From Highland Flings and Fisherfolk to Donairs and Coal Miners: Tourism
Promotion in Nova Scotia, 1965-1990

by

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Clara "Nanny" MacPherson and Frances "Grandma" MacNeil, who are, although "ethnic," female, and coals miners' wives, definitely not Folk!

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Abstract

Beginning in the early 1970s, the tourism portfolio became much more important as a function of the Nova Scotia government. At a time of severe economic stagnation, high unemployment, an oil crisis and recession, tourism was pushed as a means of rescuing the province from economic despair. Tourism was therefore considered a measure of government success or failure and a cause for government support or criticism. The increased pressure conferred upon the Department of Tourism at this time led to the broadening of its role via the private sector. From about 1971, both the state, represented by the Department of Tourism, and the private tourism/hospitality market became fundamental to each other's success or failure. A reciprocal relationship between the Nova Scotia state and the private hospitality sector developed in which the state relied upon the private sector to develop high quality tourist accommodations, restaurants, and attractions that represented the province as an ideal tourism destination, encouraging greater numbers of visitors and revisits and also, as representatives of the Nova Scotian people, to control what image of the province and its people was advanced. The private sector depended on the state for funding and incentive grants, free advertising and legitimation. Beginning in 1974 certain civil servants within the Department of Tourism began to consider the utilization of the province's multicultural character in the department's marketing plan. But it was not until 1985 and the Select Committee on Tourism's recommendation to exploit that multicultural character that multiculturalism and tourism were linked in the department's rhetoric and became evident in its promotional literature. A content analysis finds that the multicultural image disseminated by the Department of Tourism revealed a province with a uniquely hospitable population, one which retained all of the positive aspects of its ethnic groups in a distinctive collective identity. The formula on which this characterization was based is termed the New Folk. Like those described by Ian McKay, the New Folk preserved an older way of life, uncorrupted by contemporary social problems, transcending class divisions and conflict in exchange for solidarity. But unlike McKay's Folk, the New Folk were composed of people with diverse ethnicities. They were not solely Anglo-Celtic, but Mi'kmaq, Black, Portuguese and Italian. They were not merely fisherfolk, but miners, farmers and steel workers.

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Chapter One - Introduction
Nova Scotia: A "Different" Part of America

On 28 May 1988, Nova Scotia's Minister of Tourism and Culture, Brian Young,

gave a speech at the annual meeting of the Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia

(MANS). Young's speech began, predictably, by praising the multicultural

demographics of the province and congratulating MANS for its work in promoting

intercultural sharing and in fostering a more tolerant environment in the province. Young

then provided his views on the infusion of multiculturalism into the tourism mix. "I like

to believe that we are a happy, tolerant, hardworking, down-to-earth society that cares for

its citizens and allows for the promotion of cultural and ethnic expressions," he began,

"And I like to believe that because of that nature, Nova Scotia tends to attract people

from other lands and nations who share that civic philosophy." Young continued:

> I also like to believe that while Nova Scotia provides a climate for promoting
> individual ethnic characteristics and customs we also provide a climate for
> assimilating, allowing those people from other cultures to assume some of those
> unique and unusual traits that give Nova Scotians that unmistakable Maritime
> flavour to our personality."[1]

In his speech, Minister Young was summarizing exactly the tourism strategy employed

by the department he led for over a decade – utilizing the apparently unique blend of

ethnic characteristics to construct a distinct image of the province's people that appealed

to potential visitors to the province. As Young explained, because the province allowed

its ethnic groups to openly celebrate and maintain their cultural heritages, it was rewarded

with a people who were happy, tolerant, and, therefore, exceptionally hospitable to

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[1] Speech Transcript, Brian Young to MANS general meeting, Sydney, NS. 28 May 1988. NSARM.
Department of Tourism and Culture records, Box 1994-138/002. Access Restricted.

tourists. In this study, the construction and conveyance of this image by the Department of Tourism will be examined.

Although tourism in Canada, and specifically in Nova Scotia, has been extensively studied by such historians as Ian McKay, Michael Dawson, Patricia Jasen, and Alisa Apostle, the bulk of the historiography has been limited to the period from the development of the concept of tourism in the late eighteenth century through to the late 1960s. My contribution to the literature investigates the more recent history of image construction in tourism from 1965 to 1990. Although a class and gender lens will be used in this essay, class and gender have been widely discussed by the scholars referenced above; unlike these scholars, in the present study I am most interested in examining multiculturalism and tourism, a connection that has not yet been examined by those investigating tourism in Canada as their primary aim.

In this thesis, it will be argued that the tourism portfolio changed so that in the early 1970s, the tourism portfolio, although always an important function of government, became central to its economic development strategies at a time when the Canadian economy, and those of the so-called "have-not" provinces to an even greater extent, faced the greatest crisis since the Great Depression. At a time of severe economic stagnation, high unemployment, an oil crisis and, by 1981/1982, recession, tourism was touted by federal and provincial development experts as a means of rescuing the province from economic oblivion. Tourism was therefore considered a measure of government success or failure and a cause for government support or criticism. As Chapter One demonstrates, tourism, while always central to the Nova Scotian state, became even more so in this period when tourism revenue leveled off and did not increase as much nor as

quickly as forecasted in the 1980s. The Conservative government in power commissioned numerous studies and committees to develop strategies that would render the growth upon which the government, and the province as a whole, depended. In this context, delivering a unique product in an extremely competitive market became fundamental to the maintenance of political power. Beginning in 1974, when multiculturalism was added to the government's agenda, and culminating in 1975, with the creation of the Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia, certain tourism officials in the province's Department of Tourism began to consider the utilization of multiculturalism in the province's marketing plan. It was not until the late 1980s, however, and the Select Committee on Tourism's recommendation to promote the province's multicultural character, that multiculturalism and tourism were linked in the department's rhetoric and became evident in its promotional literature. The multicultural image disseminated by the Department of Tourism revealed a province with a uniquely hospitable population, one which retained all of the positive aspects of its summary ethnic groups in a distinctive collective identity.

Following the notion of the Folk developed by Ian McKay in his seminal study of public image making in Nova Scotia, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*, this study will describe the composition of a new category of Folk, what I term the 'New Folk,' in the later twentieth century. In *The Quest of the Folk*, McKay successfully attempts to expose the images, prevalent in both Nova Scotia and the rest of the world, that the province was characterized by idyllic "Folk," a series of images created by a class of cultural producers who adhered to a Romantic notion of the province as a throwback to a Golden Age in which the hardships of

modernity and capitalism had no presence and which ignored identities, customs,

traditions, and cultural groups that did not conform to their idealized image of the

province. This was a conservative ideal, promoted by a ruling class that could not identify

with "unfettered capitalism ... nor with working class radicalism." As a result of their

alienation, they "turned to cultural forms which, though seemingly 'of the people,'

carried no danger of radicalism."[2] Outlining the careers of folklorist Helen Creighton and

handicraft promoter Mary Black, McKay traces how often, the efforts of those who

wished to transform the identity of Nova Scotians to suit their economic and

psychological needs led to conservative images of the people of Nova Scotia. The

construction of the Folk image marked a new way of seeing the Nova Scotian people

based upon the contemporary antimodernism of its middle class creators.

As has been alluded to earlier, McKay's Folk were identified by cultural

producers as carriers of Nova Scotia's cultural essence; they became archetypical Nova

Scotians. They were transformed into Nova Scotianness personified, celebrated for their

"Good and Simple Lives." Their lives were one-dimensionally portrayed as conflict-free,

uncomplicated, apolitical, non-sexual, easy-going, and charmingly technologically

deprived. In reality, of course, the Folk lived "the complicated, difficult, interesting lives

of most human beings."[3] This redefinition of identity, McKay tells us, followed certain

criteria. These criteria have been adopted in this study to determine who and what

actions constitute those of the Folk. Firstly, the Folk formula was unremittingly

preoccupied with essence (in this study, fixed and final forms of ethnic culture).

Secondly, the Folk were exemplars of an older and better time, bearers of traditional

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[2] Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) p. 36.
[3] McKay, p. xvi.

ways that had to be preserved before the modernity that invaded urban life destroyed

them. Thirdly, they perfectly illustrated the pastoral ideal in which the rich and poor

lived in a blissful harmony that "transcended the temporary, superficial, and divisive

misunderstandings of class," indeed, they were utterly unpolitical. Fourthly, the Folk

were of one ethnic heritage; they were White, male, Anglo-Saxon. They were also

primarily fisherfolk. And finally, the construction of the Folk was not only the result of a

search for the pre-modern in a modern world, but also a quest for profits in the growing

post-war market for things primitive, particularly within the tourism sector.[4] These

criteria also point to those left out of the Folk formula: most ethnic groups, women,

unionized labour, the literate, the urban, and the middle class. In actual fact, taking these

criteria into account, very, very few Nova Scotians would have qualified as the Folk in

both the 1920s when the idea began to be formulated and over fifty years later when the

identity of the New Folk was conceptualized.[5]

But the New Folk were unlike those characterized by McKay in the earlier period.

Whereas the construction of McKay's Folk was an embodiment of the antimodernism of

middle class producers in the 1930s to 1960s, backward-looking and desiring a return to

tradition, the construction of the New Folk was a postmodern effort, emphasizing

tradition and celebrating the immigration of ethnic minorities to the province and

underlining the importance of their contribution to the Nova Scotian identity. But this

characterization was still as stereotypical as the one described by McKay. It also

consisted of the nostalgic elements such as the maintenance of tradition and

romanticization of hardship, as outlined by McKay and remained as essentialist as it had

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[4] McKay, pp. 275-276.
[5] McKay, p. 28.

in the past. Where McKay's Folk had been limited to Anglo-Saxon males, mainly fishermen, the New Folk was multi-racial and held a wider variety of occupations. Yet, the gender roles of these men and women were rather traditional; they were apolitical and practically consumed by the modern enactments of their customs and traditions not for themselves, but to share with visitors. It was on this image that the fate of one of the province's most lucrative industries hinged.

These conclusions were made after an examination of three sets of archival records. The first, the Department of Tourism records, contains a variety of documents including memoranda, letters, speech transcripts, newspaper clippings, funding requests and responses, and press releases. These documents were essential in mapping the inclusion of multiculturalism into Nova Scotia's tourism plan. Along with these records, I also examined the Select Committee on Tourism records, which include countless newspaper clippings related to tourism in the province and Canada as a whole and a list of those who made presentations to the committee, and its final report. Unfortunately, these records do not contain transcripts of most of these presentations. They were valuable, nonetheless, as they disclosed the form and function of the committee and helped me to determine the reasons why it recommended connecting multiculturalism with tourism. The third set of records examined was the Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia records. The letters, memos, policy statements, press releases, funding requests these records contain were crucial in putting together a clear picture of how multiculturalism was created, treated and defined in Nova Scotia given that no secondary sources on the subject exist.

The contributions of others to the study of tourism have indubitably influenced the theoretical basis of this work. Central to this work is the intervention of the state into the tourism industry. Historian Michael Dawson's work on the simultaneous development of the tourism industry and modern consumer culture in British Columbia, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970,* has been an indispensable examination of an earlier instance of state formation and tourism. In *Selling British Columbia,* Dawson examines the process of commodification and image construction in tourism from the promoters' perspective. Focusing on the consumerist aspects of the tourism industry, Dawson emphasizes the importance of cultural producers in the production of mass culture. Dawson argues that over the course of the twentieth century, tourism was transformed from a trade to an industry.[6] Originally, early tourism promotion bodies, including the Tourist Association of Victoria and the Vancouver Tourist Association, realized the potential of tourism to promote industrial development in British Columbia. But from 1890 to 1930, visitors to the province found themselves not only attracted to its economic opportunities, but to the opportunity it presented for them to escape the pressures of modern life.[7]

Dawson's contention that it was the postwar tourist boom that marked the beginning of tourism's connection with modern consumerism has been central to this study.[8] In the postwar period, he insists, consumer spending had became the principal measure of tourist activity: "Consequently, maximizing tourism's economic potential required a promotional strategy that encouraged tourists to spend money while on

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[6] Michael, Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004) p. 5.
[7] Dawson, p. 78.
[8] Dawson, p.153.

vacation."[9] Similarly, Dawson's interpretation of tourism as a purview of the state

mirrors that which occurred in Nova Scotia in the 1970s and 1980s. Particularly

noteworthy for the present study, government tourism promoters cast tourism as a "public

good" that benefited all members of society and therefore warranted widespread public

support, both in terms of their tax dollars and hospitality. The potential of tourism as an

area of economic growth was quickly acknowledged and was treated as an industry by

city and municipal, provincial and the national governments.[10] Beginning in about 1950,

the federal government and its provincial counterparts took an even greater control of

tourism development and promotion in an effort to encourage high consumer demand for

Canadian attractions. Using Shirley Tillotson's argument that the 1950s marked a time

when "the whole notion of state-sponsored, expert-managed social and economic

planning was just taking hold in Canada,"[11] Dawson maintains that tourism divisions and

departments, staffed by marketing and promotional experts and wielding the

progressively important tool of the market research survey, not only assisted in

developing tourism attractions, but in marketing them as well.

As was the case in Nova Scotia in the late twentieth century, government tourism

officials in British Columbia devised educational initiatives of two types: the gathering

and publication of statistical data that confirmed the tourism industry's contribution to the

economy and the socialization of service sector employees and schoolchildren to be

receptive and hospitable host populations; consequently, Dawson claims, as a result of

increasing interest by the state and tourism's entry into consumer culture the tourist came

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[9] Dawson, p. 153.
[10] Dawson, pp. 153, 178.
[11] Shirley Tillotson, *The Public at Play* (Toronto: U of T Press, 2000) p. 79.

to be identified as a commodity. [12] At the same time, British Columbian history, both British and Aboriginal, was adapted in a way to lure visitors to the province and to convince them to spend once they arrived. *Selling British Columbia* and its unrelenting focus on tourism producers and the process of tourism development has been fundamental in linking consumer culture, bureaucracy and tourism. *Selling British Columbia* has also been extremely influential in the following discussion of public and private cooperation in the tourism industry and his characterization of the relationship as "capitalism managed by the state"[13] has influenced my work as such a relationship definitely existed later in the period in Nova Scotia. Dawson's work has served as a study of the early Canadian tourism industry, the legacy of which is the subject of this thesis.

Alisa Apostle's article, "The Display of a Tourist Nation: Canada in Government Film, 1945-1959," has also been instrumental to the present study's account of government intervention in the tourism industry. Apostle claims that the image of the Canadian tourism industry popularized in government films in the 1940s and 1950s was the basis for the image of tourism in the 1970s and 1980s.[14] For example, her argument that the entry of government in promoting the tourism industry itself helped to provide it the legitimacy in the public eye it needed in order to flourish has been employed in this study of Nova Scotia.[15] Likewise, the Canadian Government Travel Board's idea, illustrated by Apostle, that tourism was best managed by government officials, particularly in times of economic decline, was also popular in Nova Scotian government

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[12] Dawson, p. 215.
[13] Dawson, p. 210.
[14] Alisa Apostle, "The Display of a Tourist Nation: Canada in Government Film, 1945-1959." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association.* Vol. 12 (2001) p. 197.
[15] Apostle, p. 179.

discourse in the 1970s and 1980s and her work on the subject has been particularly instructive.[16]

A further study of Canadian tourism has been that of historian Patricia Jasen who afforded the image of the aboriginal in tourism literature much attention. Unlike those described by McKay, Jasen maintains that in nineteenth-century Ontario, Aboriginals were central to the tourist industry's image of Ontario as a natural, uncivilized escape from escape from the ravages of modernity. In *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914,* Jasen argues that behind the images of Canada's Aboriginal peoples in their 'natural habitats,' lay the idea that tourists were viewing the last vestiges of humanity in its most untamed state. As "temporary refugees" from the stresses of civilized life, antimodernists assumed that although it was tiresome and demanding, "the relentless march of progress ... would inevitably triumph in all parts of North America ... [I]n the meantime they looked to the Native inhabitants to satisfy their curiosity about humanity in its wild state and to confirm their confidence in their own civilization." Through the acts of watching and defining them, positively or negatively, but as a "race in decline," European and American tourists asserted control over the Aboriginal population, confining them to the past and viewing them as an authentic, yet on the whole hopeless and ineffectual people.[17] The difference between Jasen's and McKay's analyses may be attributable to the different time periods in which these studies were based and also confirms the different images portrayed in each province. In Ontario, tourism promoters furthered the idea that Ontario was a wilderness paradise, while in Nova Scotia, cultural producers sought to advance the idea that Nova Scotia was

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[16] Apostle, pp. 183-184.

[17] Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: U of T Press, 1995) pp. 16-17.

a rockbound, maritime destination. The present analysis maintains that in the 1965 to

1972 period, Aboriginals were indeed found outside the confines of the Folk, but that by

1986 to 1990, and the prevalence of multiculturalism in the Department of Tourism's

marketing strategy, as an ethnic group they were made to fit into the New Folk formula.

The study of tourism by historians has been greatly influenced by the field of

sociology. In terms of its definition, the work of sociologist of tourism John Urry has

been indispensable. Urry contends that tourism is specifically organized and constructed

to take place with particular places, expressly in *other* places, which are in some way (via

culture, landscape, climate, etc.) distinct and contrast with those places in which paid

work of the consumer/tourist takes place. A succinct, yet comprehensive definition of

modern tourism, and the one followed in the present study, can be excavated from a list

provided by Urry. Tourism consists of the movement of people to and their short-term

and temporary stay in destinations that contrast with their usual places of residence and

work. This allows them to engage in activities that are pleasurable and non-pecuniary

and involve unfamiliar, atypical experiences and/or sensations. Tourism is considered an

essential, customary component of the modern experience in which a substantial

proportion of the population partakes.[18] Tourism involves not only the consumption of

goods, such as souvenirs and continental breakfasts, and services like hotel

accommodation and bus tours, but also the consumption of the environment and even

time. As Urry points out, a crucial feature of consumption is the ability of individuals to

buy time, the capability to circumvent work and substitute it with leisure or other kinds of

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[18] John Urry, "Cultural Change and Contemporary Holiday-making," *Theory, Culture & Society*. Vol. 5
(1988) p. 36.

work.[19] Whether than tourist pays an entrance fee at the gates of a National Park or lies on a sandy beach all day, he or she has purchased the experience of being there, of looking in on the lives and surroundings of others. Thus, when a tourist visited Nova Scotia, he or she was purchasing the chance to enjoy its culture and people. Therefore, it was crucial that the product image of that culture and people appealed to tourists; hence the Department of Tourism's obvious concern with the public image of the province.

Directly alongside the concept of consumerism, and central to the type of tourism promoted in Nova Scotia, is the concept of commodification. One of the best explanations of the process of commodification is that of widely-read sociologist of tourism, Eric Cohen, who asserts that commodification is a process "by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services)" as opposed to being evaluated for some other value, such as that of religion or artistic merit. According to Cohen, since markets have expanded throughout the modern era, an increasing array of things and activities are commodified. Under the impact of tourism, things like souvenirs and 'artifacts' enter the market, as did such activities as sightseeing and outdoor events and sports. More controversially, people and cultures are put on display for tourist viewing, marking the commodification of things once protected from entry into the market.[20] In Nova Scotia, the utilization of greater numbers of ethnic groups in the construction of the province's product image denotes the government's foray into the commodification process. The Nova Scotian people and collective culture were cast as goods up for sale. While they could not be directly consumed, as could a lobster supper or Nova Scotia t-

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[19] John Urry, "The 'Consumption' of Tourism." *Sociology*. Vol. 24, no. 1 (February 1990) p. 24.
[20] Eric Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* Vol. 15 (1988) pp. 379-380.

shirt, the experience of their culture and the chance to interact with them could be

purchased for the price of a hotel room and an admissions ticket to any of the province's

numerous cultural festivals.

