

**TOURIST AND HOST PERSPECTIVES ON MI'KMAW CULTURAL TOURISM
IN NOVA SCOTIA**

by

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism industry in Nova Scotia and identifies how it is meeting the demands and needs of both tourists and the Mi'kmaw people. Surveys assessed tourist interests, motivations, expectations, and satisfaction in participating in authentic Mi'kmaw tourism. Subsequently, interviews with Mi'kmaw people involved or interested in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism elicited ideas about cultural tourism development and its future sustainability. The results indicate a high interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities and that tourists' age, education level and place of origin influenced their level of interest in these activities. Both tourists and Mi'kmaw people saw educational and authentic experiences as the most important features of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism and interview participants spoke about the positive effects of tourism in terms of greater economic development, cultural awareness, and pride. Although in its infancy, there was a positive vision for the sustainability of the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

MCTN Mi'kmaw Cultural Tourism Network

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Global tourism is a USD 3.6 trillion industry that affects innumerable communities by providing economic benefits and by fostering cultural interactions on a daily basis (Canadian Heritage, 2006). In 2000 in Canada alone, international and domestic tourists spent CAD 55 billion comprising 5% of Canada's GDP (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). According to the World Tourism Organization, in 2000, Canada ranked seventh on the list of the world's top 15 tourism destinations and comprised an estimated 2.9% of the world market share of total international tourists (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2003). Furthermore, in Nova Scotia, tourism attracts over two million visitors per year generating CAD 1.3 billion annually and directly and indirectly employing 33,000 Nova Scotians (Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage & Nova Scotia Tourism Partnership Council, 2006). These statistics show the economic power of the tourism industry as well as its ability to create social and cultural connections worldwide.

Tourism is defined as "the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and the facilities created and services provided to cater to their needs" (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p.1). Tourism can provide both costs and benefits to greater society and to the host community. Common costs include overcrowding, problems resulting from the seasonality of tourism activities (particularly true in summer in Nova Scotia), pressure on resources resulting in the degradation of the cultural and natural environment, and social conflicts within the host community (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2003; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Tourism can also provide benefits including increased employment opportunities, the development of infrastructure, the diversification of economy, and cross-cultural interactions leading to greater understanding and tolerance of cultural differences (Colton & Harris, 2007; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2003; Hinch & Butler, 2007; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Specifically, the benefit of economic prosperity as a result of tourism enables a higher quality of life for a community by increasing its competitiveness (Crouch & Ritchie, 1999). Ultimately tourism can provide benefits to both the economy and society and is seen as a "...sustainable activity that provides a

symbiotic relationship between cultural survival and economic success” (McIntosh, 2004, p.1).

A particular type of tourism, *cultural tourism*, one of the fastest growing sub-categories of tourism, involves “...tourists experiencing and having contact with a host population and its cultural expressions, experiencing the uniqueness of culture, heritage and the characters of its place and people” (Hager, 2003; Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p.261). Cultural tourists demand sophisticated authentic experiences and seek cultural learning experiences (Boyd, 2002; Mason, 2004; Richards 2007). Likewise, issues of authenticity and cultural education are prevalent in a subset of cultural tourism called *Aboriginal tourism* where Aboriginal people are involved in sharing their culture and traditions with tourists (Chang, Wall, & Tsai, 2005; Hinch & Butler, 2007).

The concept of authenticity can be problematic for the development and marketing of cultural and Aboriginal tourism. Cultural tourism activities are sometimes staged and involve the manipulation of traditional and historical culture, a phenomenon known as staged authenticity (Dyer, Aberdeen, & Schuler, 2003). This threatens the accurate and authentic portrayal of traditional and contemporary lifestyles. The authenticity of cultural and Aboriginal tourism activities must thus be closely scrutinized to understand the degree to which tourists are participating in authentic cultural tourism experiences.

Aboriginal tourism can act as a means for cultural preservation and address economic issues within Aboriginal communities (Karhakeron Diabo, 2003). In the case of the Maori Indigenous people of New Zealand, tourism has brought economic prosperity and growth, providing them with independence and greater autonomy over their communities (McIntosh, 2004). It is stated that the potential for a successful Aboriginal tourism sector in Canada is great and that “If Aboriginal people were to share in the tourism industry in proportion to their population, Aboriginal tourism would be a \$1.6 billion industry, providing 30,000–40,000 jobs” (Doucette, 2000 in Notzke 2004, p.32).

Although economic prosperity is viewed as the impetus for the tourism industry, economic development and job creation are not the sole benefits that will potentially help to resolve certain problems in Aboriginal communities. Tourism's ability to promote community empowerment, wellbeing, and learning will also contribute to its success (Colton & Harris, 2007; Hinch & Butler, 2007). Ultimately, Aboriginal people will need to look within their communities to determine what it is they wish to share with tourists, what community and tourist wishes can be addressed through tourism, and what long-term plans for sustainable tourism development can be established (Karhakeron Diabo, 2003). This thesis project examines how Aboriginal tourism is being developed in Nova Scotia and how the tourist and Mi'kmaw perspectives can contribute to a more sustainable development of the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector.

1.2 Problem Statement

The Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia state the need for increased visibility of their identity that includes their culture, language, and history as well as their traditional ties to the environment (Voluntary Planning Heritage Strategy Task Force, 2006). The invisibility of their identity fosters stereotypes of their culture as being archaic and savage, and thus there is a need for Mi'kmaw communities to share their culture with others in order to dispel inaccurate images of their culture (VPHSTF, 2006).

Mi'kmaw cultural tourism provides the Mi'kmaq with opportunities to present their culture to tourists visiting Nova Scotia, as well as for economic development within their own communities. Both the provincial government and the Mi'kmaw people highlight the importance of developing both Mi'kmaw culture and tourism industries simultaneously. The growth of the tourism and culture sectors is emphasized by the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage (2007) which states that:

"The tourism and culture sectors are critical to Nova Scotia's success. Each sector generates export dollars for the province: tourism through visitation and culture when our product is successful in export markets. These two sectors, while independent in action, rely in part, (sic) on each other for success. Culture product can draw tourists to Nova Scotia and, while here, tourists purchase both tourism and culture product. The department will focus efforts on growing the potential of these two sectors". (p.15)

Notzke (2004), who has conducted research in Aboriginal tourism in southern Alberta and in the Canadian Arctic, similarly states that, "There can be no sustainable product without a sustainable culture" (p.47). Thus, the *Culture and Heritage Working Committee of the Mi'kmaq-Nova Scotia-Canada Tripartite Forum* has worked in collaboration with the provincial government to determine how Mi'kmaw culture and heritage can be interpreted and developed through tourism opportunities (Nova Scotia Department of Tourism, Cultural and Heritage, 2007).

Although the Mi'kmaq wish to share their culture and traditions with their youth as well as tourists, little has been done to develop and market a successful Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector in Nova Scotia (VPHSTF, 2006). Therefore, this research explores the dimensions of a sustainable cultural tourism industry that addresses tourist demands, the economic development needs of Mi'kmaw communities, and the preservation of cultural integrity for future generations of Mi'kmaq and Nova Scotia tourists.

1.3 Research Purpose and Objectives

A broad rationale for this research rests in its ability to satisfy both academic and practical purposes. When studying the social implications of tourism, Wall and Mathieson (2006) outline a few pertinent questions: what are tourist demands, motivations, attitudes and expectations for particular tourism activities; what are the impacts of tourism on the destination communities as well as the form of community organisation surrounding this activity; and finally what are the effects of the interaction between the tourist and the host? Most of these questions have been extensively studied, but, Ryan and Huyton (2002) expose a clear gap where there is a need for information on the Aboriginal perspective of tourism as well as the opinions of tourists interested in Aboriginal tourism. Ryan and Huyton (2000) further indicate the need for "...sensitivity, co-operation and an understanding of what it is people require both from those who will bestow their knowledge, and those who seek that knowledge" (p. 26) to develop and market an Aboriginal tourism product successfully. Moreover, much research has been conducted on the efforts to develop Aboriginal tourism opportunities in communities on the western coast of Canada as well as in the Arctic while little research has been conducted on the efforts of the Atlantic Canadian Mi'kmaq.

Ultimately, my research contributes to the body of knowledge on Atlantic Canadian Aboriginal tourism and attempts to address the identified gaps in the literature that call for additional research regarding the Aboriginal perspective of cultural tourism as well as the opinions of tourists.

On a more practical level, the Mi'kmaw people of Nova Scotia as well as the Mi'kmaq Cultural Tourism Network (MCTN) indicate in a Strategic Action Plan the need for research and proper marketing of the tourism sector (Mi'kmaq Cultural Tourism Network, 2007). The MCTN (2007) identifies in its Strategic Action Plan two primary goals: "*Facilitate cultural growth and sharing within and among the thirteen First Nation communities across Nova Scotia*" (p.15) and "*Build a strong and competitive industry sector with high quality Mi'kmaq tourism experiences*" (p.22). The MCTN believes that culture and tourism sectors should grow alongside each other, and to achieve these goals, emphasis is placed on the need for research that focuses on what Mi'kmaw products are being sought by tourists and what needs to be done to meet these demands as well as properly market the cultural tourism industry (MCTN, 2007). It is stated that no comprehensive research has been done on the development of the cultural tourism sector involving the Mi'kmaw people of Nova Scotia, so this research serves to contribute to the limited body of knowledge as well as achieve particular goals and objectives outlined in the MCTN's Strategic Action Plan (MCTN, 2007).

As a result of a meeting with members of the MCTN where the above-stated goals and objectives of the Strategic Action Plan were discussed, I chose to undertake research on the development of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism in Nova Scotia. It was recognized that the research findings would contribute to Mi'kmaw people's development of a successful and robust cultural tourism sector in Nova Scotia as well as address particular gaps in the scholarly literature.

The purpose of this study is:

To examine the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism industry in Nova Scotia and specifically identify how the industry is meeting the demands and needs of both tourists and the Mi'kmaw people.

Specific objectives that support the main purpose of this research are to:

- 1) Assess tourist interest, motivations, expectations, and satisfaction in participating in authentic Mi'kmaw tourism activities.
- 2) Examine the ideas, perceptions, and components of cultural tourism development from the Mi'kmaw perspective.
- 3) Provide recommendations on improving the chances for success of a Mi'kmaw cultural tourism industry that addresses the interests of tourists and the Mi'kmaw people.

1.4 Research Questions

The primary research question is:

What types of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities and experiences are tourists seeking in Nova Scotia and how can this knowledge contribute to the Mi'kmaw people's ideas of successful cultural tourism development in their communities?

To answer this research question, I asked tourists:

- 1) How would they like to experience Mi'kmaw culture?
- 2) What are their interests and attitudes towards these types of activities?
- 3) What are their motivations for participating in Mi'kmaw tourism?
- 4) How satisfied were they with any experiences they've had?

I also asked the Mi'kmaw people involved and/or interested in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism:

- 1) What effects do tourism and tourists have on their community and culture?
- 2) What are their ideas on marketing Mi'kmaw cultural tourism?
- 3) What are the most important features of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism?
- 4) What do they wish to share and what do they wish not to share?
- 5) What are their views on the sustainability of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism?

1.5 Research Design

To conduct the research, I first engaged in an extensive review of the tourism literature, including research on cultural and Aboriginal tourism as well as research on the Mi'kmaw people and their culture. Methods used in fieldwork included the administration of tourist surveys and interviews with particular Mi'kmaw people.

Specifically, surveys were administered in person to tourists in the summer of 2008:

- 1) At *Nova Scotia Visitor Information Centres* (n=394) in Amherst and Halifax to gauge their interest and attitudes towards participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities;

and

- 2) At existing Mi'kmaw tourism destinations (n=111) in Nova Scotia (the *Bear River Heritage and Cultural Centre*, the *Glooscap Heritage Centre*, *Kejimikujik National Park* and the *Millbrook Pow Wow*) to gauge motivations, satisfaction, and reactions to their Mi'kmaw tourism experience.

Interviews (n=11) were conducted in late summer and fall of 2008 with participants who presently work or have worked in, or have a particular connection to, Mi'kmaw cultural tourism at the selected study sites.

Field notes were used to support the data gathered from the surveys and interviews. Information about the study sites, data collection, personal reactions, and participant characteristics were written down in field notes following the administration of surveys and interviews to gain a better understanding of the context in which the data were collected and responses were made. The field notes also served as a reminder of particular events and preliminary ideas on themes and potential codes later incorporated in data interpretation.

Data from the tourist surveys were first input in an Excel spreadsheet and further analyzed using STATA SE9 (Stata Corp LT., 2007) and SPSS 16.0 (SPSS Inc., 2007) statistical software packages. Interview data were transcribed and coded into thematic categories with the help of the Nvivo 8 (QSR International Pty. Ltd., 2008) qualitative data management software.

Ethical considerations for conducting research with the Mi'kmaq and tourists required the attainment of permission from *Mi'kmaq Ethics Watch* which sets principles and protocols for research involving Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq, the *Dalhousie Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board*, and *Parks Canada*.

1.6 Study Sites

Kejimikujik National Park and National Historic Site, the *Bear River Heritage Cultural Centre*, the *Glooscap Heritage Centre*, and the *Millbrook Pow Wow* were chosen as the Mi'kmaw study sites for the research. These sites, located in mainland Nova Scotia, display Mi'kmaw culture from different perspectives. Guided tours in the Park provide a cultural eco-tourism experience, the cultural centres provide a controlled-facility cultural tourism experience, and the Pow Wow is an opportunity to experience a traditional Mi'kmaw community event. Also, these sites offer a comparison between off-reserve and on-reserve Mi'kmaw cultural tourism experiences. The following sections provide a more in-depth presentation of the Mi'kmaw study sites.

1.6.1 Kejimikujik National Park and National Historic Site

Kejimikujik National Park and National Historic Site of Canada is located in southwestern Nova Scotia and comprises 381 km² of pine, red-maple, and hemlock stands, waterways, trails, campgrounds, swimming and skiing opportunities, and a great diversity of animal and plant species (Parks Canada, 2007a). The park is also rich in Mi'kmaw culture and tradition dating back five thousand years (Mi'kmaq Spirit, 2007). Petroglyphs carved into rock outcrops, burial grounds, fishing and hunting areas, portages and trails, and seasonal gathering camps exemplify the historic Mi'kmaw presence in the park (Friends of Keji Cooperating Association, 2002). In recognition of its historical significance, the park was designated a National Historic Site of Canada in 1997 and was deemed an Aboriginal Cultural Landscape in 2000 (FKCA, 2002). An Aboriginal Cultural Landscape, defined by Parks Canada, is:

“...a place valued by an Aboriginal group (or groups) because of their long and complex relationship with that land. It expresses their unity with the natural and spiritual environment. It embodies their traditional knowledge of spirits, places, land uses, and ecology.” (Parks Canada, 2004, par. 1)

Today, tourists visiting the park can observe Mi'kmaw culture in the form of petroglyphs and ceremonial grounds as well as participate in contemporary park activities such as Mi'kmaw guided tours that seek to educate tourists on Mi'kmaw heritage (Canadian Heritage Parks Canada, 1995; Parks Canada, 2007a).

1.6.2 Bear River First Nation Heritage and Cultural Centre

Bear River First Nation is located in southwestern Nova Scotia between Digby and Annapolis counties and has a population of approximately 100 people (MacDonald, 2000). The *Bear River First Nation Heritage and Cultural Centre* is a community focal point that serves to “enhance awareness and understanding of Mi’kmaw heritage and culture among youth, community members, neighboring communities and visitors, through interactive and interpretive programs, services, exhibits and experiences” (Bear River First Nation Heritage and Cultural Centre, 2005a, par.1). The Centre contains a Heritage Gallery that commemorates Chiefs and Elders and displays Mi’kmaw artefacts (BRFNHCC, 2005b). There is also an interpretive exhibit that tells the story of the Mi’kmaq of Bear River as well as an outdoor Medicine Trail that allows visitors to participate in a holistic walk that identifies important Mi’kmaw healing plants (BRFNHCC, 2005c; BRFNHCC, 2005g). Due to its proximity to rivers and to the Bay of Fundy, the birch-bark canoe is central to the identity of the Bear River First Nation. The Centre provides an opportunity for tourists to take part in a canoe-making demonstration at the encampment site (BRFNHCC, 2005d). This encampment is a recreated pre-contact site that displays a wigwam, a cooking fire, a sweat lodge and a food/skin-drying rack and is available for visitation during summer (BRFNHCC, 2005e). The Centre also promotes oral tradition by hosting plays, music performances, and storytelling for children (BRFNHCC, 2005f).

1.6.3 Glooscap Heritage Centre

The *Glooscap Heritage Centre* is owned and operated by the Millbrook First Nation located near Truro, Nova Scotia, off Highway 102. Millbrook First Nation reserve is home to 1,345 people and has made concerted efforts to develop further its economic base, as evidenced by the Truro Power Centre that is home to the *Glooscap Heritage Centre* as well as a movie theatre, a hotel, several restaurants and other commercial ventures (Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage, 2006; Office of Aboriginal Affairs, 2007). The cultural centre is named after Glooscap (Kluscap), a primary figure in Mi’kmaw legends. Glooscap, meaning ‘man from nothing’, was said to have been very powerful, having the ability to shape the environment and animals around him (Glooscap Heritage Centre, 2007a). The centre displays a 40-foot statue of Glooscap as well as

exhibits on several topics of Mi'kmaw culture, notably arts and crafts (e.g. birch-bark canoe, basketry, quillwork, beadwork, ceremonial clothing), language, past and present Millbrook First Nation, the Mi'kmaw relationship with the land, and others (Glooscap Heritage Centre, 2007d). A focal point of the centre is the multimedia presentation where Glooscap guides visitors through the history of the Mi'kmaq and the challenges and achievements they have endured (Glooscap Heritage Centre, 2007b). The centre is also home to a Visitor Information Centre serving tourists travelling the Glooscap Trail running along the Bay of Fundy as well as a gift shop selling Mi'kmaw arts and crafts (Glooscap Heritage Centre, 2007c).

