the business;
2. Traditional and current Aboriginal Techniques or methods must be used;
3. Local customs and culture must be accurately portrayed;
4. The local community must be involved;

5. The natural environment and its creatures must be treated with respect (Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada cited in Notzke, 2006:156).

Research indicates that tourists are seeking experience-based authentic Aboriginal experiences (CTC, 2008; Williams & O'Neil, 2007; AtBC 2005; McIntosh, 2004; Zeppel, 2002), which has raised questions regarding how authenticity is determined. In addition to authentic experiences, tourists are also seeking authentic products and souvenirs. In some cases such products are not marketed as reminders of a tourist's Aboriginal experience, but instead as a souvenir of the country (Blundell, 1993), which could be viewed as a destination exploiting their 'Aboriginality'. Some argue this is a form of commoditization, and in response to this concern, authenticity protocols have been established to help curb the issue (Ryan & Huyton, 2002; AtBC, 2010). The subject of determining authenticity has often been faced with criticism, therefore, Ryan & Huyton (2002) suggested a more appropriate term might be 'authorization', since it directs attention to *what* is being authorized and *who* authorizes it. Blundell (1993) argued that souvenirs are only authentic if the souvenir was produced by Aboriginal people and only replicated with their consent.

Representation of Indigenous culture in tourism experiences influences how the culture is interpreted. Stereotypical images used in marketing materials perpetuate the traditional images one associates with Indigenous people and can lead the tourist to believe that what is being presented is accurate (McIntosh, 2004). Similarly, the depiction of Aboriginal people in souvenirs sold throughout Canada has often been stereotypical (Blundell, 1993) and raises the question of who benefits economically from their sale, in many cases not Aboriginal communities.

Clichéd images are not only inaccurate representations of Aboriginal peoples, but also do not reflect the diversity of contemporary Aboriginal society or the range of contemporary Aboriginal tourism experiences (Schmiechen & Boyle, 2007; Notzke, 2006; Williams & O'Neil, 2007; Nepal, 2004; Ryan & Huyton, 2002). This misrepresentation merely reinforces stereotypes. Deutschlander (2003) argued such representation, both images and performances, are to be 'negotiated and interpreted' during the tourist encounter, and inevitably will be regarded within some political paradigm because there is no neutral way to explain history. How Aboriginal people and culture are represented also raises questions of cultural commoditization and authenticity, which in turn requires careful management. However, Deutschlander (2003) argued that such displays of Aboriginal history could also have positive impacts such as alleviating political tensions through cultural representations; by exhibiting the Canadian Indigenous struggles, they are bringing forward their oppression in a safe environment. This cross-cultural interaction not only promotes understanding

between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous, but also raises awareness of the difficulties Indigenous people have faced (Hinch & Butler, 2007). McIntosh (2004) argued that regardless of the tourist's type of encounter with host Indigenous culture, the experience facilitates intercultural understanding and appreciation.

As mentioned previously, it is a challenge to find a balance between historical and contemporary imagery when representing Aboriginal people for tourism experiences. Tourists often desire to 'gaze upon' the exotic, stereotypical 'Indian' (Notzke, 2006; McIntosh, 2004; Ryan, 2002; Robinson, 1999), which in some cases has been marketed to tourists and could be represented in tourism experiences. However, historical *and* contemporary perspectives of native culture should be marketed (Li, 2000). Hinkson's study (2003) addressed emerging Aboriginal tourism experiences in metropolitan Sydney, Australia. She found that these types of experiences promoted Aboriginal Australia as a living culture since the experiences were not limited to museums or isolated locations. With the growing interest in Aboriginal cultural tourism experiences, more diverse experiences are required (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; AtBC, 2010), including ones that represent contemporary Aboriginal people and their history in an urban setting (Hinkson, 2003).

This section examined the literature related to Aboriginal culture and tourism. It looked specifically at its relationship with sustainable tourism development and capacity building. Finally the issues and challenges associated with authenticity and representation were examined. The various arguments on the merits of Indigenous tourism development and the issues and challenges associated with it, indicate the complexity of this subject and that no single solution is available. However, there is consensus that sensitivity is necessary when attempting to develop proposals or recommendations that will impact traditional livelihoods of Aboriginal peoples, because often these proposals require some sort of presentation of their heritage, culture or traditions. Additionally, the literature indicated the extent of participation would influence Aboriginal tourism development, which will be explored further in the next section.

2.2 Aboriginal Involvement in Tourism Planning

Research indicates that involving all levels of stakeholders contributes to a more successful tourism development initiative (Frey et al., 2008, Whitson, 2004; Lenskj, 2002; Ryan, 2002; Meekison, 2000; Robinson, 1999; Altman, 1992). In the past, Aboriginal involvement in tourism tended to be limited to cultural portrayal or providers to satisfy the tourist's gaze (Notzke, 2006; Binnema, 2006) and has

also been sporadic, small scale and indirect (Altman, 1993). However Aboriginal involvement must also be considered, if not included in other capacities, for example tourism planning and development, business operation, management and ownership.

With increasing emphasis on sustainable practices, more holistic approaches are being taken. These approaches focus on inclusive and cooperative planning that is controlled from within the Indigenous community and allow for independent control over individual and community matters (Dunn, 2007; Piner & Paradis, 2004; Wilson, 2001; Robinson, 1999). Additionally, Van Otten and Vasquez (cited in Piner & Paradis, 2004) argued that Indigenous decision-making processes that consider the cultural values need to be incorporated in long-term planning. Piner & Paradis's (2004) study confirmed that decision-making must happen internally instead of externally, while also considering the cultural subsystems such as religion or local economics. Without this internal knowledge, key elements could be overlooked. However, there is likely a gap between participating and actually being engaged in such processes. Collins (2006) indicated active engagement could only occur when Indigenous opinions and beliefs are actually viewed as beneficial, if not essential. Genuine engagement can be difficult considering the differences between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal values and ideals.

Dyer *et al.* (2003:93) found that although the Indigenous community had partial ownership in a cultural park, they still depended on Non-Indigenous managers, because the people "lacked power and influence [due to] their minority shareholding, minimal voting powers, and lack of employee and managerial representation". There was also evidence of cultural misrepresentation, because the Indigenous community did not have much control over the displays (Dyer *et al.*, 2003). Their problem, as is the case with many Indigenous communities, was that they did not have the resources to buy a majority share, nor did they have the experience to manage the park which perpetuates the reliance on Non-Indigenous. Therefore, based on this study, 'ownership' does not necessarily indicate involvement in a decision-making capacity. Li's (2000) study, which focused on an Aboriginal cultural park in Canada, found that the Aboriginal board only had control over cultural elements like programming and ceremonial aspects, whereas the Park Corporation that represents the economic interests of the stakeholders, actually had control of Park management and operations. Li (2000: 124) found that "in order to achieve actual control, the native people need to have a means to determine resources rather than simply to manage resources allocated by others". This study highlights the challenges of financial independence faced by many Aboriginal communities, which ultimately determines the extent of their involvement.

Considering the tourism experience comprises many elements, involvement cannot be limited to certain areas. For example, there should be Aboriginal representation in the planning of staged events like performances or demonstrations and also in merchandising of souvenirs and handicrafts. Ballengee-Morris (2002) argued that ‘outsiders’ were actually representing the ‘insiders’ (artists), which often resulted in conflicting views about what, how, and to whom, items were being sold. According to Ballengee-Morris (2002: 241) “those from the culture should be the ones to determine the direction of the culture and the manifestation of cultural forms”, which was not the case in the study and impeded the overall success of the operation. This highlights the conflict between members and non-members of a cultural group, especially when non-members hold the power position. Therefore, the need to ensure active participation by both members is essential to minimize such conflict. As Robinson (1999:389) proposed, “the answer is not to attempt to make the two worldviews commensurable but to recognize and accept the diversity they represent, while empowering the Indigenous culture to address sustainable development in its own way”. Planning and development initiatives also need to focus on sustaining the culture, not just representing the culture.

Piner & Paradis’ (2004) study focused on a casino development, but key to the success of this development was that long-term planning was integrated into the process that looked beyond the effects of the casino. This long-term planning approach should be incorporated during tourism development in Aboriginal communities. Many Aboriginal communities have limited economic prospects, therefore, tourism development must look beyond the short-term effects of tourism projects to ensure tourism will contribute to the long term, economic sustainability of the community. It is undeniable that Aboriginal communities involved in tourism will experience some immediate economic rewards because of the Olympics, however the future success of Aboriginal tourism will depend on the effectiveness of the long-term strategies.

Two planning strategies that have been identified in the literature and applied to Aboriginal communities are co-management and cooperative relationship frameworks. These strategies are discussed next.

2.2.1 Co-management

Co-management strategies refer to power-sharing arrangements between governments and local resource users (Notzke, 2006; Natcher et al., 2005; Castro & Nielson, 2001; Notzke, 1999; Robinson, 1999). Furthermore, co-management has “also been endorsed as a potential means by which to

resolve longstanding conflicts between Indigenous peoples and state governments” (Natcher et al., 2005:240). Consequently, co-management agreements have been identified as a way for Indigenous communities to play a more active role in managing land and resources, while simultaneously helping to establish a relationship between Indigenous and state.

Co-management strategies have moved into mainstream planning because they recognize the need to consider the broader spectrum of development to also benefit women, the poor and disadvantaged (Castro & Nielson, 2001). However, marginalized groups report difficulty negotiating such agreements with the state and powerful stakeholders and have often “been presented with a pre-established plan with acceptance or rejection as the only options” (Castro & Nielson, 2001: 234). Furthermore, limited research has addressed the conditions and/or cultural consequences necessary for Indigenous people to participate in co-management schemes (Natcher et al., 2005). Therefore, is the co-management approach actually being used or simply a veil to hide the real planning and decision-making processes? The Haida Gwaii Nations are an example of a successful co-management agreement with the Canadian government. The agreement that was established for the Gwaii Haanas National Park determined and now enforces the terms of visitation, the codes of conduct and the agreements for access and benefit sharing (Nepal, 2004).

Natcher *et al.*'s (2005) study investigated the extent cultural diversity was considered when Indigenous people appeared to be actively involved. The study identified that contributions made by Aboriginals were often muted because their “knowledge and experiences do not conform to conceptual categories of non-First Nation representatives” and “any contributions are often treated as anecdotal accounts...that have little relevance to contemporary management process” (Natcher et al., 2005:241). Clearly this example of involvement cannot be considered co-management, but how can it be avoided for future partnerships and is co-management even possible? This co-management arrangement between First Nations and Non-First Nations operated within a socio-political environment where the potential for conflict was high because of cultural differences and colonial histories. Therefore, the success of a co-management arrangement will often depend on whether or not members can engage in such differences rather than allowing such differences to further impede decisions (Natcher et al., 2005).

Although collaboration or co-management techniques with cultural groups are vital to the sustainable tourism development process, the extent of such techniques is often limited and viewed as an afterthought to economic and environmental issues of sustainable tourism (Robinson, 1999). Robinson (1999) attributed this to the fact that collaboration strategies focus on general community

acceptance of tourism development because a variety of cultural groups are invited to participate. Any actual discussions and outcomes rarely receive attention because the ‘collaboration’ is deemed an achievement, which questions the effectiveness of this strategy for sustainable tourism development. Additionally, the substantial inequalities that exist among interest groups in sustainability collaboration are accentuated by tourism. For example, the different cultural paradigms shared by Indigenous and Non-Indigenous are one barrier to effective collaboration (Robinson, 1999).

The selection of participants for a co-management regime is also a way to determine whether the arrangement is truly seeking involvement from various members. Problems that could arise range from local representatives getting overruled by major stakeholders or too much participation, in which all parties are apparently treated equal (Castro & Nielson, 2001). Furthermore, co-management implies an “ideal of equality”, although there are likely passive and active stakeholders (Robinson, 1999:387). In theory co-management entails benefits for all involved, but in practice there appears to be a gap between local interests and the state on the basis of participation and involvement. Many benefits exist for both parties, but until stakeholders are recognized as equals, co-management may only work in theory.

Co-management strategies appear to recognize the importance of involvement among different levels within various communities. There are bound to be challenges when parties involved have differing ideas, opinions and cultural values. The particular community and issues at hand will be different for each co-management regime therefore, it may not be accurate to make generalizations based on a select case.

2.2.2 Co-operative Relationships

Considering the challenges identified with co-management strategies, as well as capacity issues in Aboriginal communities, cooperative relationships are another approach for Aboriginal communities to explore tourism development. Research on the cooperative partnership development process in tourism is limited despite its emergence as standard practice in many tourism situations (Boyd, 2002; Williams, 1999). Co-operative relationships with Non-Aboriginals can allow Aboriginal communities to overcome capacity and capital challenges and some communities even view this relationship as a key factor in their economic development strategies (Anderson, 1997).

These partnerships are mutually beneficial; Aboriginal communities gain access to human, physical and financial capital and Non-Aboriginal businesses gain access to land and resources controlled by Aboriginal people (Wilson, 2003). Co-operative relationships also support the

increasing desire for socially responsible corporate behaviour towards Aboriginal groups (Anderson, 1997). Specifically, in the context of tourism, cooperative relationships allow access to new tourism products that businesses would not have been able to authentically provide (Boyd, 2002), resulting in competitive advantages and increased profitability (Anderson, 1997). Finally, cooperative relationships can signal social or political statements to other industry members, governments and consumers (Darrow, 1995 cited in Wilson, 2003).

Although there are benefits to cooperative relationships, there are challenges and constraints to developing and maintaining such relationships. These include increased coordination and consultation, human resource changes, and value differences, biases and fears (Budke, 2000 cited in Wilson, 2003). Specifically regarding the Aboriginal community, certain principles must be addressed to facilitate cross-cultural relationships. These principles include developing a long-term vision, maintaining environmental integrity, addressing historic differences and legacies, and including traditional knowledge that addresses community 'norms', for example, the role of elders (Wilson, 2003). Overall, as Wilson (2003) examined, the cooperative relationship between the Gitga'at First Nation and a tourism operator in British Columbia, the underlying principle that led to a successful relationship was one based upon trust, respect and mutual cultural understanding. In addition to the principles outlined in Wilson's (2003) study, developing and implementing effective communication strategies and allotting generous amounts of time and patience (Budke, 2000 cited in Dunn, 2007) were also identified as essential principles to successful partnership development.

A key finding in Wilson's (2003) study was that the initial relationship was based on legal requirements related to Aboriginal rights and title, then strengthened over time by friendships that were built on trust, respect and understanding; therefore, she proposed an evolutionary partnership model. Based on the Gitga'at First Nation and tourism operator partnership, Wilson (2003) proposed that to move from a protocol relationship to a partnership required friendship, which is built over time. Therefore, the element of 'friendship' must also be considered if Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal working relationships are being proposed. Only potential partners willing to invest the time and patience to develop the kind of relationship identified by Wilson (2003) should pursue this type of partnership.

Different planning strategies were examined that yielded various insights into Aboriginal involvement. Overall, the literature suggests that cultural sensitivity is necessary to ensure active participation between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal members (Piner & Paradis, 2004). More

specifically, establishing trust among stakeholders proved to be most significant, therefore, importance should be placed on establishing trust between decision-makers (Wilson, 2003).

2.3 Aboriginal Participation in Winter Olympic Planning and Hosting

The 2010 Winter Olympic Games provided an historic opportunity for Aboriginal peoples to share their traditions and culture while establishing a place within Canadian tourism that outlives the Games. However, careful planning and involvement is critical to realize these objectives. The extent of involvement is an indication of the nature of the relationships between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous. This thesis aimed to identify the extent of participation of the Aboriginal community in the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games, therefore, past Aboriginal involvement in this event will be presented and examined.

Calgary 1988

The Calgary Games in 1988 was the first time Indigenous participation was included during the planning phase of the Games. The Calgary Organizing Committee developed a Native Participation Program within their Cultural Division (OCO '88, 1988), in response to pressure from First Nations who wanted more representation and involvement (Dunn, 2007). The goal was to increase awareness of and generate international exposure of Aboriginal people in Canada. A full time Native liaison was appointed to work with the Calgary Organizing Committee and four program areas of Native Participation were determined (1) a Treaty 7 Cultural Exhibition, (2) a cultural performance (powwow), (3) a national youth conference and (4) an Aboriginal people's fashion show (OCO '88, 1988).

Lillehammer 1994

The Lillehammer Organizing Committee (LOCOG) recognized their Indigenous peoples, the Sami, with the development of an Indigenous Participation program that focused on involvement in the Culture and Ceremonies Program (LOCOG, 1994). The goal was to increase awareness of the diversity of Sami cultures worldwide and was achieved through the appointment of the Sami Organizing Committee that advised the Lillehammer Organizing Committee (LOCOG, 1994). The Calgary and Lillehammer organizing committees recognized the need to have real input from their

Indigenous peoples and acknowledged this by creating advisor-type roles, however their participation was very much limited to cultural programming.

Atlanta 1992

The Atlanta Games acknowledged their Indigenous peoples in cultural events like the Torch Relay and Opening Ceremonies, however there was not an official department or specific programs established by the Atlanta Organizing Committee (ACOG) devoted to Indigenous participation (ACOG 1997).

Sydney 2000

The 2000 Games in Sydney, Australia represented a progression towards greater participation of Indigenous peoples. The Sydney Organizing Committee (SOCOG) encouraged participation in the planning and hosting of their Games that included the Bid Phase, Organizing Phase and Hosting Phase programs (SOCOG, 2001), which went beyond showcasing only culture. Indigenous and Non-Indigenous viewed the Games as a chance to move closer to reconciliation, while Australian Indigenous leaders used the high profile event to highlight issues facing this community (Dunn, 2007). Many of the cultural programs focused on the process of reconciliation and the shared history of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous, while at the same time, addressing the current challenges faced by Indigenous people because of their history (Government of Australia, 2007 in Dunn, 2007). In order for the support of the New South Wales Aboriginal Land Council (NSWALC), the Sydney Bid agreed to the following:

- Consultation with the NSWALC about the Games
- Aboriginal culture would be featured prominently during Opening and Closing ceremonies
- NSWALC would oversee merchandising, licensing and copyright of Aboriginal arts and crafts
- Aboriginal people would play a significant role in the Torch Relay
- Specific employment opportunities would be provided to Aboriginal workers in preparation and staging of the Games

During the organizing phase, the National Indigenous Advisory Committee (NIAC) was established in 1998 that comprised 14 Indigenous Australians from key organizations. The NIAC identified five areas for Indigenous involvement: cultural programs, torch relay, economic opportunities, media programs and sport programs (Dunn, 2007). The official report indicated that a number of economic development, cultural and sport programs were implemented, after consultation

with Aboriginal members (SOCOG, 2001). It was during the hosting phase, specifically the Torch Relay, the Ceremonies and the Aboriginal Arts and Culture Pavilion that Indigenous participation was highlighted (Dunn, 2007), however there is little literature available that describes other legacies that were the result of Aboriginal participation in the Sydney Games.

Salt Lake City 2002

Aboriginal participation was not included in any official Bid document for the Salt Lake City Games in 2002, nor was there any initiatives or groups dedicated to Aboriginal participation programs or developing relationships with local tribes (Dunn, 2007). However, specific departments did collaborate with Native American groups on a project basis and any Aboriginal participation program was primarily cultural in nature, such as the Navajo Pavilion (SLOC, 2002). It was suggested there were ongoing conflicts among the local Native American groups. Coupled with internal stakeholder resistance between the Salt Lake City Organizing Committee and the organization that represented the local tribes, limited opportunities for, or participation of the Aboriginal peoples in the Salt Lake City Games was the result (Dunn, 2007).

Beijing 2008

The inclusion of minority peoples in the 2008 Beijing Summer Games was limited. The official website for the Beijing games does not indicate any programs that were developed specifically to include China's ethnic minorities. The Opening Ceremonies included 56 children that were chosen to represent the 56 ethnic groups, but it was soon revealed that the children were not from each ethnic group and but were from the majority Han Chinese race (Telegraph News, Aug. 15, 2008). Considering the political environment surrounding the country's ethnic minorities, the Olympic Games would have been an opportunity to create programs to decrease the tensions. However, the Chinese government had dismissed demands from international rights groups to create conditions for its ethnic minorities to exercise true autonomy (International Press Service, Apr. 4, 2008). Because the Beijing Games occurred less than two years ago, there is limited academic literature on the event and the official Olympic organizing reports are not yet available.

These examples identify the varying degrees of Aboriginal participation in past Olympic Games. A consistent pattern exists among organizing committees engaging too late with Indigenous groups, where their participation occurred as an afterthought or the result of pressure from Indigenous

groups or the International Olympic Committee (IOC) (Dunn, 2007). Thus far, Sydney is considered the leader in encouraging and promoting Indigenous participation in Olympic planning and hosting. Though the Sydney organizing committee did implement bid commitments, they were to varying degrees. Participation relied mainly on cultural programming with little opportunity for collaboration on employment, training, contracting, licensing or sport development (Dunn, 2007). It is important to understand past Indigenous involvement in Olympic planning because in some cases, Indigenous imagery has been used and promoted, suggesting active participation.

2.3.1 National Identities in the Olympics

As mentioned previously, the Calgary Winter Olympic Games in 1988 marked the first time in Olympic history, Aboriginal participation within planning aspects was included. Prior to this, Aboriginal participation was limited to cultural elements. During the Montreal Summer Olympic Games in 1976, an offensive representation of Canadian Aboriginals was included during the closing ceremonies, in which more than half of the participants were Non-Aboriginal but had been painted and dressed to look like Aboriginals (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; Forsyth, 2002). Members of the Aboriginal community were appalled by such representation, but considering there was no Aboriginal involvement in the organizational process, such a display was the result (Forsyth, 2002). Although the plan was to showcase Canada's commitment as an empathetic and multicultural nation, the ceremony did nothing to aid in cross-cultural understanding (Forsyth, 2002). Inauthentic representations trivialize Aboriginal culture and could even lead community members to reject traditional culture (Dyer et al., 2003); what happened during the Closing ceremonies in Montreal demonstrated the need for legitimate involvement to ensure accurate cultural representation.

Media portrayal can also perpetuate inaccurate representations. Following the 1976 Olympic Closing ceremonies, major news articles touted the ceremony a success, further entrenching traditional stereotypes (Forsyth, 2002). These representations aid in establishing national identity, which is increasingly important in the context of the Olympic Games, particularly for host nations. Australian mainstream media was known for its fascination with promoting Indigenous athletes as the face of the Olympics, and some argued the media, "constructs racialized national sporting identities" (Gardiner, 2003). Such promotion by the media increases awareness while simultaneously legitimizing and promoting Indigenous culture, however these representations may actually continue to marginalize the culture.

As discussed earlier, Aboriginal culture has become a way for colonial nations to differentiate themselves internationally. Canada has been forced to develop a national identity that has been built around natural landscape and Aboriginal culture, but when “native forms become signs of the Canadian state, they tend to lose their specificity as symbols of distinct Aboriginal groups” (Blundell, 1993:73). Mainstream media’s attention towards Indigenous people is not a new trend and Goodall *et al.* (1994) identified common themes. Besides the stereotypical themes of Indigenous crime, disorder, violence and prejudice, there has been an emergence of

a set of contemporary mythemes in which Indigenous ‘primitivism’, cultural icon, motifs, and people are appropriated as commercially and culturally emblematic of the country - as standing in for a national identity (Goodall et al. 1994: 37-44, 53-56).

This is most clearly evident in the design of Olympic logos for Sydney 2000 Summer Olympic Games and Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Sydney’s logo used boomerangs, styled to form a running athlete (SOCOG, 2000), while Vancouver used an inukshuk. Both symbols are drawn from Indigenous culture and are being used to represent national identities within an international context: the Olympic Games. Although a competition was held to design the Sydney 2000 Summer Olympic logo, the final symbol was not selected from the competition, and instead chosen by SOCOG stakeholders (Meekison, 2000). Before the logo was revealed, other Indigenous people approved it. However, the logo was still met with criticism on the basis of Non-Indigenous people appropriating Indigenous art and trivializing the intended meaning of the symbols (Lenskj, 2002; Meekison, 2000; Lenskj, 2000).

During the Sydney bid process, ‘Aboriginality’ became a key element once it was discovered that the IOC “loved the Aboriginal angle” (Lenskj, 2002:78). Future photo opportunities with IOC members included Aboriginal male dancers and didgeridoos. Meekison (2000) attempted to determine how Aboriginal culture was used to further the Olympics and Australian national identity by looking at how ‘Aboriginality’ was marketed and whether it involved and benefitted the Aboriginal people. For example, whether or not Aboriginal people were compensated for the use of symbols or images. Therefore, it is not necessarily negative that ‘Aboriginality’ is being marketed if Aboriginal people receive benefits for allowing aspects of their culture to be marketed, however little research addressed this issue in the context of the Sydney Olympic Games.

