

“O my body, make me always a man who questions” (Frantz Fanon, 1952: 206).

University of Alberta

“All of Our Secrets are in These Mountains”:

Problematizing Colonial Power Relations, Tourism Productions and
Histories of the Cultural Practices of Nakoda Peoples in the Banff-Bow Valley.

by

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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To my parents, Morgan and Judy Mason, for giving us all that we needed in life.

To the individuals in both Morley and Banff who participated in my research.
Your collective stories are the very essence of what this project is about.

Abstract

This study examines some of the significant challenges that Nakoda peoples encountered from 1870-1980 in the Banff-Bow Valley, Alberta. Beginning with missionary movements, the 1877 Treaty Seven agreements and the establishment of the reservation systems, I trace the emergence of a disciplinary power regime and the subsequent consequences for Nakoda communities. Canadian governments and agents of the colonial bureaucracy manipulated time, space and movement which altered the structure of Aboriginal lives in ways that attempted to increase visibility, economic productivity and docility. Race as a normalizing and dividing practice (Foucault, 1975) is used to demonstrate how levels of discipline furthered assimilation strategies through the formation of Canada's first national park and the development of the region's tourism economies.

As the preeminent example of the engagement of Nakoda peoples in local tourism industries, the Banff Indian Days sporting and cultural festivals, which were celebrated from 1894-1978, are also investigated. Borrowing from poststructural and postcolonial theory, the interactions between tourists, participants, organizers and performers are problematized. It is revealed that the festivals became critical sites of cultural exchange that engendered unique socio-economic, political and cultural opportunities. In addition, the Indian Days fostered important identity-making possibilities and crucial spaces to assert, contest, and produce perceptions of Aboriginal cultures.

This research privileges information obtained from oral history interviews with Nakoda peoples. However, archival materials, mainly newspaper accounts, photographs, tourism advertisements, and government documents also contribute to the primary evidence collected. As well as analyzing racial discourse, this work also considers how Nakoda peoples responded to the representations and expectations that informed the production of Aboriginal identities. I conclude this study by suggesting that it is crucial for researchers to consult diverse Aboriginal perspectives and collaborate with the communities within which they work. This research offers new understandings of the cultural histories of the Banff-Bow Valley which reflect the dynamic and complex nature of colonial power relations.

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Preamble

The OKA Crisis (June 1990)

Surprisingly, after all these years it remains a vivid memory. It was the beginning of the summer and it was one of those days when it was far too humid for a young student to be focused on arithmetic or science – not that concentrating was my strength even on days when the weather proved to be less of a distraction. I was in the grade six classroom at Longue Sault Public School and my desk was positioned adjacent to the south-facing window. In many ways it was similar to a lot of afternoons at that time of year. By the middle of June, all I could focus on was being outside, and when in class, all I thought of was how terrible it felt in comparison to running outdoors with the warm breezes and the smells of summer. I sat at my desk, glaring out that window onto the view it afforded of the local sports grounds. To pass the afternoons, I imagined myself running, kicking a ball or just lying on the grass – often questioning why I was not out there exploring instead of cooped up in here with Mr. Murray and another repeat of the times tables.

This day should not have been any different from any other – but it was! On this particular afternoon those athletic grounds were full of activity of a different sort. As a tank pulled onto where we had been playing baseball over the noon hour, I remember being filled with a mixture of emotions: bewilderment, excitement and fear. For the next few hours I watched intently as the Canadian Armed Forces assembled their barracks and worked on their equipment. I had never seen a tank, an army truck, or perhaps even a soldier before. I recall how

their green camouflage uniforms resembled the G.I. Joe toy soldiers I had at home. Finally, as the activity and noise increased, the curiosity of my classmates peaked and the situation required a bit of explanation. All I remember is the teacher saying that the army was here to “take care of those trouble makers over in ‘Keebec.’” Growing up on the border of eastern Ontario and western Quebec, I had heard mention of such troubles before, but this time it was not the sovereigntists, it was the Aboriginal communities located on the border between the two provinces.