Yet another group of scholarship that is of particular interest to this study is that

dealing with multiculturalism as state policy. Multiculturalism as state policy involves

two key concepts: recognition and integration. Multicultural policy is an official

recognition that citizens are able to and actually do sustain "multiple political

commitments within the boundaries of a single state," that they consider themselves both

citizens of a particular country but also members of an ethnic group and that such dual

loyalties, and the differences they contain, should be recognized by the state.[21] As

Raymond Breton explains, all groups desire recognition of their identity and their

historical and contemporary contribution to society from state authority: "Institutions and

their authorities control symbolic resources and some of the means to obtain them – that

is, resources and means pertaining to the identity, meaning, and recognition sought by

individuals and groups."[22] The logic behind multicultural policies appears to revolve

around the notion that democratic governments owe equal respect to all cultures, making

up for the oppression of minority groups in the past;

> This [idea] emerges from the nature of the reproach made to the designers of
> traditional [policy] ... The claim is that the judgments of worth on which these
> latter were supposedly based were in fact corrupt, were marred by narrowness or
> insensitivity or, even worse, a desire to downgrade the excluded ... [T]hanks to

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[21] John Harles, "Multiculturalism, National Identity, and National Integration," in R. Douglas Francis and
Donald B. Smith, eds. *Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation*, 7th Ed. (Toronto: Thomson
Nelson, 2006) p. 519.
[22] Raymond Breton, "Multiculturalism and Canadian Nation-Building," in Alan Cairns and Cynthia
Williams, eds. *The Politics of Gender, Ethnicity and Language in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto
Press, 1986) p. 28.

this idea, misrecognition has now graduated to the rank of a harm, as is the case for such treatments as inequality, exploitation, injustice, and racism.[23]

The scholars who argue that multicultural policies are adopted because liberal, pluralistic states feel the need to recognize a multiplicity of cultures fail to acknowledge more pragmatic government motivations. Admittedly, an examination of Nova Scotian multiculturalism has not been undertaken by any other scholars, but in the conclusion of this study, I assert that in Nova Scotia in the late 1980s, multiculturalism was linked with political necessity and capitalism. This was certainly the case federally. For example, Pierre Trudeau's goal of the "just society" was politically based and part of his image as the Canadian liberator, an image that rendered him success at the polls. Multiculturalism was in line with the Trudeau government's political agenda. Trudeau was well aware that a policy which recognized the importance of the country's visible minority population would go far in gathering electoral support in the ethnically diverse West, a region in which the Trudeau government had little support. The Liberals were also conscious of the significance of the minorities of urban Ontario, particularly Toronto, and believed that a policy of multiculturalism would help retain this important support base.[24] We will also see how multiculturalism could help market goods and services. Thus, in terms of garnering support, multiculturalism can be viewed more pessimistically as a policy with which to appease the masses. Multiculturalism, simply put, is good for public relations and for business. However, we must keep in mind that not all citizens accept the government's actions, and many see through them and recognize the political

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[23] Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," in David Theo Goldberg, ed. *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998) pp. 75; 82-83; 97-98.
[24] Jean R. Burnet and Howard Palmer. *"Coming Canadians": An Introduction to a History of Canada's People* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988) p. 176.

and capitalist motivations behind them. Certainly, this process is much more complex than simple acquiescence.

The argument that multiculturalism involves the integration, rather than assimilation, of non-majority groups in the institutional, material and symbolic order is perhaps, a more accurate interpretation than that of recognition. As Kymlicka explains, the state is profoundly and inextricably engaged in molding the ethnocultural identities of its citizens through its labours to promote a very specific form of cultural integration.[25] According to Harles, multiculturalists see multicultural policy as a "constitutional provision for deep cultural diversity" that promotes the idea that ethnic minorities warrant equal treatment by the state; such policies remove discriminatory obstacles to, and widen opportunities for, the economic, political and social participation in society in a kind of national consolidation.[26] The danger of denying groups recognition and failing to integrate them into national consciousness is that they will become alienated, made hostile toward the society and the culture it represents, leading to situations in which "symbolically disadvantaged groups pressure for a redefinition of the character of public institutions."[27] But before one interprets this integration as an action of a benevolent state, one must remember that integration, like recognition, also garners support from both minority groups and those who support them. The concept of integration allows for the fact that governments and bureaucracies often exploit ethnic groups by appropriating their cultures and making money from that appropriation. As we will see in Chapter Three, such was the case in Nova Scotia from 1970 onwards. Multiculturalism can be

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[25] Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1998) p. 25.
[26] Harles, pp. 519-520.
[27] Breton, p. 31.

evaluated as having two, seemingly contradictory aims – both integrative and capitalistic

and political aspirations. I assert that both aims are not mutually exclusive. Just because

government may be interested in adopting a policy of multiculturalism to garner political

support or for reasons of economic development, does not automatically deny the

policy's positive outcomes. As Kymlicka maintains, in contrast to those who argue that

multiculturalism has had only a detrimental effect on Canada's ethnic groups, "the

multiculturalism program is working. It is achieving what it set out to do: helping to

ensure that those people who wish to express their ethnic identity are respected and

accommodated, while simultaneously increasing the ability of immigrants to integrate

into the larger society."[28] In Nova Scotia, the creation of the Multicultural Association of

Nova Scotia and its work in furthering the integration and recognition of the province's

ethnic groups existed simultaneously with the Department of Tourism's efforts to profit

from their images.

Tourism in Nova Scotia dates from the early nineteenth century when the officer

class of the British military stationed in the various provincial urban centres partook in

the sporting and touring activities of the surrounding countryside. By the late nineteenth

century tourism in the province appealed to the "elite sport tourist," wealthy British and

American tourists interested in enjoying the scenery and sporting options that Nova

Scotia provided.[29] In this early period of Nova Scotian tourism, ethnicity played a role in

tourism promotion, though it was of a different, less inclusive, nature than in the 1970s

and 1980s. The Scottish ethnicity, for example, was intensely employed in tourism

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[28] Will Kymlicka, "The Merits of Multicullturalism," in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds. *Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation*, 7th Ed. (Toronto: Thomson Nelson, 2006) p. 507.
[29] James H. Morrison, "American Tourism in Nova Scotia, 1871-1940." *The Nova Scotia Historical Review* Vol. 2, no. 2 (1982) pp. 40-41

literature and the image of the province throughout the twentieth century.[30] Similarly, the

Acadians were represented in the promotion of the province as the romantic, idealized

descendants of Evangeline in a land that still bore witness to the tragedy of their

expulsion.[31] However, until the 1920s, tourism in the province was limited to only select

areas; it was not until that decade when it became part of the state's agenda to attract

tourists and coordinate several aspects of local culture and society as part of a "tourism

plant."[32] Beginning in the 1920s and continuing into the 1960s, "the state aggressively

intervened in civil society to construct such a plant by paving highways, developing

hotels, inventing new … sporting traditions, and monitoring the steady advance of the

'industry.'"[33] This analysis begins where McKay's work has ended.

McKay states that the Folk formula had not waned in the years following his

study (which ended in the late 1950s), but he also predicted that the "strange forces at

work in the late-twentieth century cultural life" would likely affect the concept of the

Folk. As the present thesis will demonstrate, he was correct.[34] Employing his concept of

the Folk, I performed a content analysis of both Department of Tourism policy and

rhetoric and the major tourism literature that was invariably influenced by them. In

Chapter One, "So Much to Sea': The Tourism Master Plan in Canada's Ocean

Playground, 1965-1990," the nature of the tourism industry and its driving force, the

Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, will be explored. The cooperation between the

government and private tourism and hospitality businesses will be illustrated as will be

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[30] McKay, pp. 206-212; Michael Boudreau, "A 'Rare and Unusual Treat of Historical Significance': The 1923 *Hector* Celebration and the Political Economy of the Past." *Journal of Canadian Studies.* 28,4 (Winter 1993-94) pp.28-48.
[31] M. Brook Taylor, "The Poetry and Prose of History: Evangeline and the Historians of Nova Scotia." *Journal of Canadian Studies.* Vol. 23, no.1-2 (Spring 1988) pp. 46-47.
[32] McKay, p. 33.
[33] McKay, p. 35.
[34] McKay, p. 276.

the increasing centrality of the tourism portfolio as a measure of government's effectiveness in its province-building endeavours. Chapter Two, "Charming Racial Contrasts": Tourism and Multiculturalism in Nova Scotia" will make the connection between the province's burgeoning multiculturalism policy and its tourism agenda. In Chapter Three, "Mixed Company': The New Folk," the results of the aforementioned content analysis will be revealed. Here, the substance of the New Folk, its similarities and differences to McKay's Folk, will be examined and it will be argued that in the 1970s and 1980s, a change took place in its composition. Unlike McKay's Folk, the new Folk had different coloured faces. They were not solely White, but Mikmaq, Black, Portuguese and Italian. They were not merely fisherfolk, but miners, farmers and steel workers. But, as we will see, especially in the case of women, they were still Folk, the product of essentialist concepts of the Nova Scotian ethnic and working- class population. Finally, the conclusion of this study will discuss the implications of the commodification of ethnic culture in tourism marketing.

A word about what this thesis does not address is required. Although crucial to the development of tourism in Nova Scotia in the 1970s and 1980s, the role of private entrepreneurs is not attended to here. Their actions and planning, while important, could be the subject of a thesis of their own. Here, I focus on government actions only, complex and meaningful in their own right. Similarly, this study does not address the roles of the citizens of Nova Scotia and the consumers of the Nova Scotia product. Again, state action, rather than the behaviours, values, acceptance or opposition to them, are the focus here. So, with these provisos in mind, let us now proceed.

Chapter Two
"So Much to Sea": The Tourism Master Plan in Canada's Ocean Playground, 1971-1990

> *Nova Scotia must avoid, as much as possible, offering a homogenized travel experience indistinguishable from the competition. The Province must develop its many existing potentials with an approach that recognizes and promotes the strengths and unique characteristics of the seven regions, offering a variety of different travel experiences which will allow the province to appeal to a wide variety of market segments in a greatly expanded season.[1]*

From 1979 to 1983, the tourism industry of Nova Scotia experienced unprecedented success; for example, total tourist expenditures in the province sky-rocketed from $101.8 to $195.3 million dollars in that four year period. Similarly impressive, by 1983, the tourism industry accounted for approximately 8% of all jobs in the province and it was estimated that almost 30,000 positions with an annual payroll of $261,000,000 arose from employment in the tourism sector. Taxes generated by Nova Scotia's tourism industry infused more than $30 million dollars into the provincial coffers.[2] Indeed, it is no wonder that Department of Tourism officials saw tourism as a means towards "enriching and enhancing the lives of Nova Scotians."[3] From 1971 to 1990, the provincial government's treatment of the tourism portfolio changed in both its organizational structure and resources. Over time, the portfolio grew in importance and priority, with its responsibilities and mandate following suit. The number and scope of its programs grew as did its resources until they were diminished as a result of recession in the 1981/1982, only to rise again in from 1983 onwards. The marketing apparatus

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[1] Tourism Nova Scotia, *Provincial Tourism Master Plan*. February 1983, p. 44.
[2] *Department of Tourism Annual Reports*, 1972/73, p. 3; 1976-77, p. 5; 1977/78 p.27; 1978/79, p.17; 1980/81, p. 5; 1981/82, p.524; 1982/83, p. 25; 1983/84, p. 36; 1984/85, p. 25; 1985/86, pp. 28-29; 1988/89, p. 17; 1989/90, p.19.
[3] Tourism Nova Scotia, *Provincial Tourism Master Plan*. February 1983, p. 68.

took on new roles, as did the department's use of experts on promotion. The state also functioned in a greater capacity in the development of attractions and cultural resources, working in tandem with the private sector to an extent that had not existed before 1965. In addition, the tourism portfolio was subject to a series of bureaucratic reorganizations, the biggest of which occurred in 1971, when it was separated from the Department of Tourism and Industry and given its own department, and in 1988, when it absorbed the culture and recreation portfolio and was renamed the Department of Tourism and Culture.

The following chapter tells the story of these changes, describing the context in which Nova Scotia's tourism industry developed and changed over time.
It will be argued that over the course of the period 1971 to 1990, tourism became even more essential to Nova Scotian politics than it was in the past. At a time when the province faced its worst economic conditions since the Depression including stagflation, underdevelopment, high unemployment and then recession, tourism was growing while other industries were failing. Optimistic that this growth would continue, tourism was touted by provincial development officials, including the Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Tourism and their staff, as the answer to some of Nova Scotia's economic troubles. For this reason, the government's handling of the tourism portfolio became as important as its handling of more high profile portfolios like health and finance, becoming an issue whose mishandling could invite criticism of the government in power, thus limiting its political support base come election time. The increased pressure conferred upon the Department of Tourism at this time led to the broadening of its role via the private sector. From about 1971, both the state, represented by the Department of Tourism, and the

private tourism/hospitality market became fundamental to each other's success or failure.

A reciprocal relationship between the Nova Scotia state and the private hospitality sector

developed in which the state relied upon the private sector to develop high quality tourist

accommodations, restaurants, and attractions that represented the province as an ideal

tourism destination, encouraging greater numbers of visitors and revisits and also, as

representatives of the Nova Scotian people, to control what image of the province and its

people was advanced. The private sector depended on the state for funding and incentive

grants, free advertising and, as Apostle has indicated, legitimation.[4] Because the

successful operation of this relationship helped to determine a party's standing with the

public, both the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives who formed government

during this period (the Conservatives from 1971-1974 and 1978-1990 and the Liberals

from 1974-1978) staunchly supported tourism as a development strategy.[5]

The Tourism Industry in Nova Scotia, 1971-1990

By 1971, tourism was one of the largest sources of revenue to the provincial

coffers and became increasingly valuable over time, except in the recessionary years in

1981/1982.[6] Although the numbers of non-resident visitors stayed relatively constant

from 1971 to 1990, their expenditures rose during the same period (Table 2.1). By the

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[4] Alisa Apostle, "The Display of a Tourist Nation: Canada in Government Film, 1945-1959." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association.* Vol. 12 (2001) p. 178.

[5] Although the New Democratic Party ran in provincial elections, it never won more than a few seats in the legislature and therefore had very little real influence over in the area of tourism. There is absolutely no mention of the party in the departmental archives, therefore, what influence and support they did have cannot be adequately judged.

[6] *Department of Tourism Annual Reports,* 1972/73, p. 3; 1976-77, p. 5; 1977/78 p.27; 1978/79, p.17; 1980/81, p. 5; 1981/82, p.524; 1982/83, p. 25; 1983/84, p. 36; 1984/85, p. 25; 1985/86, pp. 28-29; 1988/89, p. 17; 1989/90, p.19.

end of the fiscal year, 1977, the tourism industry was touted the third largest industry in

the province.[7]

Table 2.1: Non-resident visitors to Nova Scotia, 1971-1990, by number and expenditure (Selected Seasons)[8]

Season*	Number of non-resident visitors	Expenditures ($)
1972-1973	1.43M	63.4M
1976-1977	1.30M	88.8M
1977-1978	1.40M	102.8M
1978-1979	1.20M	101.2M
1980-1981	1.20M	137.3M
1981-1982	1.17M	164.6M
1982-1983	1.15M	195.3M
1983-1984	1.11M	183.8M
1984-1985	1.31M	200.0M
1985-1986	1.13M	229.0M
1986-1987	1.22M	NA
1988-1989	1.22M	NA
1989-1990	1.19M	795.0M

*Seasons ran as follows: 1972-1973-June 1-October 31; 1976-1984 – June 1-Oct. 1; 1985-1989 – May 15-Oct. 31.

The structure of the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism changed over time. In 1972, the

department was organized into five divisions: travel information; accommodation and

facilities; development; and the Bluenose II.[9] By 1977, it consisted of only four

branches, each of which, however, had more exacting and intricate responsibilities: the

marketing division; the travel services division; the planning and development division

which included planning and development services, inspection services and a research

section. Finally, a section was exclusively responsible for the operation of the schooner

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[7] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1978,* p. 5.

[8] *Department of Tourism Annual Reports,* 1972/73, p. 3; 1976-77, p. 5; 1977/78 p.27; 1978/79, p.17; 1980/81, p. 5; 1981/82, p.524; 1982/83, p. 25; 1983/84, p. 36; 1984/85, p. 25; 1985/86, pp. 28-29; 1988/89, p. 17; 1989/90, p.19.

[9] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1973,* pp. 3-25.

and Nova Scotia icon, *Bluenose II*.[10] In 1981, the departmental structure became even

more complex with divisions including Industry Development with Inspection Services,

Hospitality Services, and a staff responsible for the funding administered by the

Department of Regional Economic Development (DREE) and its Tourism Sub-

Agreement. It also consisted of an Administrative Division in charge of research; a

Marketing and Promotion Division, responsible for advertising services, conventions, and

the *Bluenose II*; a Travel Services Division and its control of literature distribution and

information bureaus and the Editorial Services department; and finally, a division

responsible for the operation and maintenance of the Provincial Resort Hotels.[11] Much of

this structure remained intact in 1988, when the department absorbed the functions of the

Department of Culture and Recreation.[12] This increased complexity and the addition of

new roles and responsibilities reflects the bureaucratic expansion of the Tourism

Department as its activities had the potential to alleviate some of Nova Scotia's economic

problems at a time when other development strategies came up short.[13]

In the 1970s and 1980s, Nova Scotia witnessed its worst economic conditions

since the Depression. The unemployment rate rose to 9.6 per cent in 1976 and 10.8

percent in 1977, remaining this high until 1979 (the national average unemployment rate

at this time was 8.4 percent).[14] By the early 1980s, unemployment in Cape Breton

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[10] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1978*, pp. 3-27.

[11] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1982*, p. 3-30.

[12] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1989*, pp. 3-31.

[13] Industries such as the fishery, coal, steel, agriculture and forestry were on the decline; large production gains were viewed as unlikely. James P. Bickerton, *Nova Scotia, Ottawa, and the Politics of Regional Development* (Toronto: U of T Press, 1990) p. 281.

[14] Bickerton, pp. 278-279.

reached the 20 to 25 percent range.[15] There was also a significant reduction in

manufacturing's share of total capital investment in the province from the 20 to 30

percent range in the early 1970s to 8 to 12 percent later in the decade. By 1983, the five

largest fish processors in the province who employed a sizeable number of Nova

Scotians, had a combined debt of $300 million.[16] The oil crisis of the early 1970s, the

transfer of manufacturing jobs to developing nations, and stagflation, simultaneous high

levels of inflation and unemployment, combined to produce stagnant economic

conditions, further aggravating the province's chronic underdevelopment. The beginning

of this period also marked what has been described by James Bickerton as the height of

federal regional development programming.[17] One of the first actions of the Trudeau

government when it came to power in 1968 was the creation of a new department in

charge of regional development, the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, or

DREE. DREE's primary strategy was to attract new industry to underdeveloped regions

with high levels of unemployment by providing entrepreneurs with cash grants to aid in

covering capital costs for expansion and to reward industries that created new jobs.

Reports commissioned by DREE in the late 1970s recognized the futility of

investing in the Maritimes' natural resource base, as their growth potential were virtually

nonexistent, and recommended focusing energy and money on upgrading the region's

human resources. However, for political reasons and as a force of habit, DREE and later,

after restructuring, the Department of Industrial Expansion, or DRIE, continued to focus

their efforts on industrial megaprojects, in Nova Scotia, on offshore oil and gas. By the

early 1980s, however, based upon reports arguing that "no quantity of capital or national

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[15] Bickerton, p. 305.
[16] Bickerton, pp. 279; 301.
[17] Bickerton, p. 207.

resources could make up for the misuse or underdevelopment of the human resource," the development of human resources became a priority for DREE/DRIE and many programs emphasized the retraining of the province's workforce, including those dealing with tourism and the hospitality industry.[18] In the context of the "lean and mean" 1980s, and the tightening of the purse strings of neoliberal governments, only industries with the strongest growth potential were considered for funding.[19] The fact that tourism continued to receive funds year after year, at the same time that other industries lost their federal assistance, indicates the extent to which tourism was relied upon as an economic development strategy.

With the mandate of designing and implementing the projects funded by DREE, the Planning and Development Division of the Department of Tourism routinely engaged in planning studies to gauge and delineate the potential and best direction of tourism development in all regions of the province in an attempt to coordinate and steer the development of tourist attractions in line with the department's tourism master plan.[20] Unsurprisingly, Department of Tourism officials like Deputy Minister of Tourism, Robert Geraghty, valued its planning and coordination function very much, but not completely, in terms of acquiring the greatest profit for its effort and resources. In a June 1989 speech at the Multicultural Festival's 'Celebration Day' in Digby, for example, Geraghty related that although one should not "judge cultural accomplishments by economic

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[18] Bickerton, pp. 281; 291.
[19] Bickerton, p. 264. Of course, political considerations and patronage also helped to determine what projects were taken up. Even though they were notably unsuccessful, the struggling, ultimately doomed, coal and steel industries were nationalized and exceedingly funded by the Nova Scotia government in the 1980s.
[20] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1977*, pp. 16-18.

return, we very much appreciate the additional cash flow that derives from the extra incentives generated by our multicultural representation."[21]

A large proportion of the funds used to finance development efforts came from federal government funds directed through Nova Scotia's General Development Agreement with DREE and the Tourism Sub-Agreement for Nova Scotia (terminated March 31, 1984, but renegotiated later in the year) it sponsored. The value of the Tourism Sub-Agreement subsidization stood at $13,750,000 in 1976 and increased to $14,000,000 with the 1984 renegotiation of the DRIE Tourism Sub-Agreement.[22] Renegotiation of tourism financial agreements were common responsibilities of the Planning and Development division throughout the 1980s and in 1985/86 activity centred on the development of a new pact between the federal government and the Province of Nova Scotia, the Canada/Nova Scotia Tourism Subsidiary Agreement, worth $14 million, to replace the DRIE Tourism Sub-Agreement.[23] This agreement was renegotiated yearly throughout the period and was ready to expire in 1990 when a new deal was in the works.[24]

All of this planning and development would have been in vain if it were not for the marketing and promotional divisions of the Department of Tourism. The marketing responsibilities of the Department of Tourism involved the promotion of Nova Scotia as a

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[21] Speech Transcript, Robert Geraghty, Digby, NS, 17 June 1989. NSARM. Department of Tourism and Culture records. Box 2004-043/002. Restricted Access.

[22] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1977*, p. 16; Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1985*, p. 12. In 1984, the DREE was renamed Department Regional Industrial Development or DRIE.

[23] The Department of Regional Industrial Development dissolved in 1987 and federal government responsibility for Atlantic Canadian economic development was relegated to the new Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA).