Meekison (2000) also evaluated the “Festival of the Dreaming”, a 3-week cultural celebration that included Aboriginal arts, dance and performances. In contrast to the logos and other images being used by SOCOG, this festival, which was directed by an Indigenous woman, proved to give voices to Aboriginal people and these voices were heard on radio broadcasts, television specials and newspaper articles (Meekison, 2000). The nature of the performances act as a medium to educate, inform, express diversity and perhaps even refute the cultural appropriation that has been encountered previously. However, Lenskj (2000) contended that such representation as performers and artists further entrenches historical race-relations and that participants are usually underappreciated and undervalued. Perhaps it is fair to say then, that the ultimate assessment of cultural representation is up to those of whom the culture is being portrayed and whether or not they feel it is accurate or exploitative.

The extent of Aboriginal involvement in the Sydney Olympics was limited and focused primarily on cultural programming. There was Indigenous representation on the logo design committee, through SOCOG liaison staff and the Director of the Festival of Dreaming (Meekison, 2000), but there was no Indigenous representation on SOCOG’s Board. This lack of Aboriginal involvement almost led to a boycott, and as a result an Aboriginal representative was appointed in 1994, however much of the duties were essentially representing the “Aboriginality” of SOCOG (Lenskj, 2000). By 1997, more threats of boycotting led to the establishment of a National Indigenous Advisory Committee (NIAC), whose role was to ‘advise’ on cultural appropriateness, Indigenous issues and involvement (Lenskj, 2000).

Despite SOCOG’s intention to integrate Aboriginality into Olympic imagery, it has been best met as “tokenistic and at worst appropriation, and it’s community consultation too limited to be ascribed validity” (Meekison, 2000:117). Clearly, Aboriginal involvement in the Sydney Games was not a priority, nor was it incorporated beyond cultural representations. This resulted in reactionary methods SOCOG employed to keep boycotts and protests at bay. The Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee (VANOC) has integrated Aboriginal participation into their planning strategy, so it may not face such problems, however the extent of participation will be explored in this study.

Political issues play a role in the media’s portrayal of the host nations. In particular, opponents of the Games seize the opportunity to use increased exposure surrounding the Games to advance their issues. In the case of the Sydney 2000 Summer Olympic Games, Indigenous issues and race relations were a prominent topic among Australians and the government, therefore, in response to any negative media attention that would damage the international image of the Olympics,

Aboriginality was promoted as an integral part of Australia's heritage (Lenskj, 2002). Such promotion is most evident during the opening and closing ceremonies. The ceremonies provide an opportunity for the host nation to "mirror the values and experiences of the host nation" while simultaneously "promoting tourism, international corporate investment, trade and political ideologies"(Hogan, 2003: 102). Furthermore, Hogan (2003) argued that many nations are selectively representing their traditions but are keen to promote economic, political and social progress and these messages may not be consistent with the realities of the country.

Therefore, does such representation empower Indigenous communities or continue to entrench traditional stereotypes. Incorporating Indigenous symbols and icons may only be part of the Olympic 'image creation machine', symbolizing that organizing committees have *considered* this segment of society, as opposed to genuine representation or active involvement.

Based on the literature, it is clear that past engagement of Indigenous people in Olympic planning and hosting has been limited primarily to cultural expressions. Not only does this eliminate these people from the potential benefits such involvement could provide, it also entrenches historical imagery, stereotypes and could perhaps even trivialize culture. The issues of accurate representation, cultural imagery and stereotyping will be explored in this thesis.

2.4 Socio-cultural Impacts of Hosting the Olympic Games

Although mega-events, like the Olympics, provide economic benefits to the host nation through infrastructure investment and tourism, it also causes negative economic impacts such as inflation and higher taxes. Furthermore, it causes considerable socio-cultural impacts. Lessons can be learned from past Olympics to help determine whether the Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee (VANOC) has integrated any strategies that address socio-cultural impacts and whether such strategies have been successful.

Sport mega-events represent prime opportunities for host nations to stimulate their local economies due to significant investments associated with hosting the events and have therefore, become important in the globalizing world (Malfas, 2004; Whitson, 2004; Andranovich, 2001; Chalkley & Essex, 1999). However, the hoped-for economic benefits may be smaller than originally anticipated or even negative. In some cases, this has led to event-driven economies in various countries, but as competition to host such events increases, due to their lack in infrastructure many

countries cannot compete (Nauright, 2004), which perpetuates the elitism of hosting the Olympic Games.

Mega-events also bring immediate regional, national and international exposure that elevates such cities into the 'world-class' realm, while also establishing development project timelines (Whitson, 2004; Andranovich, 2001; Chalkley & Essex, 1999). Although such events create employment opportunities, they are generally service-level which is typically low paying, part-time and short-lived (Malfas, 2004) and does not translate into long-term social sustainability. Additionally, Olympic gentrification strategies often mean the re-location of society's most disadvantaged groups, which can actually intensify social problems and existing race-relations (Malfas, 2004). Finally, these groups are often the victims of service and program cutbacks, when such funds are redistributed to mega-event investment (Whitson, 2004).

The positive socio-cultural impacts identified in Malfas' (2004) study included increased local spirit, cultural pride and strengthened traditions and values. Sport participation encouraged social cohesion and involvement, promoting well being, which can lead to self-achievement and fulfillment. These positive impacts are often greater in groups that have been traditionally excluded and can be applied to the Indigenous community, whether or not sport promotion has positively affected them (Malfas, 2004). The infrastructure development necessary for staging mega-events can also have socio-cultural impacts. Urban revitalization is often one goal of organizers and such improvements can positively benefit greater society. Barcelona used the Games as a means to rejuvenate their dilapidated coastal area that is now home to a marina, leisure centres and beaches (Malfas, 2004). Sydney invested in the revitalization of the polluted district of Homebush Bay, whereas Athens spent millions on a new airport and extension to their underground system; these projects created thousands of jobs (Malfas, 2004). Despite such positive impacts, urban revitalization also comes with expensive housing, higher taxes, inflation and displacement of certain social groups (Malfas, 2004; Essex, 2004).

The Winter Olympics on the other hand require more sporting and support (namely transportation) infrastructure development because many sites are isolated (Essex, 2004). Additionally, many facilities needed for the Winter Games are highly specialized, for example bobsleigh tracks and ski jumps. Therefore, attention needs to be paid to ensure such investments are worthwhile in the long-term, or these could create future problems (Chalkley & Essex, 1999). Because most Winter Olympic host cities need to be located in specific geographical areas, populations tend to be smaller, with fewer infrastructure compared with major cities. Therefore, the

economic burdens are higher per capita on these people, requiring subsidies from all levels of government (Essex, 2004).

Due to the time sensitive nature of Olympic planning, items that make the Olympic agenda usually have priority. Therefore, including urban improvements and policy or programming changes on the list translate into earlier completion of such projects (Andranovich, 2001; Chalkley & Essex, 1999). Some planning and operational projects are sped up and decisions may be made without complete stakeholder consultation, because the Olympics operate on a strict timeline (Frey et al., 2008).

The bid process represents an important element in the lifecycle of an Olympic Games, because it is the basis for the selection of the particular city. Although there will likely be gaps between what was included in the bid and what is executed, this provides the basis for how the host city is represented. The Olympic Games allow for a city to brand and promote on an international scale, and the culture of sport “helps cities promote themselves simultaneously as distinctive and familiar, entertaining and safe, exotic and comfortable, pleasurable and wholesome” (McCallum et al., 2005). A bid official confirmed that the First Nation’s played a significant role in securing the Games for Vancouver because it set the city apart from other bid cities (McCallum et al., 2005), similar to Sydney’s 2000 Summer Olympic Games, where the “Aboriginality’ angle was used. Activities the host nations were involved in during the bid phase are outlined in Chapter Four (section 4.4.2, Table 2).

2.4.1 Legacy Building

Cashman (1998:112) believed Olympic legacy planning involved “casting a wider gaze, to poetry and art, architecture, the environment, information and many other non-tangible factors” ultimately, moving beyond the Games themselves, to incorporate ‘what an Olympic city is’ to the everyday. Frey *et al.* (2008:6) believed Olympic legacy should also include an “immaterial” dimension; for example, human and social capital through professional skill development, which will lead a “legacy of qualified resource and organizational competencies”. The Olympic legacy could also produce new private-public partnerships, stronger cooperation among authorities and better networking. Whether or not the Indigenous community has been considered or involved in this aspect of the Olympics, will be explored in this study.

Both Essex (2004) and Cashman (1998) argued legacy building should be incorporated throughout Olympic planning, with particular focus on the bid stage. Long-term development plans

for urban infrastructure that has not depended on the Olympics Games for implementation, are the most successful because they have proven to be viable in the long-term and are multi-purpose (Essex, 2004). According to Cashman (1998:109), legacy is important because “much of the power of the Olympic movement derives from its sites and symbols and its ancient heritage” and these symbols reflect credibility to the sporting world amidst the increasing amount of distractions associated with major sporting events. Cashman (1998) indicated that the immediate nature of funding and planning issues could be reasons why this element is often forgotten or not given its deserved priority. However, Cashman does not address a practical aspect of legacy building, for example the Olympic facilities and employment issues that could result upon conclusion of the event.

2.5 Conclusion

It is evident, based on the literature that there are a variety of factors that need to be considered in order to first understand what involvement and participation in Aboriginal tourism encompasses.

There is consensus that tourism is a way for Aboriginal communities that are often isolated to actively participate in the real economy, while also helping to revitalize their cultures. However, there is often a cost benefit analysis that must be considered. There is support for Aboriginal tourism by policy makers, as it is often regarded as a tool for economic development; however, how Aboriginal people participate in this development, is uncertain.

There is a need to examine the literature regarding Aboriginal involvement in tourism planning to understand what involvement and participation entails in tourism development, particularly for historically marginalized cultural groups. The literature revealed obstacles Aboriginal groups have historically faced.

The second part of the literature review examined Aboriginal participation in Olympic planning and hosting, as well as a discussion on Olympics as mega-events. It is important to understand past Aboriginal involvement to identify whether or not progress has occurred. Additionally, a better understanding of the socio-cultural impacts from hosting a mega-event, like the Olympics, and how these affect local communities helps to assess its impact on a marginalized community.

These concepts then need to be understood from the perspectives of a traditionally marginalized group and applied in the context of an International mega-event, the 2010 Winter

Olympics. The literature explores these concepts individually, and this study will attempt to link the concepts and evaluate the relationships among them.

This literature review revealed that research has focused on various aspects of Aboriginal tourism in Australia and New Zealand. Although some studies do exist that relate to Aboriginal tourism in Canada, it is limited and focuses on specific cases. Additionally, the diversity and geographic fragmentation of Canada's Aboriginal peoples, makes it difficult to apply certain studies to different locations. The state of Aboriginal tourism in certain regions must be considered and does not seem to have been addressed in previous research.

Chapter 3: Research Approach and Methods

This chapter describes the research approach, the study selection process, and the data collection techniques used to assess Aboriginal participation in tourism in British Columbia. The data analysis for each collection technique is discussed in detail. Ethical considerations are highlighted as well as research limitations of this study.

3.1 Research Approach

The social constructivist or interpretive worldview¹ guided this research. This approach focuses on meanings constructed by participants that are based on their historical and social perspectives (Creswell, 2009). The researcher attempted to understand “the context or setting of the participants through visiting this context and gathering information personally”, which was then interpreted (Creswell, 2009:8). Therefore, the findings and results presented in this thesis represent the researcher’s interpretation of the information garnered from key informant interviews. The researcher acknowledges that her assumptions, beliefs and choices may have influenced the research process and interpretation of the findings. Similarly, participants of this research held their own assumptions, beliefs and choices, ultimately influencing the outcome of the study. The social constructivist approach was used because the research focused on Aboriginal participation in tourism participation, investigating the case study of British Columbia.

3.1.1 Case Study Research

In order to accurately understand and measure the objectivity of research participants, the case study approach was used. The case study approach is defined as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context” (Yin, 2003:13). It allows the researcher to explore in depth a program, event, activity or process by using a variety of data collection techniques (Creswell, 2009). The case study method is a preferred approach when the researcher is asking “how” questions and when he or she has little control over the real-life events and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context (Yin, 2003).

¹ “The goal of this research is to rely as much as possible on the participants’ views of the situation being studied. The questions become broad and general so that the participants can construct a meaning of the situation.” (Creswell, 2009:8).

This approach is appropriate for this research because the purpose is to determine how the Aboriginal community is participating in tourism in British Columbia and the benefits associated with such participation. The research will take a closer look at Aboriginal participation in 2010 Winter Olympic planning and hosting. The researcher was able to gain a thorough understanding of the issues related to the Aboriginal community by using this method.

3.1.1.1 The Case Study Site

Vancouver, located on the lower mainland of British Columbia, Canada, was selected as the case study site for this research because the 2010 Winter Olympic Games were being hosted there. Vancouver, the most populous city in BC, is an urban centre that rivals any modern city, while situated along the picturesque landscape of the Pacific Ocean and Coast Mountain Range. Vancouver and Whistler were chosen as the host cities for the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games. The 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games provide an opportunity for the Aboriginal communities in these regions to showcase their culture and actively engage in tourism planning while also creating legacy that will benefit the community well beyond the life of the Games.

The 2010 Winter Olympics represent the first time in history an Indigenous group was considered an equal partner in hosting this international mega-event. The Olympics took place on traditional and shared traditional territories of the Lil'wat, Musqueam, Squamish and Tseil-Waututh, therefore, involvement and participation of these peoples was essential during the bidding, planning and hosting phases. The Four Host First Nations Society (FHFN) was established and represented these four host nations, as well as all Aboriginal peoples in Canada. A more detailed description of the case study site, its tourism significance and evolution is included in Chapter Four.

3.2 Data Collection

The data collected for this study came from a variety of sources, using a variety of techniques. To ensure the research was complete, reliable and valid, multiple methods were used to obtain data. Multiple methods were used to cross check the reliability of the collected data. Each research method has its own weakness, but rarely do different methods share the same weakness. Thus, multiple methods is a useful research strategy as it essentially tests for inconsistencies in the findings. This allowed the researcher to approach the research questions and objectives from a multitude of angles to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the tourism processes inherent to the case study was obtained. As well, the use of many methods allowed for information to be corroborated. The study

consisted of three different research techniques: semi-structured interviews, observation and secondary data analysis.

3.2.1 Semi-structured Interviews

A total of 19 semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals who played a key role in Aboriginal tourism in British Columbia. The purpose of the interviews was to gather in-depth information about participation of Aboriginal people in tourism planning in BC in general, while also looking specifically at the impacts of their involvement in the Olympics. Qualitative methods were most appropriate to gain this information, because some of the issues required sensitivity. Qualitative data collection allowed for a more detailed and involved interaction between the researcher and participants. The interviews established a thorough understanding of how Aboriginal people are participating in tourism and the significance of tourism to their respective communities. Some interviews were conducted in person, while others were conducted over the phone. The length of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 75 minutes.

Interviews were semi-structured and directed with open-ended questions. Certain core questions remained the same in all interviews. More detailed questions and opinions were asked depending on the participant's experience and position in Aboriginal tourism. The researcher created an interview guide prior to arriving in Vancouver. Question development was guided by research questions, objectives and existing literature. Questions were designed to capture responses that related to background involvement in tourism, significance of tourism to the Aboriginal community, participation in tourism planning, opportunities presented and/or provided by Olympics, training and education opportunities from tourism and the future of Aboriginal tourism. Probes were built into the interview guide to ensure in-depth responses in case the participant did not expand on their responses.

Although an interview guide was prepared and used, various subjects and questions emerged during interviews that were not found in the guide. As well, many interviews were adapted to the particular interviewee because the participants represented a variety of backgrounds and involvement in tourism. Therefore, the interviews were often flexible, informal discussion, rather than rigid question and answer sessions. The purpose of the interview guide was to ensure the participants were asked similar questions. A copy of the interview guide can be found in Appendix A.

Interviews took place in a variety of places. Most took place at the participant's place of work or a public coffee shop. Each participant was asked if their interview could be recorded and all participants agreed. Each interview was conducted in English. The interviews were transcribed

promptly and then sent back to the interviewee for review. The interviewees were able to make corrections and clarifications if needed and then the summary was sent back to the researcher to begin data analysis. Follow up conversations in person or on the phone were completed if necessary.

3.2.1.1 Sampling Method

The sample for the semi-structured interviews was influenced by the research questions and the willingness of individuals to participate. To obtain information on Aboriginal tourism in BC, it was critical to speak with key informants, individuals previously and currently involved. Participation in Aboriginal tourism included individuals involved in training and education, municipal and provincial destination marketing organizations, Aboriginal business owners and operators, tourism planners and a VANOC employee. With limited knowledge of the site prior to arriving, it was determined that the snowball sampling technique would be the most appropriate method for interview recruitment. Snowball sampling has been suggested as the most appropriate technique to use when members of a particular population are difficult to locate (Babbie, 1999). The Director of Aboriginal Participation from the Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee was the first to be contacted for an interview. Each individual was then asked to list any potential contacts they felt would be able to contribute to the study. The researcher contacted these people and requested participation in the study. The researcher also found potential interviewees through the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia (AtBC). A complete list of the interviewees is presented in Appendix B.

The researcher realized data saturation occurred by two main indicators. The first was the interview participants continued to suggest the same people. Secondly, it occurred when no new, fresh data sparked new theoretical insights.

3.2.2 Observation

Observation proved to be essential in this study. First-hand observations and experiences by the researcher allowed for insight into the broader, overall picture of the particular situation. The strength of first-hand observation is the researcher gets information immediately and can record particular observations (Babbie, 1999). Weaknesses include researcher bias and participants may feel uncomfortable in the presence of a researcher, which could influence results.

The researcher found it valuable to be present during the lead up to the Olympics, and during the Games themselves. Much information was gathering during the hosting of the Games. Additionally, being immersed in the atmosphere of the 2010 Winter Olympic Games proved to be

immeasurable to this study. Observation validated what was said during the interviews. Babbie (2003) advises to take accurate notes and any interpretations of them during the observation period. Therefore, the researcher always had a pen and notepad and recorded any observations during the fieldwork.

The first-hand experience that the researcher had with participants was the strength of participant observation. Additionally, as noted in (Creswell, 2009), during participant observation, the researcher was able to record information as it was revealed and unusual aspects were noted. However, the researcher's bias could influence what was recorded and how information was interpreted during observation, which was a drawback to this method. This was addressed by being aware of this issue and cross checking observation notes with interviews and secondary data analysis.

The type of data collected during this method included the nature of interactions between visitors and hosts during events at the Aboriginal pavilion, the representation of Aboriginal participation by the media, the changes in Aboriginal involvement during the lead up and hosting of the Games, as well as interactions between participants at the Aboriginal tourism provincial education forum. Data regarding these issues were recorded based on observed behaviours and actions.

3.2.3 Secondary Data Sources

Data sources were retrieved from interview participants, the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia (AtBC), Vancouver Organizing Committee (VANOC), media reports, meeting notes and the internet. Secondary data sources consisted of government and industry reports, VANOC reports, newspaper articles and academic literature. Information garnered from secondary data sources was useful in order to gain a better understanding of the political and historical context of Aboriginal involvement in tourism. These sources also provided information on Olympic-related involvement.

3.2.4 Informal Survey Questionnaire – Pilot Test

Informal survey questionnaires were conducted as a pilot test with visitors in the summer prior to the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The purpose of this questionnaire was to gain an insight into the perceptions visitors had of Aboriginal people and the involvement in the upcoming 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The pilot test did not reveal that information the researcher had hoped to attain and therefore, the researcher decided to focus on qualitative, in-depth research through interviewing.

3.3 Data Analysis Process

Data analysis involved synthesizing the data collected. This process involved “preparing the data for analysis, conducting different analyses, moving deeper and deeper into understanding the data, representing the data and making an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data” (Creswell, 2009: 183). This section describes the techniques used to analyze the qualitative data.

3.3.1 Qualitative Data Analysis

Transcribed interviews and secondary data sources were analyzed qualitatively. The first step for the analysis of the transcribed interviews was to gain a strong familiarity of the data. This was done by reading through the interviews a number of times, followed by recording reflections of the overall meaning.

The second step involved identifying and recording recurring similarities and themes that emerged from the data. Seventeen themes were initially recorded and then each theme was assigned a specific colour. Next, the interviews were revisited and data was highlighted according to the assigned theme-colour. This provided a visual representation of the most and least prominent themes, which allowed for modifying and refining the themes. With a new total of fourteen themes, the interviews were revisited and data was highlighted to correspond with the new themes. The next step involved clustering the themes based on relationships and similarities in order to create broad, overarching themes with appropriate sub-themes. The final outcome of the interview data analysis resulted in five themes with varying numbers of sub-themes for each. Quotations that best represented each sub-theme were selected and recorded in a document that represented each sub-theme.

Pertinent documents from secondary sources were analyzed by selective coding. Data was selectively coded using the five themes that emerged from analyzing the interviews. As with the interview data analysis, data from secondary data sources were highlighted to correspond to the identified themes. Similarities and contradictions between information garnered from the interviews and the secondary sources were identified. The next step involved questioning why similarities and contradictions emerged. This was the basis from interpreting secondary data sources.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues need to be anticipated throughout the research process (Creswell, 2009). Thus, this study was designed with a number of ethical considerations in mind and as a result posed minimal ethical risks to the research participants involved.

This study received full ethics clearance from the University of Waterloo Office of Research Ethics. Participation in all aspects of the study was voluntary enabling all participants to withdraw from participating at any time. Interviewees were given a written consent form through which they could indicate whether they wanted their responses to remain anonymous or not. For interviews conducted over the phone, participants were sent an email in which they could respond to and indicate whether their responses were to remain anonymous. Only those 18 years and older were asked to participate in the study. All data collected from interviews and questionnaires during this study were considered confidential.

3.5 Limitations

This research does not include an in-depth assessment of the relationship between VANOC and the Four Host First Nations (FHFN), because members of the FHFN chose not to participate in the study. Information related to this relationship was then based on media coverage and public statements made by members of the FHFN. However, the researcher was directed to a recent Master's thesis that was completed by an employee of VANOC who had been involved in the organization since the bid phase. This document provided detailed information on the relationship between VANOC and FHFN during the Bid Phase until 2007. The author of this thesis had direct and inside access to FHFN members and witnessed the growing relationship between the two parties. Though the document did not provide information regarding the final phases of the relationship, this provided information that the researcher would not have been able to obtain otherwise. Community coordinators, who were responsible for Olympic-related activities in the four host nation communities, also chose not to be involved, which limited information on Aboriginal community Olympic involvement.

The nature of Olympic-related research can draw criticism because this event has been in the spotlight and been receiving media attention for many years. As the Games approached, the opinions began to change as the excitement built. More positive answers and media representation appeared closer to the time of the Games.

Only English speakers were asked to complete the pilot survey and recruited for interviews. Based on the nature of the study, and language capabilities of the researcher, these could not be avoided. However it is believed that an appropriate amount of information was collected through interviews, secondary data sources and participant observation.

Finally, two limitations are found in subjective research design: the narrative fallacy and confirmation bias. The narrative fallacy is the tendency of researchers to find stories in their sources to make sense of their observations (Taleb, 2010). Such interpretations may not be accurate or the best interpretation. The confirmation bias is the tendency for researchers to see only supportive evidence and ignore contradictory evidence (Taleb, 2010). The researcher attempted to overcome these limitations by remaining objective throughout the research and including both confirmatory and contradictory evidence.

This chapter outlined the research approach and methods employed in this study. The following chapter highlights the findings revealed from secondary data sources including background information on the study site.

Chapter 4: Aboriginal Participation in Tourism in British Columbia

Aboriginal culture has always been a fundamental component of British Columbia's (BC) international tourism image. However, the Aboriginal cultural tourism sector itself is still developing and has only recently become more established. Additionally, the province's tourism industry has been shaped by a number of recent events, including: the World Curling Championship, the World Junior Hockey Championship, the North American Indigenous Games, BC's 150th Anniversary and most notably, the 2010 Olympic Games (BC Ministry of Tourism, Culture & the Arts, 2007). The purpose of this chapter is to (1) provide comprehensive background information on the study site; (2) to set the historical, political and social context of the study site; and (3) to understand the factors influencing Aboriginal tourism.