1.6.4 Millbrook Pow Wow

Every summer, as part of the *Mi'kmaw Pow Wow Trail*, Millbrook First Nation hosts the *Millbrook Pow Wow* where community members, craftspeople, entertainers and tourists gather to experience traditional Mi'kmaw drumming, dancing, and singing (Millbrook First Nation, 2008). The Pow Wow is not a competition among dancers but rather an opportunity for community to gather and celebrate culture. Each participant in the Pow Wow plays a particular role and specific songs and dances hold spiritual significance. "A Pow Wow is a unique event signified by social exchanges, cultural sharing and ceremonious rituals. The Pow Wow is a time of teaching, learning, singing, dancing, feasting, sharing and healing" (Benwah, 2005, par.6).

1.7 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is organised into five chapters. Following this chapter, Chapter 2 includes a brief introduction of the Mi'kmaw relationship with the environment and how this is transmitted in Aboriginal tourism. It also includes an inventory of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities in Nova Scotia. Chapters 3 and 4 are presented in journal-article format including their own abstract, introduction, methods, results, discussion, conclusion and reference list. Specifically, chapter 3 examines the demand for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities in Nova Scotia from the tourist perspective using data from the surveys administered at the Nova Scotia Visitor Information Centres. Chapter 4 studies the Mi'kmaw perspective, focusing on the reactions from cultural tourists at Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites as well as the views of Mi'kmaw people involved in tourism at these

sites. This chapter makes use of data from the tourist surveys administered at the Mi'kmaw sites in Bear River, Kejimikujik National Park, and Millbrook First Nation as well as interviews with Mi'kmaw people at these sites. Chapter 5 provides conclusions based on the findings in chapters 3 and 4 and puts forth recommendations for future development and sustainability of the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector in Nova Scotia.

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CHAPTER 2 MI'KMAW CULTURE, THE ENVIRONMENT, AND TOURISM

2.1 Mi'kmaw Relationship with Environment and Sacred Sites

A Mi'kmaw relationship with the landscape is one based on spirituality and respect. Certain places on the landscape hold high significance to the Mi'kmaw people. These sites, often sacred, serve as anchors to Mi'kmaw historical culture and promote cultural reproduction (Ross, 2005; Zedeno, Austin, & Stoffle, 1997). Ross (2005) presents the importance of protecting Mi'kmaw sacred sites stating that:

"Whatever endangers their sacred sites threatens to uproot and thus harm their spirituality and religion. But their spirituality and religion are integral parts of First Nations cultures. Thus, whatever endangers their sacred sites undermines their cultures." (p.3)

Henderson (1995) provides a basis for understanding the Mi'kmaw worldview, one that places *land* at the centre of one's notion of self. Values of respect and sharing are associated with the land as it is viewed as a common resource to which the community belongs. Mi'kmaw people do not own the land, but belong to a particular space. Ceremonies on the landscape promote the cultural integrity of the land and reinforce an emotional link between the people and the natural environment. Further, Henderson (1995) describes the visible and invisible realms (described as Lodges) in which the Mi'kmaw people understand their experiences: the Deep Earth Lodge, the Root Lodge, the Water Lodge, the Earth Lodge, the Ghost Lodge, the Sky Lodge, the Light Lodge, and the Ancestors' Lodge. At the centre of this sacred realm is the complex and dynamic Living Lodge that is understood in English to be the *natural environment*. To emphasize the sacredness and spiritual links of the Mi'kmaw people to the Living Lodge, Henderson (1995) states that it "...is a spiritual realm, a sacred space; it is a place for reverence and respect that reveals a natural truth and way of life...this space is understood to have the power to shape the identities of the people who live there" (p.228). Thus, the preservation of sacred sites is crucial to the renewal of traditions and the perpetuation of Mi'kmaw culture for future generations.

Ranging in public access, several natural features and landscapes in Nova Scotia hold particular cultural significance for the Mi'kmaw people. For example, places such as the Glooscap Trail along the Bay of Fundy, petroglyph sites in Bedford and

Kejimikujik National Park and National Historic Site, a Palaeo-Indian archeological dig in Debert, Kluscap Mountain, and the Chapel Island National Historic Site in Cape Breton are all sacred to the Mi'kmaw people. Due to the location of some of these sacred sites in areas that cross federal, provincial, or native reserve jurisdictional boundaries, they can be difficult to protect and manage. Pablo (2001) underlines the difficulty of protecting culturally significant resources when they fall under jurisdictions other than Aboriginal. Aboriginal people today are making efforts to protect their sacred places from harmful pressures, particularly increased urbanization and economic development threatening the integrity of these natural and cultural resources (Doyle-Bedwell & Cohen, 2001). As previously stated, pressure on these resources and landscapes ultimately threatens the very existence of the Mi'kmaw people (Doyle-Bedwell & Cohen, 2001; Henderson, 1995; MacKenzie & Dalby, 2003). Several Aboriginal people have recognized these threats, notably Alex Denny, the Mi'kmaq Grand Council Grand Captain, who emphasized the need for the Mi'kmaq and all Aboriginal people to protect their resources (Augustine, Turnbull, Allen, & Ward, 2007; Bastien, 1993; Doyle-Bedwell & Cohen, 2001; Nelson, 2006; Pablo, 2001; Riding In, Seciwa, Harjo, Echo-Hawk, & Tsosie, 2004; Ross, 2005). Thus there is a need for consultation and understanding that will allow for sacred sites to be effectively preserved for future generations (Doyle-Bedwell & Cohen, 2001; Mackenzie & Dalby, 2003).

The Aboriginal tourism sector displays a diversity of tourism activities where cultural eco-tourism experiences and not only staged cultural experiences (e.g. performances, singing and dancing) are offered (Carr, 2007). Tourists participating in Aboriginal tourism activities are seeking cultural and natural experiences and recognize that a way to connect with nature is through Aboriginal people (Carr, 2007; Zorilla Martinez, 2003). Likewise, Aboriginal tourism allows the Mi'kmaq to share with tourists their sense of identity and connection to the environment and particular sacred sites along the landscape. Moreover, in light of the need for protection of the environment and sacred sites, Aboriginal tourism can serve to highlight and preserve particular significant sites for the Mi'kmaw people (e.g. petroglyph sites in Kejimikujik National Park). Ultimately, an Aboriginal tourism experience, and one in Nova Scotia involving the Mi'kmaq, is one that is deeply rooted in both culture and the environment, as the Aboriginal link to the environment is a part of their cultural identity.

2.2 Aboriginal Tourism Development and the Inventory of Mi'kmaw Cultural Tourism in Nova Scotia

2.2.1 The Development of Community-Based Aboriginal Tourism

Developing Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities using a community-based approach requires adherence to certain values, notably the Mi'kmaw worldview of interconnectedness, the Mi'kmaw perception of land, time and space, and the concepts of *Netukulimk* (environmental sustainability), cooperation and unity, democracy and consensus, family, the circle, and oral tradition (MacDonald, 2000). All of these concepts and values, discussed in detail by MacDonald (2000), are central to successful community-based development projects. Further, authors such as Colton and Harris (2007) draw upon Bell's (1999) model of community-based development focusing on economic development, empowerment, learning and wellness of the community. This model shifts away from a sole focus on the economic development benefits of community-based projects and identifies other features such as empowerment, wellness, and learning which all contribute to the social sustainability of a community. Thus, a *nation-building approach* is emphasized over a *jobs and income approach* in order to foster a proud and sustainable Aboriginal community (Colton & Harris, 2007).

Self-determination is said to be one of the pillars of Aboriginal community development (Colton & Harris, 2007). Community-based development projects, notably cultural tourism projects, allow community members to be directly involved in all decision-making processes: determining problems, project planning, and producing solutions. This bottom-up approach replaces traditional government-based decision-making systems that can sometimes be rigid and non-participatory. It is stated that "Indigenous peoples in Canada are presently engaged in a process of cultural rediscovery and are eager to rebuild their communities' foundations" (Friesan 1997 in MacDonald, 2000, p.39). Thus, community-based projects address the goals of achieving socio-economic prosperity as well as spiritual and cultural revitalization in Aboriginal communities.

A major theme of community-based development is that of *community ownership and responsibility*, particularly during the planning stages when community commitment

is important. MacDonald (2000) identifies a strengthening of community self-esteem as a result of ownership and responsibility in community-based projects. Likewise, Zorilla Martinez (2003) demonstrates how Aboriginal tourism in the context of the west coast Haida in Gwaii Haanas can be a source of pride for the local community. This theme of Aboriginal ownership leading to community empowerment and increased self-esteem is one that is also central to the study of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. Several authors suggest that Aboriginal ownership, responsibility, and empowerment are essential to the success of cultural tourism operations (Byrne, 1993; Mauze, 2003; Williams & Richter, 2002). In the context of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism, properly developed community-based tourism is likewise essential to its success and sustainability.

As Aboriginal communities are seeking to revive their culture and increase economic development, cultural tourism can directly address these particular needs. Specifically, cultural tourism and ecotourism in Mi'kmaw communities can be instrumental in providing jobs and educating both the Mi'kmaq and tourists. Moreover, as the Mi'kmaq have emphasized the need for the culture and tourism sectors to grow simultaneously, concerted efforts will be needed to increase cultural knowledge within the Mi'kmaw community before sharing it with tourists.

2.2.2 Mi'kmaw Cultural Interpretation Centres

An inventory of the existing Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities points to the sector's infancy yet shows a promising future. Mi'kmaw cultural interpretation centres are presently the primary way in which Mi'kmaw culture is shared with tourists. The three such centres in existence in Nova Scotia are the *Bear River Heritage and Cultural Centre* (established in 2003) in Bear River First Nation, the *Glooscap Heritage Centre* (established in 2006) located in Truro and run by the Millbrook First Nation, and the *Wagmatcook Heritage and Cultural Centre* (established in 2001) in Wagmatcook First Nation in Cape Breton. These centres present information on past and present ways of Mi'kmaw life, traditions, legends, spirituality, arts and crafts, food, and Mi'kmaq-environment relationships. The centres also offer a combination of interactive activities such as educational films, storytelling, drumming, dancing, theatre, hands-on arts and crafts workshops, and children's programs. They often serve as a gathering place for the community as well as a host location for conferences during the tourism off-season.

There also exist non-Mi'kmaq museums in Nova Scotia that highlight Mi'kmaq culture in various forms, notably the *Museum of Natural History* in Halifax and the *Rossignol Cultural Centre* in Liverpool.

2.2.3 Mi'kmaq Eco-Tourism

A few Mi'kmaq eco-tourism experiences also exist for the visiting public. Mi'kmaq programs in *Kejimikujik National Park and National Historic Site* are the primary example. Petroglyphs carved into rock outcrops, burial grounds, fishing and hunting areas, traditional eel weirs, portages and trails, and seasonal gathering camps exemplify the historic Mi'kmaq presence in the park (FKCA, 2002). The park offers guided tours where Mi'kmaq interpreters take visitors on a tour of the petroglyphs, tell Glooscap's legends, demonstrate past tool-making skills, and visit a Mi'kmaq encampment site (Canadian Heritage Parks Canada, 1995; Parks Canada, 2007a). The protection of cultural resources and sacred sites (e.g. the petroglyphs, burial grounds, ceremonial sites) within the Park is central to the staff's goals, evidence being the daily patrolling of Mi'kmaq burial grounds and petroglyph sites in the Park.

Stone Bear encampment site in Bear River First Nation is another example of a truly unique Mi'kmaq eco-tourism experience where visitors have the opportunity to participate in a holistic and spiritual Mi'kmaq experience during an overnight retreat. The site was established to cater to local youth and community members but is also open to other visitors. The experience includes activities such as learning to make Mi'kmaq arts and crafts, participating in wilderness walks discussing medicinal plants and environmental sustainability, campfires, singing, storytelling, sweat lodges, and sharing circles (Meuse, n.d.).

2.2.4 Mi'kmaq Archeological Tourism

A recently developed and marketed Mi'kmaq cultural experience allows tourists to visit and learn about Mi'kmaq archeological sites. Notably, *Mi'kmawey Debert* was designated a *Special Place* in the 1970s under the *Special Places Protection Act* of Nova Scotia as well as a *National Historic Site of Canada*. It is the only Palaeo-Indian site in Nova Scotia and one of few located in the previously glaciated portion of North America (Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, 2007; Nova Scotia Museum, 1996). As a

result of the archeological findings, 130 hectares of land at the Debert site (located 20 km west of Truro) have been protected as well as an adjacent 520 hectares of land managed by the Department of Natural Resources Tree Breeding Centre (Nova Scotia Museum, 1996). In 1989, two additional archeological sites were discovered on the land occupied by the Tree Breeding Centre; these sites are now called *Belmont I* and *II* (Nova Scotia Museum, 1996).

The three archeologically significant sites at Debert reveal the rich culture and historical use of this land by the Mi'kmaq and as such, require proper protection and monitoring. As a result of the significance of these sites, the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq has been working on the creation of the *Mi'kmawey Debert Cultural Centre* that will educate Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities on the physical and cultural significance of the area (Canadian Heritage, 2007; Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, 2007). Thus far, a 4.4 km interpretive trail has been created as well as a Master Plan for Visitor Experience at the Centre (Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, 2007). Once the Centre is constructed and established (tentatively set for 2012), it will provide opportunities for healing and hands-on learning of the Mi'kmaw culture as well as a gathering place for cultural activities and Chief-and-Council meetings (Canadian Heritage, 2007; Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, 2007).

Other communities that have found Mi'kmaw archeological artefacts are also planning to develop their own tourism activities and potential interpretive centres. Particularly, plans exist in Liverpool, on the south shore of Nova Scotia, to display Mi'kmaw artefacts found along the Mersey River believed to be remnants of past encampment sites.

2.2.5 Aboriginal and Mi'kmaw Events

National, provincial and local events involving Aboriginal people and the Mi'kmaq also attract tourist interest. *National Aboriginal Day*, celebrated on June 21 of each year, is a special occasion to celebrate Aboriginal cultures in Canada and is observed at the three Mi'kmaw cultural centres in Nova Scotia. *Mi'kmaq Treaty Day*, celebrated on October 1 of each year (marking the beginning of October as Mi'kmaq History Month), commemorates the signing of the *Peace and Friendship Treaties* in Halifax between the

Mi'kmaq and the Crown in the 18th century. Beginning in 2008, *Mi'kmaq Treaty Day* activities were made more accessible to the public, providing Haligonians and tourists with an opportunity to witness and take part in a cultural showcase highlighting activities such as drum circles, traditional dancers, smudging ceremonies and traditional songs and prayers, as well as an opportunity to meet traditional Mi'kmaw arts and craftspeople on the Halifax harbourfront. Communities also host events, gatherings and feasts at particular times of year known as *Mawio'mis* as well as *Pow Wows* that not only gather the community but also attract tourists. A *Pow Wow* consists of traditional drumming, singing and dancing as well as provides the opportunity for Mi'kmaw vendors to sell their arts, crafts and foods. The *Pow Wow Trail* takes place during the summer months where different Mi'kmaw communities across the Maritimes host the Pow Wow dancers, singers, drummers, and vendors.

2.2.6 Mi'kmaw Arts and Crafts

Linked to Mi'kmaw cultural tourism is the making and selling of Mi'kmaw arts and crafts. These play an important role in traditional Mi'kmaw culture. Tourists interested in Mi'kmaw culture are demanding authentic Mi'kmaw arts and crafts (made by Mi'kmaw people using traditional techniques) such as ash baskets, artwork, wooden flowers, beadwork, quillwork, moccasins, and birch-bark canoes. These are sold at specific tourism locations and thus should be seen as a key element of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism.

As one can observe, there are several opportunities to learn and experience Mi'kmaw culture in Nova Scotia. As the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector continues to develop, the places holding great Mi'kmaw significance across the province will most likely see an increase in visitors. It is imperative, however, to recognize that certain sacred sites and sites of cultural and environmental significance for the Mi'kmaq are not intended for mass tourism and may grant limited access to the public. Nonetheless, steps still need to be taken by Mi'kmaw communities to highlight parts of their culture that they are willing to share and to further develop cultural tourism opportunities, providing them with economic development and revitalization of the identity of traditional and contemporary Mi'kmaw culture.

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CHAPTER 3 THE DEMAND FOR MI'KMAW CULTURAL TOURISM: Tourist Perspectives

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[Prepared for submission to a scholarly journal]

Abstract: This paper examines survey findings of tourist interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism in Nova Scotia. The results indicate a high interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities even though most tourists had not participated in Aboriginal tourism before. Further results indicate that tourists' age, education and place of origin influence their level of interest in particular Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities. Older tourists had lower interest in activities that required more time and physical activity whereas more-educated tourists had higher interest in participating in particular Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities. Also, international tourists had the greatest interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism, especially activities that involved greater contact with the Mi'kmaw hosts.

Keywords: Mi'kmaw cultural tourism; Nova Scotia; tourist interests

3.1 Introduction

An interest in experiencing and learning about different cultures has grown and become prevalent among tourists today (Boyd, 2002; Hager, 2003; Richards, 2007). Cultural tourism "... involves tourists experiencing and having contact with a host population and its cultural expressions, experiencing the uniqueness of culture, heritage and the characters of its place and people" (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p.261) and follows principles such as "... ensuring authenticity and quality, the provision of a learning environment through interaction and involvement, conserving and protecting resources, and building partnerships" (Boyd, 2002, p.221). A subset of cultural tourism that continues to develop and gain interest is Aboriginal tourism which "... refers to tourism in which Aboriginal people are directly involved in the provision of the attraction, either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction" (Hinch & Butler, 1996, p.9).