[24] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1986*, p. 11; Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1989*, p. 10; ; Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1990*, p. 10.

popular travel destination. Tourism marketers were challenged with creating images of the province that appealed to many different market segments, for developing new products and establishing markets for them. They also performed market research in order to ascertain where their major markets lay and where others could be developed. A sign of the increasing importance of marketing can be seen in the development of a new full time Director of Marketing in 1976.[25] Marketers identified Nova Scotia tourism markets as (in order of size): Atlantic Canada; Central Canada (Ontario and Quebec); New England; the Mid-Atlantic States (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania); and the South Atlantic States (primarily Florida). As for outside North America, marketers identified the United Kingdom, West Germany, France and the Netherlands as Nova Scotia's greatest markets.[26]

As with the increasingly complex structure and responsibilities of the department itself, the marketing of the province became more rational and scientific over time. What stands out most in the marketing reports is the increasing use of the language of industry and commercialism. In 1981/1982, the marketing division attempted to sell Nova Scotia as having a "'franchise' on the sea."[27] In 1989, marketers referred to potential tourists in terms of five main "target" groups: mature, honeymoon, outdoor, history/heritage, and motor home tourists.[28] Arranging tourists into groups based upon their primary travel motives ensured that tourism marketers could more efficiently construct those needs

[25] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1977.*

[26] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1990*, p. 19 and Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1978*, p. 27.

[27] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1982*, p. 16.

[28] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1990*, p. 15.

through specific marketing initiatives. It also provided an organizational framework to which the various sections of the department could refer in developing their programs. This would ensure consistency in the department's product image, making it more comprehensive and recognizable to the public. The province's image was a major concern of the Select Committee on Tourism in 1986. They were particularly concerned with "more careful product development and marketing" and the "ambiguity" surrounding the public image of the province, and suggested the creation of a unified image that appealed to tourists from around the world.[29]

The travel literature distributed by the province came under review starting in 1976, with the creation of the Committee on Literature Review in April 1976, tasked with investigating the effectiveness, efficiency and "meaningfulness" of current tourism literature. Consisting of Department of Tourism, Bureau of Management Consulting Services, and Computer/Communications Services staff, the goal of the committee was to develop an official literature policy for the department and to inquire into how to reduce the costs of producing and disseminating this literature while increasing the coverage of events, attractions, and museums of the province and creating an over-arching sense of image and place than previously existed in promotional material.[30] In place until 1978, the committee analyzed the data collected from a series of focus groups and the 1978 Nova Scotia Travel Literature Survey. The focus groups, administered by the outside firm, R.M. Marko Association, held discussions with potential tourists in New York to discuss their reactions to the current Nova Scotia promotional literature. Participants

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[29] *Report of the Select Committee on Tourism*, April 1987. NSARM, Department of Tourism records, RG 44, vol. 211, pp. 7; 14.
[30] Committee on Literature Review, Draft Report, Nova Scotia Literature Study, 1976. NSARM, Department of Tourism records, RG 66, vol. 621, no. 13.

generally thought the literature too general without enough factual detail. Respondents

enjoyed the "sense of history" the literature entailed. They particularly enjoyed the

photos and descriptions of Aboriginals and the "warmth" of Glooscap's features. The

references to Louis XV and Louisbourg and Samuel de Champlain were also positive;

according to Rae Owen of the Research Section of the department, several respondents

agreed that these references would induce them to inquire further about the province.

When asked what kinds of people they expected to meet during a trip to Nova Scotia,

participants said that they anticipated "cultural people" to quote one and "people in

costumes" to quote another.[31] Owen concluded that in general, participants were

particularly attracted to the historical and cultural descriptions of the province and that

when if they traveled to Nova Scotia, they would do so for the "European experience"

different from that found in the U.S.[32]

Also examined by the Committee on Literature Review, the 1978 Nova Scotia

Travel Literature Survey was administered by the Research Section of the department. A

sample of the province's literature and a response form were mailed out to random

American respondents. Generally, participants indicated that the literature, including road

maps, event calendars, accommodations book, and the *Nova Scotia Tour Book* to some

extent both enticed them to visit, thus creating travel needs, and met those travel needs

via maps, event and attraction listing and information regarding climate, accommodations

and restaurants, once they got there. Most were generally pleased with the breadth of

information provided and were interested in the image of the province projected in the

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[31] Rae Owen to Dan Brennon, 1 March 1977. NSARM. Department of Tourism records. RG 66, vol. 621, no. 9.

[32] Rae Owen to Dan Brennon, 1 March 1977. NSARM. Department of Tourism records. RG 66, vol. 621, no. 9.

literature. A majority enjoyed the descriptive language, prose and "literary style" of the literature, but wished it had included more specific information about the province's "famous sites" and places of interest, particularly its notable towns and cities and their characteristics. Many desired more information on the province's museums, including more pictures and better captions for existing photos. Overall, respondents found the literature helpful, but too general and not service-oriented enough, lacking detailed maps and place descriptions.[33] It appears that respondents were interested in Nova Scotia and that its image was appealing, but that the visitors required greater emphasis on specific locales and attractions that was provided by existent literature. The problem did not lay in the strength of the image projected in the literature, but in its practicality as a tour guide.

The direct policy response to these reactions is unclear; however, by 1980, initial steps were taken to incorporate literature into one book, and the calendar of events, previously in the form of a separate brochure was merged with the accommodations books.[34] By 1982, however, a comprehensive tour guide had not yet been created, but was still on the Department of Tourism's to-do list.[35] It was not until 1983/1984 that all literature was combined into one major travel guide, the *Nova Scotia Travel Guide*, popularly known as the *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*. This comprehensive guide included a high degree of private sector input, marking the first time private businesses could take out ads in a piece of government tourism literature; 166 private businesses

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[33] Results, Nova Scotia Travel Literature Survey, 1978. NSARM, Department of Tourism records, RG 66, vol. 628, no. 22.
[34] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1981*, p. 14.
[35] Department of Tourism memo, 1982. NSARM, Department of Tourism records, RG 66, vol. 613, no. 19.

took advantage of this opportunity.[36] The results of this survey marked two important events in the promotion of Nova Scotia - the reception of suggestions that the image it had created was attractive and potentially effective and the strengthening of its marketing relationship with the private hospitality sector.

Private sector involvement in the government's management of the tourism industry additionally increased with the creation of the Tourism Industry Association of Nova Scotia (TIANS) by tourism operators from across the province in 1976. TIANS immediately established a working, sometimes consultative, relationship with the department. By 1984, the department chose to help fund its advertising endeavours via the money raised by selling advertising space in its guide. At the same time, however, the cooperation between the Nova Scotia government and private hospitality businesses displayed here and in the creation of advertising opportunities in government-produced promotional literature, demonstrate the increasing breadth of influence of the Department of Tourism. Although private businesses funded much of the promotional efforts of the department, advertising in department of tourism literature remained an excellent method of getting one's product or service to the touring public. Here, the interdependency of the public and private spheres in tourism development is marked.

A further example of the increasingly large scope of activities of the Department of Tourism was the growing importance of the industry training functions of the Planning and Development Division. The hospitality industry development section of the department was given the task of "improving the quantity and quality of education in the hospitality industry" by undertaking "programs to increase productivity in the industry"

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[36] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1984*, p. 32.

and it did so in a variety of ways, including hosting hospitality workshops for industry

operators, managers and employees throughout the province.[37] It developed a training

manual for room maids, "3 C's: A Manual for Room Maids," which sold 200 copies in

1972 as well as one entitled "Every Customer is my Guest," distributed to 898

educational institutions, governments, libraries, hotels, motels, restaurants in several

countries.[38] It also produced training films for dispersal for use in hospitality education

programs.[39] Recognizing the need for hospitality training programs in the province, the

division assisted the implementation and operation of hospitality training courses at the

Dartmouth Regional Vocational School, Mount Saint Vincent University and the

University College of Cape Breton.[40] It also sponsored a bursary for students of Ryerson

Polytechnic Institute's Hotel and Restaurant Administration program.[41] The hospitality

industry development section also liaised with hospitality and service related groups

throughout the province including TIANS, the regional tourist associations, the

Restaurant Association of Nova Scotia, the Retail Gasoline Dealers' Association, the

Innkeepers' Guild of Nova Scotia, and the Halifax Board of Trade, and maintained a seat

on the Provincial Advisory Committee on Accommodations, Food and Beverages in

1976/1977.[42]

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[37] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1978*, p. 21.
[38] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1973*, p. 23.
[39] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1984*, p.15.
[40] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1982*, pp. 10-12.
[41] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1973*, p. 25.
[42] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1982*, p. 8; Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1977*, p. 27.

Two notable programs aimed at the expansion of the provincial hospitality industry included the Tourism Development Incentives Programs and the Hospitality Awareness Research Program. The former, which appears to have been formulated in 1977, provided incentives to eligible applicants to "encourage the modernization and expansion of viable accommodation and restaurant facilities so that the Nova Scotia industry may compete effectively for tourists," and was funded under the DREE (DRIE after 1982) Tourism Sub Agreement.[43] The latter, undertaken in May and June 1982 and 1983, had the objective of investigating the attitudes of employees of the tourism industry:

> with a view to creating an awareness among service sector businesses, management and employees, of the value of the customer to each individual business ... [and] to provide information that will motivate management and employees to deliver attentive, friendly and hospitable service, to meet the needs of the visitors, customers, and tourists.[44]

Thus, the Department of Tourism was increasingly busy with a variety of new and more far-reaching programs and initiatives aimed at developing and professionalizing the tourism industry. Its role in creating training manuals and funding hospitality programs is also indicative of its increased partnership with the private sector and highlights the benefits accrued to the hospitality industry when members cooperated with the government.

The department's role in the operation of the Provincial Resort Hotels – Liscombe Lodge in Liscombe Mills, the Pines Resort Hotel in Digby, and the Keltic Lodge in Ingonish Beach – similarly demonstrates both the department's increasing breadth of

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[43] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1978*, p. 21.

[44] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1983*, p. 12; Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 194*, p. 15.

activity in all aspects of the provincial tourism industry and its foray into the activities of

the private sector. The philosophy behind government involvement in their operation

was clearly articulated. The Department of Tourism would ensure that the resorts did not

"lose sight if the practicalities of running a hospitality business," and that they combined

"traditions of excellence in hospitality for visitors and patrons, as well as enriching the

social and economic well-being of neighbouring communities by increasing the use of

local goods and services."[45] The interference of the provincial government in the

operation of normally privately owned resort hotels was justified in terms of economic

and community development; indeed, the stated roles of the Provincial Resort Hotels

were unequivocal about this reasoning:

> Nova Scotia's provincially owned and operated premiere-class resort hotels
> continued their role in the tourism development strategy of the Department to
> attract travelers to their three distinctively different regions of the province. In
> addition to providing high standards of excellence in the quality and level of
> accommodations, facilities, and services and to providing an anchor and stimulus
> for local tourism development and initiative in these regions, the resort hotels also
> fulfill an important leadership role in the socioeconomic well-being of their
> respective communities as employers and major users of local goods and services.[46]

Therefore, the Provincial Resort Hotels were not just sources of revenue for provincial

coffers, but also community and tourism development catalysts that served to try to

convince the public that tourism and government intervention in the private sector were

good for the economy. All of these programs reveal the increased participation in the

hospitality industry as part of the general proliferation of the Department of Tourism's

activities in all aspect of the industry beginning early in the period. In this fashion, the

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[45] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1978*, p. 22; Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1982*, p. 16.
[46] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Department of Tourism Annual Report for the Fiscal Year ending March 31, 1990*, p. 23.

entrance of the state into the private sphere in partnerships with the commercial sector was not uncommon even in the neoliberal era of the 1980s.

What is one of the most unique aspects of tourism in Nova Scotia concerns the role of the state in its development. Unlike so many other purviews of the state, the tourism strategy of the Nova Scotia government does not appear to have been influenced by political party ideology. In the 1970s and 1980s, when Nova Scotian Conservatives and Liberals disagreed greatly about the solutions to the province's underdevelopment, the two parties that formed government in Nova Scotia, the Liberals from 1974 to 1978 and the Conservatives from 1971-1974 and 1978-1990, placed similar emphases on tourism as an effective development strategy. While the Conservatives chose to cultivate close associations with the business elite as a method of attracting and keeping their business, the Liberals under Regan preferred a more "rational and scientific" or technocratic approach to development, they both favoured tourism as a viable industry.[47] At a time when Canada's political parties constantly sorted through public issues, advocating for some, ignoring others, in order to gain electoral advantage, it was rather unusual for the parties to so readily adopt virtually identical policies.[48] Of course, tourism was seen as having the potential to rescue Nova Scotia from relative poverty and underdevelopment and to reduce its importance would probably have been electorally unsound. Of course, electoral support is more complicated than this. In the Nova Scotia of the 1970s and 1980s, a good deal of support must have been riding on the effective management of an industry with such promising development projections.

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[47] Bickerton, p. 234. In fact, this difference between their policies was the basis of the 1974 Liberal victory after fourteen years of Conservative government. The perceived failure of this same policy was also the cause of the party's subsequent defeat four years later.
[48] Bickerton, p. 316.

Conclusion

As has been demonstrated, the fact that de-emphasizing tourism as an economic development strategy could potentially create an opportunity for critics to condemn the government is indicative of the reliance on the industry as a development strategy. At a time when the province's traditional, resource-based industries such as coal mining and the fishery were struggling, the tourism industry expanded. And, although it experienced less growth than had been optimistically expected by tourism forecasters in the mid-1980s, it was chosen by the DREE as a industry of great potential worthy of funding under the province's General Development Agreements negotiated throughout the period. The increasing focus on tourism as a viable and successful industry led to the augmentation of its role via the private sector. By 1971, both the state and the private tourism and hospitality sectors had become vital to each other's success or failure and a give-and-take relationship had arisen between them with the private sector looked to the state for funding, free advertising, and legitimation. In exchange, the Department of Tourism counted on the tourism/hospitality sector to develop high quality infrastructure and services that represented Nova Scotia as a superlative tourism destination, persuading greater numbers of tourists to visit and once they got there, encouraging them to stay longer and to come back again. While the focus of this analysis is on government produced promotional material and the images they convey, this glance into the workings of the Department of Tourism has demonstrated the fundamental purpose of the tourism industry in Nova Scotia – to attract or "lure" as many customers as possible, to persuade them to spend as much as possible, and, finally, to entice them to come back for more –

all in the name of economic development. This purpose will be emphasized and revisited often in the remainder of this study.

Chapter Three
"Charming Racial Contrasts": Tourism and Multiculturalism in Nova Scotia, 1974-1990

> *Two of the most powerful factors influencing our sense of who we are as Nova Scotians are a history of sharing this place and a long legacy of creative endeavours unique to the province. Each of us experiences Nova Scotia's culture differently because we have different life experiences shaped by language, race, ethnic origin, and spirituality. This diversity of cultural experience is an essential aspect of our identity. As we live side by side, Nova Scotia's culture continually evolves and finds new forms of expression.*[1]

This chapter examines the exact nature of the tourist images developed by both the Liberal government from 1970 to 1978 and the Conservatives government from 1978 to 1990. Beginning with the creation of the Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia, or MANS, in 1975 when the Nova Scotia government initiated its official involvement in the multicultural field, Department of Tourism bureaucrats started thinking about and considering the use of the province's multicultural characteristics in its marketing. A decade later, this vague and scattered idea had turned into both departmental rhetoric and concrete policy. This chapter will introduce the context in which the images developed by the Conservative government under Premier John Buchanan from 1986 to 1990 were constructed. These images drew upon the notion, forwarded by government bureaucrats in both the Departments of Tourism and Culture and Recreation, and MANS, that Nova Scotia's population was uniquely multicultural. Specifically, the Department of Tourism's strategy involved casting the cumulative character of the Nova Scotia people as exceptionally hospitable, culturally distinctive and remarkably friendly to the tourist. Government tourism promoters utilized the unique blend of ethnic characteristics in the

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[1] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture, "Nova Scotia's Cultural Policy," 2007. p.1.

multicultural province to construct a distinct image of the province's people that they

hoped would appeal to potential visitors. With multiculturalism as its selling point,

Department of Tourism rhetoric and policy reflected this strategy as did a Royal

Commission in 1986. The use of these multicultural images and racial characteristics

was a novel strategy for the department. Although it had always employed its dominant

ethnic groups – the Acadian French and Scottish - in its tourism promotional literature,

this new strategy looked to other, more visible minorities like the African Nova Scotians,

Mi'kmaq, Chinese, and Muslim populations, to further differentiate the province's

identity from those of other places with similar histories.

Multiculturalism Policy in Nova Scotia, 1975-1990

Multiculturalism was put on the public agenda by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau

in 1971 in response to the publicization of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and

Biculturalism's report. Struck by Prime Minister Pearson in 1963 due to the Quiet

Revolution and the rise of a new and intense Quebec nationalism which publicly

highlighted the relative ascendancy of Anglo-Canadians in the political, cultural, and

economic life of the country, the B and B Commission, as it was called, was given the

mandate of determining the best methods of dealing with the different cultures of

Canada's "two founding races." The so-called "Third Force" of other ethnic groups in

the country, led by the relatively organized and assertive second-generation Ukrainian

associations, offended by the reference in the mandate of the Commission to Canada's

cultural dualism, acted to gain representation on the Commission and demanded equality

of status among all of the ethnic and racial groups in the country.[2] Immigration to

Canada was sizeable after the Second World War, up from 219,494 people in 1931 to

1945 to 2,244,081 in 1961 to 1975 and 945,668 in the eight-year period from 1976 to

1983. Over the course of the post-war period the immigration laws of the country were

liberalized with notable changes to the Immigration Act in 1962 when racial

discrimination in the selection of potential immigrants was removed and in 1967 when

the points system of choosing immigrants went far in universalizing standards for

admissions.[3] The growing disaffection of the West, which housed the country's largest

settlements of ethnic populations and the possibility that they may have become even

more dissatisfied, spurred the government to drop the phrase "bilingualism and

biculturalism" and adopt instead, "bilingualism and multiculturalism." In 1970, the B

and B Commission dedicated the whole of *Book IV* of its Report to the other ethnic

groups. It both described the present and historic role of Canadians of non-British, non-

French and non-aboriginal origins and outlined an appropriate social policy pertaining to

them, particularly those of them who desired to retain their ethnic identities and cultural

heritage.[4]

Trudeau introduced the Canadian government's multiculturalism policy in

Parliament in his government's response to the findings of *Book IV of the Report of the*

Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada in October 1971. In his speech, he referred to

the policy as one of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework, providing public

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[2] Allan Smith, "National Images and Maintenance: The Ascendancy of the Ethnic Idea in North America." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de sciences politiques* Vol. 14, no. 2 (June 1981) p. 247.
[3] Raymond Breton, "Multiculturalism and Canadian Nation-Building," in Alan Cairns and Cynthia Williams, eds. *The Politics of Gender, Ethnicity and Language in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986) pp. 33-34.
[4] Smith, p. 246; Jean R. Burnet and Howard Palmer. *"Coming Canadians": An Introduction to a History of Canada's People* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988) pp. 223-224.

recognition of Canada's various ethnic groups while maintaining French and English as the country's two official languages. The goal of the policy was the incorporation of all ethnic groups into the symbolic realm of Canadian society and culture. Various programs were implemented throughout the first ten years of the policy and continued to operate throughout the period examined in this study. They all conformed to the overriding emphasis of the policy on cultural retention and celebration and included such programs as the Multicultural Grants Program, which provided funds to ethnocultural groups for the creation and administration of central facilities, and the provision of third-language teaching aids.

Other programs involved in the exchange of culture, such as the Ethnic Press Program, which provided funds for the placement of advertisements in the ethnic press, and the Multicultural Studies Program, which funded research in the ethnocultural field. The Office of the Secretary of State, in charge of the federal multiculturalism policy, provided the provinces with funds to create their own provincially-based multiculturalism programs.[5]

By the early 1980s, changes in the country's population had begun to occur. Because of the liberalization of immigration laws in the late 1960s, the demographic make up of immigrants to Canada had changed during the 1970s so that by 1981, a greater percentage were of non-European heritage. For example, from 1962 to 1967, 80 percent of immigrants to Canada originated in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Continental Europe. By 1968 to 1976, this figure had fallen to 56 percent and by 1980 to 1982, dropped even lower to 42 percent. Because of rather stringent skills-based criteria involved in their selection, immigrants were also more highly educated and

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[5] Breton, p. 52.

professionally trained than those in the past. On account of non-Caucasian immigrants'

increased visibility in society, the experience of racism and discrimination based on skin

colour in the daily lives of visible minorities in Canada made their way into the public

spotlight by educated, articulate ethnic organizations. The 1971 policy had been only

implicit in dealing with equity concerns. It was clear to visible minority ethnic groups

that a policy based solely on cultural retention and folklore activities and customs could

do nothing to deal with the racism and inequalities inherent in Canadian society. Due to

their lobbying, the multiculturalism policy was fittingly altered to take issues of racism

and inequality into account while still preserving its programs that funded ethnocultural

events and the arts.[6] Accordingly, programs concerning the overcoming of barriers to

full participation in the Canadian economy, political system, and society as a whole, such

as those dealing with affirmative action like the measures in the area of employment

taken via the *Employment Equity Act* in 1986, those dealing with immigrant women

including language training and a conference on immigrant women, removal of

discrimination in education and in relations with the police, and the 1981 establishment

of a Race Relations Unit within the Multiculturalism Directorate, were implemented or

given increased funding.[7] The ultimate change in federal multiculturalism policy came in

1988 when, after five years of lobbying by ethnocultural groups, it was made into federal

law with the passing of the *Multiculturalism Act*, or *An Act for the Preservation and*

Enhancement of Multiculturalism in Canada. As its title denotes, the *Multiculturalism*

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[6] Breton, p. 56.
[7] Yasmeen Abu-Laban, "The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration: The Contested Arena of Multicultualism," in James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon, eds. *Canadian Politics*. 3rd Edition (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999) p. 470.