Although school let out a few days later, the army’s presence in our small village situated on the banks of the St. Lawrence River lasted all summer. They were there for the duration of a seventy-eight-day standoff with the Mohawk residents of the Kanasatake reserve in the town of Oka, Quebec. The decision to expand a nine-hole golf course onto a Mohawk burial site triggered a conflict that pulled Aboriginal land rights and claims into the public spotlight. As a consequence of its strategic location, our village’s police station became the base for the Canadian military. In a region often starved of activity, our local newspaper followed every detail of the event, sometimes offering captivating images. Few conversations that summer went without mention of the dynamic and fragile situation that seemed to implicate us all.

It was sometime during this summer that I first became interested in the issues and challenges that impact Aboriginal communities in Canada. Although I cannot trace it to an exact moment, what I saw from that window that afternoon,

albeit through the eyes of a child, deeply influenced me in a way that I did not fully understand until almost two decades later.

CHAPTER 1.
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores aspects of the cultural history of the Banff-Bow Valley. This region is located in the province of Alberta on the eastern slopes of the Canadian Rocky Mountains and represents the most developed part of Banff National Park (BNP) as it includes the urbanized townsite (see Figure 1). As a unique montane ecoregion, this area is part of a critical ecosystem and wildlife corridor that supports a diversity of species.¹ The Banff-Bow Valley also contains an incredible amount of human history. For millennia prior to 1000 CE (Fedje et al., 1995), diverse groups of Aboriginal peoples² lived, fished, hunted, gathered and traded throughout the eastern slopes of the Canadian Rockies. The arrival and late 18th century presence of Europeans in the mountains altered the well-established trade networks and ways of life that had supported extensive networks of Aboriginal groups, but Aboriginal communities continued to live and work on the eastern slopes of the Canadian Rockies, including the lands currently regarded as BNP, until the last quarter of the 19th century. Following the Treaty Seven agreements of 1877, Aboriginal peoples were relocated to reservations outside the national park, and over the ensuing decades their access to the region was increasingly restricted (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). For Nakoda First Nations (NFN)³ communities, which had been most active in this region in the centuries prior to European presence, these restrictions abruptly altered their socio-economic, political and cultural way of life (Snow, 2005).

Even though their access to the lands assumed by the new national park drastically changed Nakoda ways of living, by taking on numerous adaptive strategies, they strived to maintain connections to the lands that were intricately

linked to their subsistence and cultural practices (Snow, 2005). One example of the adaptive abilities of local Aboriginal communities was their engagement in the local tourism industry. Beginning at the turn of the 20th century, local Nakoda communities participated in what would become a burgeoning tourism economy in nearby Banff townsite (Meijer-Drees, 1991). Nakoda peoples collaborated with local tourism producers to develop a successful cultural tourism industry. For many decades thereafter, one festival in particular became the centerpiece of these productions. The Banff Indian Days, which ran from 1894-1978, was a very successful cultural festival that, at its peak in the 1920s, attracted tens of thousands of tourists from North America and around the world (Mason, 2008). Showcasing the cultural practices of local Aboriginal peoples, this significant event has a fascinating history that has largely escaped the attention of popular historians and academics.

Gaps in Knowledge

Histories of the Banff-Bow Valley

When I first decided to study the cultural history of the Banff-Bow Valley and began conducting a literature review on the topic, I recognized that a wealth of material centered on Euro-Canadian cultural histories. Despite the relatively recent arrival of Euro-Canadians in the region, various elements of their histories have been extensively explored by historians. Previous research focused on Euro-Canadians includes such diverse topics as: transportation infrastructure (Williams, 1948; Hart, 1983; Marty, 1984); the development of the park and townsite (Williams, 1922; Brown, 1970; Scace, 1970; Robinson, 1973; Bella, 1987;

Hildebrandt et al., 1996; Hart, 2003; Hart, 2009); miners and labourers (Gadd, 1989; Kordan and Melnycky, 1991; Waiser, 2005); outdoor recreation guides and their organizations (Williams, 1936; Hart, 1979; Reichwein, 1996; Scott, 2000, 2005, 2009); park wardens (Marty, 1978; Peyto, 2002, 2004); high culture and the arts (Jessup, 2002; Reichwein, 2005); and cultural festivals (Yeo, 1990; Henderson, 1995; Robinson, 2007).⁴