There is an increasing market for Aboriginal tourism in Canada, especially since baby boomers, a large and affluent demographic group, are seeking softer, more-educational tourism experiences (Hager, 2003; Karhakeron Diabo, 2003; Notzke, 2004; Williams & Richter, 2002). In particular, a niche market for these types of remote adventure activities in Canada is found among German tourists possessing a high

affinity for Aboriginal tourism in comparison to other European international tourists (Williams & Richter, 2002). An understanding of tourist perspectives and interests is essential for development of a sustainable Aboriginal tourism product (McIntosh, 2004; Notzke, 2004; Prentice, 1997; Spark, 2002; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Zorilla Martinez, 2003). Therefore, the purpose of this research is to examine the demand for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities in Nova Scotia by studying tourist interests and motivations. To meet this objective and to gain insight into the tourist perspective, tourists were asked to identify how they would like to experience Mi'kmaw culture and to share their interests and attitudes towards these types of activities, as well as their motivations for participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism.

3.2 The Demand for Mi'kmaw Cultural Tourism in Nova Scotia

Studies of Aboriginal tourism worldwide, notably from Australia, New Zealand and Canada, provide insight into the opportunities and challenges communities face when developing Aboriginal tourism. One such challenge involves the proper and effective marketing of Aboriginal tourism activities where a well-developed marketing campaign includes the transmission of unique themes to lure potential tourists to these sometimes remote sites (Chang *et al.*, 2005; Crouch & Richie, 1999; Hager, 2003; Karhakeron Diabo, 2003; Notzke, 2004). Cultural tourism gives Aboriginal people the opportunity to provide tourists with an educational experience, one that is most often influenced by the type of activity offered and its level of interactivity as well as its authenticity (Boyd, 2002; Colton & Harris, 2007; Karhakeron Diabo, 2003; McIntosh, 2004; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Richards, 2007; Spark, 2002; Zorilla Martinez, 2003).

Providing an authentic Aboriginal tourism experience can pose a challenge, especially considering cautions regarding the misrepresentation of Aboriginal peoples' lifestyles in tourism activities where entertainment takes priority (Mason, 2004). Further, providing tourists with an educational experience can be influenced by its method of delivery. Spark's (2002) study presents the opinions of tourists visiting the Brambuk Cultural Centre in Victoria, Australia, on the centre's ability to provide a learning experience. In particular, the study focuses on more-educational 'living spaces' characterized by heterogeneous spaces that encourage touching, smelling, listening,

and seeing as compared to 'dead spaces' where cultural artefacts are encased in glass leading to a more shallow learning experience (Spark, 2002).

Providing an educational Aboriginal tourism experience is of utmost importance when attempting to dispel inaccurate images of Aboriginal culture and ultimately educate tourists on the reality of historic and contemporary Aboriginal life (Boyd, 2002; Notzke, 1999). Another major issue that communities face when developing Aboriginal tourism activities is that of Aboriginal ownership and control, this being the recommended model for fully addressing principles of sacredness and spirituality (McIntosh, 2004; Williams & Richter, 2002). Byrne (1993) agrees that Aboriginally operated tourist sites such as cultural centres located within Aboriginal communities are ideal, especially amongst fears from Elders that sacred artefacts may be mistreated by non-Aboriginal people who lack a full understanding of particular Aboriginal ceremonies and traditions. These are but a few of the opportunities and challenges of Aboriginal tourism development.

3.2.1 Tourist Voice and Sustainable Aboriginal Tourism Development

A sustainable Aboriginal tourism sector must include: an Aboriginally owned and operated activity, proper development of the tourism product, effective marketing, and partnerships between host communities and the travel industry (McIntosh, 2004; Notzke, 2004; Williams & Richter, 2002). However, several authors also stress the importance of using tourist perspectives to develop a sustainable tourism product and thus have conducted studies to improve understanding the tourist voice (Dyer *et al.*, 2003; McIntosh, 2004; Notzke, 1999, 2004; Prentice, 1997; Ryan & Huyton, 2000, 2004; Spark, 2002; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Zorilla Martinez, 2003).

In particular, McIntosh (2004) states: "In the achievement of sustainable indigenous tourism, there is also a need for market research to help identify what tourists want and expect from their experiences of an indigenous culture" (p.2). Other authors highlight the importance of a balance between tourist needs and those of the host community to achieve a sustainable Aboriginal tourism sector (Prentice, 1997; Zorilla Martinez, 2003). To further illustrate this point, Wall and Mathieson (2006) state that "The needs of the visitor have to be reconciled with the requirements of the resident population in the tourist destination" (p.213). However, despite the importance placed

on tourist perspectives and its contribution to sustainable Aboriginal tourism development, little research has examined the tourist voice, thus revealing a clear gap in the literature and exposing the need for information on the opinions of tourists (McIntosh, 2004; Ryan & Huyton, 2002).

This study will contribute to filling the gap and provide much-needed attention to the demand-side of Aboriginal tourism development. An additional gap in the scholarly literature reveals a lack of research focusing on the Mi'kmaw people's efforts to develop their cultural tourism sector, most research having been conducted on west coast or northern Aboriginal tourism initiatives in Canada and abroad (Australia and New Zealand). Furthermore, most Aboriginal tourism studies examine the perspective of tourists surveyed on-site at a particular Aboriginal tourism attraction, as opposed to surveying tourists independent of an Aboriginal tourism facility or site. Ryan and Huyton (2000) and McIntosh (2004) are among the few that have sampled tourists at non-Aboriginal tourism locations in Australia and New Zealand respectively and they highlight the importance of reaching a wider market audience by not solely focusing on the views of tourists having already chosen to participate in Aboriginal tourism. This study similarly focuses on the wider market of tourists visiting Nova Scotia to improve understanding of their interests and motivations for participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities.

3.2.2 The Mi'kmaq of Atlantic Canada

The Mi'kmaq are the First Nations people of Atlantic Canada and have ties to parts of Quebec, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia for approximately 5,000 years (Mi'kmaq Spirit, 2007). As a result, the Mi'kmaw people have developed a deep relationship with the landscape, one that is based on spirituality and respect. Certain places on the landscape hold special significance for the Mi'kmaw people, usually because they are sacred and serve as anchors to their historical culture and promote cultural reproduction (Ross, 2005; Zedeno *et al.*, 1997).

Henderson (1995) provides a basis for understanding the Mi'kmaw worldview, one that places *land* at the centre of one's notion of self. Values of respect and sharing are associated with the land as it is viewed as a common resource to which the community belongs. Mi'kmaw people do not own the land, but belong to a particular

space. Ceremonies on the landscape promote the cultural integrity of the land and reinforce an emotional link between the people and the natural environment.

The sense of identity and connection to the environment is a major theme conveyed to tourists participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities. Tourists participating in Aboriginal tourism activities are seeking cultural and natural experiences and recognize that a way to connect with nature is through Aboriginal people (Zorilla Martinez, 2003). An Aboriginal tourism experience is thus an interpretation of nature and landscape from an indigenous point of view (Zorilla Martinez, 2003). Therefore, an Aboriginal tourism experience, and particularly one in Nova Scotia involving the Mi'kmaq, is deeply rooted in both culture and the environment, as the Aboriginal link to the environment and sacred landscapes/sites is central to their identity.

Mi'kmaw culture offers a plethora of knowledge to share with tourists visiting Nova Scotia. However, an inventory of existing Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities points to the sector's infancy. Mi'kmaw heritage and cultural interpretation centres are presently the primary way in which Mi'kmaw culture is shared with tourists. Three such centres exist in Nova Scotia: the Bear River Heritage and Cultural Centre (established in 2003) in Bear River First Nation, the Glooscap Heritage Centre (established in 2006) located near Truro and run by the Millbrook First Nation, and the Wagmatcook Heritage and Cultural Centre (established in 2001) in Wagmatcook First Nation in Cape Breton. These centres present information on past and present ways of Mi'kmaw life, traditions, legends, spirituality, arts and crafts, food, and Mi'kmaq-environment relationships. The centres also offer a combination of interactive activities such as educational films, storytelling, drumming, dancing, theatre, hands-on arts and crafts workshops, and children's programs and most often serve as a gathering place for the community.

Few Mi'kmaw eco-tourism experiences exist for the visiting public, Mi'kmaw programs in Kejimikujik National Park and National Historic Site are the primary example. The park offers Mi'kmaw guided tours where interpreters take visitors on a tour of the petroglyphs, tell Glooscap's legends, demonstrate past tool-making skills, and visit a Mi'kmaw encampment site (Canadian Heritage Parks Canada, 1995; Parks Canada, 2007a). Also, a recently developed and marketed Mi'kmaw cultural experience allows

tourists to visit and learn about Mi'kmaw archeological sites.

In addition, there are Mi'kmaw events such as Mi'kmaq Treaty Day, celebrated on the first day of October of each year (marking the beginning of October as Mi'kmaq History Month), commemorating the signing of the Peace and Friendship Treaties in Halifax between the Mi'kmaq and the Crown in the 18th century. Treaty Day activities allow tourists to witness and take part in a Mi'kmaw culture showcase highlighting drum circles, traditional dancers, smudging ceremonies, and traditional songs and prayers. They also afford an opportunity to witness the making of traditional Mi'kmaw arts and crafts.

Communities also host gatherings and feasts known as Mawio'mis and Pow Wows that gather both community members and tourists. Mi'kmaw Pow Wows consist of traditional drumming, singing, and dancing as well as food, art and craft sales. The Pow Wow Trail is held during the summer months where different First Nations communities in the Maritimes will host the Pow Wow and various dancers, drummers, and vendors. These opportunities allow tourists to learn and experience Nova Scotia's Mi'kmaq culture and as the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector continues to develop, these activities will likely see higher numbers of tourists. However, steps still need to be taken to develop cultural tourism in Mi'kmaw communities that will provide economic development and revitalize the identity of traditional and contemporary Mi'kmaw culture.

3.3 Study Methods

We administered a survey to gauge tourist interests and motivations for participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities. The survey was conducted with tourists visiting Nova Scotia Visitor Information Centres in Halifax (located on the Halifax harbourfront) and in Amherst (located off highway 104 at the New Brunswick/Nova Scotia border). These locations were chosen based on findings of the *2004 Nova Scotia Visitor Exit Survey* indicating that most tourists entered the province through Amherst (54%) and the Halifax International Airport (29%) (NSDTCH, 2005).

Based on the results indicating a large number of sampled tourists entering via Amherst, it was determined that this location would be ideal for sampling and would provide a more representative sample while the Halifax harbourfront site was chosen based on convenience. The surveys were administered in person to tourists using a next-to-pass method. We administered 185 surveys at the Halifax Visitor Information Centre and 209 at the Amherst Visitor Information Centre for a total of 394 surveys. The total on-site rejection rate was approximately 32% and of this, nearly 42% were men while just over 58% were women.

The survey included a mix of open- and closed-ended questions, with a focus on closed-ended questions to facilitate survey analysis and time required to complete the survey. The survey questions were divided into three categories: questions about past experience and exposure to Aboriginal tourism, questions about interest and motivation to participate in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism, and demographic questions. Questions posed to determine tourist interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism used a Likert scale to measure a level of agreement or disagreement with a particular statement as well as an interest or disinterest with particular Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities.

Frequency analysis was conducted to examine tourist tendencies and Pearson's chi-square test of independence was used to identify relationships between variables of age, education level, gender, province and country of origin, prior noticing of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism advertising, and tourists' interest in participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities. The statistics derived from the analysis account for the total number of complete responses to a particular question; missing information was not accounted for in the proportion data or in chi-square analyses. Responses to questions asking about tourists' motivations for their interest in participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism and about their prior participation in Aboriginal tourism were analyzed by highlighting common responses and themes.

3.4 Results and Discussion

The study sample consisted of 58.5% women and 41.5% men. The largest age groups were 55 to 64 (28.8%) and 45 to 54 (21.9%) years old, thus exemplifying an

older sample. This can be explained and supported by two factors. First, there is a greater unwillingness among younger families to spend time filling out a survey. Second, Visitor Exit Surveys indicate that older tourists are visiting Nova Scotia (NSDTCH, 2005). The age profile of tourists surveyed in this study is slightly older than that of the age of tourists surveyed in the 2004 Nova Scotia Visitor Exit Survey where 29% of tourists sampled were aged between 45 and 54 and 21% were aged between 55 and 64 (NSDTCH, 2005).

Furthermore, the sample used in this study is older than that of Canadian tourists travelling domestically; data compiled in the 2004 Canadian Travel Survey reveals a more evenly distributed age profile where 20.9% were 19 years or under, 7.3% between 20 and 24, 15.2% between 25 and 34, 17.5% between 35 and 44, 18.1% between 45 and 54, 12.6% between 55 and 64 and 8.5% were 65 years and over (Due to rounding, total may not add to 100%) (Statistics Canada, 2006).

To our surprise, a high number of surveyed tourists had obtained a graduate degree (35.4%) or an undergraduate degree (25.7%). The education levels of respondents to our survey is higher than that of visitors surveyed in the 2000 and 2004 Nova Scotia Visitor Exit Surveys (NSDTCH, 2005). Of those sampled, only 1.8% self-identified as Aboriginal and of this, 28.6% self-identified as Mi'kmaq. Most tourists stated that the purpose of their visit was for pleasure/vacation (70.2%), followed by visiting friends and relatives (20.9%), business (6.1%), and other (2.8%). The majority of tourists travelled in a group of two adults (67.9%) while fewer travelled in a group of three adults (10.5%), four adults (9.4%) or alone (8.4%). These findings are similar to party-size statistics amassed from the 2000 and 2004 Nova Scotia Visitor Exit Surveys where the average party size had remained unchanged at 2.2 people (NSDTCH, 2005). Most adults in our sample travelled without children (83.9%) while some travelled with one (6.9%) or two (6.9%) children.

Contrary to findings in the 2000 and 2004 Nova Scotia Exit Surveys, most tourists in our sample originated from Ontario (26.9%) and the Atlantic provinces (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador) (20%) followed by the Western provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British

Columbia) (13.2%), Quebec (9.3%), New York State (2.5%) and others (other American states or other states) (28.2%) (Due to rounding, total may not add to 100%). According to the 2004 Nova Scotia Visitor Exit Survey, most tourists visiting Nova Scotia originated from the Atlantic provinces (47%) while only 22% originated from Ontario (NSDTCH, 2005).

The dissimilarity can be explained by the different survey administration locations; the Exit Surveys were administered at the Halifax International Airport and at ferry exits across the province while this study's survey was administered at Nova Scotia Visitor Information Centres in Amherst and Halifax. Presumably, tourists originating from Ontario are in greater need of travel destination information requiring them to visit a Nova Scotia Visitor Information Centre (where they may have been intercepted by the researcher and asked to fill out the survey) whereas tourists originating from the Atlantic provinces would more likely be already familiarized with their destination and in no need to visit an information centre. In terms of country of origin, most respondents originated from Canada (65.1%) followed by tourists visiting from the United States (22.2%), the United Kingdom (4.6%) and Germany (2.8%).

A closer look at the province of origin of Canadian tourists at the two survey administration sites for the study reveals interesting differences. Most Canadian tourists surveyed at the Halifax Harbourfront Visitor Information Centre originated from Ontario (35%) or the Western provinces (32%) while of those surveyed at the Amherst Visitor Information Centre, most originated from Ontario (41.2%) and the Atlantic provinces (35.3%). Moreover, the survey respondents at the Halifax harbourfront site were of more international origin than the respondents at the Amherst Visitor Information Centre. Specifically, 54.1% of tourists surveyed at the Halifax harbourfront originated from Canada, 22.2% from the United States and 23.8% from other international countries while at the Amherst site, 74.9% originated from Canada, 22.2% from the United States and 2.9% from other international locations (Due to rounding, total may not add to 100%).

The Amherst Visitor Information Centre, located at the New Brunswick/Nova Scotia provincial border, receives more tourists travelling by car or RV whereas the

Halifax Harbourfront Visitor Information Centre receives many visitors arriving from the airport, explaining the higher number of international survey respondents in Halifax. In sum, pertinent findings of the study's tourist profile indicate that the surveyed tourists were older, more educated and more commonly from Ontario than the tourists surveyed in the 2000 and 2004 Nova Scotia Exit Surveys.

3.4.1 Prior Involvement and Exposure to Aboriginal Tourism

Most surveyed tourists (71.9%) had not participated in Aboriginal tourism activities before. This echoes findings from the Canadian Tourism Commission (2003) revealing that in 2000, only 11% of Canadians considered themselves to be heritage tourism enthusiasts. Additionally, among those 2.2 million heritage tourism enthusiasts, only 18% had participated in Aboriginal tourism experiences in a remote or rural setting, 16% had visited Aboriginal attractions, and 9% had participated in Pow Wows and other Aboriginal celebrations. Thus, few Canadians engaged in cultural tourism activities and even fewer participated in Aboriginal tourism activities (Canadian Tourism Commission, 2003). Of the respondents in the study who had participated in Aboriginal tourism activities before, most had done so in Ontario, Alberta, the United States, or in Australia. Various less-mentioned locations demonstrate the multiplicity of geographical locations where Aboriginal tourism activities are offered - some respondents had participated in Aboriginal tourism experiences in Japan, Hawaii, Mexico, the Polynesian Islands, New Zealand and the Canadian Arctic.

Interestingly, few respondents had previously participated in Aboriginal tourism activities in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick which would include the Mi'kmaq. The most commonly cited Aboriginal tourism activity in which respondents had previously participated was a Pow Wow or other similar events showcasing drumming, singing and dancing in a community-gathering format. The second most commonly cited activity was visiting an Aboriginal cultural interpretive centre. Of particular mention were centres in western Canada such as the Head-Smashed-In-Buffalo-Jump in Alberta and the Wanuskewin Heritage Centre near Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

A few respondents cited work-related or school-related activities that had exposed them to Aboriginal culture as an Aboriginal tourism experience. For example, working in an Aboriginal community, working with an Aboriginal organisation, and participating in school trips to Aboriginal sites were listed as Aboriginal tourism activities, demonstrating the different mediums through which the surveyed tourists came to be engaged with Aboriginal culture. A clear conclusion can be drawn from tourists' prior participation in Aboriginal tourism - among our respondents, past engagement in these activities has been limited and of those who have participated in Aboriginal tourism, it has not involved the Mi'kmaq.