Act dealt equally with cultural maintenance and the elimination of systemic racial discrimination.

The federal multiculturalism policy had influence over the cultural retention and maintenance rationale of Nova Scotia's initial multiculturalism policy. Under the leadership of the Regan Liberals and with the support of all three political parties, the formulation of Nova Scotia's multiculturalism policy began with the 1974 provincial interdepartmental committee on cultural direction. This government committee held a conference on cultural policy in 1974 where it was determined that multiculturalism was a priority; in November of the same year, a multiculturalism conference was held in Halifax during which delegates stressed the need for a multiculturalism council.[8] During a February 1975 meeting of the Task Force on Multiculturalism, the structure and mission statement of a provincial multicultural association was established. Its initial membership consisted of representatives from the only three multiculturalism councils in the province - those of Halifax/Dartmouth, Digby, and Sydney. Following another provincial Multiculturalism Conference in May 1975 during which the general priorities of the association were laid out, including the integration of the province's ethnic groups into greater society, maintaining their cultural retention, and supporting them in their cultural endeavours, the Multiculturalism Association of Nova Scotia (MANS) was incorporated and registered with the province of Nova Scotia on July 22, 1975. The association did not waste any time in hiring its first and long time Executive Director, Barbara Campbell, setting up and staffing its office, and holding its first board meeting on August 15.[9]

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[8] *MANS: The First Five Years* (Halifax: Multiculturalism Association of Nova Scotia, 1980) pp. 10-11.
[9] *MANS*, p. 10-15.

Self-described as the first of its kind in Canada, MANS was created as an umbrella organization for the multiculturalism associations throughout the province. It was unique in that it was autonomous yet enjoyed the relative security of public funding and was also connected to the federal Office of the Secretary of State, responsible for the government's multicultural policy. The goal of MANS at its creation was "to promote a climate in which all people in Nova Scotia can live harmoniously; with understanding and respect for one and all."[10] Run by an Executive Director (Barbara Campbell held this position throughout the period in question) and a small office staff, including researchers, policy assistants, and a public relations representative, MANS acted as both a liaison between the Department of Culture and Recreation and the province's various ethnic associations and as a guide on policy, suggesting and researching policy strategies pertaining to the province's ethnic groups to the bureaucrats within the department. MANS maintained a particularly close relationship with Director of Cultural Affairs, Allison Bishop and his staff.[11]

While its mandate came from the Department of Culture and it was often specifically asked by the department for its input on particular policies, MANS's general policy goals were determined by its advisory board made up of representatives of all of the regionally-based ethnic associations in the province beginning with only three, but helping to increase that number to eight by 1980.[12] Its early programming promoted so-called "weekend" or festival multiculturalism concerned with cultural maintenance and

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6 *MANS*, p. 7.
[11] *MANS*, pp. 7-8; 38; 84-85.
[12] *MANS*, p. 87.

sharing and supporting the practice of traditional ethnic customs.[13] For example, in 1976 it organized a Community Ethnic Arts Festival in Halifax celebrating ethnic song, dance, music and drama.[14] Likewise, it provided financial support to uni- and multi-ethnic festivals throughout the province and financed ethnic radio broadcasts.[15] It facilitated the federal policy's cultural sharing directive by facilitating a Cultural Exchange Program between Nova Scotia and Trinidad and Tobago in 1976 in which representatives from each place visited the other ostensibly to learn and to better understand each other's cultures.[16] MANS also possessed a lending library of books with ethnocultural themes and performed and sometimes funded ethnocultural research.[17]

One of the programs that clearly illustrated the "weekend" focus of multiculturalism policy in the 1970s was the MANS-supported project, and unfortunately named *Natural Braids n' Things*. Designed in 1979 to teach the art and cultural traditions of grooming, it "encouraged good hygiene attitudes, a natural instinct of grooming and healthy hair and developed a healthy attitude towards one's own and other's cultures and a healthy personal image of self-worth and importance" in Black children. Specific activities under the project included "researching the Black culture's grooming traditions," experimenting with new hairstyles, photographic recording of children's hair after braiding or weaving, and teaching parents and other adults how both to braid children's hair and care for their own hair and skin.[18]

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[13] Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1994) pp. 82-90.
[14] *MANS*, p. 23.
[15] *MANS*, p. 39; 78.
[16] *MANS*, p. 17.
[17] *MANS*, p. 87.
[18] *MANS*, p. 59.

Under the direction of Barbara Campbell, an advocate for the promotion and celebration of the Nova Scotia's multicultural groups under the auspices of tourism, the tenth anniversary of the formation of MANS was marked with a celebration during the finale of the 1985 Halifax/Dartmouth Multiculturalism Week. Aimed at tourists and citizens alike, the events featured the various food, clothing, music, dance, art, photography and crafts of Nova Scotia's ethnic groups with performances and demonstrations and displays from ethnocultural associations from across the province. A multi-ethnic fashion show was scheduled as was a screening of the Indian film, *Paradise*, performances by Chilean, Turkish, Polish and Lebanese dance troupes and even a Chinese opera. An official multiculturalism song for Nova Scotia was composed and performed for the first time at the celebrations and included the following chorus: "We're the people of Nova Scotia/And we've come from everywhere/And we live together in harmony/May we grow...and live...and share."[19] The aforementioned press release publicizing MANS' multicultural education kits reasoned that "education can ... give everyone pride and an appreciation of his own cultural heritage."[20]

Despite its tradition and heritage-based programs, there were signs as early as 1976 that Nova Scotia's multiculturalism policy, under the auspices of MANS and predating its federal counterpart, was beginning to change its focus from so-called 'song and dance' multiculturalism to that concerned with racial equality. A position paper written by Barbara Campbell held that one of MANS's responsibilities was to "reduce sterotyping [sic], discrimination and prejudice ... [and to] relieve the government of the

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[19] Press Release, MANS. NSARM, Multiculturalism Association of Nova Scotia records. MG 20, vol. 3119, no. 15.
[20] *MANS*, p. 51.

concerns regarding fair treatment of all."[21] By the mid-1980s, this shift in policy was

well under way. Beginning in the early 1980s, MANS representatives attended annual

meetings and conferences of various human rights organizations across the country and

also stepped in to support Nova Scotians with the filing claims of racism and

discrimination to the province's Human Rights Commission.[22] As one can see, the Nova

Scotian multiculturalism policy was greatly influence by its federal counterpart, but it

also developed and changed along its own path, taking on a more equity-based mandate

earlier than that of the federal government. Ultimately, however, the Nova Scotia

government had little choice in adopting a policy in the first place, nonetheless, it did

take its own initiative in developing its own specific system of implementing it with

MANS and in expanding its policy focus in directions not yet taken by the federal

government.

In 1979 and 1980, MANS found it necessary to lobby the Nova Scotia

Department of Culture and Recreation for the formulation of an official multiculturalism

policy. In 1980, MANS was successful in its efforts, and a Multiculturalism Policy

Committee was formed with members representing MANS and the Department of

Culture and Recreation.[23] Publicized in 1981, Nova Scotia's explicit multiculturalism

policy was very similar to that followed by the federal government in its focus on cultural

maintenance and enhancement and the significant role of many ethnic groups in the

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[21] Barbara Campbell, "Position Paper." NSARM. Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia records. MG 20, vol. 1882, no. 2.
[22] Letter, Steve Panais to George F. McCurdy. 22 October 1982. NSARM. Multiculturalism Association of Nova Scotia records. MG 20, vol. 1882, no. 2.
[23] Allison Bishop, Director of Cultural Affairs Division, Department of Tourism and Culture, to Robert Geraghty, Deputy Minister, Department of Tourism and Culture, 29 August 1988. NSARM. Department of Tourism and Culture records. Box 1994-138/004. Restricted Access.

combined heritage of the province. It also emphasized inter-group understanding and

cultural sharing like its federal complement:

> As our society derives one of its defining traits from the distinct characteristics of
> the people whose origins are in this land and other lands and who together have
> created the distinct blend that characterizes Nova Scotia today, the Department of
> Culture, Recreation and Fitness recognizes a responsibility to assist in the
> preservation of these many cultures and traditions as a part of the overall heritage
> of the province. A role of the department is to assist various groupings within
> society to retain and promote their distinctive identity and language, to develop
> their traditional arts and sciences, and to practice their customs without political
> or social impediment.[24]

Throughout the remainder of the 1980s, MANS remained a vital force in lobbying for a

provincial multiculturalism act. The Department of Culture and Recreation's Allison

Bishop was also quite supportive of the enactment of an official multiculturalism act. In

1987, on the eve of the amalgamation of the Departments of Tourism and Culture,

Recreation and Fitness, he wrote a long letter on behalf of his department to Deputy

Minister of Tourism and Culture, Robert Geraghty, outlining the importance of the

creation of an explicit policy:

> In Nova Scotia we have had difficulty coming to grips with a definition of
> multiculturalism. The [current (1981)] policy is in reality a motherhood statement
> which was written to appease MANS' request for a *provincial policy*. In reality, it
> is only a departmental position confirming the status quo while trying to avoid
> offending anyone. For the promotion of tourism and other reasons, this Province
> has placed a tremendous emphasis on the "Scottish connection." In addition to
> raising a question about the value of the English, Irish, French and German
> heritage in Nova Scotia, the emphasis on the tartan, pipes and highland dance
> bedevils the question of who or what is actually ethnic in Nova Scotia. Do
> multicultural festivals of song and dance include all our cultures or only those of
> recent immigrants? In another vein, should multicultural programs oriented to
> employment focus on opportunities for those who have just landed in the province
> or those who have been here longer? ... Who is a true ethnic? ... How do you
> decide about the kind of visual image that should depict a specific ethnic group?

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[24] Policy document contained in letter from Allison Bishop, Director of Cultural Affairs Division,
Department of Tourism and Culture, to Robert Geraghty, Deputy Minister, Department of Tourism and
Culture, 29 August 1988. NSARM. Department of Tourism and Culture records. Box 1994-138/004.
Restricted Access.

... The difficulties inherent in this area were a factor which contributed to Culture, Recreation and Fitness following a status quo approach [in the past]. However, new pressures were bound to change this position.... It is important for Tourism and Culture that this area not be left to fester and get totally out of control...[25]

In 1988 after the passage of the federal Multiculturalism Act and with the support of

Premier John Buchanan,[26] the association made a formal recommendation for

multicultural legislation to the Department of Tourism and Culture. The Department of

Tourism and Culture took its advice and in late 1988 presented a recommendation for a

Multiculturalism Act to the Cabinet Committee on Government Legislation. Although its

reasons remain unclear, a letter from the Chairman of the committee, Minister Ron

Russell, to the Department of Tourism and Culture reported that the proposal was

rejected as it was felt that the item did not require legislation at that time.[27]

By 1989, the Cabinet Committee on Government Legislation had changed its

mind (again, its reasons are unclear) and *An Act to Promote and Preserve*

Multiculturalism was introduced in and then passed by the Nova Scotia House of

Assembly. Like the federal act, the Nova Scotia *Multiculturalism Act*, as it was popularly

known, called for the encouragement of the "recognition and acceptance of

multiculturalism as an inherent feature of a pluralistic society" and espoused "the

continuation of a multicultural society as a mosaic of different ethnic groups and

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[25] Allison Bishop to Robert Geraghty. 31 December 1987. NSARM. Department of Tourism and Culture records, Box 1994-138/004. Restricted Access. Original Emphasis.

[26] John Buchanan to Wahih Fares, President of MANS, no date. NSARM, Department of Tourism and Culture records. Box 1994-138/004. Restricted Access. Buchanan wrote, "I can tell you that the Government recognizes the present and potential impact of multiculturalism in tourism and race relations." He then continued to describe the process of legislation formation and function of the Cabinet Committee on Government Legislation and how policies issues are brought to the forefront. He continued, "the forgoing [sic] will give you some sense of the importance which I personally attach to moving ahead in the new Canadian Multiculturalism Act."

[27] Ron Russell to Department of Tourism and Cultural, 23 November 1988. NSARM. Department of Tourism and Culture records. Box 1994-138/002. Restricted Access.

cultures" in the province. And, like the federal *Multiculturalism Act*, the Nova Scotia

Multiculturalism Act additionally called for the establishment of "a climate for

harmonious relations among people of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds without

sacrificing their distinctive cultural and ethnic identities." [28] The act also established a

Cabinet Committee on Multiculturalism under the direction of the Minister of Tourism

and Culture and composed of the Minister charged with the administration of the *Human*

Rights Act and the Ministers of Education, Labour and Small Business Development, the

function of which was to make recommendations to the Governor in Council regarding

the content and purposes of the Act. The Act also allowed for the Governor in Council to

appoint a Multicultural Advisory Committee consisting of representatives of various

cultural and ethnic groups with the purpose of advising the Cabinet Committee on

matters related to multiculturalism and to review policies created under it.[29] Its first

meeting took place in February 1990.[30] The development of Nova Scotia's multicultural

policy and later act must not be read as uncontentious; many people and groups

throughout Canada did not agree with either its aims or subsequent programs. But in

Nova Scotia, the voices of its opponents were silenced by those of its supporters,

primarily by the great influence of MANS in the policy making sphere.

The Prevalence of Multiculturalism in Nova Scotia's Department of Tourism

Shortly after MANS was formed in 1975, D. Ray Pierce, the Coordinator of

Tourist Attractions and Events for the Department of Tourism wrote to Barbara Campbell

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[28] Nova Scotia. *An Act to Promote and Preserve Multiculturalism*. R.S., c. 294, s.1
[29] Nova Scotia. *An Act to Promote and Preserve Multiculturalism*. R.S., c. 294, s.1.
[30] Minutes, Cabinet Committee on Multiculturalism, 7 February 1990. NSARM. Department of Tourism and Culture. Box 2004-043/001. Restricted Access.

inquiring about the viability of organizing an Oktober Festival in Nova Scotia. Pierce

asked Campbell if she would approach the German community in Halifax with the idea in

the hopes that the festival could diversify the list of tourist festivals in the province's

lineup. Pierce was not, however, willing to make a direct connection between the idea

and the Department of Tourism. Requesting that Campbell did not "mention the fact that

a government official has expressed an interest in this," Pierce preferred that the idea was

seen to "come in some way from them [the German community] and that we merely

remain a catalyst in the process."[31] Although one cannot interpret this letter as an

example of official department policy, it does mark an instance early in the period when a

Department of Tourism official approached the government organization that guided

provincial multiculturalism policy with the idea of using a multicultural group and its

customs for reasons related to tourism promotion.

By 1981, this idea had spread and the Department of Tourism had considered

employing multiculturalism in its advertising. On July 18, 1981, Barbara Campbell

circulated a memo to employees of the MANS relaying the desire of the Department of

Tourism to use a "multicultural theme" as a focal point in its advertising. Campbell

viewed this request as a positive move, charging that the cause of multiculturalism would

receive "more promotion, recognition and funding than it's ever received before. Ethnic

events will be the focus of attention for 1982."[32] For MANS, working with the

Department of Tourism was a windfall. It guaranteed that it would benefit from increased

funding and could obtain for its cause some time in the spotlight. Again, although this

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[31] D. Ray Pierce to Barbara Campbell, 4 December 1975. NSARM. Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia records. MG 20, vol. 3121, no. 10.

[32] Barbara Campbell to MANS employees, 18 July 1981. NSARM. Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia records. MG 20, vol. 3121, no. 24.

letter cannot be construed as representing actual policy, multiculturalism, at the least, was

being considered as a promotional theme.

Whether Campbell realized it or not, her organization, as the organizational

representative of multiculturalism in Nova Scotia, would find itself in the tourism

spotlight throughout the latter half of the decade.

The importance of ensuring that promotional literature took other cultures into

account was underscored in the spring of 1982 when Minister Bruce Cochran was made

fully aware of the lack of French language promotional literature by the committees of

the province's various Acadian Festivals via a letter writing campaign. In April of that

year, Cochran received letters from ten Acadian associations throughout the province

complaining about the severe lack of French language versions of the province's tourism

literature. Cochran responded to each of them in a similar fashion, recognizing that the

Acadian culture was central to the province's heritage and future, but indicating that

although he would like to publish more brochures and other miscellaneous promotional

material in French, the funds just were not available for the department to do so.[33] What

made this letter writing campaign significant, however, was the fact that it came on the

heels of a December 1981 complaint directed to Deputy Minister K.M. Mounce from

Jean Paul Comeau, Administrative Director of the Acadian Federation of Nova Scotia,

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[33] Bruce Cochran to Paulette L. Foley, V.P. LeFestival Acadien d'Halifax, 13 April 1982; Bruce Cochran to Anne E. Downing, Secretary, Le Festival musique du Baie Sainte-Mary 28 April1982; Bruce Cochran to Diane LeGard, Executive Manager, Annapolis Valley Affiliated Board of Trade, 27 April 1982; Bruce Cochran to Jean Paul Comeau, President de l'Association des Festivals Acadien de la Nouvele-Ecosse, 27 April 1982; Bruce Cochran to Jacqueline D'Entremont, Secretary, Festival Acadien de Pubnico-Ouest et Yarmouth, 22 April 1982; Bruce Cochran to Yvonne LeBlanc, Chairperson, Festival Acadien de Clare, 26 April 1982; Bruce Cochran and Janice Muise, President, Festival Acadien de Sainte-Anne du Rousseau, 22 April 1982; Bruce Cochran to Lucille M.T. d'Entremont and Marie C. Saulnier, Co-Chairs, Le Reveil de Pombcoup Pubnico-Ouest 22 April 1982; Bruce Cochran to Gary Landry, V.P. Acadian Festival Association, Petit-De-Grat, 22 April 1982; Bruce Cochran to Rene Samson, President du Festival Acadien de L'Ardoise, 26 April 1982. NSARM. Department of Tourism records. RG 66, vol. 604, no. 13.

regarding the absence of Acadian history in a Canadian Government Office of Tourism brochure describing the history of each of the provinces. Since it was published by the CGOT, Mounce could do nothing more than forward the comment to his federal counterparts, but the incident still caused friction between the Acadian Federation and the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism.[34] From that point on, the Department made an effort to ensure that it was sensitive to the Acadian presence in Nova Scotia; a memo regarding public presentations from Director of Marketing and Promotion, Daniel Brennon, for example, referred to the 1982 incident as the "Acadian fiasco" and advised that after that in light of that episode, all public presentations in which an employee was representing the Department be cleared through Brennon personally.[35] As one can see, the Department of Tourism was gradually becoming aware of both the potential value of using multiculturalism in its marketing plan, but also the potential conflict that could ensue when diversity was overlooked. Ultimately, however, the use of multiculturalism as a promotional tool was not widespread in the department until the industry faced problems following recession in the early 1980s.

In the mid-1980s, the tourism industry throughout the country failed to rebound as quickly as predicted after the economic woes following a recession. Additionally, fewer and fewer numbers of American tourists were visiting their northern neighbours. On the whole, the Canadian tourism industry was not experiencing the growth that officials like Nova Scotia Deputy Minister of Tourism, Kenneth Mounce and his staff had predicted.[36]

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[34] Bruce Cochran to Jean Paul Comeau, 3 December 1981; K.M. Mounce to Bernard LeBlanc, Manager DREE, CGOT, 12 November 1981 NSARM. Department of Tourism records. RG 66, vol. 604, no. 13.
[35] Memo, David Brennon to David Mason, 22 April 1982. NSARM. Department of Tourism records, RG 66, vol. 614, no. 4.
[36] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *Nova Scotia Department of Tourism Preliminary Marketing Plan, 1980/81* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, 1980-81) p. 1.

In May 1985, Nova Scotia Premier, Conservative John Buchanan called together a Royal

Commission to examine the state of tourism in the province. Chaired by MLA R. Colin

D. Stewart, the committee heard twenty different presentations from various individuals

and organizations involved in the tourism industry, including government employees

working in the Department of Tourism and Department of Culture and Recreation, like

Daniel Brennon, Rae Owen, his assistant, and Alex MacLean, Director of the Travel

Information Division. The executive directors from various regional tourist associations,

including Donald Andrews, the Executive Director of the Central Nova Tourist

Association, Donald Blackwood of the Cape Breton Tourist Association, Michael

Broomfield of the Antigonish/Eastern Shore Tourism Association, Michelle Mackenzie

from Tourism Halifax, Gale Delaney of the Evangeline Trail Tourism Association and

Graham Holman of the Pictou County Tourism Association also presented.[37] Finally,

representing the private sector operators of businesses in the hospitality industry was

TIANS. When it finally concluded in 1987, the Select Committee on Tourism published

several recommendations, many of which dealt with hospitality industry development,

the enhancement of tourism infrastructure ad improved and more appropriate resource

development. All of its recommendations focused on how the tourism industry in Nova

Scotia could attract more tourists and entice them to spend more while in the province.[38]

The recommendation of interest for this study, however, dealt with the formation

of a multicultural image of the province with which to highlight its ethnic traditions and

heritage. The Select Committee on Tourism's Report recommended the creation of new

and enhancement of existing multicultural festivals with the direct support of the

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[37] *Report of the Select Committee on Tourism*, April 1987. NSARM, Department of Tourism records, RG 44, vol. 211.