Following more extensive analyses of the histories of the Banff-Bow Valley, I quickly noticed that there were very few publications centered on the histories of Aboriginal peoples. Perhaps more troubling, some of these works failed to even recognize the previous and current Aboriginal presence in the Banff-Bow Valley. Even though some accounts do include histories of local Aboriginal peoples (Luxton, 1974; Whyte, 1985; Parker, 1990; Meijer-Drees, 1991, 1993; Dempsey, 1997, 1998; Hart, 1999; Bradford, 2005; Binnema and Niemi, 2006), the authors of these studies did not directly consult Aboriginal individuals or communities for their perspectives on their own histories and cultures. While most aspects of Aboriginal histories of the region have not been comprehensively investigated, there are a few works that do cover specific topics by consulting local Aboriginal peoples. By collaborating with local First Nations, research on the following topics has been undertaken: the life of Nakoda Chief Frank Kaquitts (Jonker, 1988); Aboriginal participation in sporting festivals and the tourism industry (Mason, 2009b); oral accounts on specific cultural practices of tribes who lived in the Canadian Rockies (Hungry Wolf & Hungry Wolf, 1989); institutional representations of the cultural practices of Aboriginal peoples

(Mason, 2009a, 2010); the finer details of the Treaty Seven agreement (Hildebrandt et al, 1996); and the political and cultural basis for Nakoda land claims (Snow, 2005). After conducting a more extensive literature review, I decided that it was critical for my research to collaborate with members of NFN to understand their personal and collective experiences. The collaborative methods that informed the latter group of works on local Aboriginal histories assured me that this type of project had potential and could fill a significant gap in the human history of the Banff-Bow Valley.

I defined this project based on two important foundations: the current gaps in the literature, and my personal interest in the issues that face many Aboriginal communities throughout Canada. In this dissertation, I explore aspects of the history of the Banff-Bow Valley by privileging local Aboriginal perspectives and centering on Nakoda experiences of first being excluded from the lands in the making of parks and later their engagement in the tourism industry through the Indian Days cultural and sporting festivals. More specifically, this research examines the ways Nakoda peoples interacted with missionaries, government officials and later tourism producers. Nakoda peoples played instrumental roles as leaders, participants, performers and producers of the Indian Days. Of most interest is how Nakoda peoples contributed to the production of discourse through their participation in the events. Paramount in this analysis of discourse are understandings of how Nakoda participants created meanings for themselves and partly shaped what was possible to know about Aboriginal peoples in the province of Alberta during the 20th century.

The Influence of Foucault on Tourism, Parks, Physical Activity and Sport Research

This study is especially indebted to the works of French philosopher, sociologist and historian, Michel Foucault. While I also rely on various other theoretical tools from poststructuralist and postcolonial thought, Foucault's works provide a critical framework that shapes most aspects of this study. Over the last seven years as a graduate student (2003-2010), I have become increasingly interested in Foucault's thinking on diverse subject matters. Key concepts from his critical studies of social institutions provide a theoretical center for this dissertation. Most notably his conceptualizations of disciplinary practices, power relations, and the discursive production of subjectivities, have been of influence. Foucault's works have also been vital to my theoretical conceptualizations of racial discourse.

While it is tempting to lead by Foucault's example and define this dissertation by what it is not, it is necessary to clearly situate this small piece of scholarship in the larger bodies of research that it will contribute to and exist within. Following Foucault, I resist classifying my research as belonging to a specific field, but for the purposes of understanding the orientation of this work, it is imperative to identify the disciplines where it is located. As Rabinow (1984) indicates, Foucault maintained that his works were studies of history, but he was not necessarily an historian. In some respects, this sentiment also articulates my discomfort with locating my research and interests solely in history. After completing previous degrees focused in history, including a masters in the sub-discipline of sport history, an historical lens inevitably has come to frame aspects

of this project. However, in addition to history and sport history, as a graduate student I have also taken courses in anthropology, political science, sociology, tourism and sport studies. While sport history remains a focus for my work, I am equally invested in sport sociology. As apparent in the following section on my theoretical understandings and practical applications of racial discourse, tourism studies, Indigenous studies and cultural anthropology have all influenced parts of this research.