Tourists were also asked about their exposure to Aboriginal tourism specifically in relation to their prior noticing of advertising for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. Most sampled tourists (82.7%) had not seen advertising for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities in Nova Scotia during their travel preparations or travel to the province. A weakness of this finding is that tourists may not recall seeing advertising, so strong inferences should not be made suggesting that advertising for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism simply does not exist. Instead, tourists may not be noticing advertising, which perhaps signals a need for – at minimum - enhanced advertising.

Nonetheless, the finding is consistent with the early developmental stages of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism and highlights the need for improved marketing. This is similarly observed in the Canadian Aboriginal tourism sector where a lack of consumer awareness of these activities contributes to limited participation in such activities (Notzke, 2004). Effective tools must be properly employed to market a destination's attractiveness and integrity above all other locations. The tools include strong promotional material and a professionally designed advertising campaign presenting an attractive and motivating image of Aboriginal culture (Chang *et al.*, 2005; Crouch & Richie, 1999; Hager, 2003). This takes advantage of the known link between tourists observing marketing and their subsequent interest in and decision to participate in Aboriginal cultural tourism.

3.4.2 Interest in Mi'kmaw Cultural Tourism

Most surveyed tourists *agreed or strongly agreed* (62.2%) that “**While in Nova Scotia I would be interested in visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural tourism site**”, followed by those who were undecided (28.6%) and those who *disagreed or strongly disagreed* (9.1%) (Due to rounding, total may not add to 100%). While there is large expressed interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism, the fact that a large group of tourists remained undecided suggests that many tourists may not be familiar with Mi'kmaw cultural tourism and are thus unable to determine if this is of interest to them. Such tourists represent an important target group for marketing.

The respondents who stated *agree or strongly agree* to the statement **above** were asked to share their motivations for willingness to participate in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities. The responses revealed that most respondents were motivated to participate in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism for reasons of education, learning, and gaining a better understanding of Mi'kmaw culture. These motivations are consistent with the tourism literature (Boyd, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Moscardo & Pearce, 1999). Moscardo and Pearce (1999) indicate that of the tourists surveyed at the Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park near Cairns, Australia, the highest *Mean Rating of Importance of Benefits Sought from Tourism* was learning new things and increasing knowledge. Topics that tourists wished to learn about varied but most showed an interest in learning about broad topics of Mi'kmaw culture and history. Specific topics of interest included Mi'kmaw food, arts and crafts, music, dancing, drumming, Elders, archeology, spirituality, beliefs and traditions.

One topic in particular that garnered repeated interest was learning about the evolution of the Mi'kmaq: how they have survived for so long, how their lives have changed after contact with the Europeans, and how they have had to adapt and learn to co-exist with non-Aboriginal inhabitants. This desire to learn about topics beyond traditional and historical Aboriginal culture has also been studied by others. Notably, McIntosh (2004) identified how tourists wanted to learn about contemporary Maori life as well as historical elements. Learning about the changes the Mi'kmaq have endured was expressed clearly by one respondent who stated: “I think the history of our region is exciting and learning more about First Nations peoples is helpful in learning how we

have evolved over the years to live together.”

Tourists also expressed their recognition and respect of Aboriginal people as the first inhabitants of Canada and the Mi'kmaq as the first inhabitants of Nova Scotia. Two respondents in particular emphasized this: “I want to see traditional native culture advocated more - it's an important part of Canadian history and culture”, and “I feel as a country we should have knowledge, awareness, and understanding of our collective persona.” These statements demonstrate a respect for Aboriginal culture and the importance tourists place on its role in Canadian history and identity. One respondent in particular addressed the issue of respect for Aboriginal culture as well as the need for better understanding by writing this: “It's my opinion that Aboriginal people are always the 1st inhabitants; so they have more rights for being valued. And the ordinary people do not know too much about them; maybe they will have then more respect.” Clearly, a sense of respect for Aboriginal culture framed tourists' motivations for participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism.

Survey respondents were also presented with a list of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities, across a range of intensities of involvement with and exposure to the Mi'kmaw hosts, and asked to think specifically about their interest in such activities. They were invited to rate their interest using a five-point Likert scale ranging from *not interested at all* to *very interested*. The Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities included:

- Viewing and/or purchasing Mi'kmaw arts and crafts
- Eating food prepared in a traditional Mi'kmaw way
- Visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural interpretation centre
- Listening to a talk about how Mi'kmaw culture has changed over time
- Visiting a Mi'kmaw archeological site
- Walking along a Mi'kmaw hiking trail
- Taking a Mi'kmaw guided tour in a National Park
- Participating in a birch bark canoe-making workshop
- Participating in an overnight Mi'kmaw wilderness retreat with storytelling and traditional arts and crafts workshops

In addition, tourists were given the opportunity to list up to two other activities that were of interest to them. Few other activities were mentioned; they included traditional music, religion, storytelling sessions, sports, learning about Mi'kmaq relationships with fish, wildlife, and agriculture, and the Mi'kmaw political system.

Our findings (Table 1) revealed that for most activities (eight of the nine listed), the mode was *interested*. The proportion of respondents stating *not interested at all* to the particular activities was the lowest except for activities such as participating in a birch-bark canoe-making workshop and participating in an overnight Mi'kmaw wilderness retreat where disinterest was higher than interest. The activity that earned the highest interest where most tourists stated *very interested* was visiting a Mi'kmaw archeological site (24.1%). For the *interested* rating, the most popular activity was visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural interpretation centre (50%). According to these findings, Mi'kmawey Debert archeological site and the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq's plans to build the Mi'kmawey Debert Cultural Centre are well positioned for meeting tourist interest.

As previously stated, the greatest disinterest was for activities that potentially require more involvement with the Mi'kmaw hosts and the most amount of time. Only 40.3% of tourists stated that they were either *interested* or *very interested* in participating in a birch-bark canoe-making workshop and 31.8% stated that they were either *interested* or *very interested* in participating in an overnight Mi'kmaw wilderness retreat. This interest was much lower than interest in activities that require less involvement with the Mi'kmaw hosts such as taking a hike along a Mi'kmaw walking trail (63.7% *interested* or *very interested*), visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural interpretation centre (63.8% *interested* or *very interested*), and visiting a Mi'kmaw archeological site (68.9% *interested* or *very interested*).

Carr (2004), McIntosh (2004) and Notzke (2004) all demonstrate similar findings regarding the desire for limited involvement with both Maori tourism hosts in New Zealand and Canadian Aboriginal hosts. Specifically, Carr (2004) asked tourists what type of medium they preferred for interpretation purposes (e.g. audio visual, brochure, guided tour) and the findings revealed that both domestic and international tourists placed less significance on participating in activities that allowed them to interact with Maori people; notably only 2% of visitors attended a guided walk with a Maori person.

Another reason for tourists' limited interest in participating in activities where they are in contact with the host can be associated with their being part of what Moscardo and Pearce (1999) call the *Passive Cultural Learning Group*. This group has "high levels

of interest in ethnic tourism, but more particularly in experiences which focused on cultural learning rather than direct contact experiences” (Moscardo & Pearce, 1999, p.429). Further explanations of this trend include the influence of an older group, tourists’ discomfort with being in direct contact with Aboriginal hosts, and their concern with negatively affecting or exploiting the Aboriginal community (Hughes, 1995; Moscardo & Pearce, 1999). Similar influences can be identified in this study where the older respondents may be limited by their physical ability to participate in activities such as making a birch-bark canoe and discomfort with participating in an overnight retreat. Overall, interest in most activities was quite high, suggesting that there is a demand and market for Mi’kmaw cultural tourism in Nova Scotia. However, certain activities requiring more contact, physical activity, and time are less appealing, especially among older cultural tourists.

Table 1 Interest in Particular Mi’kmaw Cultural Tourism Activities

	Not interested at all (%)	Not very interested (%)	Neutral (%)	Interested (%)	Very interested (%)
Viewing and/or purchasing Mi’kmaw arts and crafts	8.7	12.3	25.9	44.4	8.7
Eating food prepared in a traditional Mi’kmaw way	6.2	11.3	24.9	43.3	14.4
Visiting a Mi’kmaw cultural interpretation centre	5.3	8.2	22.6	50	13.8
Listening to a talk about how Mi’kmaw culture has changed over time	6.4	8.8	26.8	44.6	13.4
Visiting a Mi’kmaw archeological site	5.2	5.4	20.5	44.8	24.1
Walking along a Mi’kmaw hiking trail	5.4	7.5	23.3	43.8	19.9
Taking a Mi’kmaw guided tour in a National Park	5.8	10.8	22.9	43.2	17.4
Participating in a birch bark canoe-making workshop	13.6	20.9	25.1	30.4	9.9
Participating in an overnight Mi’kmaw wilderness retreat with storytelling and traditional arts and crafts workshops	19.9	23.6	24.6	22.5	9.3

* Due to rounding, row totals may not add to 100%.

3.4.3 Relationships Among Survey Variables

Further analysis was conducted to examine the relationship between particular variables such as age, education level, gender, place of origin (province and country), general interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism, and interest in specific activities. The chi-square test of independence was used to determine if two variables were independent of each other and to explain further the influence of specific variables on tourists' levels of interest. First, certain data categories were aggregated to meet the assumption of the chi-square test that necessitates having at least five observations in each cell.

Five-point Likert scales were aggregated into three-point scales (*Not interested, Neutral, Interested, Disagree, Undecided, Agree*) and particular age and education categories were collapsed. Aggregated age categories include groupings of 18 to 44 years, 45 to 64 years and 65 years and over; these were created based on logical breaks in the sample's age profile. Furthermore, education-level data were aggregated into categories of tourists having attained a grade level between 7 and 12, a community/technical college diploma, an undergraduate degree or a graduate degree. To ensure accuracy of the testing, non-response data were not included in the chi-square analyses. Statistically significant p values were reported at three confidence levels: a 90% confidence level ($p \leq 0.10$), a 95% confidence level ($p \leq 0.05$), and at a 99% confidence level ($p \leq 0.01$).

The results of the independence testing reveal that certain variables had a greater influence on tourists' interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism than others. Of the variables used in the analyses (age, education level, gender, province of origin, country of origin, prior noticing of advertising), age, education level, and place of origin yielded a greater number of statistically significant relationships. A closer look at the data (Table 2) reveals that a statistically significant relationship existed between education level and tourists' interest in participating in a variety of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities. For all activities, except for the canoe-making workshop, interest increased with increasing education level. A similar link between education and interest and participation in cultural tourism has been observed where experiences that foster cultural learning are sought by highly educated tourists (Anderson, 1991; Canadian Tourism Commission, 2003; Carr, 2004; Craik, 1997; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Notzke, 1999, 2004; The

ARA Consulting Group Inc., & LORD Cultural Resources Planning and Management Inc., 1997; Richards, 2007; Williams, n.d.).

However, for canoe-making, interest decreased (even if slightly) with increasing education level. The greatest interest for this activity was among tourists having obtained a college diploma (44% interested) instead of those having obtained higher levels of education such as a graduate degree (35.6% interested). This may be in part explained by the trades-focus of those having obtained a college diploma and the nature of the activity being more hands-on, however, there is no substantive evidence to support this.

Table 2 P values from X² test of independence using variables of interest in particular activities and demography/prior noticing of advertising

	Education	Age	Province of Origin	Country of Origin	Sex	Prior noticing of advertising
General interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism	0.023**	0.837	0.007***	0.002***	0.187	0.008***
Viewing and/or purchasing Mi'kmaw arts and crafts	0.007***	0.204	0.074*	0.803	0.000***	0.230
Eating food prepared in a traditional Mi'kmaw way	0.184	0.530	0.167	0.148	0.025**	0.228
Visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural interpretation centre	0.327	0.038**	0.056*	0.109	0.125	0.241
Listening to a talk about how Mi'kmaw culture has changed over time	0.153	0.033**	0.088*	0.073*	0.167	0.047**
Visiting a Mi'kmaw archeological site	0.025**	0.558	0.409	0.055*	0.539	0.479
Walking along a Mi'kmaw hiking trail	0.022**	0.005***	0.820	0.001***	0.445	0.616
Taking a Mi'kmaw guided tour in a National Park	0.046**	0.010***	0.039**	0.010***	0.182	0.925
Participating in a birch bark canoe-making workshop	0.009***	0.002***	0.467	0.000***	0.944	0.890
Participating in an overnight Mi'kmaw wilderness retreat with storytelling and traditional arts and crafts workshops	0.659	0.000***	0.231	0.001***	0.082*	0.421

* Significant at the .10 level
 ** Significant at the .05 level
 *** Significant at the .01 level

Regarding tourist age, a strong statistically significant relationship existed between age and activities that require more contact with the host, time and physical ability. This finding is especially true for older (65 years and over) tourists' willingness to participate in an overnight Mi'kmaw retreat and the canoe-making workshop where their disinterest surpassed their interest. Notably, 66% of respondents over 65 stated that they were *not interested* in participating in an overnight Mi'kmaw retreat compared to 46.2% of respondents between 45 and 64 and 30.7% between 18 and 44. Likewise, disinterest in participating in a canoe-making workshop was highest among older tourists; 54.7% of respondents 65 and over stated *not interested*, compared to 34.4% of respondents between 45 and 64 and 26.5% between 18 and 44.

The findings indicate that the two activities, involving a considerable amount of time, physical involvement and interaction with the Mi'kmaw host, were less attractive to the surveyed tourists. Further, for activities such as participating in a Mi'kmaw guided tour of a national park and hiking a Mi'kmaw trail, disinterest was highest among those aged 65 and over, but it did not surpass their interest. For example, 33.3% of respondents 65 and over were *not interested* in participating in a Mi'kmaw guided tour while 51% of this same age group was *interested*. This is compared to 14.1% of those between 45 and 64 and 13.2% between 18 and 44 being *not interested* while 60.4% of those between 45 and 64 and 64.7% between 18 and 44 being *interested*. Still here, the greatest proportion of tourists *not interested* and the smallest proportion of tourists *interested* belong to the oldest age group.

As for the statistically significant relationship between age and activities such as listening to a talk about Mi'kmaw culture and visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural centre, a positive relationship existed where older tourists had high levels of interest in such activities, 69.6% *interested* and 74.1% *interested* respectively. In comparison to the other activities where age was a factor, these two are much less physically demanding and time-consuming. Thus, older tourists seem to be more able and willing to participate.

A hypothesis that could be put forth from the findings is that older tourists are not necessarily disinterested in participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities, because

there is scholarly evidence to support older tourists' interest in Aboriginal tourism (Canadian Tourism Commission, 2003; Carr, 2004; D.K. Shifflet and Associates, 1999; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Notzke, 1999, 2004; The ARA Consulting Group Inc., & LORD Cultural Resources Planning and Management Inc., 1997; Williams, n.d), but rather that they are less attracted to activities that require more time and are more physically strenuous or uncomfortable. This is evidenced by the fact that, of the activities that had a statistically significant relationship with age, activities that lacked an element of physical activity were more appealing to older tourists.

One study, looking at trends in protected-area tourism, discusses this in terms of preferences of older tourists for particular activities, settings and accommodation (Eagles, 2004). Comparable to the findings of this study, Eagles (2004) acknowledges older tourists' interest in participating in learning activities instead of more-active experiences and their desire to stay in lodge or hotel-style accommodation rather than overnight camping. Furthermore, research on Canadian Aboriginal tourism indicates that North American tourists identified as *Focused Native Product Travellers* can be divided into two categories. One is younger tourists (under 45 years old) who are interested in active outdoor activities and the other is older tourists who are more interested in native history, tradition, arts and crafts and shorter tours (Campbell, 1994). As a result of these findings on older tourists' preferences, cultural tourism hosts will need to consider the demands of these older visitors, especially in light of their dominance in the tourism market.

Similar to education level and age, tourists' place of origin (Canadian province and country of origin) seemed to have great influence on their interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. The chi-square testing revealed a statistically significant relationship between province of origin and tourists' general interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. The highest proportion of those *agreeing* to being interested in participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism were respondents from the Western provinces (72.3%). This was followed by 69% of tourists originating from the Atlantic provinces *agreeing*, 57.6% from Quebec and 46.8% from Ontario. However, the high proportion of *undecided* respondents from Ontario (41.5%) and Quebec (39.4%) may have limited their interest

and signal the need for targeted marketing that would inform and persuade these undecided tourists.

In regard to particular activities that displayed a statistically significant relationship with tourists' province of origin, a clear trend can be identified here where tourists from the Atlantic provinces displayed the highest interest when compared to other provinces. Moreover, tourists from Ontario had the lowest interest while possessing the highest amount of *neutral* respondents. This finding suggests a lack of familiarity with the Atlantic First Nations groups among Ontarians which may subsequently be limiting their interest in existing tourism opportunities. Likewise, a higher interest among tourists from the Atlantic provinces may be due to their prior understanding or participation in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities, thus leading them to recognize their level of interest in such activities. Other possible explanations may be that interest in participating in particular Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities are determined by geographic proximity to the tourism destination (D.K. Shifflet and Associates, 1999; Wall & Mathieson, 2006) and by transportation fuel costs (Canadian Tourism Commission, 2008).

A study of heritage tourism in Pennsylvania indicates that the top reason heritage travellers visited Pennsylvania was that the destination was "*not far to travel to*" with 64% of respondents stating this as their main motivator (D.K. Shifflet and Associates, 1999, p.20). Moreover, regarding fuel costs, the summer of 2008 saw rising fuel costs in Canada and as a result, tourists' intentions to take a summer leisure vacation declined by 16.2% from May 2007 to July 2008 (Canadian Tourism Commission, 2008). Thus, factors of geographic proximity and strains on household budgets from rising fuel costs may, in part, have contributed to survey respondents' statements of interest in participating in particular Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities.