[38] *Report of the Select Committee on Tourism*. NSARM, Department of Tourism records, RG 44, vol. 211.

Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia, particularly the Nova Scotia International

Tattoo, a potential forum for performers representing the province's "cultural mosaic."

The report furthermore divulged the many advantages of supporting multicultural events:

they had a readily identifiable clientele; advertising such events thought to be particularly

interesting, less expensive and more effective than that of other types of festivals; and

individuals who went to ethnic festivals had a long-standing interest in cultural activities

and were more likely to return. Therefore, R. Colin Stewart and his fellow

commissioners reasoned, the Nova Scotia government should increase funding towards

multicultural activities and rely on very careful, intragovernmental planning of such

events.[39]

The Select Committee on Tourism's report recognized the growth of heritage

tourism and heritage attractions, and that investment in this area of tourism would be

worthwhile.[40] The commission was also aware of an 1985 study of the American market

performed by the agency in charge of tourism federally, the Canadian Government Office

of Tourism (CGOT), which found that American tourists were in the market for a place

that was unfamiliar and foreign and that Canada did not appear to them to be that place.

The prevalent and outdated image of Canada which included iconic images of the

Mounties and moose, no longer appealed to American tourists, the study found. Instead,

they were more likely to visit places that put its people's unique heritage on display.[41]

While a direct connection cannot be proven, Select Committee on Tourism files contain

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[39] *Report of the Select Committee on Tourism*, April 1987. NSARM, Department of Tourism records, RG 66, vol. 211, pp. 19-25; 37-38.
[40]*Report of the Select Committee on Tourism*, pp. 64-65.
[41] Newspaper Clippings: "Tourism and Culture Study Concludes: Look Foreign to American Visitors," Cape Breton *Post.* 21 February 1986; "Stewart MacLeod, "Try to Look Foreign for Tourists," *Daily News.* 19 February 1986; Jean Dorand, "Americans not Interested in Mountains, Moose, Mounties," *The Financial Post.* 26 October 1985; Elizabeth Batherson, "Tourism Officials Move to Attract More American Tourists," Cape Breton *Post.* 12 October 1985.

numerous newspaper articles outlining the CGOT study findings and it is not far fetched

to conclude that the results of the survey influenced the commission's recommendation of

emphasizing the multicultural aspects of the province.[42] Indeed, the elements in Nova

Scotia's population that could be constructed as foreign could be considered exactly what

American tourists seeking the "unique" and "foreign" liked to visit. To be sure, in its

1989 marketing plan, the promotional division of the Department of Tourism took the

committee's advice when formulating its goal to "position Nova Scotia as an appealing

and accessible destination which is foreign and friendly."[43]

A series of speeches given by the various Ministers and Deputy Ministers of

Tourism throughout the late 1980s revealed the recent working relationship between

proponents of tourism and multiculturalism. As a result of both the recommendation of

the Select Committee on Tourism and the fact that the Department of Tourism had

absorbed the Department of Culture and Recreation in 1988, references to

multiculturalism and its uses within the tourism industry abound in departmental rhetoric.

In a 1988 speech at the fifth anniversary celebrations of the Black Cultural Centre in

Preston, Deputy Minister Robert Geraghty reiterated the department's advertising

strategy:

> From a tourism point of view, Nova Scotia's 'culture' has become a major selling
> point. Our tourists enjoy learning about our fascinating history and heritage; they
> appreciate our many ethnic flavoured festivals and they are charmed and
> delighted by our unique, maritime lifestyle. And they are happy to spend time
> and money discovering Nova Scotia's culture.[44]

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[42] NSARM, Department of Tourism records, RG 66, vol. ?

[43] Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, *The 1989 Nova Scotia Marketing Plan* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, 1989) p. 1.

[44] Transcript of Speech, Robert Geraghty to Black Cultural Centre, Preston, NS, 17 September 1988. NSARM. Department of Tourism and Culture records. Box 2004-043/001. Restricted Access.

Minister Brian Young conveyed a similar theme in a speech at MANS Annual

Meeting on May 28, 1988 in Sydney. After touting Nova Scotia's multiethnic culture as

unrivaled anywhere else in the world, he continued to discuss its economic advantages:

"Today's tourist is seeking a 'cultural' experience with his vacation. They want to try

new foods, hear new music, experience different customs and feel part of a new

community and lifestyle. And we can offer that here in Nova Scotia."[45] Two years later

in 1990, in a speech by Geraghty to guests of the Festival on the Bay Dinner in Sydney, it

was clear that this strategy had not changed: "Our tourist industry enjoys direct benefit

from the many attractions and events presented each year to honour our culture and

ethnic backgrounds."[46] A similar sentiment was contained in another of Geraghty's

speeches, this during the festivities celebrating the opening of the new Dartmouth

Welcome Centre on July 19, 1990:

> The location of this facility is particularly appropriate because it embodies the
> traditional welcome accorded visitors to this great city and is located at the
> Dartmouth Heritage Museum, a living institution that reflects our strong and
> continuing interest in our heritage, our cultural associations and the mosaic of
> peoples from many lands who have come to our province to be citizens of a new
> land. They enrich our culture and our society and combine the respect for good
> citizenship with the preservation of historic roots.[47]

As one can see from this speech by the chief civil servant in the tourism department, the

idea that Nova Scotia's people were diverse and hospitable and because of that diversity

had by 1986 become a mainstay of departmental rhetoric and was especially common in

Geraghty's speeches.

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[45] Transcript of Speech, Brian Young to MANS Annual Meeting, Sydney, NS, 28 May 1988. NSARM.
Department of Tourism and Culture records. Box 2004-043/001. Restricted Access.
[46] Speech Transcript, Robert Geraghty to Festival on the Bay Dinner, Sydney, NS, 14 July 1990. NSARM.
Department of Tourism and Culture records. Box 2004-043/002. Restricted Access.
[47] Speech Transcript, Robert Geraghty, Dartmouth, NS, 19 July 1990. NSARM. Department of Tourism
and Culture records. Box 2004-043/001. Restricted Access.

Yet another example of the prevalence of this idea in the Deputy Minister's

speeches occurred in a June 1989 speech to the audience gathered at the Pines Resort in

Digby gathered to celebrate the Multiculturalism Festival's 'Celebration Day.'

Beginning by yet again praising the contribution of Nova Scotia's ethnic groups to the

"cultural mosaic" of the province, Geraghty continued:

> I believe it [the Multicultural Festival] illustrates ... that newcomers to our land
> become part of our own way of life, a typical lifestyle that warmly welcomes the
> customs and traditions of so many countries. ... The representation of Nova
> Scotia as a place of cultural diversity that has grown over many decades with the
> welcomed infusion of varied cultures is an image to be admired and emulated by
> other less fortunate areas.... These elements combine to make our province, its
> people and way of life more interesting to those who visit here. An extra
> enticement to tourists of some importance is seen in the many events and
> activities in our villages, towns, and cities and in these we have built upon the
> ethnic backgrounds of the original settlers, people whose ancestors came here
> from France and Western Europe and the British Isles. I believe we are fortunate
> that Tourism and Culture are now the joint responsibility of one Ministry and
> Department. It emphasizes the importance of cultural impressions in our tourism
> promotion and marketing.[48]

More than any other, this speech makes explicit the nature of the Department of

Tourism's view of multiculturalism in tourism promotion: the apparently unique blend of

ethnic characteristics of the province's people led to a collective identity of Nova

Scotians that was exceptionally hospitable to tourists. Whether Geraghty believed it or

not, the notion that because Nova Scotians had over time adopted all of the positive traits

of each of the ethnic groups who made up its cultural milieu, they had become a happy,

tolerant, and pleased to share their colourful culture with visitors, was held by tourism

officials as an effective promotional strategy.

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[48] Speech Transcript, Robert Geraghty, Digby, NS, 17 June 1989. NSARM. Department of Tourism and
Culture records. Box 2004-043/002. Restricted Access.

Conclusion

While rhetoric can in no way be read as a demonstration of concrete policy, the fact that officials began to publicly talk about multiculturalism as a tourism promotional strategy in the mid-to-late 1980s is telling. As this chapter has demonstrated, the possible utilization of Nova Scotia's multicultural groups and their customs in the Department of Tourism's master plan was being considered, but not widely, by certain Department of Tourism officials after multiculturalism was added to the government's agenda in 1974, culminating in the creation of MANS in 1975. It was not until 1985, however, and the recommendation of the Select Committee on Tourism to employ the province's multicultural qualities in its tourism promotion, that multiculturalism and tourism were linked in departmental rhetoric. After 1985, tourism officials repeatedly invoked the image of Nova Scotia's population as uniquely multicultural; the apparently unique blend of ethnic characteristics of the province's people led to a collective identity of Nova Scotians that was exceptionally hospitable to tourists. Ultimately, however, the greatest test of the extent of the use of Nova Scotia's multicultural image in tourism literature is a content analysis of the promotional literature produced by the Department of Tourism throughout this period. In order to determine the concrete effects of the policies that had resulted in such rhetoric, I have examined the content of references to Nova Scotia's heritage and people in two series of guidebooks published by the department from 1965 to 1972 and from 1986-1990. The results of this analysis are contained in the proceeding chapter.

Chapter Four
"Mixed Company": The New Folk

> *Nova Scotia, shaped like its delicacy the lobster, is a veteran "Bluenose"*
> *fisherman, spinning a salty tale, a boy building castles on a sandy beach,*
> *a frock-coated town crier bellowing his message to festival goers, kilted*
> *Highland lassie stepping off a lively Scottish jig.... Nova Scotia's native*
> *people are Micmac. The first Europeans to create permanent settlements*
> *in the province were French and English. Later settlers were Irish,*
> *German, Scottish, Black, Polish, Ukrainian, Lebanese, Jewish, Italian,*
> *Portuguese, Dutch, Greek, Chinese, West Indian, East Indian and*
> *American. All brought the knowledge, beauty and culture of their*
> *homelands to an already rich and diverse cultural mix.[1]*

Following the conclusion of the 1986 Select Committee on Tourism to highlight

the multicultural image of the province[2] and the recent publication of the findings of a

Canadian Government Tourist Bureau study suggesting that in order to lure American

tourists Canadian tourist agencies needed to promote the unique and foreign

characteristics of the country and its provinces,[3] the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism

officially adopted multicultural images of the province's culture and people. The wistful

passage above perfectly illustrates the change in the way the Nova Scotia Department of

Tourism portrayed the province's cultural diversity. Not only was Nova Scotia depicted

as home to a varied mixture of ethnic groups, but also as the home of quaint, romantic,

and stereotypical members of these groups.

I have termed the latest characters in the story of Nova Scotia the New Folk. Like

those described by Ian McKay, the New Folk were isolated from modern society, with

their own unique culture. They preserved an older way of life, uncorrupted by

contemporary social problems, transcending class divisions and conflict in exchange for

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[1] Premier's Message, *Nova Scotia: the Doers and Dreamers Complete Guide to the Festival Province of Canada*, (Halifax: NS Department of Tourism, 1986) p. 4.
[2] *Report of the Select Committee on Tourism.* (Halifax: Nova Scotia House of Assembly, April 1987): 19.
[3] Stewart MacLeod, "Try to Look Foreign for Tourists," Halifax *Daily News.* 19 February 1986.

solidarity. They were inherently conservative, and traditional, regularly practicing the customs; they were always presented in their historical context, in a romanticized setting.[4] But unlike McKay's Folk, the New Folk had different coloured faces. They were not solely Anglo-Celtic, but Mi'kmaq, Black, Portuguese and Italian. They were not merely fisherfolk, but miners, farmers and steel workers. But, as we will see, they were still Folk, the product of essentialist concepts of the Nova Scotian ethnic population. According to this new construction of the Nova Scotian identity, what made this identity uniquely appealing to tourists was its combination of all of the positive traits of the province's ethnic groups.

This change in how the Folk were used in tourist literature was observed after a careful content analysis of three significant guidebooks and one brochure published by the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism. While these guidebooks provided information regarding a variety of aspects of Nova Scotia's tourism industry - its shopping amenities, natural environment and climate, theme parks, restaurants, and recreational facilities - the focus of this analysis was the presentation and description of the province's people and history. The photographs, graphics, and particularly the text employed in each guidebook and brochure were examined to discover whether or not the multiculturalism policies put in place both federally in 1971 and 1988, and provincially, in 1981 and 1989 had any influence on the portrayal of ethnic groups and their history. In other words, whether or not promotional material became broader in its definition of the province's ethnic heritage will be determined.

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[4] McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) pp. 9-26.

Guidebooks from two periods were selected – from 1965 to 1972, or the pre-multiculturalism period, and 1986-1990, the post-multiculturalism period. Before 1984, the two principal guidebooks published by the government department responsible for tourism, the Department of Industry's Bureau of Information and later, the Department of Tourism and Industry's Nova Scotia Travel Bureau, included *Canada's Ocean Playground*, a short (approximately 40 pages on average) picture book with general description of the province's history and peoples, and the *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, a far more lengthy (90 pages on average) informational guide to the highways and attractions of the province with no pictures or illustrations. *Canada's Ocean Playground* was published from 1937 to at least 1972, while the *Nova Scotia Tour Book* circulated from 1964 to 1971. While not the only publicity campaign of the Department, they were more comprehensive and substantial than other campaigns including brochures and newspaper advertisements. Finally, the intended audience of these guidebooks was obviously regional – Americans and Maritimers. The front and back covers of each showed points of entry into the province from places easily accessible to Maritime and American automobile travelers – the New Brunswick/Nova Scotia and New Brunswick/Maine borders and the PEI, Yarmouth and Digby ferries.[5]

The *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide* was published by the Department of Tourism from 1984 to the present. The guides represented the consolidation of Nova Scotia's main guidebooks into a comprehensive picture guide and informational highway/attraction guide and thus were very long (approximately 250 pages). They contained more text than graphics, but included a glossy, coloured pull out section at the

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[5] *Canada's Ocean Playground* (Halifax: NS Department of Industry, 1965-1972), n.p.; *Nova Scotia Tour Book* (Halifax: NS Department of Industry, 1964-1971), n.p.

beginning of each description of the province's 11 tourist routes and trails. Again, while

not the Department of Tourism's only publicity campaign, the *Doers' and Dreamers'*

Guide was the province's largest and most comprehensive piece of literature and was

intended for a much wider audience than either *Canada's Ocean Playground* or the *Nova*

Scotia Tour Book as entry points shown on the back of the front cover of this guidebook

include those of earlier books, but also the Halifax airport.[6] In the case of both the earlier

and later guidebooks, publicity literature was created by outside firms, in the case of the

Doers' and Dreamers' Guide, McGuire Communications of Halifax, and circulated by a

centralized distribution centre to Nova Scotia Information Booths, museums,

motels/hotels, gift shops, restaurants, and private citizens who wrote to the department

asking for information on the province as a tourist destination.[7] The final piece of tourism

literature studied is a brochure published by the Department of Tourism in 1986 titled,

"The Living Heritage." Written by travel writer Kildare Dobbs, this brochure traced the

history and culture of the various ethnic groups in Nova Scotia and was intended to be

included in newspapers and magazines as a pull out brochure. Equally rich in both

eloquent text and brilliant photographs, "The Living Heritage" provides unqualified

insight into the changing treatment of the Folk in Nova Scotia's government-published

travel literature.

Following the content analysis of these four pieces of promotional literature, I

have found that the characterization of the New Folk was evident in three areas: ethnicity,

gender and livelihood. It will be argued that in the construction of the New Folk, the

Folk became multiethnic, and, as a result, maintained their traditional gender norms, but

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[6] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide.* (Halifax: NS Department of Tourism, 1986-1990).
[7] *Annual Report.* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Department of Tourism 1972/73) p. 18.

came from a greater numbers of employment groups. This chapter will proceed with an analysis of each of these areas and how the images presented in the guidebooks about each conformed to the idea of the Folk, but in a new, multicultural way.

The Multi-ethnic Folk

In the introduction of both *Canada's Ocean Playground* and the *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, the founding peoples and various ethnic cultures of Nova Scotia were described as contributing to the cultural make up of the province. The initial indication that the guidebooks reflected the influence of the Multiculturalism policy and the Select Committee on Tourism's recommendation to endorse the multi-ethnic character of the province was the increasing number of ethnic groups listed as significant to the cultural character of Nova Scotia. According to the 1971 edition of *Canada's Ocean Playground*, Nova Scotia was founded by five "races": the English, Scots, Irish, French and German, with the Vikings credited with the earliest discovery of the province.[8] The 1965 edition listed seven racial "stocks" from which Nova Scotian culture descended – the five mentioned in the 1971 edition joined by the Mi'kmaq and New Englanders.[9] Notably, by 1986, the *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide* listed a total of 18 different "peoples" as contributing to the cultural fabric of Nova Scotia - the French, English, Irish, German, Scottish, Black, Polish, Italian, Ukrainian, East Indian, West Indian, American, Dutch, Greek, and Chinese.[10] Also reflective of the rising multiculturalism of the 1980s was the choice made by the makers of the 1986-1990 guidebooks to employ the words "peoples" and "cultures" when referring to Nova Scotia's ethnic groups, in contrast to the 1965 to

[8] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1971, p. 1.
[9] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1965, p. 25.
[10] *Doers and Dreamers Guide*, 1986, p. 3; 1987, p. 3; 1988, p. 4; 1989, p.4; 1990, p. 2.

1972 guidebooks' use of the terms "races" and "stocks." As Richard J.F. Day explains,

even as early as the 1950s, the term "race" had become problematic:

> Nazi propaganda had caused many to question the use of the term.... The Canadian Citizenship Branch followed this trend by altering its statement of purpose. Whereas it had previously been out to promote unity among 'all racial groups,' it now took as its mandate the promotion of unity 'among the various ethnic elements in Canada.' ... Race was out. Ethnicity was in.[11]

In *The Quest of the Folk*, McKay explains that the tourism market was

particularly prone to essentialism, "especially that tied to the reproduction of ethnic

imagery."[12] Essentialism, or the attributing of fixed, unchangeable traits to a group each

of which every member necessarily possessed, was a key component in the treatment and

characterization of the Folk. The idea that there was a "typical" Nova Scotian who could

be described and applied to all members of the Folk, was typical of the early tourism

promotion described by McKay, but also applied to the promotional literature examined

here and most often presents itself, in both 1965 to 1972 and 1986 to 1990, in the form of

racial stereotypes. According to American scholars Simpson and Younger, a stereotype

is a "highly exaggerated picture, the invention of supposed traits, and the formation of

incomplete images leaving little room for change or individual variation."[13] Michael

Hertzfeld notes that stereotypes:

> represent long-established prejudices and exclusions, and ... use the terms of social life to exclude others on cultural grounds. They render intimate, and sometimes menacing, the abstraction of otherness ... The lack of any necessary connection between word and meaning, symbol and value, or body and character gives free reign to processes of arbitrary attribution.[14]

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[11] Richard J.F. Day. *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Identity.* (Toronto: U of T Press, 2000) pp. 171-172.

[12] Jean R. Burnet and Howard Palmer. *"Coming Canadians": An Introduction to a History of Canada's People* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988) p. 34.

[13] Leo Driedger. *Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities* (Toronto: Oxford U.P., 1996) p. 267.

[14] Michael Herzfeld, *The Social Production of Indifference: Exploring the Symbolic Roots of Western Bureaucracy* (New York/Oxford: Berg, 1992) pp. 72-73.