4.1 Aboriginal Relationships in BC

Aboriginal peoples in British Columbia and throughout Canada have historically been marginalized. Whether through education, housing, healthcare or employment, Aboriginal British Columbians have not had the same opportunities as Non-Aboriginals. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to account for the complicated history of Aboriginal people in Canada, however it is essential to recognize and understand certain events that attribute to the common feelings of displacement, subordination and isolation, which could potentially impact the success of Aboriginal tourism development strategies.

4.1.1 Aboriginal/Government Relations and Treaties

To provide context for this study it is important to understand the history of government and Aboriginal relations and treaties. Before Canada was a country, Britain recognized that Aboriginal people living here had title to land. Usually, the only way the British Crown could acquire land from First Nations was through treaties, as outlined in the *Royal Proclamation, 1763*. The British Crown established treaties with First Nations throughout most parts of Canada up until Confederation, and then the new Dominion of Canada continued this process. However, this policy of making treaties was not completed in British Columbia because the west had not opened up for settlement at that time. Only 14 treaties on Vancouver Island had been signed when BC joined Confederation in 1871, leaving the remainder of the province's land title unresolved (BC Treaty Commission 2005).

These 14 treaties were negotiated by James Douglas on behalf of the British Crown and are still referred to as the ‘Douglas Treaties’. Douglas established reserves for Aboriginal communities and they were also able to acquire land from the Crown on the same terms as White settlers. However, when Douglas retired, the colonial government reduced the size of Aboriginal reserves, denied they ever owned land, paid no compensation for loss of traditional land or resources and took away their right to acquire Crown land (BC Treaty Commission, 2008). Therefore, according to the provincial government, because BC did not recognize Aboriginal title, there was no need for treaties. At this time, the new Dominion of Canada was not fully aware of BC’s policy of Aboriginal affairs. However, when it was discovered along with the potential legalities associated with the policy, other matters took priority, for example the building of the railroad; thus the above Aboriginal affairs were never resolved (BC Treaty Commission, 2008).

In the decades that followed, First Nations of BC lobbied extensively for treaties in which the government of Canada responded to by restricting land claims activities through new legislation. Though these restrictions were lifted in 1951, it was not until the 1970s that the Supreme Court defined Aboriginal rights. Finally, in 1993, a formal treaty process was established that would allow First Nations in BC to pursue their Aboriginal rights (BC Treaty Commission 2005). The *Constitution Act, 1982* recognized and affirmed that Aboriginal title and the rights associated with it exist, whether or not there is a treaty (Government of Canada, 1982). Aboriginal rights are practices, traditions and customs that were in place before European contact and are unique to each First Nation (BC Treaty Commission 2005). Aboriginal title is an Aboriginal property right to land and treaty rights are Aboriginal rights outlined in a treaty.

Landmark cases ruled by the Supreme Court helped to address the issues of Aboriginal rights and title, but also created uncertainty regarding how and where Aboriginal rights applied.

- The 1973 *Calder* case confirmed Aboriginal title did exist, but the court was split on whether it continued to exist, therefore, the federal government created the ‘comprehensive claims policy’ to address the issue of continued existence of Aboriginal title.
- The 1990 *Sparrow* case confirmed Aboriginal rights were not extinguished by legislation unless that legislation had clear and plain intention to do so.
- The 1997 *Delgamuukw* case confirmed Aboriginal rights were a right to the land itself, and not just a right to hunt, fish and gather.
- The 2005 *Haida Nation* and *Taku River Tlinglet* cases confirmed the provincial government must consult with, and if necessary accommodate First Nations prior to any development that may impact their traditional territories.

Although the Supreme Court had confirmed Aboriginal title existed in BC, it had not indicated where. Therefore, First Nations and government could negotiate through the treaty process or a case-by-case, right-by-right basis through the courts (BC Treaty Commission, 2008). The current treaty process in BC was established after First Nations leaders and the Canadian and BC governments agreed to create a task force that would resolve Aboriginal land claims fairly. The BC Claims task force filed a report in 1991 and the 19 recommendations were accepted, forming the blueprint for the made-in-BC Treaty process (BC Treaty Commission, 2010). The BC Treaty Commission, which is an independent and neutral body responsible for overseeing the treaty process, officially began accepting First Nations statements in 1992 (BC Treaty Commission, 2010). The purpose of the BC Treaty Commission is to build new relationships, enhance economic opportunities and achieve ownership and certainty over land and resources (Province of BC Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, 2010).

More recently, BC First Nations' organizations and the provincial government began working together to develop a "New Relationship" that is based on respect, recognition and reconciliation of Aboriginal rights and title (Province of BC Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, 2010). The Province initiated meetings in March 2005 with First Nations' organizations to "develop new approaches for consultation and accommodation and to create a vision for a New Relationship to deal with Aboriginal concerns based on openness, transparency and collaboration" (BC Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, 2010). This new vision should reduce uncertainty, litigation and conflict for everyone living in BC. Principles of the New Relationship were developed, which explored a new government-to-government relationship with First Nations. This included new processes and structure for coordination, as well as working collaboratively to make decisions on the use of land and resources. To increase economic development, the document proposed revenue sharing that would reflect Aboriginal rights and title interests (BC Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, 2010).

For the purpose of this research, it is essential to understand the history of Aboriginal title and rights in BC because many tourism initiatives involve land-based development on traditional territories.

4.2 Tourism in BC

Tourism is a significant contributor to the overall economy in British Columbia. The sector has played a key role in overall revenue generation, while also providing employment. Compared with the other industries, forestry, agriculture, mining, oil and gas extraction, tourism is the only one to have steady growth since 2002. In 2003, Premier Gordon Campbell called for the tourism sector to double provincial tourism revenues by 2015. This became a provincial priority when Cabinet confirmed this target in November 2006. A recent report detailed trends over the past ten years that confirmed the importance of tourism to the province's economy (Tourism BC, 2009). Highlights of the report include:

- \$13.8 billion tourism revenue in 2008, 62% increase since 1998
- \$6.6 billion direct contribution to gross domestic product (GDP), 32% increase since 1998 (2002 constant)
- 17,775 tourism-related businesses and 131,000 people employed by tourism industries, 28% increase since 1998

These figures illustrate the significance of tourism to BC's economy. Even though the tourism industry in BC has been growing steadily over the past ten years, there is room to expand and grow the industry even more (BC Ministry Tourism, Culture, and the Arts, 2007). The ambitious tourism strategy will leverage some high profile events, including the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games, which provide a once in a lifetime opportunity to showcase BC as a premier tourist destination (BC Ministry Tourism, Culture, and the Arts, 2007).

The 'Tourism Action Plan' (2007) that was developed by the BC's Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and the Arts, incorporates previous work that has already been developed, while also supporting strategies that are already in place, such as the 'Spirit of 2010 Tourism Strategy' and 'Tourism 2015: Ten-Year Marketing Framework'. The plan concentrates on four areas: development and investment, access and infrastructure development, tourism workforce, and marketing and promotion. The 'Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Blueprint Strategy' was one of the many research documents used in this process. This 'Blueprint Strategy' identified the potential for Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in BC and subsequently, investment in Aboriginal tourism was identified as a specific action plan within the marketing and promotion section in the action plan (BC Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and the Arts, 2007; AtBC, 2005). Considering the potential that Aboriginal tourism presented, it was essential to invest and grow this sector in order to work towards achieving the goal of doubled tourism revenues (BC Ministry of Tourism, Culture & the Arts, 2007; AtBC, 2005).

Tourism BC was created in 1997 as the marketing organization for the province and has been considered a world leader in destination marketing (COTA, Aug. 18, 2009). On August 17, 2009, it was announced that Tourism BC would be brought into the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and, the Arts in order to reduce administrative cost and better co-ordinate the province's marketing initiatives (Ministry of Tourism, Culture & the Arts, Aug.17, 2009). The Minister's Advisory Council replaced Tourism BC's Board of Directors and will report directly to the Minister. BC's Council of Tourism Associations (COTA) expressed concerns over the surprise announcement, most notably tourism now coming under direct management of the provincial government (COTA, Aug. 18, 2009). The new program was effective April 1, 2010.

4.3 Evolution of Aboriginal Tourism in British Columbia

Aboriginal participation in tourism has changed dramatically over the years. Historically, outsiders displayed Aboriginal culture as a primitive attraction with little benefit to Aboriginal communities. More recently, Aboriginal communities are being engaged and empowered to share and teach their cultures. This often begins with Aboriginal youth rediscovering their own culture and heritage and is then shared with visitors, through the vehicle of tourism.

Aboriginal tourism in British Columbia is comprised of a series of small businesses primarily in rural landscapes and often in isolated locations. The market for an Aboriginal tourism experience is typically an older, educated foreign traveler, which may be attributed to the exotic and traditional stereotypes Europeans have of the western 'Indians' that still very much exist and are even promoted in tourism marketing brochures. These travelers are seeking authentic, participatory experiences and not simply viewing Aboriginal people as a form of entertainment (CTC, 2008; AtBC, 2010). Aboriginal tourism is usually a 'value added' experience (CTC, 2008; Notzke, 1999), which may pose a challenge when developing the product. Businesses will need to work with intermediaries to package their product, or require aggressive in-destination marketing plans to entice the visitor to purchase upon arrival. Historically, many businesses were not necessarily 'market ready' which negatively impacted clients and intermediaries alike. Unfortunately, this lack of professionalism decreased overall Aboriginal tourism product confidence (CTC, 2008; Williams & Richter, 2002), however more recent support is focused on improving product offerings to ensure market readiness.

As mentioned previously, Aboriginal communities have faced the force of tourism before, for example during the creation and development of the National Parks in western Canada. Under the

guise of game conservation, many tribes were forced to relocate to make way for Banff, Jasper and Riding Mountain National Parks, which were beginning to prosper as popular tourist attractions (Sandlos, 2008; Binnema, 2006). This forcible relocation was also part of the plan to assimilate Aboriginal people and some were allowed in the parks because this 'Indianness' could be "reconstructed as a tourist friendly institution", which was evident in the carnival-like 'Banff Indian Days' (Binnema, 2006:739). This illustrates early forms of the exotic and primitive nature displayed for the purpose of attracting visitors and will remain associated with Aboriginals for years to come, contributing to the portrayal of tourism in a negative light.

4.3.1 The Blueprint Strategy

Aboriginal culture has always been a fundamental component of BC's international tourism image and provincial destination marketing organizations have recognized the importance of this culture for tourism purposes. However, only recently has priority been given to developing these opportunities, which included a need to create a "research driven strategy capable of realizing the full potential of Aboriginal tourism in BC" (Williams & O'Neil, 2007:42). Recognizing the potential of Aboriginal tourism, Aboriginal Tourism BC partnered with Tourism BC, the provincial and federal government to develop the Blueprint Strategy that would guide the future of Aboriginal tourism. The Blueprint Strategy provides a plan for long-term growth of BC's Aboriginal tourism sector and is the most comprehensive provincial Aboriginal tourism plan created in Canada (AtBC, 2010).

The strategy recognized there are different definitions worldwide regarding Aboriginal cultural tourism, which influenced the development of a definition for BC. The definition that was chosen for the strategy and is used by industry is as follows:

a cultural experience that must be tied directly to an Aboriginal person or group of Aboriginal people. The Cultural experience is authenticated in one of two ways:

1. As a direct result of permission provided through that person or person's Cultural Keepers, Elders, or those designated with the authority to approve the sharing of the experience as it relates to that culture; or
2. As a result of experiences relating to either traditional Aboriginal culture as it is reflected through modern day lifestyle (AtBC, 2005).

4.3.2 Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia (AtBC)

The Aboriginal Tourism Association of BC (AtBC) was established in 1996 by a group of volunteers who recognized the potential of the sector and the need for an association that would facilitate information sharing and networking (AtBC, 2010). The association has gone through a number of changes over the years and has evolved into a formal society and organization that has become a world leader in Aboriginal cultural tourism (AtBC, 2010). It has become the voice of the Aboriginal tourism sector in BC and is increasingly establishing its place within the industry as a whole (AtBC, 2010). This was most evident when it was announced Tourism BC was to be amalgamated into the Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and the Arts, in August 2009. Representatives from the tourism sector replaced the Advisory Board for Tourism BC as the Minister appointed 13 individuals to the Council on Tourism, which included Keith Henry, CEO of AtBC (BC Ministry of Tourism, Culture & the Arts, Nov. 23, 2009). This demonstrates the province's recognition of the importance of Aboriginal tourism, as well as its support of AtBC's current and future strategies. Considering AtBC is still a relatively young organization, it is already receiving the attention of industry leaders and policy makers, which should only help its growth.

The association has 60 market ready businesses and six were chosen by the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) to be included in the "Significant 28" (CTC, 2009). These are 28 market-ready Aboriginal tourism businesses that are marketed by the CTC as part of the Olympic marketing campaign and AtBC businesses represent 21% of the "Significant 28". With the largest number of market ready businesses, AtBC has achieved what no other province has, securing its position as a leader in Aboriginal tourism in the country (AtBC, 2009; CTC, 2009).

The past year saw some exciting developments for the association, as outlined in the 'Operations Report' (AtBCb, 2010):

- The governance changed from a membership model to a stakeholder model, which should increase participation of businesses while increasing investment in the association.
- The geographic regions were re-aligned to coincide with provincial tourism regions, which should allow for smoother integration with mainstream tourism initiatives.
- The first ever Member forum was held in March 2009 with a follow up session in October.
- The first ever Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education forum was held in September 2009 with a follow up session in December. These forums allow participants greater and more meaningful involvement.
- The Authenticity program was launched, Regional Tourism Awareness sessions were conducted and a 2010 Work Plan was created and executed, which all help increase the profile of Aboriginal tourism.

AtBC provides comprehensive support to its stakeholders in terms of programming and communication. The Member Forum is one avenue for increasing communication among the CEO, Board members and owners/operators; while the Marketing Co-op program, Authentication program and Website Evaluations program are examples of valuable programs available to AtBC stakeholders (AtBC, 2010). The Aboriginal Tourism Experiences in BC map (Appendix C) which is located on the AtBC website, as well as other marketing materials, provides comprehensive information on Aboriginal tourism experiences in BC.

4.4 Case Study Site: 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games Vancouver and Whistler, British Columbia

One component of this research was to understand the extent of Aboriginal participation in planning and hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games in Vancouver and Whistler. According to Statistics Canada, 4.8% of British Columbians identify as Aboriginal and of this 4.8%, 23% lives within the Greater Vancouver Area and Squamish-Lillooet (2006). These regions are the traditional and shared territories of the Four Host First Nations who became official partners in the 2010 Olympic Games because many Olympic events were held on these territories within Vancouver and Whistler. This marks the first time in Olympic history that an Indigenous group has received such status.

In August 1999, the International Organizing Committee adopted Agenda 21: Sport for Sustainable Development and includes the objective “to strengthen the inclusion of women, youth and Indigenous people in the Games” (VANOC, 2009). Further commitments were made when historic agreements were signed in November 2004 between VANOC and the Chiefs and Council of the Lil’wat, Musqueam, Squamish and Tseil-Waututh nations securing these partnerships and creating the Four Host First Nations Society (FHFN, 2009).

The Olympics provide an opportunity for the Aboriginal communities in these regions to showcase their culture and actively engage in tourism planning while also creating legacy that will benefit the community well beyond the life of the Games. The historic partnership among the FHFN with VANOC began with a realization that involvement in the planning and hosting of the 2010 Olympics would provide opportunities for Aboriginal communities. Many events took place on traditional and shared territories of Aboriginal communities; therefore, it was believed that these communities should also receive benefits associated with hosting an international event.

4.4.1 Aboriginal Participation at VANOC

A 'Functional Business Unit' was established specifically for Aboriginal Participation that included its own Business Plan and Budget, making VANOC the first Olympic and Paralympic organizing committee to do so (Dunn, 2007). In order to achieve their goal of unprecedented participation, VANOC developed an Aboriginal Participation Strategy. The five programs are outlined in Table 1 below.

Table 1: VANOC's Aboriginal Participation Strategy Programs

Partnership and Collaboration	Recognize and respect our partners, FHFN, and involve them directly in key aspects of the planning, hosting and legacies of the Games. Encourage Aboriginal people from across Canada to participate in and benefit from the Games.
Sport and Youth	Encourage greater participation in sport and sport development while demonstrating the connection between healthy living and sport.
Economic Development	Maximize economic development opportunities for Aboriginal people and businesses through Games-related procurement, tourism, branding, employment and training.
Cultural Involvement	Celebrate and promote Aboriginal history, arts, culture and languages on the world stage.
Awareness and Education	Raise awareness of the opportunities for Aboriginal people to participate in the 2010 Games and promote awareness and understanding of the diversity and contributions of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

Source: VANOC, 2010; Dunn, 2007

Strong relationships are essential in achieving the goal of unprecedented participation, which reinforces the importance of the partnerships VANOC has developed with the FHFN.

4.4.2 The Four Host First Nations (FHFN)

The 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games were held on the traditional and shared territories of four distinct First Nations: Lil'wat, Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh.

Lil'wat

The Lil'wat Nation is located approximately 160 kilometres from Vancouver and 22 kilometres north of Whistler in Mt Currie. This Interior Salish community has a membership of over 1800 people, where 1400 live on reserve making it the fourth largest on-reserve community in BC. The nation's 797, 131 hectare traditional territory includes the Whistler area and Callaghan Valley (Lil'wat Nation, 2010).

Musqueam

The Musqueam Nation is also known as the people of the river grass and are descendants of the Coast Salish tribe. There are over 1000 members with the majority living on the Musqueam Indian reserve near the mouth of the Fraser River. Their traditional territory occupies a great amount of what is currently Vancouver, the University of BC and the surrounding areas (Musqueam, 2010).

Squamish

The Squamish Nation is comprised of descendants of Aboriginal peoples who live in the Greater Vancouver area, Gibson's landing and Squamish River watershed and are also Coast Salish people. The population of 3324 lives in nine communities from North Vancouver to Howe Sound with about 2239 living on reserve. Squamish's traditional territory includes some of the area occupied by present day Vancouver, Burnaby and all of the cities of North Vancouver, West Vancouver, Port Moody and all of the district of Squamish and the Resort Municipality of Whistler (Squamish, 2010).

Tsleil-Waututh

The Tsleil-Waututh Nation includes Coast Salish people whose members live in a community on the north shore of Burrard Inlet with an on-reserve population of 400. Their traditional territory reaches from the Fraser River Mamquam Lake near Whistler (Tsleil-Waututh 2010).

In addition to the 2010 Games being held on the traditional and shared territories, new venues were also built. In some cases, venues were built on land owned by the Crown (*i.e.*, the Nordic event in the Callaghan Valley), while some were built on privately owned land (*i.e.*, Vancouver venues owned by the City of Vancouver). Nonetheless, these areas were traditional and shared territories.

The Four Host First Nations Society was established to represent the four nations and facilitate engagement between the nations and VANOC (FHFN, 2010). The historic agreement among the chiefs and council of the four nations was signed November 2004 and outlined the agreement to work collectively in preparing for and hosting the Games. Though the FHFNS was not established until 2004, these four nations were involved in varying capacities during the Domestic and International Bid Phases between 1997-2003. Dunn's (2007) study investigated the relationships developed between FHFN and VANOC and their involvement during the bid and planning phases. The following table is a summary of their involvement that was identified in her study.

Table 2: Summary of Activities During Bid and Organizing Phases

2010 Bid and Organizing phases and activities involving FHFN	SN*	LN*	MN*	TN*
<i>Domestic Bid Phase 1997-1998</i>				
Initiated relationships with the Bid Committee	X	X		
Provided letter of support to Domestic Bid Book	X			
<i>International Bid Phase 1998-2003</i>				
Initiated relationships with Bid and communicated interests related to participating in activities in traditional territories (1998)	X	X		
Included on Board of Directors (1999)	X	X		
Participated in Callaghan Valley Master Planning process (2000-2003)	X	X		
Included on Board of Directors (2002)	X	X	X	X
Provided of one seat on VANOC Board of Directors, shared between Squamish and Lil'wat nations, in Multi-Party Agreement (2002)	X	X		
Signed Shared Legacies Agreement (2002) with Province of BC and Bid Corporation outlining legacies of land, cultural centre funds, Youth Legacy Fund, training, contracting, housing	X	X		
Reviewed and provided letter of support to International Bid Book to the IOC (2002)	X	X		
Participated in IOC Evaluation Visit (2003)	X	X	X	X
Signed Memorandum of Understanding with 2010 Bid Corp (2003)			X	X
Participated as part of Official Delegation in Prague (July 2003)	X	X	X	X
Participated in Vancouver July 2, 2003 gathering for announcement of winner by IOC	X	X	X	X
<i>Organizing Phase 2003-2010</i>				
Received significant benefits through implementation of Bid Phase Shared Legacies Agreement including Nordic Competition Venue agreements for environmental assessment and contracting opportunities (2003-present)	X	X		
Engaged in ongoing discussions related to Bid Phase Memorandums of Understanding on legacy interests (2003-present) Received some benefits from SLA related Skills and Training and Aboriginal Youth Sport Legacy			X	X
Signed FHFN Protocol (2004)	X	X	X	X
Established FHFN Secretariat	X	X	X	X
Participated as performers in the Olympic Emblem Launch (2005)	X	X	X	X
Signed FHFN/VANOC protocol (2005)	X	X	X	X
Recognized by VANOC as official partners, alongside other government partners (2005)	X	X	X	X
Held FHFN logo competition (2005)	X	X	X	X
Participated as part of Official delegation in Torino including Closing Ceremonies (2006)	X	X	X	X
Received IOC approval of Official designation as "Host First Nation(s)" (2006)	X	X	X	X
Developed FHFN plans coordinated with VANOC's Aboriginal Participation Business Plan and Budget process (2006)	X	X	X	X
Hosted Aboriginal Business Summit with Province of BC, Government of Canada and VANOC (2007)	X	X	X	X
Staged Official Launch of FHFN logo (2007)	X	X	X	X

SN*=Squamish Nation, LN*=Lil'wat Nation, MN*=Musqueam Nation, TN*=Tsleil-Waututh Nation
Source: Dunn, 2007

4.4.3 Legacy Agreements from Games

The FHFN recognized the significance of their involvement and what it would mean for future generations of their communities. By becoming involved in the event, the nations were able to secure legacy agreements, some that would be honoured regardless of whether or not Vancouver was awarded the Games. The Lil'wat and Squamish Nations were engaged earlier in the process and secured a Shared Legacy Agreement (SLA) in November 2002. The benefits of the SLA for the Squamish and Lil'wat nations included:

- 300 acres of land for economic development
- Skills and training project
- Squamish and Lil'wat naming and recognition project
- Support for the Squamish and Lil'wat Cultural Centre
- A youth sport legacy fund
- Contracting opportunities in the Callaghan Valley
- Housing legacy

The first four were implemented regardless of the success of the Bid.

The Bid Corporation recognized the advantage of having Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh nations included, and these two nations heard the benefits that Squamish and Lil'wat were receiving, therefore, negotiations began. The circumstances were quite different with these nations; therefore, each Nation signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in July 2003. The MOUs outlined potential legacies and benefits the nations would receive as it related to preparing for and hosting the Games, while indicating their support of the Games.

4.5 Summary

This chapter provided an account of Aboriginal tourism in British Columbia, the evolution of Aboriginal tourism and Aboriginal participation in 2010 Olympic planning. In order to gain a better understanding of the role Aboriginal tourism plays today, background information was also presented regarding historical, social and political issues of the Aboriginal population residing in British Columbia.

The following chapter presents findings for the qualitative data analysis of interviews, secondary sources and observation.

Chapter 5: Findings

This research consists of close examination of Aboriginal participation in tourism development in British Columbia. The results of this study are presented in this chapter. The analysis of semi-structured interviews, secondary data sources and observation revealed five themes and a varying number of sub-themes for each. The themes are: (1) Aboriginal participation in tourism, (2) challenges/barriers to Aboriginal tourism, (3) capacity building through tourism, (4) Aboriginal Olympic involvement and (5) the significance of Aboriginal tourism. Qualitative findings are presented and grouped into sections based around these thematic areas. Participants in the study include a range of individuals involved in tourism who provided insight into these themes.

5.1 Aboriginal Participation in Tourism

This study sought to understand Aboriginal participation in tourism and determine the current state and extent of involvement. Participants were asked a variety of questions that related to Aboriginal participation and two sub-themes emerged from the interview process: awareness and involvement/partnerships.

5.1.1 Awareness

To help identify Aboriginal participation and involvement in tourism, the level of awareness of the Aboriginal tourism sector and its position within the provincial and federal tourism industry needed to be identified. Participants were asked whether they thought Aboriginal tourism had established a ‘place’ within the Canadian and British Columbian tourism industry. A number of participants agreed Aboriginal tourism has established a place for various reasons (Whyte, Henry, Neasloss, Parker). Looking closer at the narratives of the interview participants can provide insight into their opinions and roles in Aboriginal tourism.