In regard to country of origin (Canada, the United States, or other internationals), several statistically significant relationships existed between this variable and interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. An observation drawn from the list of activities is that for most activities (except for only the Mi'kmaw guided tour of a national park where interest from other internationals was followed by American interest), other internationals had the

highest interest followed by tourists originating from Canada, while the least amount of interest was from tourists from the United States. A general interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism was highest among other internationals where 84% *agreed* to being interested compared to 58.8% of Americans and 59.1% of Canadians. Similar trends were observed where 81.6% of other internationals were *interested* in hiking a Mi'kmaw trail, 79.6% were *interested* in visiting a Mi'kmaw archeological site, 79.2% were *interested* in taking a Mi'kmaw guided tour of a national park, and 75.5% were *interested* in listening to a talk about Mi'kmaw culture.

A link between interest and country of origin was less clear for activities such as participating in a canoe-making workshop and in the overnight Mi'kmaw retreat where overall limited interest was observed. Here, tourists originating from Canada had the highest proportion of interest in participating in a canoe-making workshop (47.8%), followed by other international tourists (30.6%) and tourists from the United States (25.6%). As for the overnight Mi'kmaw retreat, other internationals had the highest proportion of those stating *interested* (42.9%) followed by Canadian (34.5%) and American tourists (18.6%).

An observation that can be drawn from the list of activities possessing a statistically significant relationship with the country-of-origin variable is that these activities are all quite interactive and allow tourists to be outdoors or have contact with the Mi'kmaw hosts. This points to international tourists' desire to participate in more intense cultural learning activities when travelling further distances. Scholarly evidence suggests that interest in Canadian Aboriginal tourism is high in European markets (Insignia, 2007; Williams & Richter, 2002). Specifically, a report prepared for the Canadian Tourism Commission on the Aboriginal tourism opportunities for Canada states that 85% of potential travellers to Canada from France, 72% from Germany, and 46% from the United Kingdom stated an interest in Canadian Aboriginal products. Further, these tourists clearly stated a desire to participate actively in Aboriginal activities that foster cultural learning, provide adventure and self-discovery, and involve an interaction with the natural environment and the Aboriginal host (Insignia, 2007). These tourists are less interested in staged entertainment activities, bus tours, and mass-produced souvenirs (Insignia, 2007).

Gender seemed to have a relatively small influence on tourists' interest in participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities; testing revealed only two statistically significant relationships. The data indicated that women had higher levels of interest in such activities; 62.4% of women were interested in purchasing Mi'kmaw arts and crafts as compared to 40.6% of men, while 62.7% of women were interested in eating food prepared in a traditional Mi'kmaw way compared to 50.3% of men. Likewise, the literature points to women being more interested in cultural tourism activities (Campbell, 1994; Craik, 1997; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; The ARA Consulting Group Inc., & LORD Cultural Resources Planning and Management Inc., 1997; Williams, n.d.).

Prior noticing of advertising for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities during tourists' travels or travel preparations to Nova Scotia also seemed to have little influence on tourist interest. Our chi-square testing revealed the least amount of statistically significant relationships. The only statistically significant relationships were found between prior noticing of advertising and tourists' general interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism and listening to a talk about Mi'kmaw culture. Of the tourists who had seen advertising, 78.8% *agreed* that they would be interested in participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities compared to those who *agreed* but had not seen advertising (58.9%).

Similarly, more tourists who had previously seen advertising were interested in listening to a talk about Mi'kmaw culture than those who had not. These findings are supported by the literature citing that tourists closely base their decisions on the marketing and images that they see related to Aboriginal tourism (Chang *et al.*, 2005; Crouch & Richie, 1999). Therefore the ability to be interested in an activity can be dependent in part on the prior exposure to this activity through advertising. Still, the results indicate that advertising did not influence tourists' interest in most Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities and that of all relationship testing for this study, the variable of advertising yielded the highest p values.

In conclusion, of all the factors considered, the most prominent ones contributing to tourists' interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism were variables of education, age, and country of origin. These variables produced the most statistically significant relationships (statistically significant at least at the 0.05 level) where education and age yielded six statistically significant relationships and country of origin yielded five statistically significant relationships. Ultimately, the chi-square analysis provides a deeper understanding of tourist interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism and how particular variables influence levels of interest.

3.5 Conclusion

The survey findings provide insight into the demand for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. Aboriginal tourism research soliciting tourist opinions is lacking in the scholarly literature, even given recognition of this information's ability to contribute to more-sustainable Aboriginal tourism development. The findings reported here allow for the creation of a tourist profile highlighting demographic trends and past involvement and exposure to Aboriginal tourism as well as a better understanding of tourist interest in participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. The findings revealed that tourists sampled in this study were older and more educated compared to tourists surveyed in the Nova Scotia Visitor Exit Surveys. A more prominent difference between findings in the studies was tourists' place of origin; most tourists sampled in this study originated from Ontario as compared to the majority from Atlantic Canada observed in the Nova Scotia Visitor Exit Survey.

The results also indicated that a high number of tourists had never participated in Aboriginal tourism (71.9%) and had not seen advertising for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities in Nova Scotia (82.7%). Even considering tourists' limited prior exposure and involvement in Aboriginal tourism, 62.2% at least agreed to having an interest in participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism while in Nova Scotia. However, the number of tourists undecided about their interest was also high, thus identifying an opportunity to target these individuals with an aim to sway their interest using attractive marketing. Activities with the highest tourist interest included visiting a Mi'kmaw archeological site

and visiting a cultural interpretive centre, while the least popular activities involved participating in a canoe-making workshop and an overnight Mi'kmaw wilderness retreat.

The literature points to older, more educated and more affluent tourists being interested in cultural and heritage tourism activities (Canadian Tourism Commission, 2003; Carr, 2004; Notzke, 2004). In accordance with this observation from the literature, a statistically significant relationship between education level and interest in various Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities was quite prevalent in this study, revealing that more-educated tourists possessed a higher interest in most activities. Likewise, the age variable yielded several statistically significant relationships but here, older tourists were less interested in activities that required more contact with the host, time and physical ability.

Conclusions regarding this analysis argue that factors such as time and physical ability required for particular Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities acted as the limiting factors for the level of interest among older tourists. Thus older tourists are not necessarily uninterested in participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism; rather, certain activities are unappealing due to their time and physical ability/discomfort requirements. Several statistically significant relationships were also found between variables of province and country of origin and tourist interest, notably where Atlantic Canadians and other internationals had high interest levels. Finally, variables such as gender and prior noticing of advertising for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism had small influences on tourist interest.

The survey findings have important implications for sustainable Mi'kmaw cultural tourism development in Nova Scotia, especially in regard to destination marketing. Effective advertising for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism is one of the sector's weakest areas and therefore proper marketing strategies are important for its future success and sustainability. The results point to the targeting of particular groups, notably locally in Atlantic Canada where interest is high. Brochures available in Nova Scotia Visitor Information Centres as well as properly developed websites need to be on hand for tourists. Due to high interest among international visitors, international travel agencies, tour providers, and travel magazines need to have ready access to information on

Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. Williams and Richter (2002) point to the importance of creating relationships between Canadian and European travel agents where better communication is needed, especially where interest in Canadian Aboriginal tourism is high among German tourists.

Due to differences in interest for various types of activities among age groups, advertising locations need to be strategically planned. Adventure outfitters, outdoor recreation stores, and university/college campuses would be ideal locations to advertise activities that are more appealing to younger adventurous tourists (e.g. a Mi'kmaw wilderness retreat, a canoe-making workshop, hiking a Mi'kmaw trail, and a Mi'kmaw guided tour of a national park). Softer Mi'kmaw cultural activities could be advertised more by means of travel agencies and tour operators where older tourists tend to seek out tourism information.

Further, opportunities to share knowledge on Mi'kmaw archeological artefacts would be profitable for the Mi'kmaq as, according to the survey findings, this was quite popular among tourists. The challenge with this type of activity is in balancing values of sacredness of archeological artefacts and of the economic profitability of hosting such tourism activities. Ultimately, the decision to share Mi'kmaw archeology should be made by the Mi'kmaw communities. Cultural centres, also popular among tourists and Mi'kmaw communities, are a comfortable and educational way to share Mi'kmaw culture and should continue to develop throughout the province. The centres not only provide education for tourists and financial gain for communities (if proper funding and resources are secured), but can also serve as a community focal point. The centres act as a meeting place and allow the Mi'kmaq to learn and reconnect with their culture. Finally, a better understanding of tourist demands can greatly assist Mi'kmaw communities in developing a sustainable tourism sector in Nova Scotia.

Based on their history, traditions and geography, Canadian Aboriginal communities have different experiences and knowledge to offer tourists. Due to the uniqueness of these Aboriginal communities, tourist surveys similar to the one used in this study could be employed to provide context- and location-specific demand-side information. Findings from this tourist survey ultimately contribute to the advancement of

knowledge on tourism demand here in Nova Scotia as well as to the argument for using demand-side information for ensuring the sustainability of the Aboriginal tourism sector, one that provides financial and cultural prosperity for Aboriginal communities. It is important to maintain a balance between the views of the tourist and the host and not compromise the authenticity of Aboriginal culture. The challenge thus remains for Aboriginal communities to take this demand-side information and create a balance between it and their supply and desire to share knowledge of the rich Aboriginal culture.

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CHAPTER 4 SUSTAINABLE MI'KMAW CULTURAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN NOVA SCOTIA, CANADA: Examining cultural tourist and Mi'kmaw perspectives

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Abstract: The primary objective of this study was to assess tourists' motivations and satisfaction in participating in authentic Mi'kmaw tourism activities in Nova Scotia as well as the ideas, perceptions, and components of sustainable cultural tourism development from the Mi'kmaw perspective. To solicit the tourist perspective, surveys were administered to tourists visiting existing Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites in Nova Scotia while the Mi'kmaw perspective was obtained through key informant interviews. The results of the tourist survey suggest that tourists visiting the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites were highly educated and deeply interested in learning about culture and participating in authentic cultural experiences. Tourists were also highly satisfied with their Mi'kmaw cultural tourism experience and were interested in participating in Aboriginal tourism again. Findings regarding the Mi'kmaw perspective indicated a focus on cultural tourism's ability to educate both tourists and Mi'kmaw people on Mi'kmaw culture as well as provide economic opportunities for Mi'kmaw communities. Of greater importance to Mi'kmaw people is the preservation and protection of Mi'kmaw culture. Conclusions drawn from the research include recommendations for the future success and sustainability of the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector. This study's findings may also inform other Canadian Aboriginal communities seeking to develop robust and sustainable cultural tourism in their own settings.

Keywords: Aboriginal tourism; Mi'kmaw cultural tourism; tourist views; Aboriginal perspectives; sustainability

4.1 Introduction

Tourism fosters cultural interactions on a daily basis, particularly among tourists participating in Aboriginal tourism activities. Aboriginal tourism, a growing subset of cultural tourism "... refers to tourism in which Aboriginal people are directly involved in the provision of the attraction, either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction" (Hinch & Butler, 1996, p.9). In Canada, its growth has been felt everywhere but predominantly in the south (Hinch, 1995). If managed properly, tourism in Aboriginal communities can provide increased economic development and positive social and cultural effects such as community growth and cultural preservation (Colton, 2005; Hinch, 1995; Karhakeron Diabo, 2003; Palermo, Cuttall, Dera, & Reis, 2001; Smith, 2003; The Economic Planning Group of Canada, 2005; Zorilla Martinez, 2003). In addition to benefits to the hosts, Aboriginal tourism can provide tourists with an opportunity to gain a better understanding of historical and contemporary Aboriginal

life (McIntosh, 2004). A particular interest in Aboriginal tourism activities is found among baby boomers, a large and affluent demographic group seeking softer, more-educational tourism experiences (Hager, 2003; Karhakeron Diabo, 2003; Notzke, 2004; Smith, 2003; Williams & Richter, 2002).

Acknowledging the potential benefits that tourism can offer a community, the Mi'kmaq First Nations people of Nova Scotia have begun to develop their tourism sector with the aim to share their culture and traditions with their youth as well as tourists (VPHSTF, 2006). The purpose of this research is twofold: first, to examine tourists' motivations, expectations, and satisfaction in participating in authentic Mi'kmaw tourism activities, and second, to examine the components of sustainable cultural tourism development from the Mi'kmaw perspective. Combined with the findings of a complementary investigation (Lynch, Duinker, Sheehan, & Chute, 2009), this study will provide recommendations on improving the chances for success of the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism industry.

4.2 Sustainable Aboriginal Tourism Development

A sustainable Aboriginal tourism sector is one that includes several characteristics: notably an Aboriginally owned and operated activity, proper development of the tourism product, effective marketing, and partnerships between host communities and the travel industry (Byrne, 1993; Hager, 2003; Mauze, 2003; McIntosh, 2004; Notzke, 2004; Williams & Richter, 2002). In addition to focusing on sustainability of the sector, tourism development should take into consideration its ability to assist in sustaining communities. One such way is implementing a community-based approach (Anderson, 1991; Joppe, 1996). For Mi'kmaw cultural tourism, using a community-based approach requires adhering to certain values, notably the Mi'kmaw worldview of interconnectedness, the Mi'kmaw perception of land, time and space, and the concepts of *Netukulimk* (environmental sustainability), cooperation and unity, democracy and consensus, family, the circle, and oral tradition (MacDonald, 2000). All of these concepts and values are central to successful community-based development projects in Mi'kmaw communities (MacDonald, 2000).

Having worked with the Mi'kmaq of Lennox-Island, Prince Edward Island, Colton and Harris (2007) present a model of community-based development based on a model by Bell (1999). It shifts away from a sole focus on economic development benefits and identifies other features such as empowerment, wellness, and learning which contribute to the social sustainability of a community. Here, a *nation-building approach* is emphasized over a *jobs and income approach* to foster a proud and sustainable Aboriginal community (Colton & Harris, 2007). In the context of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism, properly developed community-based tourism that allows community members to be directly involved in decision-making is essential to its success and sustainability.

In addition to promoting a community-based approach, the literature points to the importance of understanding both tourist and host perspectives when developing sustainable Aboriginal tourism. Several studies have sought to improve understanding of tourist demands (Dyer *et al.*, 2003; McIntosh, 2004; Notzke, 1999, 2004; Prentice, 1997; Ryan & Huyton, 2000, 2002; Spark, 2002; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Zorilla Martinez, 2003) as well as consider host perspectives on Aboriginal tourism (Dyer *et al.*, 2003; Notzke, 1999; Zorilla Martinez, 2003). A balance between tourists' needs and those of the host community must be obtained to achieve a sustainable Aboriginal tourism sector (Prentice, 1997; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Zorilla Martinez, 2003). The need for this balance is illustrated by Wall and Mathieson (2006) who state that "The needs of the visitor have to be reconciled with the requirements of the resident population in the tourist destination" (p.213) and by Prentice (1997) who argues that "Tourism will only be sustainable if it is simultaneously in harmony with hosts, environment, policy objectives and tourists" (p.229).

This study provides much-needed attention to the demand side of Aboriginal tourism development, where there exists a gap in the literature for information on tourist opinions (McIntosh, 2004; Ryan & Huyton, 2002), as well as offers insight into the supply side of tourism development in Nova Scotia involving the Mi'kmaq. Moreover, in a field dominated by research on western and northern Canadian Aboriginal tourism initiatives as well as Indigenous tourism abroad (Australia and New Zealand), research focusing on Atlantic Canadian Aboriginal tourism opportunities should fill an important gap.

4.3 Mi'kmaw Cultural Tourism in Nova Scotia

Mi'kmaw culture offers a plethora of knowledge to share with tourists visiting Nova Scotia. However, the lack of an inventory of existing Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities points to the sector's infancy. The primary ways in which tourists can engage in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities is through visiting the three cultural interpretation centres in the province (*Bear River Heritage and Cultural Centre, Glooscap Heritage Centre, Wagmatcook Heritage and Cultural Centre*) and by participating in Mi'kmaw eco tourism activities in Kejimikujik National Park where Mi'kmaw interpreters guide visitors through their traditional territory. A recently developed and marketed tourism experience, Mi'kmaw archeological tourism, allows tourists to visit and learn about Mi'kmaw archeological sites. Moreover, community events such as Maweomis (community feasts) and Pow Wows are open to tourists seeking more-traditional community gatherings involving drumming, singing, and dancing as well as food, art and craft vendors.

In addition to community events, Mi'kmaq Treaty Day is celebrated on October 1st of each year to commemorate the signing of the Peace and Friendship Treaties in Halifax between the Mi'kmaq and the Crown in the 18th century. It is a key opportunity for the greater Mi'kmaw community to share its culture both within and with tourists by showcasing drum circles, traditional dancers, smudging ceremonies and traditional songs and prayers. These opportunities allow tourists to learn and experience Nova Scotia's Mi'kmaq culture. As the sector continues to develop, these activities will surely see higher numbers of tourists.

4.4 Study Methods

We administered a survey to assess tourist motivations for and satisfaction with participation in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities. The survey was administered in summer 2008 to tourists visiting the Bear River Heritage and Cultural Centre in Bear River First Nation, the Glooscap Heritage Centre in Truro, Kejimikujik National Park in southwestern Nova Scotia, and the Millbrook Pow Wow. These sites, located in mainland Nova Scotia, display Mi'kmaw culture from different perspectives. Guided

tours in Kejimikujik provide a cultural eco-tourism experience whereas the cultural centres provide a controlled-facility cultural tourism experience and Pow Wows are an opportunity to experience a traditional Mi'kmaw community event. Also, these sites offer a comparison between off-reserve and on-reserve Mi'kmaw cultural tourism experiences.

A total of 111 surveys was collected among these sites: 14 surveys were collected at the Bear River Heritage and Cultural Centre, 44 in Kejimikujik National Park, 11 at the Millbrook Pow Wow, and 42 at the Glooscap Heritage Centre. Tourists at these sites were asked to identify their motivations for participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. They were also asked to share some thoughts on their favourite part of the tourism experience, what they had learned about Mi'kmaw culture, what they saw as the most important features of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism, and their overall satisfaction with their experience.