Defined more thoroughly in the sections on theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches, this “history of the present” flows in an alternative stream to many conventional histories. As a consequence, I understand that this study will not be easily read by some historians or other scholars deeply invested in Marxism or liberal-humanism traditions. Extending from my theoretical directions, I make no claims to present a more accurate version of the history of the Banff-Bow Valley than many of the existing popular and academic accounts that I draw on and critique in this study. Nor do I present my work as a more useful application of Foucault’s theoretical tools. In basic terms, the key objectives of this research are to offer new understandings of the human history of the Banff-Bow Valley and to demonstrate that Foucault’s theoretical tools can be applied effectively to historically-based studies of colonialism and racial discourse.

In response to Foucault’s *History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, Baudrillard (1977) urged us all to “Forget Foucault” in his scathing critique of Foucault’s seminal text. Fortunately, many scholars have ignored Baudrillard’s

assertion and have continued to take up Foucault in their analyses of numerous subjects. Following the use of Foucault's works in various mother disciplines, scholars in the sub-disciplines of tourism parks, physical activity and sport studies have also engaged with Foucault's work. Despite the fact that these sub-disciplines have welcomed Foucauldian based analyses mainly over the last two decades, significant gaps in scholarship remain on a plethora of issues. Below I identify some of the current limitations that exist in relevant disciplines and demonstrate why a Foucauldian-based approach can offer new understandings. Prior to outlining the theoretical and methodological approaches that inform this dissertation, it is imperative to identify where and how this dissertation fills the current gaps in knowledge that exist in tourism, parks, physical activity and sport-specific research that utilizes the works of Foucault.

Foucault's objective was to identify how disciplinary technologies (see chapter 2.) impact individuals and groups in efforts to determine ways to minimize their modes of domination (Markula and Pringle, 2006). In tourism studies, which overlaps with a considerable portion of the research on parks and conservation, the works of Foucault have surprisingly not received a great deal of attention despite the disciplines' interest in interpreting the conditions that create and maintain inequalities and related power relations (Hollinshead, 1999). Because tourism studies is a multidisciplinary field comprised of scholars from diverse backgrounds, I argue that Foucault's work has a lot of potential for application. Poststructuralism in general, and specifically the works of Foucault, have not been incorporated nearly as often as critical or Marxist paradigms of

social theory in the literature examining the phenomena of tourism (Wearing and McDonald, 2002). Subsequently, much of this scholarship reinforces binaries between racial groups and predetermines or over-determines power relations (Bruner, 2005). Although a few scholars have used Foucault in their research in tourism and parks, these have been limited to only some aspects of his broad range of concepts. Most research centers on interpreting power relations in tourism productions (Rojek, 1985, 1992; Hollinshead, 1999; Cheong and Miller, 2000, 2004), but some other aspects in tourism research, including the “tourist gaze” (Urry, 1990; Hollinshead, 1994) the body (Veijola and Jokinen, 2004) and resistance (Wearing, 1995), also borrow from Foucault.

When referring to analyses of racial discourse in tourism and parks-oriented research, there is a significant gap in scholarship. Although there are only a couple of examples of tourism scholars that utilize Foucault’s tools in their studies of racial discourse (Bruner, 2001; Winter, 2007), there are even fewer who adopt a Foucauldian approach (Wearing and McDonald, 2002). There is a large and extensive body of work that examines tourism, parks and Indigenous peoples (Blundell, 1993; Butler and Hinch, 1996, 2007; Nesper, 2003; Harkin, 2003; Bruner, 2004, 2005; Mason, 2004; Sweet, 2004), but a smaller group of scholars overtly take up Foucault in their research (Johnston, 2006; Mason, 2009a). While this dissertation does not significantly draw from material in tourism studies for examples of Foucauldian-based analysis, it does address a substantial gap in scholarship by using Foucauldian-centered methodological and theoretical

approaches in research that involves tourism, parks and Indigenous peoples in an examination of racial discourse.