A Cultural Tourism Advisor from British Columbia’s Ministry of Arts, Culture and Tourism, Bruce Whyte felt First Nations’ culture is a key competitive advantage for Canada’s international tourism market, which would indicate that Aboriginal tourism can and should be viewed in terms of being a branding opportunity for Canada. Keith Henry, CEO of Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia (AtBC), referred to the importance of the ‘Blueprint Strategy’, which is well established in BC and requires working with the Non-Aboriginal tourism sector within the six tourism regions

recognized by Tourism BC. He stated, “The Blueprint strategy is the only agreement and funding support of its kind to grow the Aboriginal cultural tourism industry in Canada”, and feels the relationships have become quite functional in terms of idea sharing and collaboration where possible.

Douglass Neasloss, Operations Manager of Spirit Bear Adventures, feels the greater establishment of Aboriginal tourism could be attributed to improvements made in recent years. He refers to the past in terms of the poor reputation of First Nations’ tourism businesses for example, lack of professionalism or poor quality products. Therefore, his community of Klemtu recognized the need to “get better at whatever we do”, in this case, providing quality tourism experiences. In the case of Spirit Bear Adventures, it was important to experience what other companies were providing and learn how they were operating, in order to ensure long-term sustainability and market readiness of the business. Looking into the future of Spirit Bear Adventures, Neasloss and other company members knew investment in equipment and staff training was necessary to grow the business. Neasloss’ response provides a better understanding of the opportunities tourism can provide for Aboriginal communities, as well as the planning necessary for such opportunities to be successful. Although Aboriginal tourism appears to have established a place in the industry, there is still a lack of awareness domestically of the kinds of experiences available (Henry). Therefore, the Canadian market is an opportunity for Aboriginal tourism to capitalize on.

Barry Parker, Industry Advisor for Tourism from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) felt Aboriginal tourism is still lagging behind in terms of product development and delivery, despite having established a place in the tourism industry. Additionally, he felt there is huge potential and market demand, but a better understanding of the realities of Aboriginal tourism is needed in order to clearly define the direction of the sector.

Other participants believed Aboriginal tourism was still in the process of establishing its place (Vallee, Ross, Pfahler, Interviewee 11, Hood). Paul Vallee, Executive Vice President at Tourism Vancouver felt the challenge with Aboriginal tourism is to find its place in the breadth of products already available and being promoted in Vancouver. However, he believed that Aboriginal tourism has established a place within the provincial market, considering the government investment in recent years, and also credits AtBC with becoming more active and visible in participating in ‘mainstream’ tourism. Furthermore, he stated “AtBC are out there trying to elevate their stature as an association by getting involved in a whole range of things.” Overall, Vallee was unsure of the relationship between Aboriginal tourism and destination marketing organizations or the level of integration.

Simon Ross, from the College of the Rockies, felt Aboriginal tourism is a growing field with a lot of room for improvement in terms of promotion and relationship development. Similarly, Interviewee 11 from the School of Hospitality at Vancouver Community College stated, “It [Aboriginal tourism] has a place to define its product, but hasn’t established it yet. There is an immense amount of opportunity that needs to be capitalized on”. On the other hand, Ursula Pfahler from Poda Communications (an organization that provides tourism training and development) referred to the recent evolution of Aboriginal tourism, citing, for example, an increase in market ready businesses and an increase in community involvement regarding potential tourism development. Terry Hood, General Manager at LinkBC (BC’s hospitality and tourism education network), felt that Aboriginal tourism has evolved tremendously and is a growing area that is being strengthened. Furthermore, Hood felt the Non-Aboriginal tourism sector is beginning to acknowledge the evolution of Aboriginal tourism and appreciate its role and place.

Some participants were asked what stage they thought Aboriginal tourism was in. Whyte and Parker agreed the majority of Aboriginal tourism businesses were small enterprises that were not run in a professional manner and Hood felt Aboriginal tourism is still a developing sector needing support. However, Whyte did note that a small core of Aboriginal tourism businesses (about 20 in BC) have been operating successfully for a number of years. The limited amount of available product is also evident in the Canadian Tourism Commission’s (CTC) marketing of the ‘Significant 28’, which are 28 Aboriginal tourism experiences from across Canada that the CTC markets internationally (CTC, 2008). Certain criteria must be met to be part of the ‘Significant 28’ and ideally this number will increase each year. This fairly recent campaign (began in 2008) is intended to be an on-going initiative to continually encourage high quality product development that will increase the number of market ready Aboriginal tourism businesses that CTC can market internationally (CTC Media Centre, July 9, 2008).

Overall, the responses indicate that Aboriginal tourism has established ‘some’ place within the Canadian and British Columbian tourism industry, indicating a certain level of awareness, however the extent of awareness varied among participants. Some felt there is more presence in BC compared with the rest of Canada. Others indicated Aboriginal tourism has changed significantly, that it provides economic benefits and there is great potential for growth. Yet others cited domestic awareness, product development and integration as current challenges for increasing awareness.

5.1.2 Involvement and Partnerships

To gain an understanding of Aboriginal participation in tourism, it is useful to identify how the Aboriginal community is currently involved in tourism. Participants who were actively involved in cultural tourism planning were asked if the Aboriginal community were *truly* involved in tourism planning. According to Parker, “‘Community’ is too broad of a stroke because then you assume everyone has an opinion” and not everyone needs to be engaged, only the economic development officer, entrepreneur and certain stakeholders, for example cultural keepers. In Parker’s opinion, community members are involved when they participate at the level they should be engaged in. This raises the question as to who determines the ‘level’ of participation.

However, in BC, the First Nations are not integrated with local or regional ‘mainstream’ destination management organizations, which are the main tourism planning and marketing groups throughout the province, despite being increasingly involved in tourism planning in their own communities (Whyte). Nevertheless, according to Whyte, many of these barriers are being broken down as First Nations groups begin to recognize the value of becoming involved with their destination management organization (i.e. the Osoyoos First Nations and the Nk’Mip Resort). The multi million-dollar Nk’Mip Resort offers a variety of attractions and services, including a golf course, winery, spa, accommodation and interpretive centre that were created through strong community leadership and strategic partnerships, which has led the Osoyoos Band to become economically self-reliant (Nk’Mip, 2010). The Nk’Mip Resort is fully integrated with Non-Aboriginal destination marketing organizations and tourism associations.

The first step for First Nations to become more involved in ‘mainstream’ tourism planning is to work with AtBC, because if they are involved in the association they will begin to see industry values (Whyte). Both Whyte and Vallee credit AtBC in its transformation over the past few years, from a struggling organization to one with a clear vision of supporting the development of First Nations through tourism. AtBC’s involvement in provincial industry associations ensures they have a strong voice, and in Whyte’s opinion, “it is growing stronger all the time”. Even though currently there is no formal relationship between AtBC and Tourism Vancouver, it is something that Vallee feels should happen in the future.

In 2009, a Statement of Co-operation was signed between Four Host First Nations (FHFN) and the Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC) that outlined their collaborative working relationship. This partnership was to increase awareness of Aboriginal Cultural Tourism experiences by partnering on communication and media projects, developing and distributing marketing materials and

implementing Aboriginal cultural tourism programming during the Games (CTC Media Centre Feb. 10, 2009). The FHFN and CTC partnership was evident during the Games by interactive trip planning kiosks at the Aboriginal Pavilion and the Aboriginal Artisan and Business Showcase. The interactive kiosks provided visitors with a variety of information on Aboriginal cultural tourism experiences available in Canada. This example of interactive kiosks demonstrates that national destination marketing organizations are developing working relationships with the Aboriginal tourism sector. Though these partnerships are relatively new, they indicate the sector is maturing, by strengthening its position through meaningful partnerships.

BC's Tourism Action Plan (2009) recognized the need to involve Aboriginal communities in order to achieve the goal of doubling tourism revenue. This would suggest more integration of Aboriginal tourism within mainstream tourism planning in the province. Table 3 highlights the specific areas that relate to Aboriginal involvement in this plan.

Table 3: Aboriginal Involvement in BC's Tourism Action Plan

Action	Details	Expected Outcome
Action 4: Government and agencies will increase First Nations investment in the tourism and outdoor recreation sectors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify opportunities for First Nations to partner with new and existing resort operations • Facilitate Aboriginal Tourism BC's implementation of the Aboriginal Tourism Blueprint Strategy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tourism BC will provide \$5 million over three years to Aboriginal Tourism BC for implementation of the strategy's business plan - Confirm Aboriginal Tourism as a marketing priority for Tourism BC • Establish a legacy of First Nations art at Olympic venues • Establish First Nations cultural visitor centres and name significant First Nations features and/or sites in selected parks and protected areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish a baseline for Aboriginal tourism businesses in 2007. Increase Aboriginal tourism businesses by 5% by 2008. • Three new joint venue resorts/lodges with First Nations partners by 2010.
Action 26: Work with Tourism BC to incorporate the following provincial priorities into its business plans for marketing and product development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aboriginal tourism was identified as a priority 	

Source: BC Ministry of Tourism, Culture and the Arts, "Tourism Action Plan", 2009

Aboriginal involvement in tourism planning in BC is currently typified by active community engagement, recent partnerships and government recognition as a tourism priority. However, the extent of involvement in the areas previously mentioned varies.

5.2 Challenges/Barriers to Aboriginal Tourism

There are a variety of challenges or barriers distinctive to Aboriginal tourism development that was revealed from the interviews, which could inhibit the future growth of the sector. The themes that emerged relate to challenges encountered during the tourism development process, during product development and finally, the issue of authenticity.

5.2.1 Development Process

The Aboriginal tourism development process faces some challenges that are identified in this section. Identifying appropriate stakeholders in Aboriginal communities, with a vested interest in the culture is the most common challenge (Whyte). Many First Nations communities in BC are organized in different layers, levels and governments, for example elected Chiefs and Council versus hereditary Chiefs, therefore, both lineages need to be consulted (Whyte). Cecilia Point, Aboriginal Liaison at Tourism BC said there is a challenge in her Musqueam band with people wanting to be formally asked, despite numerous notices seeking participation. She added internal politics also play a role where some refuse to participate simply out of spite for the organizer.

Another challenge identified by the participants was capital investment (Whyte, Henry). Henry provides insight into this challenge,

A lot of communities are still not confident that tourism can be a legitimate business opportunity that can provide socioeconomic benefits to communities. The reality of BC is that there is so much money in resource-based industries (oil, forestry, gas, mining) where companies easily come into communities, with money in hand, and sign over consultation agreements. Therefore, these kinds of opportunities are on the community agenda. A lot of communities do not have capital assets to leverage initial funding to get a business off the ground. A lot may have tourism on their 'list' of things to do, but they do not have the capital investment to make it a reality. Many communities have geographical or cultural assets to probably have a successful tourism enterprise, but the capital investment is just not there.

In addition to the financial challenges, there are capacity issues in communities, making it difficult to even take on tourism projects (Whyte, Parker, Leathem). Even if a community is able to develop an Aboriginal tourism experience, delivering the product is another challenge, again due to capacity issues and the perceived lack of opportunities tourism can provide does not help this issue (Leathem, Henry). Drew Leathem, General Manager of the Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre (SLCC) stated that during the recruitment process for the centre, there was scepticism that led the community to hold meetings to increase awareness of the centre and the opportunities the SLCC and tourism as a whole would provide.

5.2.2 Product Development

Developing the actual product or experience has other challenges that were identified. Leathem felt that the difficulty when developing the SLCC was finding a balance between business and community values. Currently, the centre features 32 front line Aboriginal employees that help create an authentic, culturally rich and personal experience, however this is also expensive and the centre needs to be economically self-sufficient (Leathem). Ultimately, tourism experiences are businesses that require visitors in order to be successful, therefore, what the culture is willing to share must match what the consumer is willing to purchase.

The limited amount of market-ready products that are available is also a challenge. The current amount of high quality, experiential Aboriginal experiences does not meet demand (Whyte, Parker). Additionally, the type of product available is another. Whyte explained why this has been happening,

There is a lot of the same kind of product because if one product is developed and works well, everyone follows the same design for example traditional dance and salmon dinner. Therefore, you end up with the same product offering and we need innovative products.

Whyte also indicated, that in many cases, the customer is being 'performed at', whereas customers would prefer to experience 'the ways of life' themselves for example carving their own paddle or weaving their own basket. Current product offerings are falling short of experience-based, innovative products (Whyte, Parker). Additionally, if high quality products are developed, it makes it easier for people to understand the culture, as indicated by Willie Lewis, Groups Sales Coordinator at the SLCC, "We're not all teepees and headdresses and we're not all big Chiefs and we don't all hunt buffalo". The misrepresentation Lewis is referring to could also be addressed through marketing

efforts. However, marketing was identified as a challenge because the images associated with Aboriginal tourism need to accurately reflect the product offering (Parker). This can be difficult, as Parker stated, “What image can reflect all Aboriginal tourism in Canada? That is a challenge because of the diversity of Canada’s Aboriginal people. For example, how do you say Europe in one cultural reflection?” This challenge may need to be addressed at a local or regional level.

5.2.3 The Issue of Authenticity

Another common concern when developing Aboriginal tourism experiences or products relates to the authenticity of the product or experience. Communities do not want to ‘sell out’ their traditions, however they still want to be able to receive the economic benefits associated with sharing some aspects of their culture. As well, Aboriginal tourism consumers want and expect to receive authentic experiences and products. Therefore, the challenge arises as to how to develop and deliver authentic Aboriginal tourism experiences and products. Participants were asked their opinions on how their organization mitigates the potential problems of cultural exploitation associated with tourism development.

Whyte indicated BC’s Ministry of Tourism, Culture and the Arts is very sensitive to the problem of cultural exploitation, because part of the culture branch’s mandate is to preserve, protect and support the development of art and culture in BC. According to Whyte, this is done in two ways: 1) by involving the community and 2) by respecting the culture. Furthermore he stated,

If we acknowledge and respect the ideas of the community as we’re planning any kind of tourism development, then we’re going to get a tourism product that is endorsed and supported by the local community. You will have their buy-in, support and then expect a higher level of success.

According to Parker, it is always better to get permission first when planning to share a cultural product, or risk suffering the wrath of the community. Furthermore, he stated, “The greatest police in terms of controlling cultural content are the community themselves. Government is not the culture cop, we don’t make rules and we don’t enforce them.” Parker believes communities need to develop a ‘cultural code of ethics’ that would apply to tourism, as well we other cultural industries. When attempting to provide authentic experiences, community consultation is essential (Pfahler, Parker).

One example where community engagement has proven to be successful was during the development of the Squamish Lil’wat Cultural Centre (SLCC) in Whistler, BC. Drew Leatham,

current General Manager at the centre was involved from the beginning of the project. He explained the idea of the centre was to engage the community and build something to be ‘proud of’, and not be seen as a ‘White outsider’ making all the decisions. There was community consultation and involvement from the beginning, as well Non-Aboriginal consultants used throughout the process (Leathem). During the construction phase, the construction company was 51% Aboriginal owned, Squamish and Lil’wat representatives oversaw development and community resources were used. During the Exhibit Phase, a Cultural Experience Team was created that included three members from each community who were selected because the community trusted they could reflect and represent the community in the exhibits (Leathem). The role of the Cultural Experience Team was to first find out what the community wanted, and then they were responsible for all aspects of the exhibits, gift shop and café, such as overall vision, staffing requirements, products to offer and pricing (Leathem).

Keith Henry acknowledged cultural exploitation is a big problem for AtBC, because communities often raise questions as to how to sell their culture without compromising it. In response to this, AtBC designed the ‘Aboriginal Cultural Expressions Protocol’ agreement that will help communities decide and determine how much and what aspects of their culture they are willing to share. According to Henry, this protocol has helped with the level of comfort (from the Aboriginal side) by determining what communities are prepared and willing to do if they are interested in sharing their culture. Community involvement and/or consultation is necessary for this protocol to be successful as Henry stated,

The idea is that by using the protocol agreement the community would be supportive of what and how their culture is being shared. There is a fine line between individual entrepreneurial business desires and community desires, which can be difficult and hopefully the protocol will help to make this clear. For example, an Aboriginal artist will go ahead and display their artwork/culture regardless of what the leadership in the community says. Therefore, a protocol agreement should alleviate these kinds of frictions that can and have occurred.

Henry is not sure if there has ever been a similar protocol developed in Canada, which suggests the advanced state of the Aboriginal tourism sector in BC, compared with other regions in Canada.

Cecilia Point believes Aboriginal tourism is being developed properly and according to protocol,

I am pretty impressed when I hear on the phone that employees understand the protocol. For example, a photo was sent into the image bank labelled 'totem poles' but the employee said, "I don't think these are totem poles, I think they are mortuary poles". Most people here are well-educated.

Willie Lewis feels tourism does not exploit culture and traditions because only certain elements of his culture are being shared in an effort to keep them alive. Douglass Neasloss felt though tourism could potentially exploit culture and traditions, it can actually help, so his community developed a 'Watchman' program, which protects resources and promotes tourism education. In Neasloss' opinion,

We want it there...tourism is a question: are you selling your culture or are we promoting it? [It requires] going back to the elders and explaining this is what we want to do and this is how we're going to do it and we want to do it in the most respectful way.

Gary Johnston, from the Native Education Centre, stated some First Nations do not want to be involved in tourism. He felt the key concern was lack of control and awareness; knowing what is culturally appropriate and approved of, in terms of what to share and what not to share. He also believed academic training plays a role in addressing such problems. For example, an increase in Aboriginal control over cultural expressions associated with tourism and also a greater understanding of the benefits tourism can provide, could mean increased involvement in tourism for Aboriginal communities.

Parker raised the point that tourism is not always to blame for exploitation and perhaps a more coordinated effort is needed when tourism and other cultural developments are proposed. Though participants indicated the need to provide authentic Aboriginal tourism experiences, the feasibility of the business needs to be considered. Leathem explained that the biggest challenge for the SLCC was to find ways to represent the communities while also meeting business objectives. The SLCC was supposed to be self-sufficient in two years, however Leathem does not think this will happen and further explained "there needs to be a compromise between [economic] self-sufficiency and traditional representation, authenticity and community stipulations". Furthermore, Parker believed cultural sensitivity, which is part of the product offering is an approach to business, but not

the way you do business, “We’re not ‘selling out’ culture, but we’re not giving away culture. It is all about the business; tourism is about business.”

AtBC’s Cultural Tourism Authenticity Program is a way to ensure that the products offered by Aboriginal tourism operators are authentic and meet the market needs. Aboriginal tourism businesses that meet the stringent criteria are recognized as ‘Authentic Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Businesses’, which identifies these businesses as leaders in BC and amongst the elite in Canada and around the world (AtBC, 2010). These businesses will be able to brand themselves as such with the use of the authenticity logo (Figure 1).

The criteria was designed to ensure that the businesses that are certified raise the bar in terms of quality standards, market and export readiness, Aboriginal employment, quantity of cultural components and Aboriginal protocol (AtBC, 2010). Although currently, not every Aboriginal cultural tourism business will be able to meet the strict criteria, this program encourages businesses to continually strive for such recognition, which ultimately should provide businesses with a competitive advantage. This program is evidence of the action that AtBC has taken in response to what the market wants, as the ‘Blueprint Strategy’ outlined visitors desire authentic experiences and want assurance that the experiences are, in fact, authentic and being shared in a respectful manner.

Figure 1: Authentic Aboriginal Certification Logo



Source: AtBC, 2010

5.3 Capacity-Building Through Tourism

Participants identified three ways in which tourism can aid in capacity-building for Aboriginal communities. Whether through education, training, or social development programs, tourism can provide different avenues for Aboriginal communities to increase current capacity levels. Capacity-building through tourism can also lead to cultural revitalization, as students will need to learn more about and better understand their own culture in order to share it with travelers. A difficulty with

conventional learning systems is that they do not incorporate traditional teaching styles of Aboriginal culture, which advocate a holistic, lifelong learning approach (CCL, 2007).

In terms of education levels, 30.6% of the Aboriginal population in BC has no certificate, diploma or degree compared to only 11.6% of Non-Aboriginals (BC Stats, 2006). Of the 45.0% of Aboriginal people who have completed some post-secondary education, 15.4% received an apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma, 18.3% received a non-university certificate or diploma and 11.3% received a university certificate, degree or diploma (BC Stats, 2006). Additionally, 73.8% of those living off reserve had completed high school or higher, compared to 57.0% of those living on reserve (BC Stats, 2006). Overall, those living off reserve achieved higher education levels, which could be attributed to accessibility to education or increased availability of education when living off reserve. Tourism training and education may be a realistic path to achieve higher education levels because such programs are offered in a variety of formats from certificate programs to degree programs.

5.3.1 Changing Population

Aboriginal people are becoming increasingly urban with 74.0% living off reserve and 21.0% living in the Greater Vancouver area alone (BC Stats, 2006). The population is also young, with 45.9% under the age of 25 and 5.1% over the age of 65 (BC Stats, 2006). It is no surprise that Indigenous languages are not being retained with so few elders to pass along the traditional languages and teachings. Only 9.3% of the total Aboriginal population in BC have knowledge of Aboriginal languages and even less, 4.0% speak Aboriginal languages at home. Overall, 23.5% of those living on reserve have knowledge of Aboriginal language compared to only 4.3% of those living off reserve (BC Stats, 2006). Not surprisingly, it is the seniors that have knowledge of the languages where 62.4% living on reserve compared with 15.4% living off reserve (BC stats, 2006). It is clear the aging population has the knowledge of Aboriginal languages and likely many other traditions unique to Aboriginal culture. With a young population that is becoming more urban, it is becoming more difficult to pass along such languages and other traditions. Tourism has been identified as one way to preserve aspects of Aboriginal culture, while educating youth and instilling pride in their heritage. Douglass Neasloss, talks about this issue,

Part of the reason I wanted to get involved in tourism was to learn about my own culture and traditions. Both my grandparents died when I was young so I didn't have [that] role when I was growing up. So this gave me a reason to get out and learn, maybe not from

my own family but from others in the community. A lot of families are very reserved and in today's day and age it is getting more challenging to learn languages and traditions because of cell phones, video and computer games *etc* and people don't want to learn these things.

Neasloss felt tourism was the best way to get involved, hear the stories and learn about his culture, which then allowed him to share it with others.

Recognizing that it is more difficult to preserve languages and culture while living off reserve, teaching youth how to represent and share aspects of their culture through tourism, may help revitalize these traditions, languages and culture. Additionally, due to the limited economic opportunities in some communities, tourism could be an option for those who choose to stay on reserve.

There is no denying the social development issues and conditions many Aboriginal communities face. In fact, one of the reasons Point first got involved with tourism was because it was a positive way to be involved in the community and she personally wanted to share her Musqueam culture, "I am proud of who I am and I want to share it".

5.3.2 Social Development and Tourism Training Programs

Participants identified social development as an area of concern when proposing tourism initiatives for Aboriginal communities. According to Whyte, there are not many people who have the confidence or communication skills necessary for engaging with strangers. Hosts and interpreters also need the 'line of baloney', and many people in Aboriginal communities are not comfortable speaking with outsiders (Whyte).

One program that focuses on social and life skill development through tourism is the Aboriginal Youth Ambassador Program (AYA). The purpose of the program was to use tourism to expose Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal people to each other by showcasing culture, thereby breaking down barriers between cultures (Leathem). The program began with wilderness programs and has evolved to include major tourism businesses (Leathem).

Simon Ross, Coordinator of Revitalizing Individual Strength through Education (RISE) program, felt that a challenge to encouraging participation in development and training programs is that in many cases the Aboriginal population is undereducated and may have substance abuse issues. This can make delivering programs difficult and needs to be considered in the planning process

(Ross). The RISE program was developed for Aboriginal people to improve self worth and find ways to either finish high school or re-enter the job market through tourism leadership development and training (Ross). Ross felt that by taking the education into the field, the program attempts to re-connect Aboriginal culture with history and society, while re-instilling the connection and understanding of nature. The other aspect of the program is to provide training, through certification programs such as, FirstHost, SuperHost, Serving it Right, Food Safe, which will allow students to re-enter the workforce through entry-level tourism positions.

This type of program is one way to increase capacity in Aboriginal communities. Ross believes this program could be applicable to other Aboriginal communities, because it combines life skills with tourism skills and training, by providing the building blocks students need to be successful. However, from Ross' perspective, the desire to deliver this kind of program needs to come from within the community, because each community will have certain needs to address. Community consultation is critical during development and was very extensive with the Ktuxana nation, who was involved in all capacities from program proposal and development to program recruitment and delivery (Ross). However, a gap can still exist despite extensive community consultation as Ross explains,

We needed to have a lot more communication of what the community really wanted. As much as we had a lot of community consultation, not everybody really understood what the whole process was or the outcome was. And I don't know how much the community really knew about what they needed at that moment.