In addition to tourist surveys, interviews were conducted with Mi'kmaw staff working at the sites and with Mi'kmaw people interested or involved in cultural tourism in their communities. Interview participants were asked about the effects of tourism on their community and culture, their ideas on tourism marketing, what they viewed as the most important features of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism, what they wished to share with tourists and about the future sustainability of the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector in Nova Scotia. Interview data were transcribed and coded into thematic categories with the help of Nvivo 8 qualitative analysis software (QSR International Pty. Ltd., 2008).

4.5 Results and Discussion

4.5.1 Tourist Perspectives

4.5.1.1 Tourist Profile

The demographic findings of this study resemble the cultural tourist profile discussed in the scholarly literature, where most often, cultural tourists are older, more affluent and highly educated (Canadian Tourism Commission, 2003; Carr, 2004; Notzke, 2004; Smith, 2003). The study sample was comprised of 60.9% women and 39.1% men and the largest age group consisted of tourists aged between 55 and 64 (27%) followed

by those between 35 and 44 (21.6%) and 45 and 54 (20.7%). Interesting age differences emerged between sites where a much younger sample was found in Kejimikujik National Park (the highest proportion of tourists were between 25 and 44) while older tourists (over 45 years) visited the cultural centres and the Millbrook Pow Wow. These findings are supported by research on North American tourists interested in Canadian Aboriginal tourism: younger tourists (under 45 years old) are interested in outdoor activities and older tourists are more interested in native history, tradition, arts and crafts, and short tours (Campbell, 1994).

The education level of the tourists sampled in this study was highly skewed; remarkably, 34.3% of the surveyed tourists had obtained a graduate degree, while 29.6% had obtained an undergraduate degree, 21.3% had a college or technical college diploma and the remaining 14.8% had achieved some level of high-school education. A similar highly educated tourist profile was found in a complementary study of a wider market for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism (Lynch *et al.*, 2009). Tourists with the highest education levels were found at both cultural centres where 50% of those visiting the Bear River Heritage and Cultural Centre and 42.9% at the Glooscap Heritage Centre had a graduate degree. In addition to higher levels of education, tourists visiting cultural centres were older, leading to the conclusion that older, more educated tourists have a higher interest in 'softer' Aboriginal tourism experiences.

Of those sampled, 11.2% self-identified as Aboriginal and of this, slightly over 64% self-identified as Mi'kmaq. Most tourists travelled in a group of two adults (55.5%) followed by those travelling in a group of four adults (19.1%) or alone (10.9%). Furthermore, most adults travelled without children (65.5%) followed by those who travelled with two children (23.6%). Notably, tourists participating in the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism programming in Kejimikujik most often did so with two children (45.5%), corresponding with the younger age profile of tourists visiting the Park found in this study.

The sampled tourists most commonly originated from Nova Scotia (35.5%) followed by those from Ontario (6.5%) or New York state (4.7%). Similar trends were found in the 2006-07 *Patterns of Visitor Use Study* of Kejimikujik National Park where

most tourists visiting the park originated from Canada (78%) and more specifically from Nova Scotia (61%) (Parks Canada, 2007b). The high proportion of tourists originating from Nova Scotia may, in part, be explained by the high fuel prices during summer 2008 which would encourage tourists to shorten their travel distances. A bulletin issued by the Canadian Tourism Commission (2008) indicated that due to soaring fuel prices, tourists' intentions to take a leisure vacation had declined by 16.2% from May 2007 to July 2008 and notably, the largest decline was observed for tourists intentions to travel internationally. This was echoed in this study by one tourist who stated, "It's nice to stay relatively local on a family vacation but experience a whole different culture/way of life".

In regard to country of origin, most surveyed tourists originated from Canada (55.9%), with others from the United-States (25.2%), Germany (6.3%), and the United Kingdom (4.9%). Ultimately, the demographic profile of the sampled tourists reveals certain differences among study sites, especially in relation to age. Nonetheless, tourists visiting the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites were often older, more educated, and originated from Nova Scotia.

In regard to prior participation in Aboriginal tourism, most tourists (66.7%) stated that this was not their first Aboriginal tourism experience. Of those who had previously engaged in Aboriginal tourism, they had most commonly participated in Mi'kmaw programmes at Kejimikujik National Park or at cultural centres primarily in Nova Scotia but also in Ontario, Alberta, British Columbia and the United States. Data from the *2006-07 Patterns of Visitor Use Study* from Kejimikujik National Park support this finding - 64% of tourists were repeat visitors, potentially participating in a Mi'kmaw guided tour (Parks Canada, 2007b).

When asked about how they first learnt about the Mi'kmaw tourism location they visited at the time of the survey, most respondents were informed by 'other' sources. This was particularly prevalent at the Glooscap Heritage Centre where most 'other' responses involved tourists learning about the centre from their bus tour-guide (weekly bus tours visit the centre) or by noticing the 40-foot Glooscap statue next to the cultural centre on the side of the highway. Additional sources that informed tourists about the Mi'kmaw tourism sites were by word of mouth (25%), visitor information centres (17.5%),

and paper brochures (15.8%). In her study of Aboriginal tourism in the western Canadian Arctic, Notzke (1999) echoes the finding that word of mouth is an important source of advertising.

Less popular sources of information included travel agents (4.2%), Internet advertising (3.3%), and newspaper advertising (1.7%). A report by Nova Scotia Tourism Culture and Heritage and the Nova Scotia Tourism Partnership Council (2006) found that 55% of potential visitors to Nova Scotia book their travel plans online. Likewise Richards (2007) cites that increasingly, cultural tourists are using the Internet to plan their cultural travels before leaving home. In addition, the literature points to the lack of Aboriginal tourism hosts using the Internet to advertise their activities and the subsequent need for expanding their market-reach by using the Internet (Karhakeron Diabo, 2003; Notzke, 2004). Based on these findings, the value and effectiveness of Internet-advertising should be recognized by Mi'kmaw cultural tourism hosts.

The sources through which tourists heard about particular Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites varied among the sites, demonstrating the differing marketing methods that sites employ. Tourists at Kejimikujik National Park most often heard about the Mi'kmaw programmes via a visitor information centre (40.9%), a paper brochure (22.7%) and word of mouth (22.7%). These findings are supported by the fact that paper brochures for the Park are available at Nova Scotia Visitor Information Centres. However, activities such as the Pow Wow are not advertised at Visitor Information Centres and thus, not surprising, the primary source there was word of mouth (63.6%). Likewise, word of mouth (28.6%) was high among tourists visiting the Bear River Heritage and Cultural Centre, but 'other' sources were even higher at 50%. Ultimately, 'other' sources and word of mouth emerged as the primary methods for learning about Mi'kmaw tourism while paper- and Internet-based advertising contributed less.

To create a more robust tourist profile, we asked respondents to state the type of cultural tourist with which they most identified. McKercher and du Cros (2002) developed a typology emphasizing the differences in cultural tourists' desired involvement and interest-level in cultural tourism. Adapted from McKercher and du

Cros's (2002) study of tourists visiting Hong Kong, the following typology was presented to tourists surveyed in this study:

- **The purposeful cultural tourist:** Seriously concerned with learning about and experiencing other cultures.
- **The sightseeing cultural tourist:** Less concerned with experiencing culture and more interested in visiting the cultural highlights.
- **The casual tourist:** Sees culture as a less important element in the decision-making process for the destination and does not get deeply involved while there.
- **The incidental cultural tourist:** Does not choose a destination based upon culture, and once there, involvement is highly limited.
- **The serendipitous cultural tourist:** Does not seek cultural involvement in the choice of the destination, but while there gets really involved and has a deep experience.

Our results indicate that, of the tourists who indicated an association with any of these types, most identified with purposeful cultural tourist (58.7%) followed by a sightseeing tourist (18.4%), a serendipitous cultural tourist (13.8%), and casual and incidental cultural tourists (4.6% respectively). Differing from our results, McKercher and du Cros (2002) found that the highest proportion of tourists identified themselves as a sightseeing cultural tourist (30.7%). Over half the tourists visiting Hong Kong were not primarily motivated by cultural involvement when choosing a travel destination (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Similarly, McIntosh (2004) emphasizes that 'purposeful' cultural tourists are most often the minority. In light of these differences, we suggest that tourists visiting Nova Scotia and notably those interested in Aboriginal tourism, may be unique in their desire for deep-cultural-learning tourism experiences. Mi'kmaw hosts who desire high-quality and respectful tourists will welcome this finding. Demonstrating this, one host stated: "I would much rather have quality than quantity. I think it would be a lot nicer to have folks who are more intrigued and respectful of our culture."

4.5.1.2 Tourist Motivations and Preferences

Tourists further shared their motivations for participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism and rated the importance they place on 'learning and experiencing Mi'kmaw culture', 'meeting Mi'kmaw people', 'buying authentic Mi'kmaw souvenirs', and 'being in

and appreciating a different place'. The results indicate that the greatest importance (either *important* or *very important*) was placed on 'being in and appreciating a different place' (86.4%), followed by 'learning and experiencing the Mi'kmaw culture' (84.6%) and 'meeting Mi'kmaw people' (72.2%). Least importance was given to 'buying authentic Mi'kmaw souvenirs' (24.7%).

We were interested in what mattered most to tourists in an Aboriginal tourism experience. Taking inspiration from Notzke's (2004) study in southern Alberta, the tourists surveyed in our study were invited to rate multiple tourism characteristics; 'authenticity of the experience', 'education about Mi'kmaw culture', 'Mi'kmaw owned and operated activity', 'price' and 'entertainment'. The findings reveal that Mi'kmaw cultural tourism's ability to provide an educational and authentic experience were what mattered most to tourists. On the other hand, price and entertainment were least valued and moderate importance was placed on the tourist activity being Mi'kmaw owned and operated.

The results here are comparable to Notzke's (2004) where most tourists stated authenticity as what mattered most, followed by learning something about people's culture. At the other extreme, the least importance was placed on price and entertainment. Similarly, Moscardo and Pearce (1999) indicate that the highest "*Mean Rating of Importance of Benefits Sought from Tourism*" among tourists visiting the Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park near Cairns, Australia, was learning new things and increasing knowledge. The literature also points to a greater willingness among cultural tourists to learn and seek out activities that provide educational opportunities (Boyd, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Moscardo & Pearce, 1999; Richards, 2007; Smith, 2003).

Furthermore, tourists' prioritization of authenticity in our study is echoed in the literature stating that tourists are seeking higher levels of authenticity and that "...many are becoming more sophisticated in their demands for honest experiences as opposed to staged authenticity and indigenous kitsch" (Mason, 2004, p.845). Other research indicates that cultural tourists prioritize participation in authentic cultural tourism

experiences and further that their satisfaction relies on the activity being authentic (Richards, 2007, Zorrilla Martinez, 2003).

4.5.1.3 Tourist Learning and Satisfaction

To determine how Aboriginal tourism fosters an understanding and learning of culture, surveyed tourists were asked to share what they learned about Mi'kmaw culture after participating in the tourism activity. The survey sites provided tourists with different Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities and thus, based on what they had experienced, the responses covered a diverse array of cultural learning. Tourists at the Pow Wow and Kejimikujik National Park learned in great detail about specific features of Mi'kmaw culture while tourists visiting cultural centres were exposed to a breadth of cultural features. At the Pow Wow, tourists spoke of learning about traditional dress, drumming and dancing and particular rituals and ceremonies. Particularly, the importance of eagles and the use of their feathers in Pow Wow regalia was emphasized while in Kejimikujik tourists most often mentioned learning about stories and legends, the Mi'kmaq's relationship with nature and the petroglyphs, and survival techniques. Comparatively, tourists at the cultural centres learned about a variety of themes such as Mi'kmaw history, language, religion and spirituality, arts and crafts, and food.

Tourists also wrote about the realization of their prior limited knowledge about Mi'kmaw culture. Particular tourist responses that demonstrated this include: "I have been pronouncing 'Micmacs' incorrectly all my life", and "How talented and resourceful they were as a people. That as a Canadian, I was so unaware of the amount of Native tribes that actually lived in Canada before the whites came until just a few years ago. Being 62, it shocks me that our history programs spoke more of English history than our own". This realization and the need to change tourists' preconceived notions through participation in tourism activities is essential and central to the goals of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism.

When asked about the favourite part of their experience, particular tourists at all four sites spoke about the Mi'kmaw hosts and the satisfaction they derived from having contact with them. For example, at the Bear River Heritage and Cultural Centre, certain tourists spoke about how they enjoyed seeing young docents working at the centre.

Tourists at Kejimikujik National Park wrote about the pleasure they derived from learning and connecting with culture through their Mi'kmaw guides. This was emphasized by tourists visiting Kejimikujik who wrote: "Connecting with the history physically and in seeing a direct connection, through the guide, with the people made me feel a part of the history, closer to it", "The guide's sense of humour and her own perspective on the tales", "The amazing storytelling ability of our guide", and "Watching the guide work with stone as he shared info, culture and stories".

Statements such as these underline the importance of the hosts' personalities and their ability to create an enjoyable tourism experience (Notzke, 1999). One tourist attending the Millbrook Pow Wow clearly stated the importance of this: "People are most important because they are the experience." Similarly, the Mi'kmaq discussed a positive rapport and relationship between tourist and host. One Mi'kmaw interpreter in particular remained in contact with a German tourist with whom a lasting friendship had been formed.

Overwhelming tourist satisfaction was found in our study. Fully 55.5% of respondents *strongly agreed* that they enjoyed their Mi'kmaw tourism experience, 39.1% *agreed*, 4.5% were *undecided* and 0.9% *strongly disagreed*. As a further indication of their satisfaction, 98.2% of tourists said they would participate in Aboriginal tourism again.

4.5.2 Mi'kmaw Host Perspectives

4.5.2.1 Cultural Preservation, Learning and Authenticity

The Mi'kmaq see cultural tourism as providing several benefits, most importantly its ability to preserve and protect culture. When developing Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities, the Mi'kmaq are essentially gathering cultural knowledge, and in some cases, re-assembling valuable parts of culture that may have been lost to them personally. Interviewees spoke about tourism providing a means of rebuilding, relearning, and reconnecting with their culture. Mi'kmaw cultural tourism's ability to preserve culture was emphasized by one person who stated:

"Well we need to preserve our culture and we can do that through tourism and trained people with knowledge of their culture and traditions. If you have that

traditional knowledge handed down to someone willing to learn it, it's already preserved with that person, plus the person that you are training and teaching, they get a chance to teach someone else and so on. That's preserving our way of life and our culture."

In addition, interviewees saw preserving the oral tradition of handing down stories from generation to generation, which is central to Mi'kmaw culture, as a way of protecting culture and an important feature of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. Likewise, the literature points to tourism's ability to protect culture where "Tourism development has the potential to preserve, revitalize or even allow some Aboriginal people to re-learn aspects of their culture" (Colton & Harris, 2007, p.232). Moreover, involving youth in the tourism development process where they are exposed to Elders' cultural knowledge is especially stressed by both scholars (Colton & Harris, 2007; Wall & Mathieson, 2006) and Mi'kmaw interview participants. Also, in certain cases, being exposed to international visitors allows the Mi'kmaq to learn about other cultures and spark an interest in themselves to travel.

Taking ownership over the dissemination of cultural knowledge and being able to tell their own story instead of having someone else tell it on their behalf was also deemed critical by the Mi'kmaq. Regarding this, one interviewee stated: "We are starting to tell our own story now where in the past it was always someone else telling our story so it's improving." Most tourists (64.5%) surveyed in our study found it *important* and *very important* that a tourism activity be Mi'kmaw owned and operated.

In addition to the Mi'kmaq learning about their own culture, tourism's far-reaching ability to educate and inform tourists worldwide on traditional and contemporary Mi'kmaw life was seen by interviewees as an important function. Similarly, tourism's educational ability was acknowledged by tourists where close to 94% saw 'education about Mi'kmaw culture' as being *important* and *very important* and almost 85% identified 'learning and experiencing Mi'kmaw culture' as being *important* and *very important* as a motivation for their participation.

The Mi'kmaq spoke about tourists' preconceived notions of Aboriginal culture where they entered with false ideas of Mi'kmaw homes (living in wigwams), appearance and dress as well as general ideas of contemporary Mi'kmaw life on a reservation.

Tourists' comments confirm this where they addressed realizing their false notions of Mi'kmaw culture. Several studies on Aboriginal tourism have likewise acknowledged cultural tourism's ability to dispel cultural stereotypes and correct inaccurate and archaic images that tourists possess about Aboriginal culture (Dyer *et al.*, 2003; McIntosh, 2004; Notzke, 1999; Spark, 2002). Promoting culture to tourists in an educational and accurate way is thus essential for dispelling stereotypes and false perceptions of culture.

Few differences between the experience that tourists would receive in cultural tourism on- and off-reserve were perceived by interviewees so long as a Mi'kmaw person delivered the activity. It was acknowledged, however, that an experience on-reserve would provide tourists with a better idea of contemporary Mi'kmaw life and potentially dispel tourists' stereotypes of the reservation system and daily Aboriginal life. Ultimately, most interviewees spoke of the entire province of Nova Scotia as traditional Mi'kmaw territory (Mi'kmaki) and therefore, given that culture is not confined to community boundaries, cultural tourism on- and off-reserve should not display major differences.

The research also found that for reasons of respect, spiritual and sacred parts of Mi'kmaw culture are generally off-limits to tourists. A fine balance must be struck between what can and cannot be shown and sold. Particular burial sites, prayers, songs, and ceremonies are not shared with tourists as well as certain petroglyph sites that are quickly disappearing due to natural and human causes. Similarly, authors discuss tourists' lack of understanding of the Aboriginal relationship with spirituality and that, as a result, these parts of culture are not widely shared with the visiting public (Notzke, 2004; Simons, 2000). Aboriginal communities need to control and decide carefully what they are willing to share with tourists (Colton & Harris, 2007; Smith, 2003).

According to those interviewed, a Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activity encouraging tourists to use their senses, such as hands-on or nature-based activities, provides tourists with a richer cultural learning experience. Spark (2002) also addresses this in her work at the Brambuk Cultural Centre in Victoria, Australia. She found that the use of one's senses in heterogenic spaces in cultural centres allows for greater satisfaction and more-effective cultural learning experiences. Moreover, Mi'kmaw interviewees

recognized that storytelling, being deeply rooted in their culture, was an effective way of sharing their culture with tourists.