Until relatively recently, the works of Foucault have also been underused in physical activity, exercise and sport studies despite the perception that these subjects lend themselves well to Foucauldian interpretations (Andrews, 2000; Markula and Pringle 2006). There were a number of important foundational works that introduced sport scholars to Foucauldian analyses (Hargreaves, 1989; Andrews, 1993; Rail and Harvey, 1995; Markula, 1995; Cole, 1996; Rinehart, 1998; Shogan, 1999).⁵ Over the last decade, there has been a significant increase in the number of sport and exercise scholars that effectively employ some of Foucault's various tools (Andrews, 2000; Johns and Johns, 2000; Shogan, 2002; Markula, 2003, 2004; Pringle, 2005; Pringle and Markula, 2005; Markula and Pringle, 2006; Jette, 2006; Thorpe, 2008; Liao and Markula, 2009; Barker-Ruchti, 2009). The majority of this research uses Foucault to interpret and problematize gender and sexuality discourse related to specific sport, exercise and activity topics of inquiry. Following Andrews' seminal paper (1993), which in addition to providing an overview of Foucault's archaeological and genealogical methods, makes a call to consider Foucault's relevancy in critical sport studies, numerous directions have been explored especially by sport sociologists. With only a few exceptions, studies in sport history using aspects of Foucault's theories remain few and far between (Vertinsky, 1994a, 1994b; Cahn, 1995; Booth, 2001; Hokowhitu, 2005; Mason, 2008). As Booth notes (2005a), compared to sport

historians, sport sociologists have been much more receptive to applying the theories of Foucault.

In general, research using Foucault to interrogate racial discourse is uncommon. This may be the result of the lack of works that Foucault produced that examine race or the perceived disinterest of Foucault in the subject matter (Stoler, 1995). Despite the growing number of scholars using Foucault's theories in physical activity and sport studies, Foucauldian-based research on racial discourse has rarely surfaced. This is similar to the amount of attention allocated to Foucault in the larger mother disciplines in research concerning race. The majority of the research from sport studies on racial discourse is derived from critical paradigms and Marxist-based scholarship (Booth, 2005a). However, there is a small group of scholars who have used Foucault's tools in their interpretation of racial discourse, but this body of work remains severely limited in sport studies (Cole, 1996; Cole et al, 2004; Sloop, 1997; Grieveson, 1998; Dallaire, 2003; Hokowhitu, 2003, 2004, 2005; Farnell, 2004; Giles, 2005a; Mason 2009b, 2010). Only a few of these researchers explicitly use Foucault in their theoretical perspectives and/or methodological approaches (Cole, 1996; Sloop, 1997; Farnell, 2004; Hokowhitu, 2004; Giles, 2005a, 2005b, Mason, 2010).⁶ Moreover, only four of these researchers have produced work on the topics of Indigenous peoples and sport, exercise or activity (Hokowhitu; Farnell; Giles; Mason). Two of these scholars are centered more on representational issues (Hokowhitu; Farnell)⁷ and the other two researchers work with Aboriginal individuals and/or communities (Giles; Mason).

In 1993, Andrews' article identified Foucault's conceptions of power relations in racial discourse as an area requiring the attention of critical sport and physical activity scholars. I contend that despite the concerted efforts of some researchers, this significant gap of knowledge remains. Before extending this discussion of Foucault and racial discourse to relevant literature in broader disciplines, it is important to establish the theoretical perspectives that inform this study.

Contributing Theoretical Perspectives

Following from Hall's (1997: 42) contention that "theory is always a detour on the way to something more important," this study only relies on social theory to augment the analysis. More specifically, this research uses theory to help interpret the experiences of Aboriginal peoples and understand how these experiences fit into larger contexts in society. While several critical perspectives are effective in reading and analyzing the past and the production of subjectivities, I consider poststructuralism particularly useful. Even though there are several theoretical points of view that are employed in this research, the work of Foucault has been particularly influential in poststructural studies because of his conceptions of disciplinary practices, power relations and the discursive production of identities. Some poststructural scholars skilfully use Foucault's archaeological and genealogical investigations to examine discourse and the power dynamics between discourses in order to complicate meta-narratives (Stoler, 1995; Butchart, 1998). Below I present the ways that I find it helpful to

conceptualize some of Foucault's ideas to frame power relations, knowledge, discourse and identities.