Another example of building self-confidence and empowering youth is the First Nations Snowboard Team. This team is comprised of all Aboriginal snowboarders who meet the requirements of the athlete's agreement, which includes being drug- and alcohol-free, and maintaining a C+ average (FN Riders, 2010). These members can train to become elite athletes, recreational riders or coaches and instructors. Often, members will gain employment at local ski hills, which increases skill development and self-confidence, while participating in the tourism industry. The team received initial funding from the Aboriginal Youth Sport Legacy Fund that was created as part of the legacy agreements with the FHFN during the 2010 Bid phase. Though the success of the program can be tracked by the number of participants, the number who become instructors, or the number who gain employment at local mountains, Katherine Ringrose from

Legacies Now stated, “often the successes are related to things like ‘how it changed my life’ as opposed to actually ‘measuring success’.”

AtBC’s Young Adult Achievement Award is another way to increase awareness of tourism opportunities, while also recognizing the young people who have succeeded in tourism. Two participants have received this award: Douglass Neasloss in 2006 and Willie Lewis in 2009. Both agreed being recognized with the award increased awareness among young people in their community of the opportunities tourism can provide. Neasloss stated that prior to receiving the award he had difficulty recruiting staff and now he must turn away applicants. According to Neasloss, the award meant more than just individual recognition, and included community recognition, which was very important. It was very difficult to get people involved and to understand what tourism can do for the community, but the award helped to increase the awareness of the opportunities (Neasloss). This award showcases young Aboriginal people who endorse tourism and can be positive role models for the community.

Tourism training programs provide necessary skill development to allow entry into the work force. They also provide an easier transition into post secondary education. Currently, there are training programs offered by Aboriginal Tourism BC, and the Native Education Centre, which are workshops designed to teach necessary job training such as customer service skills or cultural interpretation. ‘Aboriginal Tourism Trailblazers Cultural Interpretation’ developed by AtBC provides entry-level training and development for those beginning a career in tourism. Also offered is ‘Train-the-Trainer’, which allows individuals to conduct the ‘Trailblazers Cultural Interpretation’ program at the community level. The following Table 4 outlines tourism training programs available in BC.

Table 4: Aboriginal Tourism Training Programs Available in BC

Institution/Organization	Program/Course
Aboriginal Tourism Association of BC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trailblazers: Cultural Interpretation <i>Participant Training</i> - Trailblazers: Cultural Interpretation <i>Train the Trainer</i> - Trailblazers: Aboriginal Tourism Business Development <i>Participant Training</i> - Trailblazers: Aboriginal Tourism Business Development <i>Train the Trainer</i>
Native Education College	FirstHost Customer Service workshop

Squamish chief, Ian Campbell, believes the SLCC provides Squamish and Lil’wat Nations with an opportunity in the growing Aboriginal tourism cultural industry, while also being a job skills and cultural appreciation training facility for youth (Vancouver Sun, Mar. 20, 2010). Currently, at the

SLCC, there are 32 Aboriginal front line ambassadors and two of the nine administrative and management positions are held by Aboriginal people; the goal is to promote the front line staff to the administrative and management positions through training and capacity building (Leathem). This is one example of involving Aboriginal people in entry-level tourism positions with the aim to promote internally to eventually become fully operated by Aboriginal people. Leathem acknowledges ‘growing pains’, but feels Aboriginal people could fill all positions in the future.

5.3.3 Post-Secondary Tourism Education

Tourism education programs at the college and university level can provide an education and eventual career path for Aboriginal people, as they allow students to combine traditional knowledge with contemporary teachings. Currently, there are a number of tourism education programs in BC and a number of these have specific Aboriginal tourism components that are outlined in Table 5.

Table 5: Aboriginal Tourism Component Offerings in BC Post Secondary Institutions

Institution	Program/Course
Camosun College	Perspectives in Indigenous Tourism
Capilano University	First Nation Tourism Co-op Diploma Program
College of the Rockies	Revitalizing Individual Strength through Education-RISE
Native Education College	Aboriginal Tourism Management Diploma Aboriginal Tourism Management Operations Program Aboriginal Interpreter Credential Program
Northwest Community College	Guardian Watchman Certificate Program Culinary Arts Diploma Program
Royal Roads University	Intro to Aboriginal Tourism
Thompson Rivers University	Aboriginal Tourism Program
University of Northern BC	BC Nature Based Tourism - Indigenous/Cultural Tourism Stream Indigenous Tourism and Recreation Intro to Aboriginal Cultural Tourism Aboriginal Tourism Marketing Aboriginal Tourism Marketing
Vancouver Community College	Culinary Arts - Aboriginal Specialty
Vancouver Island College	Aboriginal Tourism

Many of the programs are culturally appropriate because they incorporate characteristics of Aboriginal learning. The key attributes of Aboriginal learning are

- Learning is holistic
- Learning is a lifelong process
- Learning is experiential

- Learning is rooted in Aboriginal languages and cultures
- Learning is spiritually oriented
- Learning is communal and involves family, community and Elders
- Learning is an integration of Aboriginal and Western knowledge (CCL, 2007)

Additionally, the programs combine traditional knowledge and cultural interpretation with business objectives, which may be incentive for Aboriginal people to participate in tourism-related programs and perhaps encourage them to continue in the post-secondary education system. According to Pfahler, “[t]his may be an easier transition for Aboriginal students”.

Despite the number and breadth of programs available, there are still barriers for students to enroll and complete post secondary programs. According to Hood, Manager of LinkBC, only recently has there been a more coordinated effort among institutions to better utilize the available programs to maximize enrolment in Aboriginal tourism programs. He added that the perceived challenges associated with this effort are effectively linking programs across institutions, providing meaningful training, and ensuring appropriate programs receive funding and support. Therefore, maintaining a relationship with industry education partners is essential.

This relationship is evident by the recent MOU between LinkBC and AtBC to work together to support education, training and Human Resource components identified in the ‘Blueprint Strategy’ (Hood). This partnership between LinkBC and AtBC led to the development of ‘BC Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Resource Handbook’, which outlines delivery guidelines and specialty courses for BC post-secondary institutions. Aboriginal tourism courses are usually developed as a sub-set of tourism management certificate or diploma programs, thus the handbook was designed to support institutions that currently deliver Aboriginal tourism programs, while also providing information to those who may offer such programs in the future (LinkBC, 2009). Highlights of the handbook include an overview of AtBC’s ‘Blueprint Strategy’, an overview of Aboriginal tourism specialty courses with learning outcomes and instructor resources, and deliver guidelines that include characteristics of Aboriginal learning and knowledge (LinkBC, 2009).

The Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Forum was one component outlined in the MOU, as a way to gain information and provide direction for the future of Aboriginal tourism education through a co-hosted forum. In September 2009, a Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Forum was held in Whistler that brought together the province’s tourism education institutions with the goal to create a coordinated approach to delivering Aboriginal tourism programs.

The representatives were instructors and professors who had expertise in tourism programs, and in many cases, also expertise in Aboriginal tourism.

As a participant in the forum, the researcher was able to observe how this forum was conducted. There were certain protocols used throughout the forum, such as opening and closing blessings, because many participants were Aboriginal and the forum was about Aboriginal tourism education. The researcher was able to observe as well as participate in the discussions. This allowed the researcher to gain a better understanding of how the Aboriginal community is involved in tourism planning as it relates to training and development. There was a panel discussion for Aboriginal tourism program instructors to share their current approaches and issues. Following the panel, small group discussions occurred, where each group was assigned a specific problem that relates to Aboriginal tourism training and education. This open dialogue format allowed all participants to voice opinions and concerns, which were eventually compiled in the summary report. Those currently involved in Aboriginal tourism and/or Aboriginal tourism education were determining the future of Aboriginal tourism education and training in BC. The forum also allowed participants to partake in an Aboriginal tourism experience, because it was held at the Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre (SLCC). The day began with a guided tour of the centre and traditional Aboriginal cuisine was served during lunch.

The key recommendations from the forum are included in Table 6. Some of these items required immediate action and all are to be implemented by the 2010-2011 academic year. These recommendations establish clear guidelines and timeframes towards achieving a more coordinated effort to increase Aboriginal tourism education and training.

Table 6: Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Forum Key Recommendations

Action Item	Goal
Establish and convene a working group for Aboriginal tourism training and education shared guidelines	Review the report and collect input into draft into draft concepts for a set of shared guidelines
Develop a draft protocol for provincial Aboriginal tourism training and education shared guidelines by building on the four components from the forum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Develop common provincial approaches and common resources -Signed MOUs between institutions -Develop specific programming and use a core and specialization approach by institutions -Recognize Trailblazers/RISE programs and other non-credit programs within the TLS -Develop guidelines for funders -Develop provincial communication strategies
AtBC to serve as a 'validator' and catalyst and encourage provincial delivery approaches	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Identify 2 or 3 lead institutions and one joint delivery model using shared guidelines -Offer more trailblazers programs in partnership

	with colleges and universities -Identify a more efficient use of resources
Host a follow up Aboriginal Tourism Education and Training “partnership development” Forum	-Report on provincial activity and innovations -Follow-up on recommendations -Refine shared guidelines
Develop an Aboriginal tourism career awareness resource	-Increase awareness of tourism/hospitality among youth and career changers -Increase enrollments
Update federal and provincial government education/training programs supporters on recommendations and progress made	-Communicate key recommendations -Receive suggestions, support and potential involvement
Promote the creation of a fund to support Aboriginal education and training	-Encourage greater support for Aboriginal tourism workforce development

Source: AtBC & LinkBC, Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Forum Summary Report, 2009

Some participants were asked whether the goals derived from the forum were realistic. Since the forum, changes were already happening at Camosun College, for example, changing the two-year diploma program to a one-year certificate program that would lead into a diploma program (Pfahler). Pfahler believes this “breaks things down a bit for people who are not so used to attending/participating in the post-secondary education system, but still gives the option to continue and not just into a tourism diploma, but also Indigenous leadership diploma”. Similarly, Ross and the College of the Rockies is also a proponent of educational courses that promote and develop Aboriginal tourism, and in his opinion, “There are two sides: AtBC is trying to develop Aboriginal tourism in BC and we’re trying to help Aboriginal students be successful”.

The 2010 Winter Olympics have also played a role in increasing capacity and encouraging skill development of Aboriginal people through involvement in tourism. As part of an Olympic legacy agreement with the Squamish Nation, money was invested in Capilano University to create an Aboriginal Tourism Management program (Hood). The e-legacies project, developed by LinkBC, is another Olympic-related initiative created to increase awareness of Aboriginal involvement in the games (LinkBC). The resources related to Aboriginal participation were created with input from VANOC, the FHFN and AtBC (Hood). Hood believes there could be opportunity post-Games, suggesting that this type of project could be a way to increase the profile of Aboriginal tourism in BC.

The creation of Vancouver Community College’s (VCC) Aboriginal Culinary program is another example of a tourism training opportunity that arose from the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The FHFN wanted and needed to increase capacity in their communities and VCC was attempting to build Aboriginal programming in the trades, thus creating a “perfect storm” (Interviewee 11) because a partnership between FHFN and VCC would enable each party to fulfill their agenda. Of the many

areas that required capacity building, the FHFN identified culinary as a top priority. As a result, coordination among communities and members of the FHFN began to develop a program that would meet provincial standards, while showcasing Aboriginal values and culture (Interviewee 11). This program concentrates on the cultural values associated with cuisine. It allows students to work in a field and develop skills they are interested in by showcasing their culture using food, which is something that is not being developed in other culinary programs (Interviewee 11). An Aboriginal culinary team prepared daily feasts during the Olympics and proceeds from the events will help send an 18-member team to the 2010 IKA Culinary Olympics in Germany (Vancouver Sun, Feb. 19, 2010). AtBC supports the team, and showcasing Aboriginal cuisines during the Games should get some much-needed recognition.

5.4 Olympic Involvement

The Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics mark the first time an Indigenous community has achieved official partner status on a Olympic organizing committee. The Four Host First Nations (FHFN) worked collaboratively with VANOC in the planning and hosting of the Games. This study focused on three aspects that related to Aboriginal involvement in the Games: (1) awareness of Aboriginal culture and tourism, (2) participation, and (3) legacy planning.

5.4.1 Increased Awareness of Aboriginal Culture and Tourism

The Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics provided an opportunity to showcase the Aboriginal culture of British Columbia and Canada to approximately 3 billion viewers who watched the Olympics (VANOC, 2010). The CTC received \$26 million in federal funding to execute an Olympic Games tourism strategy and CTC senior vice-president, Greg Klassen, referred to Aboriginal tourism as a ‘perfect match’ with Canada’s brand because both feature storytelling and experiential travel (Vancouver Sun, Feb. 11, 2009). The Olympics provided a world stage for international visitors to learn about and experience Aboriginal culture; it was hoped visitors would choose to visit areas outside of metro Vancouver thereby distributing the tourism potential further afield. Considering this opportunity, tourism professionals were asked whether the Olympics acted as a catalyst to build stronger Aboriginal tourism products.

Whyte believed the Olympics made the senior levels of government aware of the value of Aboriginal culture to BC, because on the world stage, after mountains and scenery, First Nations

culture is the next biggest attraction. Therefore, investment was needed in order to have product available in time for the Games and resulted in some major investments in Aboriginal cultural facilities like the SLCC and Haida Gwaii interpretive centre (Whyte). Olympic funding built the SLCC and there are more carvings and designs that have come out of the partnership with the FHFN and VANOC (Lewis). The richness of Aboriginal culture creates good media stories and imagery which helps increase overall awareness of Aboriginal tourism experiences (Vallee)

However, some participants felt the Olympics did not play as big a role. Henry thought people overestimated the impacts of the Games. He did not view the Olympics as a catalyst, but instead as a supporter of Aboriginal tourism development, “We don’t want to be cheerleaders during the games; we want business opportunities. Remember that the Olympics are a project and AtBC and cultural tourism still exists long after the games are over.”

The Aboriginal Tourism Association of BC used the Olympics as an opportunity to increase awareness of Aboriginal cultural tourism. Table 7 highlights the activities AtBC was involved in during the hosting of the Games. Henry referred to the limited time the Games provided in terms of marketing, however it appears AtBC took full advantage of this opportunity to increase their profile.

Table 7: AtBC 2010 Winter Olympic Games Participation

Location	Activity
Pan Pacific Hotel Vancouver – Accredited Media Location 999 Canada Place	Kla-how-ya: Welcome to Aboriginal Tourism BC. Daily Exhibit Showcasing Aboriginal Experiences <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aboriginal themed backdrop and stage designed and installed to support daily cultural drumming, singing and dancing performances in hotel lobby • Also storytelling and demonstrations of weaving and carving occurred at this location • Concept included authentic design elements from First Nations across BC
BC/Canada Pavilion at the Vancouver Art Gallery 750 Hornby Street	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theme of Pavilion is BC Forests • Daily AtBC programming showcased artisans and members that worked with this theme: carvers, cedar bark weaving, birch bark biting and the Spirit Bear • An AtBC Trailblazer was at this location throughout the day
Aboriginal Business and Artisan Showcase Vancouver Community College 250 West Pender Street	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AtBC booth for the duration of the Games for visitors to get information about Aboriginal cultural tourism in BC • AtBC members featured throughout this time on 2 day rotation

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vignettes shown throughout duration of Games • AtBC members involved in Fashion Show at this location
Aboriginal Pavilion – Chief’s House	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AtBC worked with Four Host First Nations and provided the AtBC Trailblazers for staffing at the pavilion.
Robson Square – Unaccredited Media Location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AtBC showcased Aboriginal Dance groups daily from 12:30pm-1pm on covered stage next to skating rink • Program of 17 performances

Source: Aboriginal Tourism BC, 2010

In addition to the permanent activities AtBC was involved in during the hosting of the Games, AtBC was also involved in a number of Media Events as outlined in Table 8.

Table 8: AtBC 2010 Winter Olympic Games Media Events

Date	Event	Details
Feb. 11, 2010	Media Preview of AtBC Kla-how-ya: Welcome to Aboriginal Experiences BC	9am-7pm Pan Pacific Lobby Showcasing Aboriginal Culture exhibit
Feb. 11, 2010	Aboriginal Tourism BC Media Gala Reception	7pm-11pm Pan Pacific Lobby
Feb. 12, 2010	Canada Tourism Commission Day at Aboriginal Pavilion	Celebrations outside for Torch Relay’s last public stop before the opening ceremony
Feb. 13, 2010	Aboriginal Fashion Week	Aboriginal Business Centre at the Vancouver Community College Daily Showcase
Feb. 16, 2010	Tourism Day at the Olympics	10am Media press conference Robson Square
Feb. 16, 2010	BC/Canada Pavilion Tourism Media Reception	Showcasing Aboriginal Experiences Evening Media Event
Feb. 19, 2010	Ministry of Tourism, Culture and the Arts and Aboriginal Tourism BC hosted Media Event	12pm-2pm Robson Square Business Enterprise Showcase Showcasing Aboriginal Cultural Tourism in BC

Source: Aboriginal Tourism BC, 2010

The number of activities and events indicate that AtBC was involved significantly leading up to and during the Games.

Some participants were sceptical as to how the tourism opportunities would be felt across the province, because the emphasis was on Vancouver and the FHFN communities (Pfahler, Ross). There was a large difference between what was happening around Vancouver and Whistler compared with the rest of the province, thus other communities might have been neglected (Pfahler, Ross).

However, the Olympics did raise awareness overall of Aboriginal tourism and the invitation for Aboriginal communities across Canada to share a culture on a global stage that has been suppressed in the past, is an achievement that could present future opportunities (Ross). These responses indicated that people knew about potential opportunities for the host nations but were unsure how Aboriginal involvement would benefit communities not in close proximity to Whistler and Vancouver.

5.4.2 Participation

The Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee set a goal to achieve ‘unprecedented participation’ of the Aboriginal community in the planning and hosting of the Games. Even before Vancouver was awarded the games, the FHFN were involved in the bidding phase (Dunn, 2007). Aboriginal participation was achieved leading up to and during the Games throughout the areas of economic development, sport and youth, partnerships and collaboration and cultural involvement (FHFN, 2010), which is detailed in Appendix D.

Participants were asked their opinion regarding VANOC’s goal of ‘unprecedented participation’. Hilary Dunn, Director of Aboriginal Participation from VANOC felt a level of unprecedented participation was reached, because all aspects of Aboriginal engagement were ‘firsts’ and she also indicated wherever there was an opportunity to involve the Aboriginal community, it was capitalized on. Point felt VANOC was very aware of the protocol issues regarding working with Aboriginal people based on her experiences as a Musqueam Band member and Ross felt VANOC did a good job developing relationships with Aboriginal communities across Canada. Lewis and Neasloss both commended the efforts of VANOC in increasing awareness of Aboriginal culture through participation.

Others agreed ‘unprecedented Aboriginal participation’ was a goal they would endorse, but one that is difficult to quantify and only time will reveal the extent of and comprehensiveness during participation (Pfahler, Whyte, Vallee, Hood). Additionally, Henry agreed it was an inspiring goal,

... but I’m not sure how they will measure this at the end of the Games. I support VANOC and the work they are doing with FHFN, but I’m really disappointed with what is really coming out of the Games in terms of ‘real’ opportunities. I hope Aboriginal cultural tourism is not simply a ‘decal’ on the games but an actual, real partner. I’m not holding my breath but I hope VANOC takes note of this and measures this at the end of games.

Ultimately, there was an unprecedented level of participation by the Aboriginal community during the 2010 Winter Games compared to Aboriginal engagement in previous Games. VANOC, working in partnership with the FHFN was able to capitalize on opportunities that would increase involvement of Aboriginal people from the host First Nations and throughout Canada.

Unprecedented participation was achieved because VANOC was successful in incorporating Aboriginal participation in elements beyond cultural expressions. However, as indicated by participants, measuring the degree of participation is a challenge and further investigation would be needed to accurately determine VANOC's success in achieving unprecedented participation.

Since this was the first time in Olympic history an Indigenous group was engaged to such a great extent, there were some challenges. Dunn identified maintaining relationships as most important, which can be difficult because this task required working with a variety of people, both internally and externally. According to Dunn, in past Olympic planning, the 'Aboriginal' component was not considered until it was too late to plan meaningful programs and implement engagement strategies. Therefore, in order to achieve the goal, early planning, teamwork and creative problem solving was essential.

VANOC faced criticisms regarding their partnership with FHFN, but the numerous public appearances by First Nations leaders indicated the equal and strong relationship between VANOC and the FHFN (Dunn). Communication was key, especially among Band Council and Elders because it was difficult to communicate the opportunities and benefits of Aboriginal community involvement in the Games, particularly to those people not directly involved (Dunn).

The general public also needed to be educated on Aboriginal involvement in order to increase awareness (Dunn). Sustainability Reports were released annually by VANOC and included one chapter that was devoted to Aboriginal participation and the achievements made to date. Once the FHFN achieved official partner status, articles were profiled in various newspapers that either supported or refuted Aboriginal involvement in the Games. However, it was not until April 2009 that the Vancouver Sun, a popular newspaper in Vancouver, profiled Aboriginal involvement in a six-part series. Titled "First Nations and the 2010 Olympics", the series outlined the role and responsibilities of the FHFN. This series provided insight to the relationship between FHFN and VANOC.

The researcher was living in Vancouver during the nine months leading up to the Olympic Games and was able to gain perspective on how the public was being informed of Aboriginal participation. The month before the Games began, CTV, the official broadcaster of the Games included stories featured on nightly newscasts that profiled various aspects of Aboriginal involvement

in the Olympics. The researcher noticed a significant increase in news stories and articles that related to Aboriginal involvement in the two months leading up to the opening ceremonies. The official website for the Olympics, www.vancouver2010.com as well as the official website for the FHFN, www.fourhostfirstnations.com provided extensive information about the relationship. However, accessing information on specific websites requires the user to actively search for such information, as opposed to the information being available on news sites, in newspapers or on the television.

Despite public lack of awareness of the partnership during the planning phases, in the months leading up to the games there was media coverage on the relationship between VANOC and the FHFN and the role the Aboriginal community was playing in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. When asked about the success of FHFN involvement, Tewanee Joseph, CEO of FHFN replied, “This has been an overwhelming experience. A success beyond my wildest dreams.” The numbers confirm this success with over 242,000 visitors to the Aboriginal Pavilion, over 85,000 to the Aboriginal Business Showcase and approximately 610 Aboriginal performers put on 224 shows at the pavilion (FHFN, 2010).

As an observer, the researcher was able to experience firsthand the many Aboriginal cultural performances, demonstrations and showcases held during the Olympics. The Aboriginal ‘component’ was highly visible and promoted throughout the Olympics. The Aboriginal Pavilion was the so-called ‘hub’ of Aboriginal culture and entertainment. The pride that performers, hosts and volunteers exuded by sharing aspects of their culture with visitors was contagious. Beyond involvement in official areas such as the Aboriginal Pavilion, communities were using the Olympics as a chance to increase community pride. Community members felt that Olympic involvement was an opportunity to mentor youth, which is a key activity when the majority of the Aboriginal population is under 18 (Vancouver Sun, Apr. 7, 2009).

5.4.3 Legacy Planning

Legacy planning is an essential aspect in Olympic planning. Unique to the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Winter Games was the creation of Legacies Now in 2000, a not-for-profit organization that built support for Vancouver’s bid (Legacies Now, 2009). The goal of Legacies Now is “to create sustainable legacies that will benefit all British Columbians as a result of hosting the 2010 Olympic Winter Games” (Legacies Now, 2009). Legacies Now focused on *social* legacy planning and some of these programs were designed specifically to benefit the Aboriginal community (Ringrose). The

Legacies Now program worked with communities in BC to increase involvement and excitement for the Games, which was especially essential for communities not directly affected by the Games. This new concept of social legacy may soon be a requirement in future bid phases (Ringrose). During the Bid phase the FHFN received legacy agreements and the following programs were created with funds from these agreements:

- Aboriginal Sport Gallery at BC Sports Hall of Fame
- Aboriginal Youth Sport Legacy Fun (AYSLF)
- Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Youth Legacy Program
- Aboriginal Youth Sports Challenge

The ‘Find Your Passion in Sport’ poster campaign, in partnership with the FHFN, celebrated young, talented, up-and-coming Aboriginal athletes from across Canada. The posters were distributed to classrooms in Aboriginal communities throughout the country to inspire and teach young Aboriginal people about setting goals and working to achieve them. According to Dunn, Aboriginal involvement enriched the Games. Aboriginal involvement in the 2010 Games and the many ‘firsts’ that were achieved, is inspirational and evidence that Aboriginal participation should be incorporated in future Olympic planning (Dunn; Vancouver Sun, March 2, 2010). Despite the economic benefits that resulted from Games related activities, FHFN CEO, Tewanee Joseph, felt the most important legacy that has come from Aboriginal participation is “the new model of inclusion to deal directly with the thorny issues that have for so long divided us. The new model is based on partnerships – Aboriginal, business and government – and it works. Our successes here offer documented proof” (FHFN March 3, 2010). The FHFN Society will likely continue working together as a private entity, as Joseph stated, “We want to breathe new life into the Four Host First Nations” (Vancouver Sun, March 2, 2010).