In its simplest terms a stereotype is present whenever the suggestion is made that all or most members of an ethnic group are the same. The Department of the Secretary of State explains that common stereotypes within popular culture include images of ethnic groups in traditional dress inappropriate to the context, in clichéd or caricatured illustrations – "Chinese smiling inscrutably, or Blacks with wide, toothy grins," and language that assumes that all members of a group retain a particular attribute, i.e. the frugal Scot, amorous Frenchman, inscrutable Asian, happy-go-lucky Black, or nature-loving Aboriginal.[15]

Guidebooks throughout both the pre- and post-multiculturalism periods teemed with ethnic and racial stereotypes. The five major founding races discussed in the 1972 edition of *Canada's Ocean Playground* were described using rather obvious racial stereotypes: "The character of these cultures and races are still evident in modern Nova Scotia. There is the French Acadian flair, Scott pride, English courtesy, Irish warmth, German thoroughness, all mixed with an American [Loyalist] style of ingenuity."[16] The Loyalists who arrived at Shelburne between 1760 and 1765 were singled out as a particularly refined and learned segment of the population of Nova Scotia:

> Their immigration was probably the largest single movement of educated and cultured families in British history ... Among them at the time were over half of the living graduates of Harvard. Their descendants are maintaining a cultured quality of life all over the province to this day.[17]

According to their description in *Canada's Ocean Playground*, the Scots were "Strong and proud of their Scottish ties, they have retained many Scottish characteristics. The kilt

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[15] *Visible Minorities in Government Communications: A Matter of Balance*, pp. 8-10.
[16] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1972, p. 8.
[17] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1972 p. 8.

is often found a formal dress and Gaelic is still spoken in some regions."[18] Even the

province's architecture was attributed to the stereotypical characteristics of its founding

cultures:

> Many buildings still show the touch of original settlers like the white-painted
> steeples from the churches of Nova Scotia Loyalists, or the solid, comfortable and
> simple houses and farms of the Dutch and German settlers, and a unique and
> colorful handcrafting of the Acadian French pioneers.[19]

The descendants of these founding cultural groups were depicted as especially

welcoming, aware of their history and traditions, and willing to share them with visitors:

"It [Nova Scotia] is a land where people, as warm and friendly as any of this earth,

celebrate their heritage and festivals and carnivals all summer long, and invite you, the

visitor, to join them."[20] It was implied that the mix of these groups had produced a people

that had inherited all the positive traits from their ancestors' cultural dispositions. The

conservatism, traditionalism and cultural retentiveness of the Folk were displayed in full

force in this way: "The cultural contributions of Nova Scotians descended from English,

Scotch, Irish, French, Hanoverian, New England and Micmac stock. Each has given to

the texture of the province, each has retained many of its customs, speech and dress."[21]

Similarly, the *Nova Scotia Tour Book* read: "Nova Scotia was settled by five races ...

These different races have preserved many of their characteristics down the centuries,

retaining their language and customs to an extent that makes the old province seem a

'different' part of America."[22] The culturally unique, picturesque, and old-fashioned

Folk were also friendly and inviting, especially to tourists. In Cape Breton, "you find a

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[18] *Canada's Ocean Playground,* 1972 p. 8.
[19] *Canada's Ocean Playground,* 1972 p.32.
[20] *Canada's Ocean Playground,* 1972, p. 39.
[21] *Canada's Ocean Playground,* 1965, p. 25.
[22] *Nova Scotia Tour Book,* 1964/65,1965/66, 1967/68, 1968/69 p.3; 1971 p. 4.

bonny New Scotland, with its own lovely lochs and shady glens, and kindly hospitable folk who can still speak in soft singing Gaelic and swing their ladies to The Flowers of Edinburgh."[23] As maintained by *Canada's Ocean Playground*, Nova Scotians "value their traditions and share them proudly with all who visit this distinctive historic land."[24] Furthermore, the photographs scattered throughout these publications confirmed the above notion of the Folk. A photo of Highland dancers performing in front of a contemporary audience at the Gaelic College in St. Ann's confirmed that Nova Scotian Scots retained their traditional customs, implying that little Scottish girls still performed this age-old art.[25] In another photo, an elderly German fisherman carried out his jobs, tending nets, catching fish, in the same manner as had his predecessors in the 1780s,[26] while a photograph of an old-fashioned English horse and buggy driving about a newly married couple in a Victorian garden confirmed the apparently "genteel" nature of the province's Loyalist settlers.[27]

The traditionalism and cultural retention characterizing the folk in the 1965 to 1972 guidebooks continued in 1986 to 1990. The brochure, "The Living Heritage," typified the Department of Tourism's desire to promote the province as multicultural, but still essentialized the Folk as wholeheartedly concerned with maintaining their traditional customs. A description of a trip to Nova Scotia, "The Living Heritage" made a conscious effort to include other ethnicities besides the commonly employed Scottish, in its description of the heritage of Nova Scotia. To begin, it was notably different from others that came before it in that it included African Nova Scotians in its list of the province's

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[23] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1972, p. 33.
[24] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1967, p. 15.
[25] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1972, pp. 12-13.
[26] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1972, p. 7.
[27] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1972, p. 24.

founding peoples and cultures.[28] On the other hand, much of "The Living Heritage" was spent describing Nova Scotia's Scottish heritage like those brochures and guidebooks that preceded it; in it the province is described as a "second home in the world for Scots everywhere," while the history of that "lives on in this down-home country has a Scots accent."[29] But at the same time that photographs in the brochure showed tartan bagpipes, it explicitly stated that the province's people were more diverse than simply Scottish: "Pervasive as the Scots influence is in Nova Scotia, it is by no means the only strand or the earliest in the provincial ethnic fabric ... the Scottish trend is merely one vivid thread among many that make up the provincial fibre."[30] "Many another monument and museum recalls a Loyalist and Irish and German ... contributions to Maritime civilizations," the brochure proceeded, briefly outlining the history and cultural contributions of these groups. Nevertheless, these groups were described in the past tense; they were praised for their traditions and the way they preserved an earlier way of life. Even the title of the brochure implied that the province's heritage was alive and well, even in the face of the forces of modernization. For example, the Mi'kmaq were described as preservers of their traditional handicrafts: "Visitors see the roadside boutique of Mi'kmaqs selling wood splint baskets adorned with sweet grass, deerskin moccasins and other products of native handicrafts."[31]

The photographs employed in the guidebooks and brochure primarily presented either scenes of Nova Scotia's natural environment - its lakes, bays, forests, etc. - or subjects related to its heritage - its historic sites and re-enactors, and people participating

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[28] "The Living Heritage," n.p.
[29] "The Living Heritage," n.p. [30] "The Living Heritage," n.p.
[31] "The Living Heritage," n.p.

in their ethnic groups' traditions and customs - further underscoring the idea that Nova

Scotians lived in the past thrived within Nova Scotia's promotional literature throughout

the period. For example, the 1972 edition of Canada's *Ocean Playground* contained

photos of a Mi'kmaq family wearing traditional dress and making baskets; a group of

Acadian women dressed in their traditional blue, white and black dresses of the Acadian

pioneers; and the ruins of the Fortress of Louisbourg.[32] Within the 1990 *Doers' and*

Dreamers' Guide, one could find photographs of an old Acadian church near

Saulnierville, a piper sporting Highland regalia at the Antigonish Highland Games, and

Loyalists re-enactors in customary dress greeting each other in front of colonial houses in

Shelburne.[33] The 1989 *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide* contained a rather lengthy insert

promoting the Nova Scotia Museum Complex in which all museums had an historic

focus. The photos of museums promoted the opportunity for visitors to experience Nova

Scotia's past through their exhibits and reenactments. Photographs included that of an

eighteenth-century shipbuilders workshop at the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, the

Balmoral grist mill built in 1874, pottery shop, a sawmill, doctor's house, and an 1874

bedroom in the Greenwood cottage at Sherbrooke Village, and the Shand family's

Victorian home and furnishings circa 1890. A photograph of the Glooscap statue at the

Nova Scotia Museum in Halifax was the focus of one of the pages of the insert, as were

those of women in pioneer clothing making straw hats and nineteenth-century families

taking a wagon ride at Ross Farm. The text included alongside the photographs called

attention to the ability to go back into the passed by visiting Nova Scotia's museums:

"Take a journey through our history. Travel through time.... Nova Scotia's museums are

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[32] *Canada's Ocean Playground,* 1967, pp. 36; 9.
[33] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* insert, 1990, n.p.

filled with special things... presented for you to learn and enjoy," one caption reads.[34]

Another followed in the same vein: "Now you can step back in time and enjoy the

traditions and styles of the past in more than twenty restored buildings."[35] Yet another

read: "There are living museums where you can enjoy and take part in the traditions and

styles of the past."[36] Clearly, the total immersion in Nova Scotia's past was a central

selling point in these guidebooks.

The portrayal of the Acadians makes an excellent case study in the analysis of the

treatment of the Folk in guidebooks published both between 1965 and 1972 and 1986 and

1990. In the *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, the region of Clare is explicitly described as an

"excellent region for the student of folk character." Further, in Clare, "descendants [of

the Acadians] retain their mother tongue ... spinning wheels...[and] old Acadian

customs."[37] Moreover, like McKay's Folk who "did not belong to political parties or

read newspapers or mount labour protests." Clearly, the Acadians were described as "a

basically non-political people" by the creators of the *Nova Scotia Tour Book*.[38]

From 1986 to 1990, the Acadians still remained elements of Nova Scotia's Folk.

They were described as a traditional people, keeping their old way of life and customs

alive. A rather large photograph displayed five elderly Acadian women, clad in the

traditional blue skirts, white blouses and bonnets, and black vests of the formulaic

Acadian woman, happily hand sewing a quilt on the grounds of the Memorial Church at

Grand Pre. The caption beneath the image declared, "Acadian women keep the art of

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[34]*Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1989, insert, n.p.

[35] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1989, insert, n.p.

[36] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1989, insert, n.p.

[37] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*. 1964/65, 1965/66, 1966/67, 1967/68, 1968/69, p.7; 1971p.8.

[38] McKay, p. 21.

quilting alive at Grand Pre."[39] Yet another photo showed an elderly Acadian woman in

traditional clothing sitting at an antique spinning wheel in her Cape Breton workshop,

presumably spinning wool to use in the construction of the famous Cheticamp rugs. Here

the caption read, "Homemade Acadian crafts can still be found in local shops."[40] The

fact that the all of subjects of these photographs were elderly strengthened the impression

that the Acadian traditions and customs were in danger of dying out at any moment. The

notion that there existed a quintessential 'Acadian' way of life is underlined in the later

guidebooks; descriptions of places along the Fleur-de-lis Trail in Cape Breton abounded

with phrases like "French-flavoured"[41] and "decidedly Acadian."[42] As we have seen,

such essentialist descriptions of ethnic groups were common to the tourist trade. As

McKay notes, "By anticipating that which will attract tourism's totalizing and essentialist

gaze, the state can construct the 'experiences' for particular tourists."[43]

Another noteworthy change that occurred in the presentation of the Folk from

1965-1972 and 1986-1990 was the employment of the province's Aboriginal population

in its advertising. While not included as members of the Folk in the period studied by

McKay[44] or within guidebooks published between 1965 and 1972, the Mi'kmaq became

Folk after 1986. In the guidebooks studied for the pre-multiculturalism period, Mi'kmaq

were characterized in prevailing racist stereotypes. In his book, *The Imaginary Indian:*

The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture, Daniel Francis explains that advertisers

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[39] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1990, insert n.p.
[40] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1990, insert, n.p.
[41] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1989,insert, n.p.
[42] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1990, insert, n.p.
[43] McKay, p. 34.
[44] McKay, p. 116.

throughout the twentieth century employed stereotypical images of the Native in order to sell their products:

> Advertisements did not feature Indians in suits or dresses; they did not highlight life on the reserve or on the other side of the tracks. Instead, they showed the classic Indian head in feather headdress or the Indian princess in beaded doeskin.... Advertising reinforced the belief that the best Indian was the historical Indian.[45]

In the 1965 through 1971 editions of the *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, the historical Indian was brutal and savage, as in this description of the early settlement of Dartmouth: "The early days of the settlement were saddened by savage forays by Micmac [sic] Indians. On a night in May 1751, they swooped down on the village and murdered the helpless inhabitants. The screaming of the victims could be heard across the harbour in Halifax."[46] Here, the Mi'kmaq were portrayed as animal-like, "swooping" in to prey on helpless White settlers. Similarly savage behaviour was described in the description of the features of Mahone Bay. Sacrifice Island was "where the Indians offered a white child in sacrifice," while Murderer's Point, Indian Point and other names in the area were described as "given reminders of the days of pirates and Indian scalping knives."[47] The brutality of the Mi'kmaq against innocent women and children was also a common theme in descriptions of the history of Nova Scotia's towns and villages. A case in point is the description of the ominously named Massacre Island off Chester, where "Indians murdered several persons and carried off a mother and four children."[48] The Mi'kmaq were actually termed "savages" during the narration of one story. In 1735, it is said, on a journey from Dublin to Maryland, the brigantine, *Baltimore*, went aground off Chebogue

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[45] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Consumer Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992) p. 176.
[46] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66, p. 61; 1966/67, p. 62; 1967/68, p. 65; 1971, p. 67.
[47] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66, 1966/67 p. 41; 1967/68, 1968/69, 1971, p. 44.
[48] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66, 1966/67 p. 42; 1967/68, 1968/69 p. 45.

Point near Yarmouth, where it was boarded by a band of "Indians" who murdered the

entire crew. According to the only survivor of the incident, the Captain's wife, Susannah

Brick, "The savages then went to the vessel and began stripping it of everything

valuable," but were driven off by the pistols with which she had armed herself while

barricaded in her cabin.[49] Stories of Natives boarding ships in dock were common in the

Nova Scotia Tour Book: "During 1724 the British seized a French vessel and took it to

Country Harbour [near Melrose]. Indians boarded it during the night, killed the captain

and five of his men and took the rest prisoners."[50] The Mi'kmaq were also portrayed as

immoral, duplicitous and accepting of murderous behaviour within their communities in

an account of the history of Jeddore:

> In 1727 the Indians murdered several English people who were fishing at Jeddore
> and Liscomb Harbour. An investigation was made and an Indian chief and his
> two sons were brought to Halifax and examined by the authorities. They claimed
> ignorance of the murders and offered to bring in the real culprits. The treaty
> signed by their chief was read to them. The authorities also gave them presents to
> encourage then in their good intentions but none of the murderers was ever
> brought to justice.[51]

By 1986, a change had occurred in how the Mi'kmaq were depicted in Nova

Scotia's guidebooks. While the act of stereotyping remained, the content of these

stereotypes changed dramatically. Gone were portrayals of savage, wild Indians; the

Indian of the 1980s was of the Folk variety and members of Nova Scotia's new, multi-

coloured Folk. The Mi'kmaq were typically mentioned in relation to their legends and

creation myths. Like other portrayals of Aboriginal groups in tourism literature of the

time, the Nova Scotia guidebooks rendered the Mi'kmaq "quaint and mysterious,"

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[49] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65,1965/66, 1966/67 p. 33, 1967/68 pp. 33-34, 1968/69 pp. 35-36; 1971, p.36.
[50] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66, 1966/67 p. 66; 1967/68 p. 67; 1968/69 p. 70.
[51] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66, 1966/67,1967/68 p. 64; 1968/69 p. 68; 1971 p. 70.

attuned to nature and the supernatural powers that surrounded them.[52] The figure of the Mi'kmaq man-god Glooscap was often invoked in descriptions of both the province's cultural and natural history. The legend that he created the Five Islands and the jewel deposits along the shores of the Minas Basin was recounted in the form of a children's story:

> It with hundreds of years ago that these lands were claimed by the mighty Glooscap, legendary man-god of the Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia. ... When Glooscap first came to live amid his Micmac tribe, he made his home on Blomidon, one of the finest vantage point in all Nova Scotia.... The animals were his friends, but one or two became insolent and mischievous. When Beaver taunted his people, Glooscap's voice rose with the wind and he cast five clumps of mud at him - and Five Islands rose from the sea.... It was said that Glooscap scattered glowing jewels along the shores for Nogami, his grandmother – jasper, agate, onyx and amethyst, "the eye of Glooscap.[53]

As the 1989 *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide* advised, "The Glooscap magic is everywhere. Follow the legend along the Glooscap trail, a rare, special place to wile your cares away."[54] Mushaboom, it was told, is the Indian name for "hair of the dead lying here": "The Indian tradition is that fairies often used to play here and would seized each other by the locks, pull out handfuls of hair, and leave them lying on the ground."[55]

Like the fisherfolk and their traditional ballads, the Mi'kmaq were keepers of a civilization threatened by modernity; they were valuable because they retained a forgotten way of life. As the *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide* informed the tourist, "The Micmacs have been able to maintain many of their customs, crafts and folkways and are

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[52] Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970.* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004) p. 164.

[53] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p, 65; 1987p. 65; 1988 p. 65; 1989 p.75; 1990 p. 83.

[54] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1989, p. 75.

[55] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p. 168; 1987p.176; 1988 p. 167; 1989 p.175; 1990 p. 183.

especially skilled in the art of basketry."[56] A small coloured photograph in the glossy

insert relating the province's attributes revealed a young Mi'kmaq man inside a large

workshop, demonstrating basket weaving to two tourists. Curiously unlike other

photographs that depicted traditional artisans or customs, the basket weaver sported

contemporary blue jeans and t-shirt and a modern hairstyle. The caption beneath the

photo read: "Micmac [sic] Indian demonstrate their traditional basket-weaving

techniques."[57] A photograph of the 10-foot tall Glooscap statue that has the hero clad in

traditional buckskin clothing displayed in the Nova Scotia Museum in Halifax reinforced

the message that the Mi'kmaq were associated with the past.[58] As the guidebook

explained, "Dressed in traditional costumes and placed in a context that evokes the past,

they are not Indians as they appear to us in modern life. They are thoroughly exotic and

other-worldly."[59]

Like the Mi'kmaq, African Nova Scotians in the 1965 to 1972 guidebooks were,

by virtue of their skin colour, outside the confines of the Folk. While not ignored, the

history of African Nova Scotians in the early guidebooks most often recounted their roles

as slaves; for instance, Birchtown was described as a former slave village: "The village

was first settled by 1,000 negro servants, who came to Shelburne with their Loyalist

masters in 1783."[60] The use of the commonly used term of the time, 'negro' when

referring to Blacks, was widespread in the *Nova Scotia Tour Book*. Even in the one case

in which an African Nova Scotian were presented as a hero, his connection to slavery was

underlined. After pronouncing him the "first negro V.C., and among the first of any race

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[56] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1986 p, 3; 1987 p. 3; 1988 p. 4; 1989 p. 4; 1990 p.2.
[57] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1990, insert, n.p.
[58] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*. 1989, insert, n.p.
[59] Francis, p.188.
[60] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66,1966/67, 1967/68 p. 36; 1968/69 p.38;1971 p.39.

to win the Victoria Cross" in its account of Hantsport native, William Hall, the authors of

the *Nova Scotia Tour Book* felt the need to add that he was the "son of an escaped

Virginia slave."[61] Particularly fascinating was the account of the establishment of

community of Preston. The *Nova Scotia Tour Book* explained that Preston was named

after Captain Richard Preston, participant in the Boston Massacre, who, after he was

acquitted of any wrongdoing in the massacre, moved to Halifax.[62] Strangely, it was not

mentioned that he was Black or that the town was known as an African Nova Scotian

settlement throughout its history and became home to Black Loyalists after the War of

1812.[63] There were no photographs of African Nova Scotians in any of the guidebooks in

this period.

The portrayal of African Nova Scotians changed by 1986 to 1990. Whereas they

were mentioned about the same number of times as in earlier guidebooks, they were

shown to be more than just slaves and ex-slaves. For example, William Hall's story

related his heroism in greater detail than the earlier account of his accomplishment:

> In 1904 William Hall R.N. died here [Hantsport]. He was the first Black and the
> first Canadian to win the Victoria Cross. He was born in Nova Scotia, the son of
> an escaped slave. At the relief of Lucknow, during the Indian Mutiny, when the
> rest of his gun crew was killed by shot from the garrison, Hall continued single-
> handedly to work his heavy naval gun until the wall was breached and stormed.[64]

Although the reference to his slave descendants remained, the focus of the passage was

on his military activities and awards. Also notable was the shift from the use of the

derogatory term "negro" to that of the neutral term "Black," signifying an official change

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[61] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66,1966/67, 1967/68,1968/69,p.19;1971 p.21.
[62] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66,1966/67, p. 63;1967/68, pp. 63-64; 1968/69,p.67;1971 p.69.
[63] *People of Nova Scotia: Introduction to 30 world cultures in Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Multicultural Association of Nova Scotia, 1980) pp. 19-20.
[64]*Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1986 p. 46; 1987 p. 48; 1988 p. 48; 1989 p. 62; 1990 p. 56.

in attitudes towards African Nova Scotians. By 1986, African Nova Scotian heritage had become a selling point to potential tourists. For example, in guidebooks from 1986 through 1990, Black Nova Scotians were explicitly said to have founded Preston: "It is the oldest black community in Canada, settled by Khmer Rouge from Jamaica in 1796 and later in 1816 by freed American slaves from the Chesapeake Bay."[65] Likewise, the Black Cultural Centre in Cherrybrook was described as a "resource facility for the preservation of the history and culture of the Blacks in Nova Scotia, who form Canada's largest indigenous black population."[66] It is noticeable in the above passage that African Nova Scotians were now welcomed as New Folk since, according to McKay, the central role of the Folk were as preservers of "an older way of life" with society.[67] African Nova Scotians, therefore, were particularly useful as the largest indigenous black population in Canada. Their heritage, customs and culture were the most authentic in the entire country and should be safeguarded against the onslaught of contemporary culture. The fact that the guidebook also noted the Black Cultural Centre's instructional programs in Black visual and performing arts, fine arts and crafts, further emphasized the notion that African Nova Scotian culture had to be passed on in order to survive.[68]

The promotional strategy that produced the image of the New Folk as a multicultural mix of peoples who in their collective identities as Nova Scotians adopted the affirmative aspects of each other's groups, was made explicit in these guidebooks. As we have already seen, in "The Living Heritage," Dobbs wrote that the province was "like a first statement of the nation's demography" and that the popularly prevalent Scottish

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[65] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p.174; 1987 p. 182; 1988 p. 166; 1989 p. 175; 1990 p.166.
[66] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p.186; 1987 p. 196;, 1988 p. 189; 1989 p. 199; 1990 p. 205.
[67] McKay, *The Quest of the Folk,* p. 12.
[68] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p. 186; 1987 p.196; 1988 p. 189; 1989 p. 199; 1990 p. 205.