Power Relations, Knowledge and Discourse

Foucault's conception of power as a productive force is one of his most important theoretical ideas. Foucault summarizes his notion of productive power as follows:

In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production (1975: 194).

Foucault's view of power as not just a repressive force that controls and prohibits, but also one that is productive, has been extremely influential (Bové, 1995).

Foucault rejects the repressive hypothesis and in *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction* (1976) he demonstrates the actions of productive power by revealing how the attempts to control and monitor sexuality subsequently led to an explosion of discourses of sexuality. Foucault's conceptions of productive power relations have significantly shaped aspects of this dissertation. Foucault also viewed power as relational and bottom-up. From his perspective, power lies in the articulation of distinctive forms of social life, not in the control of resources by some to affect the lives of others. In this view, power is not hierarchical and top-down. Power does not only reside with individuals and groups in authority, it manifests itself in a multitude of ways and at different points simultaneously. For Foucault, everyone is part of power relations. Power is not held by one group as an oppressive mechanism in the relationship as it is part of all human interactions - radiating and penetrating throughout all of society (Foucault, 1987). Relational

and bottom-up notions of power are crucial in this study. To understand how power was exercised in unique and diverse ways in multiple locations was significant. This encouraged the analysis of power relations on an individual basis and offered a more sophisticated model to theorize the colonial milieu. Moreover, by seeing power as productive, relational and bottom-up, I was able to more fully appreciate the complexities of colonial relations. This includes the actions and opportunities of Aboriginal leaders, performers and participants in the Banff Indian Days festivals. Perhaps most importantly, Foucault's notions of power helped in my understandings of how resistance and refusals could be accounted for in the production of subjectivities.

Foucault's relational, bottom-up and productive perceptions of power are key to examining relations in colonial contexts. While postcolonial scholars have become more careful about rendering colonial histories too simply as uncomplicated narratives of domination and resistance, many representations of such encounters continue to replicate such binaries (Cruikshank, 2005). As Bhabha (1994) asserts, the problem with using Marxist-based theories in examinations of power in colonial societies is that they rely on binaries that reduce the complexities of the sites of struggle and subsequently also the possibilities for resistance within them. Rather than emphasizing the oppositions between colonizer and colonized, Bhabha suggests that it is "more productive to concentrate on the faultlines themselves, on border situations and thresholds as the sites where identities are performed and contested" (1994: 142). From this

point of view, the colonizer and the colonized are not conceptualized as separate entities that are defined independently.

In an effort to undermine the idea of power as a possession which is commonly advanced in studies derived from critical paradigms, Foucault notes that the state does not have a monopoly over power, because power relations are unstable and fluid. He finds that:

[o]ne impoverishes the question of power if one poses it solely in terms of legislation and constitution, in terms solely of the state and the state apparatus. Power is quite different from and more complicated, dense and pervasive than a set of laws or a state apparatus (1980: 158).

As Markula and Pringle indicate (2006), Foucault's project in the 1970s was to re-conceptualize the notion of power to understand the lived experiences of humans and broaden the field of political analysis. Foucault's broadened conceptualizations of power offered understandings of the political significance of cultural activities and provided a framework for interrogating the workings of power in specific locations. In this way, Foucault's view of power did not focus on laws, gender, class, or state apparatuses:

Foucault was not undermining the social influence of governments, dominant groups or laws, nor neglecting the massive social inequalities that exist yet he thought it more important to understand how power was exercised with respect to the formation and legitimation of these influential social phenomena. He asserted that dominant individuals, groups, corporations and states do not arrive at their position because they have power, but they become influential due to the contingent workings and, at times, tactical usages of 'discourses' (Markula and Pringle, 2006: 34).

However, patterns of domination do exist in society. For example, the power to punish was established through the actions of the human sciences and put into

practice by the state and other corroborating institutions (Foucault, 1975).