Investing in Aboriginal youth was a priority for many communities. The biggest legacy, according to Squamish Chief Ian Campbell is showing Aboriginal youths anything is possible,

There were over 300 youths from across the country here as ambassadors. My measure of success is what the youth walked away with. My hope is this will empower our young people to know they have a place in the world to draw forth their traditional knowledge as a solid foundation to build success in whatever they choose (Vancouver Sun, March 2, 2010).

The physical or 'brick and mortar' legacies left behind after the Games are also benefitting Aboriginal communities, as the Musqueam will obtain the Aboriginal Pavilion to use as a cultural centre on the reserve and a portion of Tseil-Waututh's legacy funding will go towards a youth centre (Vancouver Sun, March 2, 2010).

5.5 Significance of Aboriginal Tourism

Participants were asked what they felt the significance of Aboriginal tourism was to the Aboriginal community, BC and Canada.

5.5.1 The Aboriginal Community

Participant's responses revealed the significance of Aboriginal tourism to the Aboriginal community was cultural revitalization and economic diversity. It is becoming increasingly difficult to preserve Aboriginal culture and languages, as the population is younger and further removed from traditional practices and those that teach such traditions. In addition, many Aboriginal communities are located in isolated locations with limited economic prospects; therefore, tourism has the potential to diversify many Aboriginal economies. However, tourism development in Aboriginal communities must also satisfy appropriate business development requirements, for example necessary infrastructure and market demand. Tourism is not a panacea that works when everything else fails.

Participants (Whyte, Parker, Pfahler) believed tourism could be a vehicle for aiding in cultural revitalization and cultural pride, while also providing economic benefits by diversifying Aboriginal economies. Tourism can help preserve and protect culture and language by sharing it with 'outsiders' (Whyte, Point, Neasloss), as well as enrich and advance Aboriginal cultures (Parker). Tourism can provide other employment opportunities, especially to those just entering the workforce or in locations with limited economic prospects (Neasloss, Parker). However, communities must be educated on the benefits tourism can provide before development can occur, as was the case in Neasloss' community,

It was challenging at first, but at the end of the day, the elders made the decision: the languages and cultures are dying, [and] tourism gives us a chance to learn about it as a young person and I can teach others about it. After the collapse of fishing, people sold their boats and there was not the same involvement or connection to the land as their used to be. We need to get back to that and tourism is one way

in doing so. And not just to preserve the culture but to share it so that culture will survive.

Pfahler also believed rediscovering and sharing traditions will help instill self-confidence in Aboriginal people, “I’ve seen somebody’s eyes light up because someone from another part of the world is interested in his or her culture and wants to hear his or her story.” The growing presence of Aboriginal tourism and how it showcases culture is one reason why communities are opening up to the idea of tourism. Point explains how her Musqueam nation is more receptive to tourism and showcasing their culture, “In the past so much ‘tourism’ was forced upon us, for example, totem poles were placed in territories where totem poles are not indigenous to the area. There has been a mind change among this community regarding showcasing their culture”. Tourism allows Aboriginal communities to show people they are a living, modern culture and people that still practice their culture, ceremonies and songs. As Lewis stated, “We’re still here, we still do what our ancestors did; we walk in two worlds”. Previously, Aboriginal culture was ‘invisible’, and now through tourism, Aboriginal communities can command attention to their own language, way of life and young people (Leathem). Furthermore, Leathem stated, “Aboriginal tourism is changing minds and evidence that [the sector] is a significant component of tourism in BC”.

5.5.2 British Columbia and Canada

Some participants identified destination differentiation as the significance of Aboriginal tourism to British Columbia and Canada because it can provide a distinctive element to the current product offering (Vallee, Whyte). Aboriginal tourism is a branding opportunity that provides compelling stories of Canada, which are essential to a destination (Vallee). The types of authentic, experiential products that Aboriginal cultural tourism provides is also important to the destination’s image and Aboriginal culture can enhance the Canadian identity (Vallee). Whyte believed Aboriginal tourism is the defining product for tourism in BC, because it is culture that brings people to BC. He goes on to state,

It is a very rich culture. It’s like a ‘Roman Empire’ in our midst, but the ‘Romans’ are still here. If we’re smart, we’ll talk to the ‘Romans’ and use that special culture as a way to make BC a more attractive destination.

Henry felt that governments and other stakeholders have underestimated how important Aboriginal cultural tourism is, despite research indicating the potential growth of the sector. He believes by focusing on creating authentic experiences the “world will come”.

5.6 Summary: Main Findings

The purpose of this chapter was to report and highlight the main findings of this research. The analysis of interviews, secondary sources and participant observation has provided findings on the five themes of the study: (1) Aboriginal participation in tourism, (2) challenges/barriers to Aboriginal tourism development, (3) capacity building through tourism, (4) Aboriginal Olympic involvement and (5) the significance of tourism. A summary of the main findings has been created based on the information presented in this chapter and chapter four.

5.6.1 Aboriginal Participation in Tourism

- Aboriginal tourism has established ‘some’ place in the tourism industry, but will require more support and integration to realize its potential
- Aboriginal participation has evolved significantly in recent years
- The ‘mainstream’ tourism industry is beginning to acknowledge and recognize the role and place of Aboriginal tourism
- There appears to be greater participation in British Columbia compared to the rest of Canada
- Aboriginal tourism has been influenced by the historical, political and social conditions of the region
- Aboriginal Tourism British Columbia (AtBC) has evolved significantly in recent years to become a strong voice of Aboriginal tourism in BC, Canada and internationally
- AtBC’s ‘Blueprint Strategy’ guides the future of Aboriginal tourism in BC and is the most comprehensive plan in Canada developed to grow Aboriginal tourism that could be used as a model for Aboriginal tourism development in other regions
- There is a lack of integration between Non-Aboriginal destination management organizations and Aboriginal tourism businesses
- Tourism is a way for Aboriginal communities to diversify and/or revive their economies, particularly in isolated locations and in areas with limited economic prospects
- The Aboriginal community is involved in tourism in varying capacities
- Aboriginal tourism marketing needs to address the diversity of Aboriginal culture as well as contemporary aspects of the culture

5.6.2 Challenges/Barriers to Aboriginal Tourism Development

- Access to financial capital inhibits growth of the sector
- Capacity issues in Aboriginal communities affects the success of tourism development

- Socioeconomic conditions of Aboriginal communities influence Aboriginal tourism development
- General awareness levels of tourism and the benefits it can potentially provide is lacking
- Political and social structures in Aboriginal communities need to be considered in tourism development
- Visitors are seeking high-quality, experiential and innovative authentic Aboriginal experiences and currently the demand exceeds supply
- Authenticity protocols are necessary to ensure culture is not exploited and visitors are receiving authentic experiences

5.6.3 Capacity-Building Through Tourism

- Learning and re-learning one's culture in order to share and teach visitors, aids in cultural revitalization and pride
- Involvement in tourism training and/or education may be a realistic path to enter post-secondary studies because it can involve both traditional and contemporary teachings
- There are a number of Aboriginal tourism training programs as well as post-secondary programs available in BC
- The first Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Forum is evidence that educational institutions in BC have recognized the importance of Aboriginal tourism education and are committed to a more coordinated effort to increase Aboriginal tourism education and training

5.6.4 Aboriginal 2010 Winter Olympic Involvement

- Involvement in the 2010 Winter Olympics increased the profile of Aboriginal people and Aboriginal tourism experiences
- The partnership between VANOC and FHFN illustrates the success of Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal partnerships
- An 'unprecedented' level of Aboriginal participation in the planning and hosting of the Games was achieved when compared to past Olympic Games
- Aboriginal involvement resulted in significant legacies for Aboriginal communities, namely the FHFN communities
- The success of Aboriginal involvement may encourage Indigenous engagement in future Games and other mega-events
- The extent of Aboriginal participation will be revealed in time

5.6.5 The Significance of Aboriginal Tourism

- Aboriginal tourism provides a branding opportunity for destinations
- The Aboriginal tourism sector can make a significant contribution to the tourism sector, but still requires support to grow and reach its potential
- Aboriginal tourism encourages communities to showcase their culture that had previously been suppressed

- Aboriginal tourism can help dispel stereotypes and show ‘outsiders’ Aboriginal people are also a living, modern culture
- Tourism is a way for Aboriginal communities to diversify their economy
- Aboriginal participation in tourism is a resource that Non-Aboriginal tourism industry should encourage and support

The following chapter is a discussion based on the findings that were presented in this chapter.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This thesis sought to understand how the Aboriginal community was involved in tourism in British Columbia (BC). The research focused on five themes: the extent of Aboriginal participation in tourism; the challenges and barriers to Aboriginal tourism development; the role tourism can play in capacity building; Aboriginal involvement in the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games; and the significance of Aboriginal tourism to the Aboriginal community and BC and Canada's tourism industry.

The purpose of this chapter is to interpret the findings of this research and explore how they relate to existing literature. Similarities and contradictions between the findings and academic literature will be discussed. Implications, based on the similarities and contradictions are also discussed. The chapter is organized around the five main themes outlined above.

6.1 Aboriginal Participation in Tourism

6.1.1 Awareness

As illustrated in Chapter 2, Aboriginal culture has often been used as a differentiating aspect among tourism destinations (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Schmiechen & Boyle, 2007; Notzke, 2006; Hinkson, 2003; Li, 2000). Images associated with promoting this element of a destination have often been inaccurate representations that portray Aboriginal cultures as traditional, stagnant and 'exotic' (Schmiechen & Boyle, 2007; Notzke, 2006; Williams & O'Neil, 2007; Ryan & Huyton, 2002). However, as suggested by this research, recent Aboriginal participation in tourism may help Indigenous people transition from historical forms of involvement to become meaningful players in global tourism.

Although Indigenous tourism development worldwide "became a force in its own right" in the 1990s, only recently have Indigenous people assumed more control over tourism ventures (Notzke, 2006:9). More specifically, Indigenous people are moving away from being providers of cultural experiences for tourists, towards having an ownership and management role in tourism (Zeppel, 1998 cited in Robsinson, 1999). Therefore, as Aboriginal participation in tourism continues to increase, tourism development should occur according to community desires (Notzke, 2006; Piner

& Paradis, 2004; Notzke, 1999, Robinson, 1999). However, it is essential to address the extent of participation in order to fully understand if Aboriginal participation is meaningful and beneficial. This study revealed that Aboriginal tourism in BC appears to have established some place within the tourism industry, but still requires support to realize its full potential. The increased awareness of Aboriginal tourism is likely the result of increased participation in tourism in BC that has evolved considerably within recent years.

Despite its recent evolution, the realities of Aboriginal communities in Canada must be taken into account. As Nepal (2004: 188) stated, “the remoteness, lack of information and economic development strategies, place First Nations communities at a competitive disadvantage compared to other destinations”. Participants reported that Aboriginal communities that propose tourism must fully understand the realities of tourism development prior to undertaking such projects. Aboriginal communities face challenges to tourism development, including capacity and financial barriers, which inhibit the success of tourism development projects. Furthermore, the social, political and historical environments specific to Aboriginal communities also influence the success of such developments. As one participant reported, his business relies heavily on the support and expertise of the Aboriginal Tourism Association of BC (AtBC), because of the isolated location of his community. The implication of this finding is that feasibility studies need to be conducted to ensure viability of tourism projects, followed by consistent planning and efforts to dramatically increase market awareness. Tourism planners must address long-term sustainability of such initiatives, not simply the short-term rewards.

The findings from this study revealed a number of factors that may have attributed to the heightened profile of Aboriginal tourism in BC: Government recognition of Aboriginal tourism’s economic contributions, successful implementation of the ‘Blueprint Strategy’, the evolution of the Aboriginal Tourism BC (AtBC) association and Aboriginal involvement in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. As was identified in this research, it is essential for governments to recognize the importance of Aboriginal tourism because it has the potential to increase overall tourism revenues while providing economic benefits to Aboriginal communities. In contrast, current literature rarely examines the contributions the Aboriginal tourism sector makes to overall tourism revenues.

Government recognition may also help dispel stereotypes and encourage greater collaboration with Non-Aboriginal tourism operators and organizations. In the past, specifically in Canada, there has been a lack of mandate, communication and coordination between national organizations and grassroots Aboriginal organizations. This has hindered Aboriginal tourism development (Notzke,

2006), suggesting direction needs to come from front line Aboriginal tourism operators. Participants reported this could be a reason for limited understanding of the economic impacts Aboriginal tourism can provide.

Yet in BC, the Aboriginal tourism sector has received funding, support and recognition from the government, and has been included in future tourism action plans as a significant component to increase the province's overall tourism revenues. The most significant evidence of such support is the development and implementation of the 'Blueprint Strategy', which provides a long-term vision to grow the Aboriginal tourism sector in BC. Furthermore, the strategy requires collaboration with the Non-Aboriginal tourism sector, indicating meaningful relationships are developing. The second year of the strategy has been implemented, and some of the highlights of successful activities and programs include the graduation of 120 Trailblazer Cultural Interpretation participants and 32 Train-the-Trainers; successful familiarization tours with Aboriginal operators in the province's six tourism regions; the launch of the Cultural Authenticity program, Quality Assurance program and Destination Branding program; the promotion of Aboriginal cultural tourism during regional information sessions held throughout the province; and finally the development of a comprehensive 2010 Winter Olympic activation plan.

These accomplishments are an indication that working relationships exist between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal tourism partners and that Non-Aboriginal tourism is beginning to acknowledge the role and place of Aboriginal tourism in BC. Still, the lack of integration among destination management organizations indicates there is still a gap in awareness levels of local travel intermediaries regarding Aboriginal tourism experiences. Therefore, educating members of the tourism industry may be a first step in addressing this problem. If tourism planners and policy makers are considering growing the Aboriginal tourism sector, then a coordinated effort is vital to educate members of the tourism industry on the subject of Aboriginal tourism and the contributions of the sector.

6.1.2 Involvement and Partnerships

As this research suggests, AtBC appears to have taken the leading role in developing partnerships with industry associations and governments, identified by Notzke (2006). AtBC has evolved significantly in recent years to become the voice of Aboriginal tourism in BC. The association supports the long-term sustainable growth of Aboriginal tourism and is becoming more active and visible in 'mainstream' tourism, thereby elevating its position. Not only has AtBC become more

involved in industry associations, but the appointment of AtBC's CEO, Keith Henry, to the Minister's Council on Tourism is a clear indication that the association will be included in tourism planning initiatives. This is a positive step forward for BC's Aboriginal tourism sector, and for the rest of Canada, as this signifies the contributions Aboriginal tourism makes to the tourism sector. Furthermore, Henry's appointment is evidence of Aboriginal tourism representation and involvement at the government planning level. His appointment could also have an impact internationally, and perhaps act as a model for Indigenous tourism planning worldwide.

Notzke (2006) suggests that Aboriginal tourism in Canada has not reached its potential. More specifically, Williams & O'Neil (2007) argued little priority was given to develop Aboriginal tourism opportunities in BC, despite recognizing the importance of Aboriginal culture for tourism purposes. Participants in this study confirmed Aboriginal tourism has not reached its potential and also reported that an immense amount of opportunity exists. Yet to reach the potential that exists for Aboriginal tourism, strategies will need to be developed at regional levels, because national strategies may not be as effective considering the diversity of Aboriginal communities across the country. For example, in terms of marketing Aboriginal tourism, one participant reported the challenge of attempting to characterize Canada's Aboriginal peoples in one cultural representation. This view is consistent with Notzke (2006:27), who believed that "difficulties are encountered in reflecting and addressing the huge differences that exist across this vast country in the character and level of development and product readiness in Aboriginal tourism", for example northern communities vs. land-based communities vs. reserve communities.

As a result, Aboriginal tourism may need to be evaluated on a regional or case-by-case basis. Aboriginal tourism in BC has a number of market ready businesses and is represented by a strong association, which is becoming more active in mainstream tourism, suggesting future success. However, the state of Aboriginal tourism in other provinces and territories may be quite different. Therefore, it is important to recognize that strategies that have been successful in BC may not be applicable to other regions. However, considering the scope and success to date of the 'Blueprint Strategy', lessons that are learned could potentially be used as a model for future planning strategies. Tourism policymakers and planners that recognize the value of the 'Blueprint Strategy' and the potential of tourism development specific to each Aboriginal community may be able to better plan for future tourism development initiatives.

In the past, tourism appeared to trap Canadian Aboriginal communities in stereotypical roles, instead of providing an opportunity for economic benefits (Sandlos, 2008; Binnema, 2006; Notzke,

2006). Aboriginal tourism portrayed Aboriginal culture, with limited Aboriginal involvement in the sector. This is no surprise since Aboriginal culture has historically been the subject of the tourist gaze and appropriated by outsiders (Notzke, 2006; Li, 2000; Ryan, 1997; Blundell, 1993). But now, with increased participation, tourism is instead being viewed as a way to preserve and protect culture which Aboriginal communities worldwide have taken advantage of (Sisco & Nelson, 2008; Notzke, 2006; Dyer et al., 2003; Piner & Paradis, 2003; Hinkson, 2003; Robinson, 1999) and was also identified in this research.

Participants recognized the changing population and economic situation of their communities and saw the benefits tourism could provide in revitalizing culture and diversifying their economy. Notzke (2006) believed that as Aboriginal tourism evolves, it would empower communities so they can determine their role in the industry for their own purpose. In BC, although tourism has been welcomed in many Aboriginal communities, there are only a few businesses that are actively determining their role in the sector. Examples include five businesses that have met the stringent criteria determined by AtBC to receive “Authentic Aboriginal” certification: Haida Heritage Centre at Kaay Llnagaay, Ksan Historical Village and Museum, Nk’Mip Desert Cultural Centre, Squamish Lil’wat Cultural Centre and St. Eugene Golf Resort Casino. Yet, AtBC, as the voice of the Aboriginal tourism sector in BC, could perhaps fill this void for the many businesses that are not quite there yet. AtBC is shaping the future of Aboriginal tourism in BC, and with continued implementation of the ‘Blueprint Strategy’ could become a leader in Aboriginal tourism worldwide. The influence that AtBC has established so far is an indication that there could soon be a change in mindset among industry leaders and society, in their attitudes towards Aboriginal participation in tourism. Other regions in Canada and internationally, should take note of the success of AtBC, and use their involvement as a model for Indigenous communities worldwide.

There is consensus in the literature that Indigenous control is a key component to Indigenous involvement in tourism development initiatives (McIntosh, 2004; Ryan, 2002; Smith, 2000; Ryan & Huyton, 2000; Robinson, 1999). This aspect of control refers to the community having the decision making authority to first decide if they want to be involved in tourism and then to what degree. In BC, it would appear that tourism is being presented as an alternative revenue source and not being forced upon Aboriginal communities as it has been in the past. Participants reported that the communities involved have chosen to be involved. However, such involvement has not been without hesitation and may be attributed to limited understanding of tourism’s benefits.

Recognizing the need to increase awareness of tourism's benefits for Aboriginal communities, AtBC recently delivered regional awareness sessions designed to promote Aboriginal cultural tourism in different regions throughout BC. Again, the leadership of AtBC indicates the association's commitment to supporting First Nations people in BC through tourism development. The prospects for tourism development are realistic because Aboriginal people with tourism experience, in collaboration with AtBC, are the ones who deliver these information sessions. This increases the credibility of tourism development because these sessions included people from the same culture group (Tosun, 1999). Furthermore, communities may be more willing to accept tourism if it has been presented as an opportunity they can choose to explore or not.

Within the academic literature, there has been an increasing emphasis on cooperative planning approaches, which incorporate cultural values as part of the decision making process (Dunn, 2007; Piner & Paradis, 2004; Wilson, 2001; Robinson, 1999). In terms of this research, these approaches have been used in varying degrees. Participants reported that Aboriginal tourism businesses are not fully integrated with regional destination marketing organizations, indicating that cooperative planning approaches with Non-Aboriginal tourism partners may not be happening at the desired level. This study revealed some Aboriginal tourism businesses that are involved with their regional destination associations for example Nk'mip Resort and Cultural Centre. However, Aboriginal tourism businesses need to become more integrated to ensure future growth and success of the sector. This research revealed that AtBC is the driving force behind integrating Aboriginal tourism with Non-Aboriginal tourism through various partnerships and involvement in the association; yet a more coordinated approach is needed.

Cooperative planning approaches are being used between AtBC and LinkBC in the development of an Aboriginal tourism education and training system. AtBC supports the development of Aboriginal tourism entrepreneurs, therefore, systems are in place that allow for collaborative development such as the Cooperative Marketing program, Cultural Interpretation training and Aboriginal Tourism Business Development training. Additionally, participants reported that Aboriginal involvement within the planning and development of the SLCC was quite extensive. Finally, the collaboration between tourism academics and Aboriginal tourism leaders at the Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Forum indicates active involvement in tourism education and training planning.

The implications of these findings are that currently, even though Aboriginal involvement is still not consistently considered throughout Non-Aboriginal tourism planning channels, such as

destination marketing organizations, it appears to be increasing. AtBC is currently the voice of the sector, therefore, active involvement with this association may be necessary to gain credibility in BC tourism. This could change in the future as Aboriginal tourism gains momentum and as capacity in Aboriginal communities increases, which could allow individual tourism enterprises to penetrate the market easier.

Previous studies suggested Aboriginal participation in tourism can provide economic opportunities, while revitalizing culture and instilling cultural pride (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Sisco & Nelson, 2008; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Butler & Menzies, 2007; Notzke, 2006; Nepal, 2004; Altman, 1992). This was confirmed in the study, as participants reported tourism has helped diversify their community's economy and increased employment opportunities. They also reported that tourism has facilitated cross-cultural encounters, which have encouraged cultural understanding. Perhaps most importantly, participants reported tourism has helped Aboriginal communities rediscover their cultural heritage and in turn motivated these communities to share their culture in an effort to teach others.

These findings indicate that tourism development does have the potential to provide real benefits and opportunities to Aboriginal communities. While economic benefits may be the most tangible and easiest to measure, the revitalization of culture and increased pride may be the most important result of tourism development for *some* Aboriginal communities. Therefore, tourism planners and entrepreneurs must ensure appropriate community involvement has been exercised to ensure the aspects of the culture that will be shared are in accordance with community desires and will be shared appropriately. As participants reported, appropriate community involvement will likely differ for each community and could be at the discretion of economic development officers, Elders, hereditary and/or elected Chief and Council.

However, the 'Aboriginal Cultural Expressions Protocol', developed in 2009 by AtBC, outlines the responsibilities of the First Nations and the tourism industry party, the benefits and ownership, as well as how the cultural expression will be maintained, preserved and protected. Each protocol is specific to the community and the particular tourism project, which should provide a clear plan for developing the potential tourism experience and limit misunderstandings among stakeholders. The protocol template was developed only recently, therefore, it is still under review and it is not clear if many communities have used one or how successful it has been. Regardless, using a protocol may be an essential component in future Aboriginal tourism development planning and could be applicable in other jurisdictions.

As identified in Chapter 2, involving all stakeholders should result in a more successful tourism development initiative (Frey et al. 2008, Whitson, 2004; Lenskj, 2002; Ryan, 2002; Meekison, 2000; Robinson, 1999; Altman, 1992), however this can be a challenge, especially for Aboriginal communities. Participants reported that existing social and political structures unique to Aboriginal communities can make the process difficult because the people that require consultation may not have a complete understanding of what tourism development entails for the community. Furthermore, one participant reported, community members are involved when they participate at the level at which they should be engaged. These findings imply that the appropriate people are involved during Aboriginal tourism development activities, even if that does not include all stakeholders.

6.2 Challenges/Barriers to Aboriginal Tourism Development

6.2.1 The Issue of Authenticity

There is consensus in the academic literature that tourism has entrenched stereotypical images associated with Indigenous cultures (Schmiechen & Boyle, 2007; Notzke, 2006; Williams & O'Neil, 2007; McIntosh, 2004; Nepal, 2004; Deutschlander, 2003; Ryan & Huyton, 2002; Ryan, 2002; Robinson, 1999). It is difficult to appropriately represent Aboriginal culture that reflects historical as well as contemporary aspects. However, accurate representation is necessary when attempting to provide authentic, Aboriginal tourism experiences, because previous studies confirm travelers desire such experiences (CTC, 2008; Williams & O'Neil, 2007; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Notzke, 2006; AtBC 2005; McIntosh, 2004; Zeppel, 2002).