Upholding authenticity was deemed important as this too contributes to cultural learning based in truth, reality, and tradition. All interviewees stressed the importance of presenting authentic Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities so as to provide both tourists and the Mi'kmaw people (especially youth) with an accurate portrayal of culture. Likewise, slightly over 89% of tourists saw 'authenticity of the experience' as being *important* and *very important*. Further, interviewees described authentic Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities as ones that provide evidence of and connection to the past, are based in traditional knowledge and traditional techniques, and are provided by a Mi'kmaw host. The importance of authenticity was highlighted by one individual as follows:

"It is important too because our culture has been lost for so long and we're starting to get it back little by little and I think that promoting real stuff is important because it just hasn't been said. We need to keep telling people what's happening and the truth because there have been books out there that have been written by non-Aboriginal people and it's not really how our culture was, that's not how we did things so it's important to make sure that we are giving people the facts."

It was also acknowledged that while tourists tend to seek entertainment, providing purely entertaining activities may compromise authenticity. Therefore, it is important to maintain the authentic presentation of culture instead of a staged authenticity that certain tourists demand (Boyd, 2002; Dyer *et al.*, 2003). Moreover, although cultural tourists are described as seeking authentic experiences, their perceptions of authenticity may be false and thus authenticity can only be determined by the Aboriginal hosts (Richards, 2007; Smith, 2003; Zorilla Martinez, 2003).

4.5.2.2 Benefits and Challenges of Mi'kmaw Cultural Tourism

A major benefit of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism is the provision of employment opportunities and economic spin-offs. Aboriginal tourism has the ability to address poverty in Aboriginal communities, particularly in some smaller communities with limited economic bases and impoverished economic conditions (Hinch, 1995; Karhakeron Diabo, 2003; Palermo *et al.*, 2001; Smith, 2003; Zorilla Martinez, 2003). However,

cautions exist regarding communities' dependency on tourism revenues, particularly in light of its seasonality in certain locations (Colton & Harris, 2007). Nonetheless, a positive focus on economic opportunities for Mi'kmaw artisans was mentioned by interviewees where tourism locations provide a venue for selling Mi'kmaw art, baskets, beadwork, quillwork, and leatherwork. Further economic spin-offs are exemplified by tourism locations hosting workshops on traditional craft-making as well as hiring drummers, dancers, singers, and dress-makers for particular events.

In addition to creating a greater awareness of culture and financial opportunities for communities, several interviewees recognized tourism's contribution to social well-being in terms of encouraging personal and community growth. This benefit is often ignored in the scholarly literature. In certain locations, Mi'kmaw staff commented on individuals' improved communication style and gained confidence. Being able to teach tourists about Mi'kmaw culture and seeing interest in this brought pride to individuals and to the Mi'kmaw community. In some cases, it gathered the community to discuss a common vision. Comments on building pride through tourism included:

"I think when the workshops are done in a positive way, I think there's pride that you can see in your community and I've had different Elders say this to me 'Finally somebody is doing something in a positive way to show our traditions and culture because we've been stereotyped for so long.'"

Overall, cultural tourism was positively viewed but a few negative impacts were discussed. Emphasis was placed on the fact that not all Mi'kmaw communities possess the same opportunities for tourism development. Negative impacts ranged from conflict within and among communities where differing views on tourism development emerged, to general 'wear and tear' on the land due to increased tourist traffic (although this was noted to be negligible in most locations). More-specific problems related to unique circumstances at the tourism sites. For example, inclement weather can affect the number of tourists attending guided tours in Kejimikujik whereas the remote location and lack of proper signage in certain small communities can limit the number of tourists visiting cultural centres.

Similarly, a lack of human capital, natural resources (e.g. the decline in birch trees for canoe-building materials and black-ash trees for basket-making materials), and funding from federal, provincial and Band governments all pose challenges to the

development of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. Other factors include unfavourable currency exchange rates and high fuel prices and camping fees (affecting tourist numbers in Kejimikujik). Discussing features of successful tourism development, Wall and Mathieson (2006) list quality pricing and an easily accessible and a well-located tourism destination as being essential. Thus, a lack of these is seen as detrimental to success. Funding deficiencies in Aboriginal communities, due to a dependency on unsecure federal government support, as well as an inability to secure funds from private lenders make it difficult to develop Aboriginal tourism successfully in certain locations (Anderson, 1991; Colton & Harris, 2007; Fuller, Bultjens, & Cummings, 2005). In specific Mi'kmaw communities, these challenges have led to a decline in tourist numbers. Overall though, according to the Mi'kmaw interviewees, there has been a general increase in interest and participation in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism at most sites.

Ultimately, each Mi'kmaw community in Nova Scotia, due to differing geography, unique strengths and weaknesses, and varying socio-economic situations, has witnessed different outcomes from tourism development. Anderson (1991) discusses how 'geography matters' when developing tourism activities due to each particular place worldwide "...having its own unique mix of political, social, cultural, environmental and economic contexts into which must be woven a comprehensive tourism development strategy" (p.220). Therefore, when examining challenges and benefits, careful attention should be paid not to generalize the whole Mi'kmaw Nations' ability to develop cultural tourism activities.

4.5.2.3 Sustainable Mi'kmaw Cultural Tourism

The Mi'kmaw interviewees' vision for a sustainable sector included a continued growth of cultural tourism; one requiring more people (staff and tourists), additional cultural resources, increased funding, and a possible expansion to year-round tourism offerings (most locations only operate during summer months). A clear focus on involvement of Mi'kmaw youth was emphasized to preserve culture and instill a sense of pride in younger generations. It was also recognized that concerted efforts must be made among Mi'kmaw communities regarding clear communication, collaboration, and networking. Thus, connecting the seven Mi'kmaw districts, sharing knowledge among

these districts and learning from each other is essential for growth. It was further recognized that connections and partnerships need to be made between Mi'kmaq and non-Mi'kmaq governments, businesses and organisations (especially in regard to marketing) to ensure the sector's sustainability.

In light of pressures on the environment, the Mi'kmaq believe that there will be negative impacts on their tourism sector and its sustainability. A strong connection to the environment and the necessity to protect its health to have a robust tourism sector was recognized by one interviewee who stated:

"Our tourism is connected to our environment, you know, and if our environment is sick then our tourism will be sick too, you know, so I think this is so important. Everything is connected. The wellbeing of our people, our health, it's connected to the trees, the plants and animals and it's all connected to the environment so in getting materials, that's going to be a challenge..."

Likewise, Murphy (1985) emphasizes the interdependence between the ecosystem and tourism where tourism's success and sustainability depends on the availability of natural resources and the health of the environment.

Further discussion on the future vision of Mi'kmaq cultural tourism acknowledged the problem of invisibility of Mi'kmaq culture. One way to address this is via improvements in marketing. A general increase in the quantity and quality of advertising was emphasized as well as the need for organised marketing plans. The remoteness of certain tourism locations and the need for clear mapping and directions to such places was addressed in addition to the creation of attractive brochures, the use of television advertising, and the development and enhancement of websites. The literature emphasizes the importance of proper destination marketing, stating that potential tourists base their decisions closely on the marketing and images that they see related to Aboriginal tourism (Chang *et al.*, 2005; Crouch & Richie, 1999).

Marketing challenges include a lack of funding and knowledge on how best to market to international tourists. A keen interest in Aboriginal tourism among German tourists was acknowledged by most interviewees and by the literature (Hinch, 1995; Williams & Richter, 2002), and was evidenced in our study by German tourists' presence at all but one of our Mi'kmaq cultural tourism study sites. The challenge remains to

access and target this market. Further challenges involve the Mi'kmaw people's discomfort in marketing their culture and the difficulty with which single images can accurately and authentically depict an entire culture.

Finally, the research found that based on the current development of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism in Nova Scotia, opinions on its future sustainability varied. Some saw the sector as sustainable (especially within the Parks Canada system) whereas others saw its potential but recognized the steep learning process and increased organisation needed to make it more sustainable. Others, based on their current situation, were pessimistic about the sustainability of the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector due to a lack of cultural artefacts and funding, and limited collaboration among Mi'kmaw communities. Nonetheless, a marked sense of determination and perseverance among several respondents encourages the prospect of a sustainable Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector.

4.6 Conclusions and Recommendations

Similarities among tourist and host views provide a shared understanding of the goals and priorities of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. However, clear plans and recommendations on future development of the sector must be addressed.

Marketing is clearly an area where improvements should be made. The tourist survey results indicate that 'other' sources and word of mouth are the primary methods for learning about Mi'kmaw tourism while, surprisingly, Internet-based advertising was one of the smallest contributors (3.3%). According to interviewees, word of mouth was also deemed an important marketing method but its far-reaching ability is much less than other sources.

Although websites exist for most Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites mentioned in this study, the tourists we surveyed do not seem to be accessing them. Therefore it is recommended that these sites be updated and improved in terms of quantity, quality and accessibility. Links between these sites and travel agencies, government tourism departments, and community websites should be established to expand the reach of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism advertising. In addition, paper-based advertising such as

information in Nova Scotia's Doers and Dreamers Guide (Nova Scotia.com, 2009) and American Automobile Association magazines should be improved while participation in regional and international tourism shows/conferences should increase.

Further recommendations involve marketing a Mi'kmaw cultural tourism experience within a regional context in partnership with other tourism operators in Nova Scotia. One interviewee in particular highlighted this in his vision for the future of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism:

"We could put a package together that they could come here on a multiple-day adventure where part of it is staying with a First Nations and then go down to the Celtic lodge, get a nice round sense of what Nova Scotia is about and the diversity of our cultures. I think that's something that needs to be worked on some more."

Although not explicitly explored in our tourist survey, other studies have found an overestimation of tourist interest in Aboriginal tourism where usually their participation in such activities is not the primary purpose of their trip (Notzke, 2004). Therefore, in keeping with this finding, Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities should be marketed in conjunction and partnership with other Nova Scotia tourism activities. Likewise, Fuller *et al.* (2005) discuss that where business expertise is lacking, Aboriginal communities could benefit from shared knowledge and skills derived from joint-ventures with other tourism operators.

Moreover, clear plans regarding images and messages about Mi'kmaw cultural tourism need to be developed. To ensure authenticity and promote Mi'kmaw ownership, it is recommended that in-house marketing strategies be explored instead of outsourcing to those unfamiliar with Mi'kmaw culture. Ryan (1991) similarly states the importance of authenticity in marketing: "The first is that there must be not simply a creation of awareness of tourist place in the mind of the potential tourist, but that any image must be consistent with the reality of that location" (p.105). Furthermore, proper planning including a calendar for all major gatherings and cultural events located at all Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites and on the Internet is recommended both for organisational purposes and for attracting tourists.

Although in-depth discussions on funding structures and financing were not held with interviewees, funding challenges were mentioned. A lack of funding seemed to be a major problem where few discussed receiving sufficient financial aid from government sources. Some even spoke about cultural centres suffering financial losses due to insufficient marketing, organisation, and especially a lack of start-up funding. Therefore, to ensure the success of the tourism activity, we recommend a strong focus on securing funds from government organisations and from within the community before beginning tourism development.

Finally, greater communication, collaboration and networking among communities is recommended. Limited communication among the Mi'kmaw communities was emphasized by interviewees and deemed important for future sustainability. One person in particular highlighted this:

"To make it sustainable...It would basically take a lot of organisation, basically everybody getting together and organising their knowledge of the culture. That's what's sort of going on now but there are still little hubs of organisation but all of those hubs need to come together so everybody can kind of get it and once we do that then I think it would be really easy for everybody to work together for one common goal."

Communities working together will create a greater awareness of what is being shared with tourists throughout the province and lead to a more efficient sharing of tourism development knowledge.

In conclusion, cultural tourism development in Mi'kmaw communities should be part of a broader plan for a stable and sustainable community (Colton & Harris, 2007). Evidence from our study indicates that Mi'kmaw cultural tourism provides a greater awareness and visibility of Mi'kmaw culture by informing tourists and locals on the vibrant and distinct First Nation's culture existing in Atlantic Canada. It is hoped that findings from this study can inform the Mi'kmaw people and other Aboriginal groups on the opportunities and challenges of sustainable cultural tourism development in their communities. As Mi'kmaw cultural tourism continues to grow and develop throughout Nova Scotia, increased economic opportunities and the revitalization of traditional and contemporary Mi'kmaw identity will likely contribute to a growing sense of Mi'kmaw pride. The sustainability of the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector thus remains dependent

on the ability to meet both tourist demands and Mi'kmaq needs. The challenge ahead was summed up by this statement from a Mi'kmaq person: "I say the doors are wide open and they are just waiting for us."

4.7 References

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CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

As indicated in my research question, I sought to understand *what types of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities and experiences tourists are seeking in Nova Scotia and how this knowledge can contribute to the Mi'kmaw people's ideas of successful cultural tourism development in their communities.*

To answer this question, the three research objectives I set will be presented in turn.

5.1.1 Assess tourist interest, motivations, expectations, and satisfaction in participating in authentic Mi'kmaw tourism activities.

A wide range of tourists visiting Nova Scotia was surveyed at Visitor Information Centres in Amherst and Halifax to assess interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. Findings from the survey reveal a high interest in participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities even though few had previously participated in Aboriginal tourism. An examination of the relationship between selected variables (using the Chi-square test of independence) indicates that the age, education level, and country of origin of tourists were correlated with their level of interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. Tourists with higher levels of education as well as foreign tourists (Americans excluded) were most interested in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. Older tourists were specifically interested in 'softer' Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities.

Perspectives of cultural tourists were surveyed at Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites such as the Bear River Heritage and Cultural Centre, Kejimikujik National Park, the Glooscap Heritage Centre, and the Millbrook Pow Wow. The findings suggest that tourists were highly educated and recognized the importance of deep cultural learning and authentic Mi'kmaw cultural tourism experiences. Furthermore, as an indication of their satisfaction, nearly all surveyed tourists were interested in participating in Aboriginal tourism again.

5.1.2 Examine the ideas, perceptions, and components of cultural tourism development from the Mi'kmaw perspective.

Interviews with Mi'kmaw people included a discussion of several topics. Notably, the capacity of cultural tourism to educate both tourists and the Mi'kmaq was emphasized. Interviewees also spoke about particular economic and social benefits of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism including increased employment and community and personal growth. Moreover, a growing sense of pride as a result of tourism development and the preservation and protection of culture were discussed. Finally, Mi'kmaw perspectives regarding the sustainability of their tourism sector varied; however, a sense of determination framed their vision for the future.

5.1.3 Provide recommendations on improving the chances for success of a Mi'kmaw cultural tourism industry that addresses the interests of tourists and the Mi'kmaw people.

The previous chapters identified the demands and needs of tourists and Mi'kmaw people and highlighted challenges facing the sustainability of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism. The following is a list of recommendations for the Mi'kmaq involved in developing cultural tourism.

Activities

Based on tourist interest in particular Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities, I recommend that:

- Opportunities to share knowledge of Mi'kmaw archeological artefacts as well as the continued development of cultural centres be pursued. These activities were rated the most popular among tourists.

Marketing

Marketing is a particular area where improvements should be made. Based on tourist and Mi'kmaw host perspectives, I recommend that:

- Clear plans regarding images and messages about Mi'kmaw cultural tourism be developed for advertising.

- Brochures be made available in Nova Scotia Visitor Information Centres and at Destination Halifax for all Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites in addition to advertising in Nova Scotia's Doers and Dreamers Guide (Nova Scotia.com, 2009) and American Automobile Association magazines.
- Websites be updated and improved in terms of quantity, quality, and accessibility.
 - Links between Mi'kmaw cultural tourism websites and those of travel agencies, government tourism departments, and community websites should be established to expand advertising reach.
- Proper signage be developed for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites, particularly for smaller, more remote communities.
- Participation in regional and international tourism shows/conferences be increased.
- Because of differences in interest for various types of activities among age groups, education levels, and places of origin, advertising locations be strategically planned.
 - Adventure outfitters, outdoor recreation stores, and university/college campuses would be ideal locations to advertise 'harder' activities that are more appealing to younger adventure tourists (e.g. a Mi'kmaw wilderness retreat, a canoe-making workshop, hiking a Mi'kmaw trail, or a Mi'kmaw guided tour of a national park).
 - 'Softer' Mi'kmaw cultural activities could be advertised by means of travel agencies and tour operators where older tourists tend to seek out tourism information (e.g. listening to a talk about Mi'kmaw culture or visiting a cultural centre).
 - Because of high interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism among tourists originating from Nova Scotia, marketing should be focused provincially. In addition, marketing to Ontarians is recommended as they were the most undecided about their interest in such activities.
 - Because of high interest among international visitors (specifically German tourists), international travel agencies, tour providers, and travel magazines should have ready access to information on Mi'kmaw cultural tourism.
- Mi'kmaw cultural tourism be marketed in a regional context in partnership with other tourism operators in Nova Scotia. Mi'kmaw communities could benefit from shared knowledge and skills derived from joint-ventures with other tourism operators.

- To ensure authenticity and promote Mi'kmaw ownership, in-house marketing strategies be developed instead of outsourcing to those unfamiliar with Mi'kmaw culture.
- A calendar of all major gatherings and cultural events be provided at all Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sites and on the Internet for organisational purposes and for attracting tourists.

Funding

I recommend that:

- Because of funding deficiencies, funds from government organisations (e.g. Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Heritage Canada) and from within the community be secured before beginning tourism development.

Communication

I recommend that:

- Greater communication, collaboration and networking among communities be developed. Communities working together will create a greater awareness of what is being provided to tourists throughout the province and lead to a more efficient sharing of tourism development knowledge. Presumably, meetings of the Mi'kmaq Cultural Tourism Network will facilitate communication between Mi'kmaw hosts.