Foucault did not disregard or ignore these patterns of domination, as he views power as a multiplicity of complex force relations that are “embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, and in the various social hegemonies” (Foucault, 1976: 93).

Foucault defined the conditions of possibility as “constellations of concepts, resources, relations within which other factors gain their sense” (1970: 7). He understood the conditions of possibility as emerging from a force of relations which by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power (1970). Relating this to my research, discourses that implicate the production of “Aboriginality” in the Banff-Bow Valley cannot be reduced to or entirely explained by conditions of possibility because these conditions have also been produced by reinscriptions of power. As there are no original conditions to which I can point, it is not possible to distinguish every condition of possibility (Bové, 1995). My research attempts to identify and explain the most salient conditions of possibility, which are the factors that have the potential to make certain events possible and to open up fields in which different types of action and production can be brought about.

According to Foucault, the relationships between power, knowledge and discourse are important ones. Forms of control over and exclusion of individuals and groups are made possible because claims are made to both knowledge and power. To claim that a statement is “true” is also to make a claim of power because “truth” can only be produced by power. Foucault sees power as not

emanating from a single point, but rather that “power comes from everywhere” (Foucault, 1970: 92). From Foucault’s perspective, power relations permeate all levels of social existence as they direct the transmission of knowledge and discourses. As a consequence, power relations shape our ways of knowing, including our self-image and our understanding of others. The link between knowledge and discourse is also worth recognizing. Foucault saw that knowledge and discursive practices are inextricably linked. Not only is knowledge discursive, but discursive practices also form what can be considered knowledge. As identified by Markula and Pringle (2006), Foucault asserts, “knowledge is defined by the possibilities of use and appropriation by discourse...there is no knowledge without discursive practice; and any discursive practice can be defined by the knowledge that it forms” (Foucault 1972: 182-183).

Foucault also believed there was a fundamental relationship between power and discourse. Even though Foucault defined discourse in several capacities over his career, in this study my uses of Foucauldian discourse stem from his explanations of discourses as ways of knowing that are circulated as “truths.” These ways of knowing are deeply informed by social practices. In his book, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, Foucault suggests that discourses control the production, circulation and consumption of statements and related understandings of realities (Foucault, 1972). Foucault viewed discourses as more than merely bodies of ideas or ideologies, but also attitudes, modes of address, terms of reference, and actions that are reflected in social practices (1972). From a Foucauldian understanding of discourse, Butchart

(1998) argues that when discourse is used, it is not the meanings of the body created through language and dialogue alone, but also the groups of social practices. The Foucauldian analysis of power avoids linguistic reductionism by emphasizing the effect of social practices. For him, discourses include the regulatory speech/actions that govern and define social practices.

As Foucault revealed in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975), the design of prisons introduce social ways of knowing that specify ways of interpreting persons and the physical and social environments in which they live. His treatment of discourse suggests the importance of understanding the practices of subjectivity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Foucault considered how historically and culturally located practices of power/knowledge produce subjects and their worlds. He indicated his interest in discursively produced subjectivities:

I am interested in the way the subject constitutes himself in an active fashion, by practices of the self, these practices are nevertheless not something that the individual invents by himself. They are patterns that he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society, and his social group. (1987: 11).

Although discursive practices are manifested in patterns of interactions that constitute life and they are represented by repetitions of action that discipline their adherents' lives, the practices refer to the ongoing accomplishment of social worlds (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). It is important to note that the power of some discourses lies in their ability to be seen but not noticed, in appearing as the only possibility, while a multitude of possibilities exist in the material world.

As Cruikshank (2005) notes, postcolonial histories often provide compelling analyses of imperial institutions and their contradictions, but they