This study revealed that adhering to certain procedures during tourism development could help ensure culture is not exploited. Participants reported the most important procedure was respectful community consultation. Additionally, participants reported that developing, implementing and enforcing protocols that protect cultural expressions are ways to mitigate issues associated with authenticity. Hence, cultural protocols need to be in place prior to tourism development plans and then adhered to throughout tourism operations in order to limit cultural exploitation. Furthermore as Aboriginal involvement in management and ownership roles increases, traditional roles associated with Aboriginal tourism may decrease. For example, Aboriginal people will begin to be viewed as active participants in tourism, as opposed to cultural representations.

As discussed in the previous section, AtBC recently developed an ‘Aboriginal Cultural Expressions Protocol’. This protocol acts as a template for Aboriginal communities to adapt for their particular cultural expression and community. This protocol is based on the belief that comprehensive consultation with stakeholders is necessary to ensure the proposed tourism project meets the objectives outlined and therefore, should not be developed hastily. Although the lengthy process could inhibit protocol development, long-term sustainability of Aboriginal tourism businesses depends on it.

Developing a protocol before tourism planning occurs ensures that all stakeholders are aware of their responsibilities and of the community’s desires regarding how their culture will be shared and protected. As some participants reported, protocols were developed after tourism was developed, and although the protocol still protected the culture, having one in place before also outlines stakeholder responsibilities *during* the development process. Although AtBC’s ‘Aboriginal Cultural Expressions Protocol’ is still relatively new, it is evidence that AtBC, along with Aboriginal communities, are taking necessary steps to protect their interests when it comes to using their culture for tourism purposes. By using this type of protocol, communities will have a better understanding of their role in the tourism development process and the benefits associated with being involved. Tourism planners and entrepreneurs should encourage some sort of protocol development for Aboriginal communities that decide to proceed with tourism projects. Using the example of AtBC’s ‘Aboriginal Cultural Expressions Protocol’, the first steps in protocol development include establishing a committee that oversees the cultural expression and fully understanding the scope, nature and content of the Aboriginal Cultural Expression.

6.2.2 The Development Process

Williams & Richter’s (2002) study suggests a better understanding of the Indigenous tourism market and its size is needed when developing Aboriginal tourism products. Furthermore, they argued the need to identify appropriate distribution channels, how these will be used, and by whom. For example, their study suggested identifying specialized tour operators, offering familiarization tours and using print and electronic media. Studies have indicated there is a demand for Aboriginal tourism experiences (CTC, 2008; AtBC, 2005; Williams & Richer, 2002; Notzke, 1999), but does the current demand warrant the amount of development that has been proposed? Often, the economic benefits afforded by tourism are viewed as an overall panacea for Aboriginal peoples, but the realities of such development may be unrealistic. The Canadian market was identified in this research as an

opportunity on which Aboriginal tourism could capitalize. However, according to Ryan (2002), the domestic market may not be interested.

Ryan's (2002) study argued that spatial distance, which underlies exoticism, must exist. For example, North Americans or Europeans would be more interested in visiting a Maori tourism experience, than a New Zealander would, based on the assumption that for a culture to be 'exotic' it must also be distant (Ryan, 2002). This 'spatial distance' does not exist because Aboriginal culture is part of Canadian society. Furthermore, Ryan (2002) stated that imagery used to promote Aboriginal experiences often represents sensitive, historical differences, which may not be popular with the domestic market. Although, the domestic market represents a significant market that would contribute to Aboriginal tourism revenues, limited research is available as to how this can be achieved; again, this 'opportunity' may not be a realistic one.

Participants in this study all confirmed Aboriginal tourism was a development tool that had potential to grow the sector. However, more research is needed to appropriately determine market demand for Aboriginal experiences in general and for BC in particular. The majority of participants focused on the positive benefits tourism could provide, but as one participant reported, there is the need to understand the reality of Aboriginal tourism and clarify its direction. Similarly, another participant reported tourism is not for every community, again emphasizing the need to fully understand the long-term feasibility of such ventures.

Access to funding and capital, as well as determining how funding and capital will be used, has been identified in the literature as a barrier to Aboriginal tourism development worldwide (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Williams and O'Neil, 2007; Dyer et al., 2003; Wilson, 2003; Li, 2000). Additionally, Li's (2000) study argued that in order for Aboriginal people to have control over their cultural assets, they need the means to determine their resources, rather than manage resources allocated by others. However, in many situations, complete Aboriginal control of financial resources is not the case, as was reported by participants. This research identified that in order for a tourism enterprise to be successful there must be a balance between business objectives and cultural integrity. The Squamish and Lil'wat Cultural Centre (SLCC) offers high quality, authentic Aboriginal experiences that facilitate interactions with trained Aboriginal ambassadors. Although the SLCC is successful at providing experiential visits, it is also expensive and the centre needs to be self-sufficient. As one participant reported, the challenge the SLCC faces is adhering to the community's stipulations regarding cultural representation, while also being a viable business option.

Aboriginal tourism experiences should be representing a culture; therefore, business objectives may be viewed as secondary in importance from the perspective of the Aboriginal community, falling behind promoting cross-cultural understanding and awareness. However, as one participant reported, tourism is a business and needs to be built on proper business development principles. Tourism development needs to be culturally sensitive, but also must focus on the bottom line if tourism is to provide economic benefits. In order for Aboriginal tourism to survive, the business and cultural objectives of tourism enterprises need to be reconciled during the development and/or planning phases. Ideally, if all stakeholders are aware of the cultural components and the business requirements from the on-set, a successful business that satisfies both should be the result, but this may not be a realistic approach. Compromises among stakeholders regarding cultural and business objectives will likely be necessary, but if such decisions are made prior to development, the ensuing process may be smoother.

Participants reported current capacity levels of Aboriginal community members as a challenge to successful tourism development initiatives. The limited experience within a business environment, coupled with limited formal training greatly inhibits the success of tourism businesses. Whitford & Ruhanen's (2009) study demonstrated that many Aboriginal tourism businesses were created and developed on the assumption that they would succeed if the experience offered were "unique", relying almost exclusively on the Aboriginal component of the business to sell itself. This approach ignores the requisite education and training required to successfully operate a business, and almost guarantees failure. As was identified in this research, investing in educational or training options, along with belonging to a professional association such as AtBC should provide Aboriginal people with the necessary skills to successfully operate a tourism business.

6.2.3 Product Development

The literature suggests there is a limited product offering of Aboriginal tourism experiences worldwide (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Williams & O'Neil, 2007; Ryan & Huyton, 2002). Ryan and Huyton's (2002:642) study argued that consumers often view Aboriginal experiences with a "been there, done that" attitude. Thus, considering the limited market, Aboriginal tourism businesses must differentiate their product offerings. Participants reported that upon seeing the success of one Aboriginal tourism business, a very similar enterprise was developed and felt the limited amount of innovative Aboriginal tourism experiences is a current challenge.

Hinkson's (2003) study focused on the re-discovery of Aboriginal heritage in a metropolitan setting. Currently, the majority of Aboriginal tourism products within an urban setting are limited to galleries and souvenir shops; the experiences identified by Hinkson (2003) could be a new direction for Aboriginal tourism and an opportunity to create new product offerings that may be of interest to a larger market. Considering the relationships that AtBC has been building, for example the BC Partnership for Sustainable Tourism (BCPST), Council of Tourism Associations (COTA), Canadian Tourism Commission (CTC), Four Host First Nations (FHFN) and the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and the Arts, perhaps more contemporary experiences could be developed and/or on display in urban settings. Furthermore, as the industry becomes more aware of Aboriginal tourism's contributions, more support may be available for developing and distributing Aboriginal tourism experiences. However, if there is an emergence of more urban-based experiences, what motivates the traveler to venture to more isolated locations that have previously been the only option for someone seeking an authentic Aboriginal experiences? This is particularly disconcerting for remote communities that have come to rely on tourism as their primary economic source.

As participants reported, the current demand for Aboriginal tourism experiences exceeds supply and the current supply offers very similar experiences. This is not a positive situation for the future of the Aboriginal tourism sector. Therefore, an increase in innovative Aboriginal tourism products and experiences means a more competitive sector, which can help increase the credibility of Aboriginal tourism overall. Although, increased competition could mean a loss of market share for some businesses that do not meet increasing consumer expectations, it should lead to a robust and sustainable sector. However, limited business knowledge and experience is the reason often cited for similar Aboriginal tourism experiences being developed (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009), which can be corrected only with an increase of capacity levels overall. Tourism could be a means to increase current capacity levels, therefore, it is important to discuss the implications and opportunities tourism can provide in achieving higher capacity levels.

6.3 Capacity-Building Through Tourism

A youthful Aboriginal population in British Columbia is growing and becoming increasingly urban (BC Stats, 2006) and will soon become more integrated with the Non-Aboriginal population. As this research shows, the changing population of Aboriginal communities would indicate that investment in capacity-building should not only be a priority, but a necessity. Increasing education levels is not just

beneficial for Aboriginal communities, but also for society in general because this underutilized population will have more opportunities to participate in the labour force. Williams and O'Neil's (2007:56) study suggested, "as Aboriginal human and institutional capacity increases in BC, so will opportunities to capitalize on marketplace interest in Aboriginal cultural tourism". Therefore, in order to realize the potential of Aboriginal tourism, capacity levels must be increased.

The Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Forum and the Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Handbook that were identified in this research are steps toward a more coordinated approach to capacity development through tourism. This research also found that tourism education and training might be an appropriate fit to increase capacity in Aboriginal communities because such programs include aspects of Aboriginal learning. Aboriginal learning advocates the use of a holistic, lifelong and experiential approach that is rooted in Aboriginal languages and cultures and is also spiritually oriented, communal and integrates traditional and contemporary knowledge (CCL, 2007). This research found that starting an open dialogue among education providers and developing necessary resources will aid in collaboration among these institutions, thus progress towards a harmonized system is possible.

6.3.1 Social Development and Training Programs

A strategy needs to be developed to communicate to stakeholders the value of Aboriginal culture and landscape to Aboriginal communities both on- and off-reserve. Participants identified tourism as a potential mechanism to aid in capacity development by promoting cross-cultural exchange. In some cases, community members may need to re-discover their own heritage and re-learn their own traditions in order to share aspects of their culture with visitors. This renewed interest in their own culture may lead to activities that involve community members sharing stories and teaching traditions with one another. Such activities help develop social skills while simultaneously restoring cultural pride and confidence (Sisco & Nelson, 2009). Participants reported that sharing a previously suppressed culture with people, who are genuinely interested, increases self-confidence.

Tourism leadership programs, such as the Revitalizing Individual Strength through Education (RISE) that was designed to reconnect Aboriginal people with nature and traditional teachings, are another way to develop social skills and provide job training through specific certifications. A challenge, however, is that this program required considerable time and resources to develop and deliver and only a very small number of people participated in the program. Although this program was successful at integrating Aboriginal learning characteristics with contemporary job training and

education, a more efficient program design may be necessary, to extend the offering of this type of program to more communities. Programs focusing on life skills development through tourism leadership are one way to use tourism to increase capacity. As this study revealed, recognizing young people that are currently involved in tourism is another way to increase awareness levels of the opportunities tourism can provide. The individuals who have received AtBC's Young Adult Achievement Award become inspirational role models for their community; it is hoped their recognition encourages greater participation in tourism.

Anderson's (1997) study argued that collaborative or cooperative relationships with Non-Aboriginal people help overcome capacity issues related to tourism development, because Aboriginal communities have access to Non-Aboriginal human capital. However, this arrangement does not necessarily encourage capacity building within the Aboriginal community. Non-Aboriginal involvement can provide expertise during development and operation of an Aboriginal tourism venture. However, it should be done with the understanding that the training and experience Aboriginal people would gain through this partnership, will eventually lead to management and control by Aboriginal people. Additionally, capacity building should be ongoing and occur before tourism is developed in the community. Otherwise, who will lead such projects? As was identified in this research, some businesses have been led and managed by Non-Aboriginal people with the plan to promote front line Aboriginal employees to management and supervisory positions. This has rarely been addressed in past literature.

6.3.2 Post-Secondary Tourism Education Programs

There are few studies that have explored tourism education and training opportunities for Aboriginal communities. Participants in this study confirmed that tourism education programs might be an easier transition for Aboriginal people to enter post-secondary education because many of the programs incorporate characteristics of Aboriginal learning. Participants also reported that completion of these programs might encourage continued participation in post-secondary academics. Not only does increased participation in tourism education programs produce knowledgeable and skilled labour for tourism businesses, but it also leads to higher academic achievement in Aboriginal communities overall.

As community members recognize the value of education, it could lead to increased confidence levels in Aboriginal communities regarding academic prospects, especially for young people. Participants reported the current tourism training and education programs offered in BC are

considered culturally appropriate which could yield higher success rates. Further research on capacity building through tourism training and education is needed. The research would be beneficial to Aboriginal community development officers, tourism planners and educational institutions as it can lead to a better understanding of tourism's role in capacity building and how existing programs can be integrated to build an efficient tourism learning system.

Williams & O'Neil's (2007:42) study suggested long-term sustainability of Aboriginal tourism is dependent on products and services that are delivered by "well-trained native operators and their partners, in culturally sensitive ways". Yet, as already identified, capacity levels in Aboriginal communities is currently a challenge, but one that is beginning to receive more attention. The 'Blueprint Strategy' identified human resource development as a priority in growing Aboriginal tourism in BC. The success of the strategy thus far is evident in the coordinated approach to Aboriginal tourism training and education that is currently being developed through the partnerships among AtBC, LinkBC and provincial institutions. Not only is training and education required for delivering high quality tourism experiences, but it is also essential for communities to have the necessary leadership available to take on tourism development projects.

With an increasing Aboriginal population and their increasing levels of post-secondary education attainment, perhaps current education and training institutions need to include aspects of Aboriginal learning characteristics. Ideally, institutions should consider including these characteristics during program development and program delivery, if they are committed to targeting Aboriginal learners. Developing pilot programs at certain educational institutions may be a realistic approach to determine the interest level, as well as the feasibility of this kind of program. Alternatively, programs could potentially be delivered in Aboriginal communities in 'block format'. Participants reported programs that are delivered in communities are more successful. Perhaps having university or college credit programs delivered in communities is the first step to encourage participation in post-secondary education. Upon successful completion, students may be more confident to venture further afield to receive more training and/or education or they may seek job opportunities within their community or elsewhere. Regardless, as capacity levels in Aboriginal communities increase, dependency levels on external capacity should eventually decrease.

Nepal's (2004) study found that Aboriginal youth may not be as successful in the conventional 'Western' education system, compared with traditional activities related to Aboriginal 'ways of life' like hunting, fishing, tracking and other bush skills. Therefore, Nepal (2004) argued that Aboriginal youth could adapt to tourism that focuses on the cultural and natural history of First

Nations and eventually become guides and interpreters. This research found that involvement in tourism could provide educational and/or training opportunities that allow Aboriginal people to use and apply traditional knowledge and skills. Using and sharing traditional knowledge and skills may help validate aspects of Aboriginal heritage that had previously been suppressed. Participants reported that tourism provides an environment for cultural learning and exchange that could lead to an increased sense of cultural pride. A renewed sense of pride, particularly for Aboriginal youth, may in turn encourage greater participation in educational opportunities that integrate traditional knowledge with contemporary programs, which is a subject that requires future research.

6.4 2010 Winter Olympic Involvement

6.4.1 Increased Awareness of Aboriginal Culture and Tourism

As discussed in Chapter 2, Malfas' (2004) study suggested various positive socio-cultural impacts could result from hosting the Olympic Games, such as increased local spirit, strengthened traditions and social cohesion. Furthermore, he stated these positive impacts are often greater in groups that have been traditionally excluded, for example Indigenous populations. This was confirmed in this study as participants confidently reported Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Winter Olympics meant official recognition on an international level. Additionally, participants felt that being included in the high profile event was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity that should be capitalized on to teach others about their culture.

Aboriginal people from across Canada proudly represented and showcased their respective cultures in an environment of acceptance and understanding. The finding indicates that Canada's Indigenous community is beginning to receive recognition on a national and international stage. For a population that has historically been suppressed, sharing aspects of their culture on a world stage is evidence that change is occurring and understanding is increasing. Although the Aboriginal cultural expressions that occurred during the 2010 Winter Olympics may appear to be promoting the same stereotypes as in the past, the difference is that Aboriginal people were included in the planning and development stages and chose how they would express their heritage and traditions. Furthermore, Aboriginal people were included in areas beyond cultural representations, and were involved in other areas such as, economic development and sport and youth strategies. Considering the socio-economic conditions of Indigenous people globally, this acknowledgment is hopeful and inspiring. Particularly

for young Aboriginal people, the acceptance that was felt during the Olympics may influence their choices and future aspirations to advance the current conditions of their communities.

This research, along with Dunn's study (2007), confirmed active participation of Aboriginal communities throughout the Bid, planning and hosting phases of the Games. Participants reported the Games have acted as a catalyst for investment in tourism initiatives, for example the Vancouver Community College's (VCC) Aboriginal Culinary Program and the development of the SLCC. Participants also reported the Games have increased awareness of and promoted Aboriginal culture. Though some participants were wary of the benefits Aboriginal communities not in close proximity to the Games would receive, the 2010 Winter Olympics provided a launching pad for increasing the understanding and profile of Aboriginal culture. More specifically, AtBC used the 2010 Winter Olympics as an opportunity to increase awareness of Aboriginal tourism through a multitude of events and programming.

The Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee (VANOC) recognized the benefits of partnering with the host First Nations' communities and that their involvement would enrich the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. Whether the motivations are that of good will or in response to legal requirements, Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal partnerships are becoming more visible, indicating a change in mindset and attitude regarding these partnerships. This could result in further integration of Aboriginal people in Canada, and could be a model for increased Indigenous involvement globally.

6.4.2 Unprecedented Participation and Legacy Planning

Developing cooperative relationships between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal communities were identified as a mutually beneficial approach (Wilson, 2003; Boyd, 2002; Williams, 1999; Anderson, 1997). This research, along with Dunn's (2007) study, found Aboriginal participation was a defining element in Vancouver being awarded the Olympic bid. Not only did their involvement increase awareness of Aboriginal culture internationally, VANOC and the Four Host First Nations (FHFN) have deemed their collaborative, working relationship a success. The relationship between VANOC and the FHFN could be a model for future Olympic Games or other mega-events, as well as evidence that Indigenous and Non-Indigenous relationships are possible and could be applied to other situations.

Dunn's (2007) study argued that past Indigenous involvement in the planning and hosting of the Olympic Games has focused primarily on cultural components. The findings of this research suggest the goal of achieving an "unprecedented level of Aboriginal participation" may have been

achieved during the planning and hosting of the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games. However, many participants were wary as to how this unprecedented level of participation would be measured. Participants agreed it was an admirable goal, but only time will reveal whether the benefits associated with Aboriginal participation are received.

The many 'firsts' achieved through the Aboriginal participation program, such as the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) recognition of the FHFN as Official Partners, the Aboriginal Merchandising and Licensing program, Aboriginal medal design and Legacy Agreements, are not only inspirational but provide evidence that partnerships between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal can be successful. Dunn's (2007) research also identified that VANOC engaged the Aboriginal community early on in the bidding and planning process, which was further confirmed by this study. The implications of this finding are that early engagement indicated VANOC's commitment towards this element of inclusion and resulted in more active participation in the bidding, planning and hosting phases. VANOC's early and genuine engagement is in contrast to the reactionary approach used by the Sydney Organizing Committee, as discussed in chapter two.

Wilson's (2003) study revealed that even if the initial relationship was one based on legal requirements related to Aboriginal rights and title, it could be strengthened over time through trustworthy and respectful friendships and develop into mutually beneficial partnerships. This was confirmed in this study as the FHFN was engaged early on in the Olympic bidding and planning phases. The implications of this finding are that the relationship between FHFN and VANOC is evidence that Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal business and collaboration is possible.

Meaningful legacies were created and implemented. The Squamish Nation and Lil'wat Nation secured a Shared Legacy Agreement (SLA) in 2002, while Tseil-Waututh and Musqueam Nations signed Memorandums of Understanding in 2003. Legacies of housing, cultural funding, land, Youth Sport Legacy funding, training and contracting were outlined in the Nations' respective agreements and implemented beginning in 2003 (Dunn, 2007). VANOC released sustainability reports that detailed the progress of Aboriginal participation components, many of which were included in the legacy agreements. Aspects of the SLA were completed prior to the Games such as the development of the SLCC, skills and training project and the Youth Sport Legacy Fund, while others were ongoing such as housing opportunities and lands for economic development (Dunn, 2007). This collaboration is an achievement in itself and should be an example for future events and indigenous involvement worldwide.

Research (Frey et al., 2008; Cashman, 1998) indicated that Olympic Games' legacy planning needs to address the wider dimension of everyday social issues that could eventually produce new partnerships or greater cooperation. As identified in this study, VANOC did address and include social legacy planning initiatives. One participant reported that given the success of the legacy planning, the IOC may soon require this aspect in future Bids. The FHFN communities secured legacy agreements during the 2010 Winter Olympic Bid process. Some of the funding from these agreements went toward tourism related projects, for example the development of the Squamish and Lil'wat Cultural Centre (SLCC), the Aboriginal Naming and Recognition project along the Sea to Sky Highway, Capilano University's Aboriginal Tourism Management program and Vancouver Community College's Aboriginal Culinary Program.

This finding indicates that the social impacts are beginning to receive greater attention when it comes to major event planning, such as the Olympic Games. The FHFN recognized the opportunities of investing in tourism related initiatives and allocated funding accordingly. Considering the vast economic opportunities mega-events can provide for host cities, social benefits could soon be viewed on the same level.

In terms of marginalized or disadvantaged groups, which often do not appear to benefit from large-scale events, social legacy planning may encourage greater participation. The inclusion of the Aboriginal community in the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics is an example that the legacy agreements solidified real, tangible benefits for the FHFN. Aboriginal leaders feel significant accomplishments have been a result of active Aboriginal involvement; the most important being the working relationships developed between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal, as well as the legacy agreements that ensure investment in Aboriginal youth. Funds raised through various programs were invested in education, culture, sport and sustainability initiatives in Aboriginal communities across Canada. Besides these legacy agreements, the spotlight that was shone on Canada's Aboriginal people is a legacy in itself. Their inclusion suggests that genuine and active participation with an Indigenous community is possible within the framework of a mega-event like the Olympic Games and that policy may soon dictate that social elements be included.

6.5 Significance of Aboriginal Tourism

6.5.1 The Aboriginal Community

The academic literature (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Sisco & Nelson, 2008; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Nepal, 2004; Altman, 1992) identified tourism as a way for Aboriginal communities to increase economic diversity, while revitalizing culture. Participants confirmed this in this study, which indicates that communities are beginning to understand and perhaps even welcome tourism as a legitimate business option.

Undoubtedly, the social, political and historical environments influence a community's perception of tourism and what it could mean to the future of their community. As reported by participants, Aboriginal culture has previously been suppressed and now tourism is providing the opportunity to not only showcase the culture but to also benefit economically. For various reasons, many Aboriginal communities have limited economic opportunities, and with the emphasis on sustainable alternatives, tourism appears to satisfy such criteria. However, the support of tourism development for Aboriginal communities as reported by participants could mean that the negative costs associated with such development are not being seriously considered. This could mean that Aboriginal communities are still not aware of the full scope of tourism development, which could proceed without the community completely understanding the consequences.

Studies (Sisco & Nelson, 2008; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Butler & Menzies, 2007; Nepal, 2004) also suggested that a renewed sense of cultural pride could result from Indigenous involvement in tourism, because it requires the rediscovery of traditions and heritage for the purpose of sharing these aspects of culture with visitors. Similarly, in this research, participants reported their communities are proud of their culture and now choose to share their history and culture. Participants felt that tourism has increased cultural exchanges, which in turn helps educate travelers on Aboriginal culture. The implications of this finding are that through the promotion of Aboriginal tourism experiences, attention is directed to Aboriginal culture, which provides an opportunity for education.

Participants reported their desire to use tourism as a way to teach visitors about their culture, which is rich in history, but that Aboriginal people are also a living, modern culture. Furthermore, they stated their hope that such encounters would help to dispel stereotypes. Such encounters have the potential to increase awareness and understanding. Tourism could even draw attention to the plight of some Aboriginal communities and that policy changes may be necessary to encourage greater participation in the real economy, which would increase community self-sufficiency.