Planning

A final recommendation concerns the overall planning of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities. In each community, there is a need for a deliberate planning process involving youth, Elders, and the Band Council. Planning professionals spur community engagement and can serve as facilitators and guide the planning process. Having an agreed-upon vision and plan for tourism development using a community-based approach will greatly benefit communities. Therefore I recommend that:

- Tourism development plans, coupling professional planning expertise and community member voices, be implemented in Mi'kmaw communities.

5.2 Research Implications

The research findings have implications for the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia. No comprehensive research has been undertaken on the development of the cultural tourism sector involving the Mi'kmaq people of Nova Scotia. Therefore, this research contributes to the limited body of knowledge and achieves particular goals and objectives outlined in the Mi'kmaq Cultural Tourism Network's Strategic Action Plan (MCTN, 2007). Notably, the MCTN (2007) has indicated in its Plan two primary goals: "*Facilitate cultural growth and sharing within and among the thirteen First Nation communities across Nova Scotia*" (p.15) and "*Build a strong and competitive industry sector with high quality Mi'kmaq tourism experiences*" (p.22).

Market research, including perspectives of a wider market of tourists at Visitor Information Centres as well as a subset of cultural tourists visiting Mi'kmaq tourism sites, can inform the Mi'kmaq on the demand for tourism. This information includes specific knowledge regarding the type of tourist that is most interested in learning about Mi'kmaq culture, motivations for doing so, and ideas of what they most enjoyed. An understanding of tourist perspectives, coupled with Mi'kmaq views, has implications for a more robust understanding of Mi'kmaq cultural tourism development and tourism sustainability in Mi'kmaq and other Aboriginal communities.

5.3 Recommendations for Future Research

This research has sought to present tourist and Mi'kmaq perspectives; however, further research is needed. In general, an expanded study involving a greater number of participants would be beneficial, particularly with regard to developing a better understanding of Mi'kmaq views. Likewise, a more in-depth study of particular topics emerging from this research (e.g. authenticity, cultural learning) could be explored. Furthermore, an expanded geographic scope, a closer look at the tourism planning process, and the monitoring of tourism development are suggested. Specific recommendations for future research include:

- Research examining a wider scope of Mi'kmaq cultural tourism development efforts in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia and other provinces such as New

Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. This study could compare inventories of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities, similarities, and differences between the current study of mainland Nova Scotia Mi'kmaw cultural tourism and the aforementioned locations.

- A more focused study of the tourism development process and the challenges and barriers that exist to this in Mi'kmaw communities. A case-study approach could be used to examine how particular communities are planning and developing Mi'kmaw cultural tourism and would provide greater insight into the tourism development process.
- A comparison between west and east coast Canadian Aboriginal tourism developments to provide insight into similarities and differences among groups. A study of this nature could examine the influence of geographic location on tourism development. The west coast Aboriginal tourism sector is older and more established and has been the focus of Canadian Aboriginal tourism literature; therefore, the Mi'kmaq are well positioned to learn from the west coast Aboriginal tourism experience.
- A longitudinal study of tourism development examining the sector's progression. Since the Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector is in its infancy, this study would determine whether changes have occurred in market demand, tourist profile (e.g. demography), and Mi'kmaw perceptions of the challenges and benefits of tourism. In addition, if particular recommendations put forth in this study were implemented, the effectiveness of these recommendations could be assessed.

5.4 Concluding comments

This research has gathered the views of tourists and Mi'kmaw hosts with an aim to contribute to the understanding of sustainable Mi'kmaw cultural tourism development in Nova Scotia. Insight into the supply and demand of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism includes information on tourist desires, motivations, and satisfaction as well as Mi'kmaw views on economic development, authenticity, and cultural preservation. This information, in addition to recommendations based on tourist and Mi'kmaw perspectives, can help guide Mi'kmaw communities in the development of their tourism activities. As Mi'kmaw cultural tourism continues to grow throughout Atlantic Canada, socio-economic stability and a growing sense of pride among Mi'kmaw communities will emerge. Showcasing a rich and vibrant Mi'kmaw culture through tourism will be valuable in fostering the preservation of cultural integrity for future generations of Mi'kmaw people.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Questions regarding the development of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism

- 1) What does the presence of a Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activity have on a particular community or on the Mi'kmaq in general?
- 2) What are the goals of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism in this community/park?
- 3) How does Mi'kmaw cultural tourism contribute to:
 - a. Cultural preservation
 - b. Economic development
 - c. Community-building
 - d. Ecological conservation
- 4) What do you see as the most important features of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism? (eg. education, cultural preservation, economic development, ecosystem conservation)
- 5) Do you think that certain types of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities are more effective at facilitating the learning of Mi'kmaw culture than others? If so, which ones?
- 6) Are there certain things that you wish **not** to share with tourists? If so, what about?
- 7) What are the differences in tourist experience in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities on and off reserve?

Questions regarding tourists and tourist experience

- 8) What have been the effects of tourism on your community? Which are beneficial and which are not? (e.g. restaurants opening, more employment, an increase in the promotion and sharing of culture, overcrowding of tourists, degradation to the environment, loss of Mi'kmaw culture)
- 9) Have you noticed an increase or decrease in tourists participating in the particular Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activity in your community/park in the past few years? If so, what do you think accounts for that?
- 10) What sorts of comments and critiques have you received from tourists, if any? To what degree do you feel that tourists are having a positive experience? How is it positive?

- 11) Do you feel that tourist wishes are being met? Are there additional activities/features of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism that are being wished/demanded by tourists?
- 12) How important is it that tourists experience something authentic? How do you define 'authentic'?

Questions regarding marketing

- 13) Do you wish that your Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activity attracted more or fewer people? How do you think that this could be accomplished?
- 14) What could be done to increase interest in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism?
- 15) How do you market your Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activity? Should this be improved? If so, how could this be done?
- 16) What is the image of Mi'kmaw culture that you are trying to present to tourists?
- 17) To what degree is Mi'kmaw culture being authentically displayed in marketing?
- 18) To what degree are other organisations (e.g. prov gvt) aiding in the marketing of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities? What should be done, if anything, to improve this?

Questions regarding the future sustainability of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism

- 19) What do you envision for the future of your Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activity? For that vision to occur, what needs to be done to make it better/sustainable?
- 20) How do you picture a sustainable Mi'kmaw cultural tourism sector? What does that look like to you?
- 21) Do you feel that Mi'kmaw cultural tourism, as practiced today in NS, is sustainable? Does it have the financial, human, cultural, and environmental resources to be supported for future generations?
- 22) Do you have any other comments or topics that you'd like to address in regard to Mi'kmaw cultural tourism?

APPENDIX B: SURVEY ADMINISTERED TO TOURISTS AT THE AMHERST VISITOR INFORMATION CENTRE

School for Resource and Environmental Studies



Mi'kmaw Tourism Survey at Nova Scotia Visitor Information Centres

My name is Mary-Frances Lynch and I am a graduate student in the School for Resource and Environmental Studies at Dalhousie University. I am conducting a study on Aboriginal cultural tourism, particularly Mi'kmaw tourism opportunities in Nova Scotia, where the Mi'kmaq are the First Nations peoples of Nova Scotia. The purpose of this questionnaire is to gain a better understanding of tourist activities, attitudes, and reactions towards Mi'kmaw cultural tourism in Nova Scotia.

- If you are 18 years or older, you are being asked to take part in a survey that examines your interests and attitudes towards Mi'kmaw cultural tourism.
- This questionnaire should take about 10 minutes to complete.
- You are not asked to identify yourself in the survey, ensuring your anonymity.
- By participating, you are consenting to the use of your comments in the study.
- Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time.
- Participating in the study will not likely benefit you, but we might learn things that will benefit others.
- If you have any questions regarding the study, feel free to contact Mary-Frances Lynch at mr428504@dal.ca or at (902) 220-7350.

1. What is the primary purpose for your visit?

- Business
- Visiting friends/relatives
- Pleasure/vacation
- Other _____

2. a) Have you ever participated in an Aboriginal cultural tourism activity before in Canada or elsewhere? (*Aboriginal cultural tourism includes activities where Aboriginal people are directly involved in sharing their traditional and contemporary culture with visitors through various tourist activities.*)

- No
- Yes

b) If yes, would you please describe that activity?

3. During your travels in Nova Scotia or during your travel preparations to Nova Scotia, did you ever come across advertising for Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities?

- No
- Yes

4. What type of Mi'kmaw cultural tourism experience seems most appealing to you?
Please rate your interest in the following activities by putting a check in the appropriate box.

	Not interested at all	Not very interested	Neutral	Interested	Very interested
Viewing and/or purchasing Mi'kmaw arts and crafts					
Eating food prepared in a traditional Mi'kmaw way					
Visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural interpretation centre					
Listening to a talk about how Mi'kmaw culture has changed over time					
Visiting a Mi'kmaw archeological site					
Walking along a Mi'kmaw hiking trail					
Taking a Mi'kmaw guided tour in a National Park					
Participating in a birch bark canoe-making workshop					
Participating in an overnight Mi'kmaw wilderness retreat with storytelling and traditional arts and crafts workshops					
Other _____					
Other _____					

5. a) For the statement below, please indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement.

While in Nova Scotia I would be interested in visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural tourism site.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

b) If you stated *Agree* or *Strongly Agree*, what are your motivations for visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural tourism site?

Other Questions:

6. a) Do you self identify as Aboriginal?

Yes
 No

b) If yes, do you self identify as Mi'kmaq?

Yes
 No

7. What is your gender? Please circle: Male OR Female

8. How many people are in your party?

Adults
 Children (under 18 years)

9. What is your age?

18 to 24
 25 to 34
 35 to 44
 45 to 54
 55 to 64
 65 to 74
 75 and over

10. What is your place of origin?

City _____
Province/State _____
Country _____

11. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

Grade 7 8 9 10 11 12 (please circle)
 Community/Technical College Diploma
 Undergraduate University Degree
 Graduate University Degree

APPENDIX C: SURVEY ADMINISTERED TO TOURISTS AT THE HALIFAX VISITOR INFORMATION CENTRE

School for Resource and Environmental Studies



Mi'kmaq Tourism Survey at Nova Scotia Visitor Information Centres

My name is Mary-Frances Lynch and I am a graduate student in the School for Resource and Environmental Studies at Dalhousie University. I am conducting a study on Aboriginal cultural tourism, particularly Mi'kmaq tourism opportunities in Nova Scotia, where the Mi'kmaq are the First Nations peoples of Nova Scotia. The purpose of this questionnaire is to gain a better understanding of tourist activities, attitudes, and reactions towards Mi'kmaq cultural tourism in Nova Scotia.

- If you are 18 years or older, you are being asked to take part in a survey that examines your interests and attitudes towards Mi'kmaq cultural tourism.
- This questionnaire should take about 10 minutes to complete.
- You are not asked to identify yourself in the survey, ensuring your anonymity.
- By participating, you are consenting to the use of your comments in the study.
- Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time.
- Participating in the study will not likely benefit you, but we might learn things that will benefit others.
- If you have any questions regarding the study, feel free to contact Mary-Frances Lynch at mr428504@dal.ca or at (902) 220-7350.

1. What is the primary purpose for your visit?

- Business
 Visiting friends/relatives
 Pleasure/vacation
 Other _____

2. a) Have you ever participated in an Aboriginal cultural tourism activity before in Canada or elsewhere? (*Aboriginal cultural tourism includes activities where Aboriginal people are directly involved in sharing their traditional and contemporary culture with visitors through various tourist activities.*)

- No
 Yes

c) If yes, would you please describe that activity?

3. During your travels in Nova Scotia or during your travel preparations to Nova Scotia, did you ever come across advertising for Mi'kmaq cultural tourism activities?

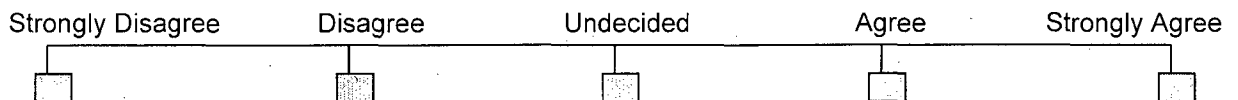
- No
 Yes

4. What type of Mi'kmaq cultural tourism experience seems most appealing to you?
Please rate your interest in the following activities by putting a check in the appropriate box.

	Not interested at all	Not very interested	Neutral	Interested	Very interested
Viewing and/or purchasing Mi'kmaw arts and crafts					
Eating food prepared in a traditional Mi'kmaw way					
Visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural interpretation centre					
Listening to a talk about how Mi'kmaw culture has changed over time					
Visiting a Mi'kmaw archeological site					
Walking along a Mi'kmaw hiking trail					
Taking a Mi'kmaw guided tour in a National Park					
Participating in a birch bark canoe-making workshop					
Participating in an overnight Mi'kmaw wilderness retreat with storytelling and traditional arts and crafts workshops					
Other _____					
Other _____					

5. a) For the statement below, please indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement.

While in Nova Scotia I would be interested in visiting a Mi'kmaw cultural tourism site.



d) If you stated *Agree* or *Strongly Agree*, what are your motivations for visiting a Mi'kmaq cultural tourism site?

Other Questions:

6. What was your point of entry into Nova Scotia? _____

7. a) Do you self identify as Aboriginal?

Yes
 No

b) If yes, do you self identify as Mi'kmaq?

Yes
 No

8. What is your gender? Please circle: Male OR Female

9. How many people are in your party?

Adults
 Children (under 18 years)

10. What is your age?

18 to 24
 25 to 34
 35 to 44
 45 to 54
 55 to 64
 65 to 74
 75 and over

11. What is your place of origin?

City _____
Province/State _____
Country _____

12. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

Grade 7 8 9 10 11 12 (please circle)
 Community/Technical College Diploma
 Undergraduate University Degree
 Graduate University Degree

APPENDIX D: SURVEY ADMINISTERED TO TOURISTS AT MI'KMAW CULTURAL TOURISM SITES

School for Resource and Environmental Studies



Tourist Survey at Mi'kmaq Cultural Tourism Sites

My name is Mary-Frances Lynch and I am a graduate student in the School for Resource and Environmental Studies at Dalhousie University. I am conducting a study on Aboriginal cultural tourism, particularly Mi'kmaq tourism opportunities in Nova Scotia, where the Mi'kmaq are the First Nations peoples of Nova Scotia. The purpose of this questionnaire is to gain a better understanding of tourist ideas, motivations, and satisfaction with their Mi'kmaq tourism experience.

- If you are 18 years or older, you are being asked to take part in a survey that examines your motivations and satisfaction with Mi'kmaq cultural tourism.
- This questionnaire should take about 5 minutes to complete.
- You are not asked to identify yourself in the survey, ensuring your anonymity.
- By participating, you are consenting to the use of your comments in the study.
- Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time.
- Participating in the study will not likely benefit you, but we might learn things that will benefit others.
- If you have any questions regarding the study, feel free to contact Mary-Frances Lynch at mr428504@dal.ca or at (902) 220-7350.

1. How did you first learn about this Mi'kmaq tourist location?

- Visitor Information Centre
- Internet advertisement
- Newspaper advertisement
- Paper brochure
- Travel agent
- Word of mouth
- Other _____

2. a) Is this your first Aboriginal cultural tourism experience? (*Aboriginal cultural tourism, in particular involving the Mi'kmaq, includes activities where the Mi'kmaq are directly involved in sharing their traditional and contemporary culture with visitors through various tourist activities.*)

- Yes
- No

b) If no, can you remember where and what that previous Aboriginal cultural tourism experience was? Did it involve the Mi'kmaq?

3. a) As a tourist, are you interested in Aboriginal culture?

- Yes
- No

b) If yes, we would identify you as a cultural tourist.

Please put a checkmark next to the type of cultural tourist that you identify with the most.

Type of cultural tourist	Definition	✓
<i>The purposeful cultural tourist</i>	Is seriously concerned with learning about and experiencing other cultures.	
<i>The sightseeing cultural tourist</i>	Is less concerned with experiencing culture and more interested in visiting the cultural highlights.	
<i>The casual tourist</i>	Sees culture as a less important element in the decision-making process for the destination and does not get deeply involved while there.	
<i>The incidental cultural tourist</i>	Does not choose a destination based upon culture, and once there, involvement is highly limited.	
<i>The serendipitous cultural tourist</i>	Does not seek cultural involvement in the choice of the destination, but while there gets really involved and has a deep experience.	

4. Please rate your motivations for participating in Mi'kmaw cultural tourism activities by putting a checkmark in the appropriate box.

	Not important at all	Not very important	Neutral	Important	Very important
Learning and experiencing the Mi'kmaw culture					
Meeting Mi'kmaw people					
Buying authentic Mi'kmaw souvenirs					
Being in and appreciating a different place					
Other _____					

5. What sorts of things did you learn about Mi'kmaw culture from your tourism experience?

6. What was your favourite part of the experience here? Explain why.

7. In your opinion, what is the most important part of a Mi'kmaw cultural tourism experience? Please rate the importance you place on the following by putting a check in the appropriate box.

	Not important at all	Not very important	Neutral	Important	Very important
Authenticity of the experience					
Education about Mi'kmaw culture					
Mi'kmaw owned and operated tourist activity					
Price					
Entertainment					
Other _____					

8. For the statement below, please indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement.

I enjoyed my Mi'kmaw tourism experience.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Undecided Agree Strongly Agree

9. a) Would you participate in an Aboriginal cultural tourism activity again?

___ Yes
___ No

b) If no, why not?

10. Do you have any other comments about your Mi'kmaw cultural tourism experience?

Other Questions:

11. a) Do you self identify as Aboriginal?

Yes
 No

b) If yes, do you self identify as Mi'kmaq?

Yes
 No

12. What is your gender? Please circle: Male OR Female

13. How many people are in your party?

Adults
 Children (under 18 years)

14. What is your age?

18 to 24
 25 to 34
 35 to 44
 45 to 54
 55 to 64
 65 to 74
 75 and over

15. What is your place of origin:

City _____
Province/State _____
Country _____

16. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

Grade 7 8 9 10 11 12 (please circle)
 Community/Technical College Diploma
 Undergraduate University Degree
 Graduate University Degree