"strand" was "merely one vivid thread among many that make up the provincial fibre."[69]

In his welcome, Premier Buchanan described Nova Scotians in a like manner: "Nova

Scotians (sometimes called 'Bluenosers') are open and friendly, willing to answer

questions about 'Canada's Ocean Playground' and eager to show visitors the good times

and remarkable beauty that are a part of life in this province."[70] In other words, they

were willing to do whatever they could to make one's vacation as pleasant as possible.

Nowhere on earth, the department claimed, could one interact with such a diverse,

welcoming, entertaining people. In Nova Scotia, the people were the main attraction.

Some of the aspects of the character of the New Folk, apart from their traditions

and cultures, depicted in these guidebooks including their preferable gender roles and

industrial participation, developed from their traditional multicultural character. The idea

that the New Folk maintained traditional gender roles and that they participated as

workers in a variety of the province's industries (most of which were failing at this period

of time) was connected to their multicultural identity. The following two sections will

examine both the connections between multiculturalism and gender roles/industrial

employment and the portrayal of gender and livelihood in the guidebooks.

Traditional Gender Roles

The connection between some ethnic groups and traditional gender roles is

popularly recognized. The traditions and cultures of many of the world's ethnic groups

are seen to be built on patriarchal notions of gender relations; they are perceived as

having, according to Susan Moller Okin, "elaborate patterns of socialization, rituals,

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[69] "The Living Heritage." n.p.
[70] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p.3; 1987 p.3; 1988 p.4; 1989 p.4; 1990 p.2.

matrimonial customs, and other cultural practises ... aimed at bringing women's sexuality and reproductive capabilities under men's control."[71] Although the notion that visible minority cultures are more patriarchal than Anglo-Celtic culture is a stereotype in itself, it helped in forming the impression that traditional gender roles and multiculturalism were linked.

What was perhaps most noteworthy about the treatment of gender in the three guidebooks was, in contrast to the use of ethnicity, the lack of change in how gender norms were presented from one period to the next. In both *Nova Scotia Tour Book* and *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, what stands out immediately upon examination was the relative lack of women in the historical narratives, as compared to men, both in the earlier and later guides. The vast majority of persons mentioned for their historic accomplishments were male. Few women were found historically noteworthy. In fact, within the guidebooks published between 1986 and 1990, only ten different women were mentioned by name. Of the women the publishers considered important enough to include in their texts, besides the obvious references to Queen Anne and Queen Elizabeth II, most were recognized for roles traditionally applied to women, like those of the domestic sphere. For example, Elizabeth leFort of Cheticamp was noted for her outstanding rug hooking.[72] Flora McDonald was renowned for her maternal assistance of Bonnie Prince Charlie during his refuge and escape from Scotland after the Battle of Culloden. Notably, Flora McDonald was described along with her husband, Captain Alan McDonald of the Royal Highland Emigrant Battalion because they spent the winter

[71] Susan Moller Okin, "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?" in Joshua Cohen et al., eds, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1999) p. 14.
[72] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1986 p. 138; 1987 p. 142; 1988 p. 137; 1989 p. 148; 1990 p. 154.

of 1779 at Fort Edward in Windsor.[73] In both guidebooks, her relative and fellow

supporter of Bonnie Prince Charlie, Jeanette (Janet) McDonald, was mentioned because

of the existence of a tombstone in Hackett's Cove marking her death. Like McDonald,

Jeanette lived on in historical memory because of her connection to a man. The *Doers'*

and Dreamers' Guide explained, "It is said that Jeanette was buried in the sheets in which

the Prince slept while on the run after Culloden."[74] She is not remembered for her public

accomplishments, but for her service to the Prince.

The career of giantess Anna Swan was also described in both the *Nova Scotia*

Tour Book and *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide.* Born in New Annan in 1846 and growing

to be 7'11" tall, Swan's life was unconventional in the fact that she had a professional

career with P.T. Barnum Museum. According to the 1964/65-1971 issues of *Nova Scotia*

Tour Book "She joined a circus troop and married an 8-foot giant. The huge couple

retired to Seville, Ohio, where they built a house and had furniture to accommodate

them."[75] However, a subtle difference in the recount of her life appears in the 1986-1990

Doers' and Dreamers' Guide: "Born in...New Annan, in 1846, Anna Swan grew to be

seven feet eleven inches tall, weighing 413 pounds. She enjoyed a professional career

with Phineas T. Barnum's Museum; married Captain Van Buren, a giant form Kentucky

in 1870; and produced what is believed to be the largest live birth in history, a 23-1/2

pound child who survived only a few hours."[76] While the *Nova Scotia Tour Book*'s

insensitive and sensationalized description of Swan and her husband read rather like a

program at a freak show, both her work and home life were equally highlighted. In the

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[73] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p. 46; 1987 p. 48; 1988 p. 48; 1989 p. 56; 1990 p. 62.
[74] *Nova Scotia Tour Book,* 1964/65, 1965/66, 1966/67, p.84; 1967/68, p. 86; 1968/69, p. 91; *Doers and Dreamers Guide,* 1986 p.216; 1987 p. 228; 1988 p. 222; 1989 p. 235; 1990 p. 235.
[75] *Nova Scotia Tour Book,* 1964/65, 1965/66, 1966/67, p.58; 1967/68, p. 59; 1968/69, p.62; 1971, p.64.
[76] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p. 96; 1987 p. 98; 1988 p. 96; 1989 p. 106; 1990 p. 109.

Doers' and Dreamers' Guide, on the other hand, emphasis was placed on her role as mother to history's largest newborn. While Swan had a rather untraditional life for a woman in her era, the latter implied that her position as wife and mother was what made her most famous.

The narrative of the helpless female was present in guidebooks from both periods. In the following story found in the *Nova Scotia Tour Book*'s description of Black Point near Parrsboro, a beautiful maiden is captured by pirates and kidnapped as their prisoner. Sometime in the 1700s, an Italian pirate seized a British ship and made all the passengers and crew, except the Captain's daughter, walk the plank. Eventually blown off course to Black Point, the pirates noticed amethyst glittering on the shore. Thinking it was abandoned treasure, the pirates disembarked to gather it. The pirate Captain "could not subdue his fair captive" and put her in a cave with some food, closed the entrance off with a large rock and sailed away. Passing Indians would hear her wails, but were frightened away until some of the "bolder" ones returned and found her dead within her shelter. Legend has it that one can still hear her wails to this day, so residents named the spot where she perished, Maiden's Cave.[77] Reading like one, this story had all the features of a fairy tale – the damsel in distress, evil pirates, treasure, and a ghost. The only female in the tale was helpless and unable to make a fight for her life. Even the Natives in the story were stereotypical; they were rather dim-witted, afraid of the girl's wails, attuned with the with the supernatural, believing that her wails came from an otherworldly being, and to some extent, they were responsible for her death for letting their superstition and naivety prevent them from saving her.

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[77] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66, 1966/67,1967/68, p. 24; 1968/69, p.25; 1971, p.27.

There were some women mentioned in the guidebooks, however, that were

praised for accomplishments achieved in the public rather than private realm. For

example, in the *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, Mrs. Anne Crownsheild of Palm Beach, Florida

was mentioned for holding the world record for women for catching the largest tuna (she

did so off of Wedgeport). Maud Lewis was mentioned for her international success as an

artist,[78] Dr. Helen Creighton was praised for adding "so much to the heritage of Nova

Scotia with her detailed research into the folklore of the province."[79] Anne Murray was

applauded for her "remarkable career" as a singer.[80] Margaret Marshall Saunders, born

in 1861, a native of the Maitland Bridge district and author of the popular story of the

abused and abandoned dog, "Beautiful Joe," was praised for her writing and work as an

animal activist with the American and Great Britain humane societies.[81]

In the description of the histories of the various towns, cities, villages of Nova

Scotia, the work of women in both the public and private spheres was often left out.

Apart from those places and attractions known for their domestic or agricultural heritage,

like Ross Farm Museum, Sherbrooke Village, or the restored homes like Ross-Thompson

House in Shelburne or Clifton House in Windsor, the experiences of women were

overlooked. For instance, in the descriptions of colonial Halifax, Louisbourg,

Lunenburg, Amherst, and Windsor, discussion revolved around the military and political

histories in which women, more often than not, played invisible roles.[82] Like the text of

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[78] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1986 p. 32; 1987p. 34.
[79] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1986 p. 186; 1987 p. 196.
[80] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1988 p. 71; 1989 p.81; 1990 p. 85.
[81] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66, 1966/67,p. 67; 1967/68, p. 68; 1968/69, p.72; 1971, p.74.

[82] For a discussion of the invisible roles of women in Canadian and Nova Scotian history see Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, "One Hundred and Two Muffled Voices: Canada's Industrial Women in the 1880s. *Atlantis* 3,1 (Fall 1977) 66-82; Jeff Keshen, "Revisiting Canada's Civilian Women During WWII" in Veronica Strong Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, eds. *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History* (Oxford:

the guidebooks that celebrated women primarily for their domestic responsibilities,

photographs of women throughout both *Canada's Ocean Playground* and the *Doers' and*

Dreamers' Guide portrayed them in situations that were similarly traditional. A case in

point was a photo of women at Ross Farm Museum dressed in period garb and making

straw hats.[83] A photograph of an old Acadian woman showed her spinning yarn.[84] In

general, women were shown in period costumes, performing domestic labour or posing in

quaint villages, including a photo of women in eighteenth-century French woman

outside the King's Bastion, Fortress of Louisbourg.[85] Indeed, the vast majority of

histories recounted in these guidebooks were of this nature; the focus of the guidebooks

was Nova Scotia's military political and industrial heritage and, therefore, often failed to

include the place of women in their historical narratives.

Male gender roles were presented as similarly stereotypical. Both *Canada's*

Ocean Playground's and the *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*'s pages abounded with

references to military conflict and conquest, political expansion and industrial growth and

decline. The bulk of the attractions described in their pages reflect these themes - Forts

Anne, Edward, Needham, Lawrence and Louisbourg, the Citadel in Halifax, and

Government and Province House, the Springhill and Glace Bay Miner's Museums, the

Halifax dockyard, Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, Fisheries Museum in Lunenburg

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Oxford U.P., 2002) 249-267; Joan Sangster, "The 1907 Bell Telephone Strike: Organizing Women Workers."*Labour/LeTravail.* 3 (1971): 109-130; Peter deVries and Georgina MacNab-deVries, " 'Taking Charge': Women in a Cape Breton Island Community," in Constance P. deRoche and John E. deRoche, eds. *"Rock in a Stream: Living with the Political Economy of Underdevelopment in Cape Breton* (Sydney, NS: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1987) 31-64; Rusty Neal, *Brotherhood Economics: Women and Cooperatives in Nova Scotia* (Sydney, NS: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1998); and particularly, Steven Penfold, "'Have You no Manhood in You': Gender and Class in Cape Breton Coal Mining Towns, 1920-1926." *Acadiensis* 23,2 (1994) pp.21-44 and Gail Campbell, "Disenfranchised but not Quiescent: Women Petitioners in New Brunswick in the mid-19th Century" *Acadiensis* 18,2 (1989) 22-54.
[83] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1989, Insert, n.p.
[84] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1989, Insert, n.p.
[85] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1972, p. 36.

and the Peggy's Cove Lighthouse. Photographs of soldiers in period uniform alongside

cannons and bearing muskets in battle reenactments, intimidating fortresses, pipe bands

in full Highland dress complete with kilt and sporran and the traditionally masculine garb

of the Highland regiments of the British army littered their pages, as did tough

Highlanders tossing the caber, rough, weather-beaten fishermen, and grubby coal miners

under the ground in long idle coal mines. Women, if they were shown, played the role of

helpmate.[86]

The portrayal of women in these guidebooks should not be surprising. Historians

of advertising and tourism promotion have demonstrated that throughout the second half

of the twentieth century, women were repeatedly depicted as helpmates and caregivers.

As Michael Dawson explains, in British Columbia's tourism promotional literature,

beginning in the 1950s, "the typical advertisement emphasized more and more the

familiar portraits of both the companionate wife and the family at play."[87] In her

examination of the image of women in Canadian mass circulation magazines between

1930 and 1970, Susannah J. Wilson found that by 1970, "Although most married

heroines [in the magazines] were housewives, some managed (with difficulty) juggling

career and marriage. Role-conflicts, however, were easily resolved in the world of

magazine fiction. If a choice was required, heroines inevitably gave precedence to the

role of housewife-mother."[88] Writing in the about the same period as the publication of

the *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* Joy Hendry sums up a common problem in the

presentation of a places' history when she remarks,

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[86] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, insert, n.p.

[87] Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004) p. 147.

[88] Susannah J. Wilson, "The Changing Image of Women in Canadian Mass Circulating Magazines, 1930-1970." *Atlantis.* Vol. 2 (1977) p. 43.

> [W]omen are awarded a place in history only if they are the wives of King's, nobility, poets (very occasionally), mistresses, or mothers of important men. Otherwise their existence goes unmarked.... But the non-remarking of individuals is a mere peccadillo in comparison to the non-remarking of the woman's world. Not only is the being of woman marginalized, her contribution to her family and community goes quite unnoticed.[89]

The interpretation of gender norms provided in *Canada's Ocean Playground*, the *Nova Scotia Guidebook* and the *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide* conformed to the ideals of the Folk. As McKay explains, one of the most important aspects of the concept of the Folk was the idea that "Nova Scotia, as a pre-modern society, was characterized by traditional 'family values' and gender ideals." At a time when traditional gender roles were being doubted, Nova Scotia was depicted as retaining "supposedly natural" gender relations,[90] an understanding of Nova Scotians that persisted in 1965-1972 and 1986-1990. In this enduring characterization, women's primary concerns were their families and deference to their husbands, while men were hyper-masculine, working in dangerous industrial occupations, combating foreign armies and the seven seas. A particularly hyper-masculinized description of the men of Judique illustrated this tendency: "Judique in years gone by was noted for its big men. These huge Highlanders regarded fighting as a pastime."[91] They enjoyed dancing as a pastime as well, and, in a combination of their step dancing and fighting talents, "their famous challenge at dances and gatherings was, 'Judique on the floor! Who'll put him off?'"[92] Unlike McKay's notion of the Folk in which fishermen and women were subjected to traditional gender idealization, the 1965-

[89] Joy Hendry, "Snug in the Asylum of Taciturnity: Women's History in Scotland," in Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley, eds. *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992): 131.
[90] McKay, p. 251.
[91] *Nova Scotia Tour Book*, 1964/65, 1965/66,1966/67, p.78; 1967/68, p.79; 1968/69, p. 84; 1971, p.85.
[92] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1986 p. 125; 1987 p. 127; 1988 p. 120; 1989 p. 129; 1990 p. 132.

1972 and 1986-1990 guidebooks held all Nova Scotians, regardless of occupation or

ethnicity, up to these ideals. Yet again, a New Folk had emerged after 1965.

The Romanticization of Industry

Part of the guidebooks' narratives about Nova Scotia's recent history was that of

its industrial heritage. As McKay explains, the fishing, shipbuilding and shipping

industries have been essentialized in Nova Scotia's promotional literature since the 1930s

as idyllic examples of a way of life in decline.[93] In her study on the marketing of Scottish

fishing villages as tourist destinations, Jane Nadel-Klein captures the essence of this

change: "[O]nce they were *fisher*folk' now they are becoming fisher*folk*, with all that the

"folk" metaphor implies about essentialized tradition, about authenticity and putative

antiquity at the end of the twentieth century."[94] In the guidebooks examined here, the

marine industries were also central to the history presented. The photographs of ships,

lobster boats, lighthouses, and fishermen were undoubtedly romanticized and

nostalgically presented as the Folk. As the 1972 edition of *Canada's Ocean Playground*

stated, "It is a living where you can still see fishermen using dories in which their fathers

fought the sea for days at the time."[95] The photographs in guidebooks published both

from 1965 to 1972 and 1986 to 1990, revealed calm waters and sunny days, not ten-foot

high waves in stormy weather. The fishermen in these photos were smiling and happy in

their work, not struggling under the weight of their nets or, conversely, worried, on return

from weeks at sea, that their nets were empty. The captions of the photographs were

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[93] McKay, p. 28.
[94] Jane Nadel-Klein, *Fishing for Heritage: Modernity and Loss Along the Scottish Coast* (Oxford: Berg, 2003) p.8.
[95] *Canada's Ocean Playground*, 1972, p.8.

similarly nostalgic: "Lobsters in Nova Scotia are still caught the traditional way - using

baited traps or pots to catch the bottom-dwelling crustaceans."[96] Another announced:

> The offshore lights wink and blink to Cape Islanders headin' for home ... There's treasure buried on this coast and ghosts of privateers ... This is the Lighthouse Route where generations have grown up telling stories about the sea... Come and discover the South Shore where the call of the sea is strong - give in to her siren song.[97]

The notion of the "Golden Age of Sail was often evoked. Yarmouth was described as

follows:

> Yarmouth's impressive shipping tradition is reflected in the exhibits of the Yarmouth County historical Society Museum on Colliers Street, which includes one of the largest collections of ship paintings in Canada ... The Canadian government's memorial to Nova Scotia shipbuilding is located at Yarmouth South ... During the Golden Age of Sail in the mid-nineteenth century, thousands of wooden vessels of all sizes were built in Nova Scotia bays and harbours. The ships and their men won fame and fortune on the seven seas. By 1870, Nova Scotia ranked fourth among ship owning countries.[98]

Also indicative of the romanticization of the fisher and sailing Folk, was the fact

that shipwrecks and sailors and fishermen lost at sea were described, including the case

of the story of the *Mary Celeste* out of Spencer's Island, whose crew and passengers

disappeared at sea in 1872.[99] The story at once related the dangers of the sea and told a

chilling story of the supernatural, thus romanticizing the tragedy:

> First named the *Amazon*, this boat was driven ashore at Cow Bay, Cape Breton Island. An American firm bought the vessel, repaired it and gave it the name *Mary Celeste*. In November 1872, it left New York bound for Genoa. Ten people were on board, including the captain's wife and daughter. Some weeks later, the Nova Scotia brig, *dei Gratia*, came upon the *Mary Celeste*. Noting her erratic sailing, the crew boarded her to discover that there was not a person aboard. All sail was set and not a rope was out of place. The sewing that the captain's wife had been doing lay beside her seat. Only the ship's papers and the chronometer

[96] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, insert, n.p.
[97] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1987, insert, n.p..
[98] *Doers' and Dreamer's Guide,* 1986 p.29; 1987 p. 30; 1988 p. 32; 1989 p. 37; 1990 p. 41.
[99] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 pp. 71-72; 1987 p. 72; 1988 p. 72; 1989 p. 82; 1990 p. 88.

were missing. There had not been any storm. The ship did not leak and there had not been any fire. It had not been looted by pirates. What did happen? Not one of the missing persons was ever found. The mystery of this Nova Scotia ship has become a classic among the strange tales of the sea.[100]

The danger of living by the sea in the eighteenth century was similarly recounted in references to the violence inflicted on Nova Scotia's population by privateers, such as that exacted on the town of Lockeport in 1778 when, when privateers attacked their settlement and because their men were away, "the women, opening fire with any available musket, drove off the raiders."[101] The romanticization of the hardships of the Folk was a new development beginning with these guidebooks. As we have seen, earlier guidebooks emphasized only the positive aspects of the life of the fisherfolk; these accounts highlighted the negative aspects as well, but in a highly wistful fashion.

Unlike that described by McKay, this new way of describing the folk life of the province was also prevalent in discussions of Nova Scotia's other industries besides fishing and sailing. Romantic and nostalgic, the 1972 edition of *Canada's Ocean Playground* reminisced about industrial toil and danger: "There are museums where you can see great inventions of man's mind or relive his terrible hardships as he ripped coal from the bowels of the earth far below the sea, using only hard tools and his own strength."[102] The difficulties, tragedies, and decline in industrial towns and villages were emphasized to a greater extent in guidebooks published between 1986 and 1990. The *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*'s discussion of the town of Springhill demonstrated this increased focus:

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[100] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 pp. 71-72; 1987 p. 72; 1988 p. 72; 1989 p. 82; 1990 p. 88.
[101] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p. 206; 1987 p. 216; 1988 p. 210; 1989 p. 219; 1990 p. 220.
[102] *Canada's Ocean Playground,* 1972, p.8.