However, these outcomes should not be viewed as the sole reason for Aboriginal tourism development. Communities should be motivated by the economic opportunities tourism can provide when developed appropriately, which will enable the community to use their cultural resources to become self-reliant.

6.5.2 British Columbia and Canada

Research shows that destinations have been using Aboriginal culture as a way to differentiate themselves in the competitive tourism industry and in many cases this distinctive culture has come to represent national identities (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Schmiechen & Boyle, 2007; Notzke, 2006; Hinkson, 2003; Li, 2000). British Columbia and Canada are no exceptions. As discussed in Chapter 2, while attempting to promote this distinctive, cultural aspect of destinations, tourism marketing efforts have been blamed for entrenching stereotypical images of Aboriginal people and culture. However, these historical images are not discouraging Aboriginal participation in tourism and their promotion of Aboriginal tourism experiences. Instead, it is encouraging more meaningful participation in various capacities within the tourism sector, which is helping to accurately reflect Aboriginal culture in traditional as well as contemporary aspects. Participants agreed that stereotypical images are associated with Aboriginal culture, but by showcasing their culture through tourism, such misunderstandings may be alleviated.

In the case of British Columbia, Aboriginal culture should be used as a branding opportunity. As participants reported, after the province's natural beauty, First Nations' culture is the next biggest attraction. However, it is the means by which the culture is promoted that must be determined. Participants in this study have embraced tourism and want to share their culture with the world. These communities are the tourism industry's best resource in their efforts to better understand and promote Aboriginal tourism as a competitive advantage. As indicated in this research, Aboriginal tourism is a significant contributor to BC's tourism industry and it is essential to develop this sector further if the province hopes to double tourism revenues by 2015.

Interview participants believe that Aboriginal tourism would grow in the future. Existing government strategies such as the 'Blueprint Strategy' and the 'Tourism Action Plan' are examples of long-term tourism planning activities that support the growth of the sector. Moreover, AtBC will continue to support and increase the profile of Aboriginal tourism in BC through its multitude of programs from authenticity certification and marketing cooperative to training and development. The Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Forum concluded with promising future engagements on

the subject of tourism education and training development, which will be facilitated through the partnership between AtBC and LinkBC.

In 2009, Aboriginal tourism in BC employed over 1700 people full time and 310 people part time during peak season, which is a 16% increase since 2006 (Williams et al., 2009) and is expected to grow to over \$50 million in 2012 (AtBC, 2005). Not only do these figures demonstrate the potential of the sector, but they also highlight the current shortfall and the need for significant investment and support to strengthen the sector. As discussed earlier, evaluating Aboriginal tourism may need to happen at a regional level or on a case-by-case basis. In terms of British Columbia, Aboriginal tourism is a significant contributor to the overall provincial tourism industry. Besides generating revenue for the province, the Aboriginal tourism sector provides employment opportunities and helps communities achieve economic self-reliance. Only recently have governments recognized this contribution and taken action to strengthen the Aboriginal tourism sector. With a coordinated approach Aboriginal tourism has the potential to flourish.

Studies (Dunn, 2007; Piner & Paradis, 2004; Wilson, 2001; Robinson, 1999; Anderson, 1997) indicated that developing and strengthening relationships between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal tourism businesses and leaders can be mutually beneficial. Partnerships that may have been motivated by social responsibility or legal requirements have evolved into meaningful, albeit essential, agreements and relationships. In many cases such relationships have even determined the success of projects, the most visible being the relationship between VANOC and the FHFN, indicating there could be a change in the mindset among business leaders who recognize that Aboriginal-Non-Aboriginal relationships are now part of the way you do business. Such recognition may empower Aboriginal communities, which in turn could encourage greater participation in the real economy and eventually lead to self-sufficient economies. Examples of successful Aboriginal tourism businesses in BC that used this approach include the Nk'Mip Resort and Cultural Centre, Squamish and Lil'wat Cultural Centre, Gitga-at Nation and Pacific King Lodge, indicating these expectations are realistic.

6.6 In Closing

This chapter has interpreted the findings of this research and related them back to previous research. It has clarified similarities and differences between this research and previous studies. Examining the literature on Aboriginal participation in tourism has led to an analysis of its current state in Canada

and internationally and it has aided in understanding the Aboriginal tourism environment in BC. For Aboriginal tourism to be successful, the historical, social and political contexts, along with traditional ‘world views’, must be taken into account. These aspects will often vary greatly, therefore generalizations regarding Aboriginal tourism development are difficult to make and should be done so with caution.

This research has demonstrated that Aboriginal participation in tourism provides much more than merely an economic contribution to these historically marginalized communities. Instead it is a way to break down past cultural barriers and increase cross-cultural understanding, while simultaneously revitalizing traditions and pride. With Aboriginal tourism in BC receiving more attention, there is no doubt that meaningful participation of Aboriginal communities and entrepreneurs will increase. As well, with the continuation of the ‘Blueprint Strategy’ implementation, Aboriginal tourism will continue evolve and solidify its place within BC tourism.

The following chapter provides a synopsis of this thesis. The findings and subsequent discussion presented in this thesis have led to the development of a set of recommendations for future tourism development and for future research, which are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

This final chapter summarizes this thesis as it relates to the objectives set in the first chapter. Recommendations are provided based on the findings of this research, including suggestions for future research directed to broaden the knowledge gained from this study. Finally conclusions are drawn from the findings discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

7.1 Thesis Synopsis

Tourism has been identified as a strategy for Indigenous communities worldwide to adopt in order to stimulate economic and social development. The goal of this research was to evaluate Aboriginal participation in tourism and the role it plays in economic and social development of Aboriginal communities. This research also addressed Aboriginal participation within the context of a mega-event, the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The need for this research came from the common acceptance that tourism can be an effective development strategy for Aboriginal communities. However existing literature is often case-specific with limited research focusing on Canada. Additionally, limited research had addressed Aboriginal participation in Olympic planning and hosting. The goal of this research was met by examining Aboriginal tourism development in British Columbia (BC), Canada, ultimately addressing the aforementioned gaps in the literature.

It was concluded through this study that Aboriginal tourism has been influenced by the historical, political, and social conditions of the region. The findings of this research indicate that although Aboriginal tourism in BC has evolved considerably in recent years to establish a place in Non-Aboriginal tourism, it requires more support to grow the sector. As well, the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia (AtBC) appears to be guiding the future of the sector through the continued implementation of the 'Blueprint Strategy'. This research revealed that there are still considerable barriers that inhibit Aboriginal participation in tourism. Until these barriers are addressed, an increase in Aboriginal participation in tourism, particularly in ownership and management capacities, is limited. Participants reported that Aboriginal involvement in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games was an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to showcase Canada's Aboriginal culture on an international stage. It also highlighted the collaborative relationships between

Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal. Participants also reported that tourism could help increase cross-cultural understanding, while diversifying Aboriginal communities.

A number of lessons can be learned from assessing Aboriginal participation in tourism in BC. This research found that there is meaningful Aboriginal participation in tourism in BC, but opportunity exists to increase the current amount. Despite its recognition by Non-Aboriginal tourism and the provincial government, more support is necessary to realize the potential of the sector. The 'Blueprint Strategy', along with the support of the AtBC, is evidence of the on-going commitment to develop Aboriginal tourism.

Tourism has the potential to contribute to the economic and social development of Aboriginal communities (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2009; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Nepal, 2004; Altman, 1992). In terms of economic development, business and cultural objectives must be reconciled in order for tourism development to be successful. As this research identified, adopting a cultural protection protocol is one way to ensure tourism development occurs in a manner to preserve, protect and revitalize cultures. Furthermore, communities must not lose sight of the economic requirements in favour of cultural representations, or risk the failure of tourism projects. This research also found that tourism could aid in increasing capacity in Aboriginal communities. Whether through tourism leadership and training programs or post-secondary education, BC has a variety of programs available to encourage capacity development through tourism.

Key findings of this research point to the positive implications of Aboriginal participation in the 2010 Winter Olympic Games. The unprecedented participation of the Aboriginal community is evidence of working relationships between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal. Participants reported that showcasing a historically suppressed culture on an international stage increased awareness and understanding of Aboriginal culture. Although AtBC maximized their exposure during the 2010 Winter Olympic Games, only time will reveal whether their efforts translate into Aboriginal tourism revenues.

The existing knowledge and assumptions made about Aboriginal participation in tourism in the literature have been examined in this thesis. Exploring Aboriginal participation in tourism in general, as well as a specific case of involvement in Olympic planning has challenged existing knowledge and assumptions. This thesis will be beneficial for Aboriginal communities who plan to use tourism as an economic and social development strategy, as it provides a realistic account of Aboriginal participation in tourism. A set of recommendations for Aboriginal tourism in BC and future research are presented in the following section.

7.2 Recommendations for Future Aboriginal Tourism Development

The following three recommendations are intended to aid Aboriginal tourism development in British Columbia. First, future Aboriginal tourism planning needs to be incorporated with regional destination marketing organizations. Non-Aboriginal tourism stakeholders need to be educated on the breadth of Aboriginal tourism experiences available, and then Aboriginal tourism businesses need to become more integrated with destination marketing organizations. Although AtBC is primarily the marketing body for Aboriginal tourism in BC, further integration with Non-Aboriginal destination marketing organizations should increase opportunities for Aboriginal tourism businesses.

Second, Cultural Protection Protocols should become a mandatory component in Aboriginal tourism development. Currently protocols are only suggestions for communities; making protocols part of the tourism development process could help alleviate conflicts regarding how culture will be used for tourism purposes.

Third, addressing capacity issues should become a priority in the Aboriginal tourism development process. Capacity-building opportunities, that specifically address requisite skills, should be a key motivator in determining whether or not a community will proceed with tourism. Furthermore, there is a need to increase awareness of the opportunities tourism can provide particularly for Aboriginal youth, such as employment. The development of an Aboriginal tourism education scholarship may act as incentive for participation in post-secondary education.

7.3 Recommendations for Future Research

Further research is needed to substantiate the conclusions made in this thesis. The research presented in this thesis addressed a number of gaps that exist in the literature, however there are certain issues that require more research.

First, a better understanding of the economic contributions the Aboriginal tourism sector makes to the overall tourism industry is needed. Little research has addressed this aspect. Other regions in Canada and around the world that recognize and understand the contributions of the Aboriginal tourism sector will be able to develop the sector accordingly. This study revealed that BC has taken initial steps to better understand the Aboriginal tourism sector, which led to funding and support to grow the sector. Considering the success of the 'Blueprint Strategy' discussed in this thesis, perhaps other provinces and territories need a coordinated approach and multi-year development model to steer the future of the sector.

A better understanding of the actual effects of increased Aboriginal participation in tourism is needed. This study revealed Aboriginal participation was increasing; therefore, examining its effects on the Aboriginal community and the tourism sector would be beneficial.

This research did not examine in detail the financial barriers faced by Aboriginal communities proposing tourism development. It would be worthwhile to explore current funding options available to communities to assess their long-term sustainability. Furthermore, it may be worthwhile to evaluate the business model of successful Aboriginal tourism businesses.

Further research regarding the relationship between tourism education and training, and capacity development is needed. This thesis identified the possible linkages between tourism education and capacity development, however more research is required to validate these claims. Tourism education institutions in BC, such as LinkBC and AtBC, are currently working towards an integrated learning system; thus it would be valuable to evaluate the system in the future.

This research focused on the supply side of Aboriginal tourism. Future research should address the demand side and whether the market is able to support proposed Aboriginal tourism development initiatives.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

The main conclusion from this study is that BC has been able to encourage and support Aboriginal participation in tourism. Although there is much opportunity to grow the sector and increase participation in ownership and management capacities, the Aboriginal tourism sector is currently being guided towards a successful future. There are many Aboriginal tourism successes happening in BC that could be used as models for other regions in Canada and around the world. Academics and practitioners are advised to gain a comprehensive understanding of key issues highlighted in this research that will affect the future of Aboriginal tourism development.

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Background Information

Can you elaborate on your position? How long have you been in this position?

Have you always been involved in tourism? How long have you been in tourism?

What, if any, is the relationship between your organization and Aboriginal Tourism BC, VANOC and Four Host First Nations, Tourism BC?

Aboriginal Tourism Development

In your opinion, has Aboriginal tourism established a "place" within the Canadian tourism industry?

What stage would you say Aboriginal tourism is in?

Some may argue that tourism exploits culture and traditions, considering your role as XXX, how have you been able to mitigate these potential problems?

Are there specific policies or procedures in place?

Based on previous experiences, is the Aboriginal community truly involved in the tourism planning process?

What challenges has XXX faced regarding Aboriginal tourism development?

Do you feel tourism development will provide opportunities to increase awareness and understanding of Aboriginal culture?

What is the significance of Aboriginal tourism to BC?

What is the significance of Aboriginal tourism to Canada?

What is the significance of Aboriginal tourism to the Aboriginal community?

Olympics

Have the Olympics acted as catalyst to build stronger Aboriginal tourism products/ tourism training programs?

Has this led to various partnerships?

What are the long-term goals and strategies to ensure continued growth of Aboriginal tourism post-Games?

How are the Olympics viewed in terms of larger economic and tourism development for the Aboriginal community?

What is your opinion on VANOC's goal of "unprecedented participation" of the Aboriginal community?

Is this being incorporated into tourism planning?

Training and Development

What kind of education and/or training programs is available to help increase involvement and participation of the Aboriginal community within the tourism industry?

How did this program begin?

When the program was being developed, was their consultation with the Aboriginal community?

If so how were they involved?

How are the instructors selected for this program?

What has the response (Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal) been to this program?

How successful has the program been, in terms of completion, employment and/or continued studies?

Do you feel the Provincial Aboriginal Tourism Education Forum is a step in the right direction when it comes to Aboriginal tourism education and training?

Are the goals realistic?

Interview Specific Questions

What did it mean to be recognized with the Young Adult Achievement Award from Aboriginal Tourism Association of BC?

Based on your experiences how supportive has the Aboriginal Tourism Association of British Columbia been? (I.e. marketing, product development, training *etc*)

SLCC

How involved has the Aboriginal community been in evolution of the SLCC, for example from design and construction stages to operations and management stages?

Is the goal to hire and employ people of Aboriginal ancestry or are certain positions reserved for applicants of Aboriginal ancestry?

How does the SLCC recruit its employees?

Are there different strategies when hiring Aboriginal vs. Non-Aboriginal people?

What has the response been to the opening of the SLCC?

VANOC

Are VANOC's Objectives regarding "unprecedented participation" being met?

What has been the biggest challenge in achieving Aboriginal participation in Games planning and how have these been overcome?

What is the relationship between VANOC and FHFN?

According to the contract between VANOC and FHFN, the following areas were identified as areas where the Aboriginal community could participate. What has been or will be their involvement in these areas?

- a) Arts, Festivals and Events;
- b) Medal Ceremonies
- c) Opening/Closing Ceremonies
- d) Youth and Education Programs
- e) Employment and Training Initiatives
 - 1) Marketing
 - g) Procurement
 - h) Security
 - I) Volunteer Programs
 - 1) Hospitality
 - k) Cultural

In your opinion, what is the significance of Aboriginal involvement within planning, convening and creating legacy to the Aboriginal community?

Appendix B: List of Interview Participants

Name	Affiliation	Role	Date of Interview
Interviewee One	Educational Institution	Instructor	May 20, 2009 Jan. 22, 2010
Cecilia Point	Tourism BC	Aboriginal Liaison	May 21, 2009 Jan. 8, 2010
Hilary Dunn	Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee	Director of Aboriginal Participation	May 26, 2009
Gary Johnston	Native Education College	Cultural Coordinator	June 8, 2009
Katherine Ringrose	2010 Legacies Now	Manager, Community Engagement	Aug. 26, 2009
Keith Henry	Aboriginal Tourism BC	CEO	Aug. 28, 2009
Drew Leathem	Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre	General Manager	Nov. 19, 2009
D. Bruce Whyte	BC Ministry of Culture, Tourism and the Arts	Cultural Tourism Planner	Nov. 27, 2009
Barry Parker	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada	Industry Advisor, Tourism, Trade and Cultural Industries	Dec. 1, 2009
Willie Lewis	Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre	Group Sales Coordinator; AtBC Young Adult Achievement Award Recipient	Dec. 5, 2009
Interviewee 11	Vancouver Community College	School of Hospitality	Dec. 9, 2009
Terry Hood	LinkBC	General Manager	Jan. 4, 2010
Douglass Neasloss	Spirit Bear Adventures; Kitsaloo Band	Operations Manager; Marine Use Planning Coordinator; AtBC Young Adult Achievement Award Recipient	Jan. 20, 2010
Ursula Pfahler	Poda Communications Camosun College	Owner/Operator Instructor	Jan. 21, 2010 Jan. 25, 2010
Simon Ross	College of the Rockies	RISE Project Coordinator	Jan. 23, 2010 Jan. 28, 2010

Appendix C: Aboriginal Tourism Experiences in British Columbia Map



Source: AtBC, 2010

Appendix D: Aboriginal Participation in 2010 Winter Olympic Games Activities

Component	Description
Aboriginal Art Venue Program	This program consisted of over 140 works of art created by First Nations, Métis and Inuit artists representing communities from across the country. Approximately 40 will remain as permanent legacy to the Games while the remainder will be auctioned off and a portion of proceeds will go towards the Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Youth Legacy Fund.
Aboriginal Pavilion	The pavilion, designed to reflect a traditional West Coast Longhouse, was located in the heart of Olympic activity and highlighted the culture of Canada's aboriginal people. It included a multi-media sphere to show the business, culture, sport and art of each region. There was also a Trading Post, Reception Hall and place to sample traditional venison stew and bannock. The pavilion hosted 'theme days' to celebrate the diverse range of Canada's Aboriginal peoples.
Aboriginal Business Directory	A list of Aboriginal suppliers was compiled for the purpose of 2010 business procurement. Since 2003 VANOC has spent more than \$53 million with Aboriginal businesses and organizations on a range of goods and services
Aboriginal Business Showcase	This program increased economic and business development by showcasing market-ready Aboriginal artisans and businesses to the world.
BC/Canada Pavilion	The pavilion had a daily showcasing of and demonstrations by Aboriginal artisans related to the theme of BC forests.
Coca Cola Aboriginal Art Program	15 artists were selected from more than 100 Aboriginal artists across Canada to participate in the program, which was designed to leverage the Olympic opportunity and help the Aboriginal community share its culture with the world. The program also helped the Aboriginal community financially. From February 15 – 25, 2010, each Coca-Cola Art Bottle was available to collectors from around the world for purchase at the Aboriginal Art Bottle Auction. All proceeds went to the Vancouver 2010 Aboriginal Youth Legacy Fund.
Elegacies Discussion Starters	The elegacies site was devoted to providing college and university learning resources related to the 2010 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games. Discussion starters summarized key issues and encourage critical thinking. One theme related to aboriginal participation and the issues that have arisen regarding aboriginal involvement.

<p>Find Your Passion Poster Series</p>	<p>This campaign celebrated the achievements of Aboriginal athletes from across Canada. Over 85,000 posters were distributed to Aboriginal schools, community and youth groups to strengthen the physical, emotional and spiritual aspects of Aboriginal life and promote health and well being.</p>
<p>Four Host First Nation Society</p>	<p>The chiefs and councils of the Lil'wat, Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations entered into an historic Protocol Agreement on November 24, 2004, in which they agreed to coordinate their collective efforts to host and support the 2010 Winter Games. As a result, the Four Host First Nations Society was formed marking the first time in history that Indigenous peoples have been recognized by the International Olympic Committee as Official Partners in the hosting of a Olympic Games.</p>
<p>Aboriginal Licensing and Merchandise</p>	<p>This program showcased Aboriginal excellence in arts, culture and enterprise. These products bear the FHFN logo ensuring consumers these products met the authenticity guidelines created by the FHFN. One third of royalties received from the sale of these products go to the 2010 Aboriginal Youth Legacy fund.</p>
<p>Mascots</p>	<p>Aboriginal mythological creatures inspired the Olympic mascots Quatchi, Miga and Sumi. Quatchi the Sasquatch was based on local aboriginal legends. Miga was based on the legends of the Pacific Northwest First Nations legends of orca whales transforming into spirit bears once they arrived on land. Sumi was an animal spirit whose name comes from the Salish word 'sumesh' which means 'guardian spirit'. The honorary mascot Muk Muk was a marmot unique to the pacific coast and his name was derived from the Squamish word for food, 'muckamuck'.</p>
<p>Medals</p>	<p>The medals were based on two large master artworks of an orca whale (Olympic) and raven (Paralympic) by Corrine Hunt, a Canadian designer/artist of Komoyue and Tlingit heritage based in Vancouver, BC. Each of the medals had a unique hand-cropped section of the abstract art, making every medal one-of-a-kind. The orca, designed across four panels in the style of a traditional West Coast First Nations bentwood box, is often associated with the attributes of strength, dignity and teamwork. The sleek and powerful black and white whales are common to the waters off Canada's West Coast but are also found in all the world's oceans. The strong black wings and proud beaked profile of the raven appeared in a three-part composition in the style of a totem pole. The bird, a</p>

	species that can be found around the globe, is often associated with transformation and healing abilities and represents determination, creativity and wisdom.
Opening Ceremonies	Aboriginal peoples from across Canada were involved in the opening ceremonies that showcased traditional dancing and four totem poles. The chiefs representing the FHFN sat with the Prime Minister, Governor General, and members of VANOC and IOC.
Olympic Emblem	The Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games emblem is a contemporary interpretation of the inukshuk, which has been a guidepost used by Canada's Inuit for centuries. It is called Ilanaaq, which is the Inuktitut word for friend. The Rivera Design Group from Vancouver won the competition and drew inspiration from the inukshuk that has become a local landmark. The inukshuk was given to the Vancouver from the North. Representatives from the FHFN performed together at its official unveiling in 2005.
Petro Canada Totem Pole	Suncor Energy, through its Petro-Canada brand, is committed to promoting Olympic values beyond sport. The Petro-Canada 2010 Legacy Pole was a reflection of this support, as it celebrated the gathering of people from around the world. The Pole provided visitors with the opportunity to experience Aboriginal culture, a key element of the Games. In working with Klatle-Bhi on the totem pole, Suncor Energy promoted the talent and growth of Aboriginal artists in Canada and created a legacy that will last well beyond the 2010 Games.
Pan Pacific Hotel	Kla-how-ya: Welcome to Aboriginal Tourism BC. The Daily Exhibit Showcased Aboriginal Experiences with demonstrations and cultural performances.
Ringtones	The FHFN website had downloadable ringtones that range from elders' songs to Inuit throat singing. With a large youth population, getting people involved meant reaching out with new technology, such as ringtones and YouTube.
Robson Square	Daily Aboriginal performances took place between 12:30pm-1pm for the duration of the Games.
Sea to Sky Cultural Journey Naming Recognition Project	The Cultural Journey is a project in partnership between the Squamish and Lil'wat First Nations to increase the profile of the sea to sky corridor as an Aboriginal tourism experience. The interactive map that is also printable, allows visitors to learn the traditional First Nations history of the landscape. Highway signage will include First Nations names in the respective language. Scenic pullouts with interpretive panels are available throughout the

	<p>journey. <i>This project was part of the Shared Legacies Agreement received from the 2010 Bid Corporation.</i></p>
<p>Squamish Lil'wat Cultural Centre</p>	<p>The SLCC, a not-for-profit initiative embodies the spirit of partnership between the Squamish and Lil'wat Nations, and the shared values around preserving, revitalizing and sharing traditional and modern cultures with the world. All proceeds from the SLCC are invested in training and cultural revitalization programs for the Squamish Nation and Lil'wat Nation. <i>The SLCC was a component of the Shared Legacies Agreement received from the 2010 Bid Corporation.</i></p>
<p>Team Canada Hockey Jersey</p>	<p>The hockey jerseys worn by Canada's men's, women's and sledge hockey teams were re-designed in collaboration with Musqueam artist and Nike. The new jerseys featured two powerful First Nations symbols, the eagle and thunderbird that support the central maple leaf.</p>
<p>Torch Relay</p>	<p>The Torch Relay traveled through 115 Aboriginal communities, where community members participated as torchbearers, elder fire keepers, cultural performers and celebrations hosts.</p>
<p>Vancouver Community College Aboriginal Culinary Program</p>	<p>In response to FHFN's need to deliver authentic aboriginal cuisine, VCC designed and delivered an Aboriginal Culinary Cuisine program to train Aboriginal youth in traditional Aboriginal cuisine, while incorporating contemporary foodservice skills and certifications.</p>

Source: FHFN, 2010 & VANOC, 2010

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