> Large-scale coal mining began here in 1872 ... Since the great disaster in 1891 when 125 miners lost their lives, the population of Springhill has endured many tragedies. In October 1956, an explosion took 39 lives. The following year, a few days after Christmas, a fire wiped out a large section of the business district. In November 1958, a massive earth disturbance or "bump" in No. 2 pit claimed 76 lives. Nineteen men were miraculously saved following approximately a week's entombment. The main coal operations were then closed in the community.[103]

Other mining tragedies were also recounted, including the following one from the history

given of Moose River Mines:

> At Moose River Mines in 1936, three men were trapped by a cave-in at the 43.3 m (141-ft) level of an abandoned gold mine they were inspecting. Six days later, signals came through a diamond drill hole driven to the cave-in level by rescue crews. Finally, after more than 10 days underground, the men were reached; although one had died, the other two were safely rescued.[104]

Another story taken from the history of New Waterford addressed an equally common

occurrence in Nova Scotia's minefields – labour unrest:

> In 1925 the town was the site of a bitter strike that included armed battles between townspeople and British Empire Steel Company police. During a March on the Waterford Lake Power Plant, on June 11th, miner William Davis was shot and killed. A monument on Baker Street tells the story of this tragic event. June 11th is now celebrated as Miners Memorial Day throughout the coalfields of Cape Breton.[105]

The segment above was unique in that it was the only mention of the labour movement

and the sometimes violent clash between unions and mine management in any of the

guidebooks examined. Even the coal itself was romanticized: in the introduction to a

series of images of the Marconi Trail, the trail is described as "A rugged coastal road

around the coal cliffs of Cape Breton ... where history was made at Table Head and Port

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[103] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p. 70; 1987 p. 72; 1988 p. 71; 1989 p. 81; 1990 p. 84.
[104] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p. 168; 1987 p. 176; 1988 p. 167; 1989 p. 175; 1990 p. 183.
[105] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide,* 1986 p. 130; 1987 p. 133; 1988 p. 1126; 1989 p. 132; 1990 p. 140.

Morien. See where the wireless towers stood ... see where the coal outcroppings occur."
[106]

Yet, there were few photographs of the mining industry compared to the number of those of the province's marine and agricultural industries in the *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*. The few photographs of industrial labourers had as their subjects miners giving tours of former working coalmines at the popular Miners Museums in Glace Bay.[107] These photographs were not idealized, but still romanticized the difficult working conditions of these miners by presenting them as simple, manual labourers, tough and sturdy. The photos painted a picture of the quaint, rough-skinned miner, coveralls and face covered with coal dust, working in the same cramped, dank and dark environment, in the same way as had his ancestors. In the Folk formula illustrated by McKay, the coal miner was now at all part of the Folk; he worked within the capitalist system, belonged to the labour movement and often to political parties.[108] He did not lead the simple life. He could not be easily essentialized.[109] But, as we have seen, the miner did eventually become essentialized. He still belonged to the union and frequented the underground, but he did so as a tour guide in his *former* workplace. The miner was becoming extinct in the province beginning in the 1980s and therefore, perhaps, less threatening, more easily incorporated into a concept that nostalgically portrayed him as a relic from the past. The coal miner had become something of a symbol for Cape Breton like the fisherfolk were for the South Shore, or the Acadians for the Annapolis Valley.

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[106] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1989, insert, n.p.
[107] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1989-1990, insert, n.p.
[108] McKay, p.21.
[109] McKay, p. 242.

The agricultural industry, particularly farming, was also emphasized in these guidebooks as central to the history of Nova Scotia particularly in relation to the Annapolis Valley, Hants County, and the Northumberland Shore. The agricultural industry was not incorporated into the category of the Folk in earlier promotional materials. As McKay states, although both farmers and fisherfolk both led the "simple life" of the Folk, "only the fisherfolk could be seen as being even somewhat distinctive in the Canadian setting."[110] Like those concerning the marine industries, the photos and captions related to Nova Scotia's agricultural history were wistful and idealistic, containing flowery language and romantic metaphors. The caption under a photo of the Annapolis Valley's famous apple blossoms informed the reader, "Nova Scotia's rich and fertile Annapolis Valley - brimming with history and heritage - blooms every spring with orchards of apple blossoms to herald the start of another growing season."[111] Photographs of Ross Farm, a "living museum which recreated life on a 19th-century Nova Scotia farm" were idyllic. People were shown pleasantly going about their work and the hardships of life on a farm were overlooked; the farm is described as "[f]ascinating, friendly and fun."[112]

The text describing the province's agricultural industry was frequently idealized and celebrated the quaintness and charm of the past:

> Today Ross Farm is a provincial museum, designed as a farm of living agricultural history ... Restored to its early 19th-century appearance, the ... farm features farm animals, including oxen plows, horse-drawn wagons, a cooperage for making barrels, a blacksmith shop, a collection of farm implements and artifacts, and a gift shop. Regular demonstrations of bygone farm skills and crafts are offered ...[113]

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[110] McKay, p. 242.
[111] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1988, insert, n.p.
[112] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1986 p. 214; 1987 p. 225; 1988 p. 220; 1989 p. 228; 1990 p. 232.
[113] *Doers' and Dreamers' Guide*, 1986 p. 214; 1987 p. 225; 1988 p. 220; 1989 p. 228; 1990 p. 232.

Of course, early nineteenth-century firms in Nova Scotia did not have their own

blacksmith shops or gift shops, but what is most interesting about this description was its

sense of nostalgia for past practices. The agricultural festivals and events, including

numerous county exhibitions in the Windsor Pumpkin Festival, scattered throughout the

lists of festivals in these guidebooks further emphasized the importance the Department

of Tourism placed on agriculture, however nostalgically presented, to the history of Nova

Scotia. But ultimately, the characterization of coal mining, fishing and sailing, and

agriculture romanticized hardship, misery and disaster in the attempt to portray the men

of the Nova Scotian working class as rugged, robust and salty, but never dangerous or

cantankerous, willing to share their unpleasant experiences with visitors in the friendliest

way.

Conclusion

Whether or not the people of Nova Scotia were willing to answer questions about

their homes and way of life, the fact is that the publishers of the *Doers' and Dreamers'*

Guide wanted tourists to believe they were. They were depicted as leading the simple

life, whether as fishermen, coal miners, or farmers, Scottish, Mi'kmaq or Black, hardy

men or their docile wives. They were the Folk and because of their unique identity as a

mixture of all the best of the races that called Nova Scotia home, were inherently

welcoming and sociable, just as they were in the past, when life was uncomplicated by

the tribulations of modern society. But what effect might this depiction have had on the

groups that comprised the Folk? The conclusion will examine the implication of the

commodification of ethnic culture in the context of cultural exploitation and

appropriation.

Chapter Five: Conclusion
"Multiculturalism Means Business"

Beginning in the early 1970s, the tourism portfolio became important as a function of the Nova Scotia government in a way that was different than that in the past. In particular, tourism became fundamental to the state's economic development strategies at a time when the province's economy faced the some of its greatest crises since the Great Depression. At a time of severe economic stagnation, high unemployment, an oil crisis and recession, tourism was pushed as a means of rescuing the province from economic despair. Tourism was therefore considered a measure of government success or failure and a cause for government support or criticism. As Chapter One demonstrated, tourism became even more essential to the Nova Scotian state in this period than it had in the past so that when tourism revenue leveled off and did not increase as forecasted in the 1980s, the Conservative government in power commissioned studies and committees to develop strategies that would deliver the growth upon which the government and provincial economy depended. In this context, rendering a unique product in an extremely competitive market became fundamental to the maintenance of political power. As a result of this pressure, tourism promoters in the province's Department of Tourism continually strove to develop a product that could compete with others.

Beginning in 1974 when multiculturalism found its way onto the public agenda and culminating in the 1975 creation of MANS, certain civil servants within the Department of Tourism began to consider the utilization of the province's multicultural character in the department's marketing plan. But it was not until 1985 and the Select

Committee on Tourism's recommendation to exploit that multicultural character that multiculturalism and tourism were linked in the department's rhetoric and became evident in its promotional literature. The multicultural image disseminated by the Department of Tourism revealed a province with a uniquely hospitable population, one which retained all of the positive aspects of its summary ethnic groups in a distinctive collective identity. I have termed the formula on which this image was based as that of the New Folk. Like those described by Ian McKay, the New Folk preserved an older way of life, uncorrupted by contemporary social problems, transcending class divisions and conflict in exchange for solidarity. They were inherently conservative, and traditional, regularly practicing the customs; they were always presented in their historical context, in a romanticized setting. But unlike McKay's Folk, the New Folk were composed of people with diverse ethnicities. They were not solely Anglo-Celtic, but Mi'kmaq, Black, Portuguese and Italian. They were not merely fisherfolk, but miners, farmers and steel workers. Still, they were Folk, the product of essentialist concepts of the Nova Scotian ethnic population. But what were the implications of this commodification of ethnic culture by the Nova Scotia government? That question will be explored in the remainder of this thesis.

In 1986, the Conservative government under the leadership of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney held a conference on multiculturalism titled, "Multiculturalism Means Business." In a speech given at the conference, Mulroney unequivocally emphasized the potential economic benefits of multiculturalism. Although he focused mainly on the potential trade and investment links that could be forged because of the government's

nurturing, progressive stance a propos the nation's ethnic groups, his sentiments could be

applied to the tourism market:

> We, as a nation, need to grasp the opportunity afforded to us by our multicultural identity, to cement our prosperity with trade and investment links the world over and with a renewed entrepreneurial spirit at home ... In a competitive world, we all know that technology, productivity, quality, marketing, and price determine export success. But our multicultural nature gives us an edge in selling to that world.[1]

David Crombie, Secretary of State of Canada and the Minister in charge of

Multiculturalism was similarly explicit in maintaining that multiculturalism would be

good for business. In 1987 he wrote:

> Dear fellow Canadians,
> I am pleased to introduce a Bill which, upon passage, will become the world's first national Multicultural Act. It contains the government's new policy respecting multiculturalism, an essential component of our Canadian identity ... Its intention is to strengthen our unity, reinforce our identity, improve our economic prospects and give recognition to historical and contemporary realities ... Canadians are coming to realize that substantial social, economic and cultural benefits will flow from a strengthened commitment to multiculturalism.[2]

Whether Canadian multiculturalism helped forge better trading relations with other

countries or persuaded their citizens to visit, by the late 1980s, multiculturalism was

being associated with capitalism. Following Katharyne Mitchell and her study of

multiculturalism and capitalist investment in late-1980s Vancouver, I assert that the

utilization of the concept of multiculturalism in the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism's

promotional material had been politically appropriated to sell more of its "product." In

this way, its strategy of employing multiculturalism in tourism marketing can been

viewed as an attempt to designate the boundaries of multiculturalism - to determine who

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[1] Brian Mulroney, quoted in Katharyne Mitchell, "Multiculturalism, or the United Colors of Capitalism?" *Antipode* Vol. 25, no. 4 (1993) 282.
[2] David Crombie, quoted in Mitchell, p. 280.

and what is and is not multicultural - in order to fulfill the primary goal of capitalism – to make a profit.

As Rasheed Araeen purports, the appropriation of the symbols, ideals, and images of non-Western cultures by dominant, white society is part and parcel of the new primitivism, an outgrowth of neocolonialism. Rather than directly asserting its power over minority ethnic groups, the state celebrates so-called "ethnic" culture, misappropriates it by presenting it as innocent, simplistic, innocuous, and uses these reworked images for the purpose of edification. Such a process of neocolonialism is particularly evident within Western democracies, like Canada, which have received an influx of immigrants of non-European origin. The purpose of this neocolonialism is "to perpetuate [minorities'] subservience to the dominant white society."[3] According to proponents of this view, the purpose of the celebration of ethnic cultures by the dominant class is creating the appearance of inclusivity, while at the same time, reminding them how the west controls and gives value to their "primitive" culture.[4] In this way, the west controls the minority culture, and its past, by choosing what and how it is to be presented and commemorated.

The result of cultural appropriation of minority culture by the ruling class is often conservation of existent power relations, tending

> toward the freezing of concepts supportive to the interests of a dominant minority within that society. Ideas which are at first products of historical necessity are thus transformed into absolutes that are cited in justification of attempts to arrest the historical process, to maintain the status quo.[5]

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[3] Rasheed Araeen, "From Primitivism to Ethnic Arts," in Susan Hiller, ed. *The Myth of Primitivism*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1991) p. 159.
[4] Araeen, p. 164.
[5] Kenneth Coutts-Smith, "Some General Observations on the Problem of Cultural Colonialism," in *The Myth of Primitivism*, p. 15.

Coutts-Smith attributes this process to an assumption "so arrogant as to stagger the mind:
the assumption that the whole existing body of world culture from the very dawn of
human time must be conventionally understood and appreciated *in light of the European
visual experience of the last 500 years!*"[6] Such an assumption leads to the creation of
cultural stereotypes and essentialisms similar to those portrayed in Nova Scotia's tour
guides; these stereotypes provide fuel for the development of the ideas and images
encountered in instances of systemic racism. Although most often unconscious (one
seldom comes upon barefaced racial slurs in the mass media; open hostility to a particular
race or groups of races and overt discrimination are no longer legal nor acceptable in
Canada) and subtle, these forms of racism that constitute "tacitly accepted frameworks
that extol majority priorities at minority expense," are nonetheless bigoted and
debilitating. Described by Fleras as "polite" racism, the simplification and
essentialization found in the construction of the Folk maintained the racial hierarchy of
Nova Scotia. While not intentionally contrived to be racist, the idealization and
romanticization of the Folk can very much be attributed to the Department of Tourism's
preoccupation with revenue. Advertisements of Nova Scotia as a tourism destination
highlighted the quaint and nostalgic "to satisfy audience needs ... without much regard
for its effects on racial minorities."[7] In keeping with the evaluative framework of cultural
appropriation and neocolonialism, Nova Scotia's tourism promotion from 1986-1990
must be understood as yet another situation in which the capitalist value placed on market
forces worked side by side with the dominant white majority's quest for cultural
hegemony to produce debilitating images of the province's minority ethnic groups.

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[6] Kenneth Coutts-Smith, p. 29 (emphasis in original).
[7] Augie Fleras, "'Please Adjust your Set': Media and Minorities in a Post-Multicultural World," in J.W.
Berry and J.A. LaPonce, eds. Ethnicity *and Culture in Canada* (Toronto: U of T Press, 1994) pp. 278-279.

This process of cultural appropriation had the additional detriment of homogenizing the diversity of Nova Scotia's ethnic cultures. Homogenization and cultural leveling occurs when images that are un- or misrepresentative of a culture make it into the mainstream; when a group's history and heritage is adopted by the state in its identity-making functions, its present identity is changed as well.[8] According to this perspective, in mainstream heritage-making, similar tools are used to construct similar stories according to the theme assigned by the place's or group's cultural producers. The distinctive aspects of all cultural groups are then modified so that they fit into the prevailing image of that group or place. This process of modification leads to what Laenen terms "cultural leveling," and what is described by Lowenthal as cultural homogenization.[9] "Alterations and additions to the past strengthen the feeling that it is all essentially one," Lowenthal writes, "Popular historical icons ... come to stand not simply for a particular period or episode, but for the past as a whole, triggering a generalized sense of bygone days."[10]

Similarly, to become sufficiently "historical" or "authentic" to the visitor, cultural icons and images must to some extent correspond with modern stereotypes. Lowenthal employs the example of antiquities on display to explain this tendency: "[U]nless medieval structures are castellated, New England Colonial farmhouses furnished with candlesticks and spinning wheels ... they fall short of current expectations as relics; yet all these features are in fact anachronistic," just like the political innocence, family

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[8] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1985) p. 411.
[9] Marc Laenan, "Looking for the Future Through the Past," in David L. Uzzel, ed. *Heritage Interpretation: Volume 1, The Natural and Built Environment* (London and New York: Belhaven Press, 1989) p. 91; Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 351.
[10] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 350.

values, and traditional gender roles of the groups that constituted the Folk.[11] Raphael

Samuel similarly discusses the possibility for heritage making to be accused of

"projecting a unified set of meanings" about the past, bringing "the most disparate

material together under a single head."[12] In the case of Nova Scotia, the Chinese and

Scottish have very little in common, yet are both full fledged members of the Folk.

Besides hard work, Nova Scotian fishermen and farmers had little in common in either

their working schedules or geographic locales, but both are idealized and romanticized as

examples of the Folk. McKay finds this simplification distasteful. For him, the Folk were

portrayed as one-dimensional, "not complicated people with politics, histories,

sexualities, hopes, despairs, and futures."[13] In the context of post-modernity, prevalent

since the 1980s, he explains, in a time when inauthenticity and kitsch are expected in

tourism, the Folk fare even worse, having lost any sort of depth they once possessed.[14]

For McKay, the exclusion of cultural depth is an issue of ethics. To fail to acknowledge

the diversity and complexity of the Folk is disrespectful. By offering a more "respectful

and accurate" vision of the groups that made up the Folk, dominant Nova Scotian society

could make amends. "We can extend to the dead the respect they deserve, as people

living not a supposed 'simple Life,' but the complicated, difficult, interesting lives of

most human beings."[15]

  As Lowenthal reminds us, "no historical account ever corresponds with any actual

past." Firstly, no account can incorporate the entirety of the past because the past is

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[11] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 354.

[12] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Volume1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994): 245.

[13] Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) p. 109.

[14] McKay, p. 281.

[15] McKay, p. xvi.

virtually infinite. Secondly, no account can resalvage the past as it was simply because

the past was not an account, but a series of events and situations; "As the past no longer

exists, no account can ever be checked against it, but only against the other accounts of

that past; we judge its veracity by its correspondence with other reports, not with the

events themselves." Thirdly, and most important for the present analysis, is Lowenthal's

point that historical knowledge, however verifiable or well-known, is inherently

subjective. The narrator of a particular past imbibes her account with her own

predilections, goals, and ideologies to frame it in "present-day modes of thought."[16] As

Peter Fowler contends:

> The past … is emotionally neutral. It is neither exciting nor dull, good nor bad,
> worthwhile or worthless, without our intercession. These value-laden attributes
> come not from what has happened in or survived from the past; they come solely
> from our contemporary minds, … from that human ability to react which we
> identify in ourselves as an emotional response.[17]

Thus, in studying the past, the best we can hope for is a variety of interpretations which,

when combined, provide us with at least a well-rounded sense of history.

According to this perspective, a heritage-maker's contemporary values and

ideology come into play when he or she makes decisions about what to include and

exclude from his or her account. Since, as we seen, one cannot include everything, this

choice will ultimately reflect what the author or narrator deems most valuable and

important to that heritage. As a result, because disadvantaged groups – unskilled

workers, the unemployed, migrants, the poor and uneducated, indeed, any minority group

– do not generally participate in the heritage-making and selection process, their histories

and heritages are underrepresented or completely omitted from public displays. The

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[16] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, pp. 214-216.
[17] Peter Fowler, "Heritage: A Post-Modernist Perspective," in David L. Uzzel, ed. *Heritage Interpretation, Volume 1: The Natural and Built Environment*. (London and New York: Belhaven Press, 1989) p. 60.

audience of these displays rarely recognize or question the absence of such groups; only

the most astute will comprehend the display as a selection and interpretation drawn from

a variety of alternative meanings; most do not have access to or even know about these

options. Heritage makers and cultural producers have understandably been slow to

include in their presentation such issues as racism, class conflict, and gender

discrimination.[18] At the end of the day, profits and/or place promotion are their goals,

and such uncomplimentary blemishes on their images are not desirable for business.

As Samuel maintains, such capitalist ends are the bane of many critics of heritage.

The amalgamation of heritage and consumerism in the commodification of the past is

troubling to many critics. "Arguably it is not the traditionalism but the modernism and

more specifically the postmodernism of heritage which offends," Samuel explains:

> Aesthetes condemn it for being bogus: a travesty of the past, rather than a true
> likeness, let alone ... an original. In other words, in spite of the charge that
> heritage is imprisoning the country in a time-warp, and the accusation that it is
> sentimentalizing the past, heritage is being attacked not because it is too historical
> but because it is not historical enough. It lacks authenticity. It is a simulation
> pretending to be the real thing. It is not because heritage is too reverent about the
> past that it provokes outrage, but on the contrary the fact that, in the eyes of the
> critics at least, it seems quite untroubled when it is dealing with replicas and
> pastiche.[19]

It is the alteration of the past, making it more appealing to the senses of the postmodern

tourist in search of kitsch and the ersatz, that offends the critics. As in McKay's critique

of the inaccurate, simplistic and romanticized construction of the Folk, critics of heritage

image making promote the creation of more complicated, various, and plebeian accounts

of the past.

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[18] Gaby Porter, "Putting your House in Order: Representations of Women and Domestic Life," in *The Museum Time Machine*, p. 104.
[19] Samuel, p. 266.

As one can see, the public exhibition of group heritage is a contentious subject within academic circles; however, in the public, it is not obvious that citizens and visitors recognize the problematic issues surrounding heritage construction. One is not often, if ever, privy to criticisms of using heritage in the tourism industry, at least not from the majority population. But, as we observed in Chapter Two in the case of the Acadians, when a group's heritage is omitted or misrepresented, they certainly make their displeasure known. Here we saw an example of how groups can resist government action. While government can certainly exploit group heritage for its own ends, these groups do not fail to recognize or accept these representations. Similarly, they can be agents in the image-making process, working to publicize their images for their own objectives. Whatever the case, in this way, the critiques described in this chapter have value outside of academia. They recount real problems faced by real people in their everyday lives. And the variety of perspective they reflect demonstrates that historical revision is live and well in the field of heritage and tourism studies.

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Abbreviations
NSARM: Nova Scotia Archives and Resource Management

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