have less space for narratives documenting the experiences of individual participants. This study will concentrate on and privilege the experiences of individuals. Even though I am interested in the experiences of Aboriginal peoples, the focus is on how individuals have come to have certain experiences through discourses. Foucault's centering on experiences is important as he reverses the usual process of identifying a group and examining experiences to see how power is operating. As Shogan (1999) demonstrates, it is predominant for most researchers to select a subject position and then examine the experiences of that group. This presumes that the researcher already knows the subject category and their work further solidifies this particular category. Shogan indicates that experiences of any category do not just occur as they are the consequences of prevailing set of discourses and technologies which make certain experiences possible while restricting others. Mapping the discourses and related technologies of discipline that have produced the experiences allow researchers to denote the formation of subject categories and define the boundaries of these categories. For this type of examination to occur, it is critical to concentrate more on discourses and reject a pre-given subject position. As a result, in this dissertation it is necessary to strategically deconstruct the category of "Aboriginal." Importantly, this must be accomplished in ways that do not devalue the significant meanings engendered around and through the production of Aboriginal identities or deny the tangible consequences for those who take up these categories and live these experiences. Scott's work (1992) offers a model of how this can be carried out as she provides understandings of these complex processes. She contends that

scholars need to pinpoint the socio-historical conditions and the sets of discourses that produce experiences.⁸ These accounts of experience disclose discursive formations that position subjects and produce their experiences. Her key point is that it is critical to avoid reifying the experiences of individuals or groups of people without interrogating how these categories have been discursively produced, which in turn form the type of experiences that are possible within those categories. This is why an analysis of discourse is so central to this study.

The Discursive Production of Subjectivities

Poststructural conceptualizations of identities argue against totalizing models that paint identities as sustained, coherent, static, reliable, and homogeneous. In contrast, poststructuralists generally consider identities as heterogeneous, fluid, unstable, and discursively produced. Poststructuralism is particularly valuable in disrupting the artificially produced unified subject that many social scientists have relied upon for decades in their theorizing of social relations. Poststructuralism also highlights the challenges human actors face in producing their own subjectivities. As Bové asserts, poststructuralism “speaks for the difficulty (not the impossibility!) human beings face in trying to make their own subjectivities within the given sets of power relations” (1995: 62). For these reasons, poststructuralism is considered theoretically effective to understand the production of identities.

Poststructural perspectives view identities as partial, contested, multiple, invented, hybrid, and at times contradictory (Tierney, 2003). Hall argues that “identities are...points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which

discursive practices construct for us” (1996: 6). Many scholars examine what is at stake in these temporary attachments (Anzaldúa, 1987; Robins, 1996; Frith, 1996; Shogan, 1999; Zhan, 2005; Sen, 2006). Some scholars investigate the practices of subjectification and the production of subjectivities (Foucault 1977, 1978; Scott, 1992) by positioning identities as the product of the multiple ways humans engage with the world around them and interrogating how social categories are discursively produced. For Foucault, identities could be understood as produced through experiences that are connected to the workings of discourse, power relations, disciplinary technologies and the processes of self-negotiation (Markula and Pringle, 2006). A Foucauldian is interested in what discourses define an individual’s identity and how these discourses become dominant in current power relations. A poststructuralist sees each individual as being caught in a network of historical power relations in which they constitute themselves as a subject acting on others. While they are subjected to control, they also have freedom to use power to control others (Markula, 2009). Exploring the possibilities of this type of action in the forms of resistance, or refusal as Foucault referred to it in his later works (Foucault, 1985, 1986, 1987; Simons, 1995; Butchart, 1998; Markula, 2004), are also essential areas to consider for the purposes of this study which interprets how individuals and groups produce identities through various discourses.

While some of the works that emerge from postcolonial studies seem to stand in theoretical opposition to poststructural accounts, as Stoler asserts (1995), postcolonial studies is greatly indebted to Foucault for conceptions of colonial

discourse and diasporic subjectivities. Stoler argues that Foucault was deeply interested in the nature of modern racism and the sustained power invested in it. While some postcolonial scholars discount Foucault in their analyses of racial discourse because his works focused so intently on Europe and are more clearly linked to discourses of sexuality, Foucault's writings are relevant in understandings of colonial power relations. As Kaplan argues: "The making of the European self happens not in Europe alone, but in relation to real and imagined others in the world, in the experience and creation of difference..." (1995: 94). The political and cultural configurations of Europe were also worked through in the colonial projects. In this respect, Foucault's studies, which examined the processes that produced discourses in Europe, also shaped understandings of race in the colonies. Consequently, postcolonial theoretical positions are not necessarily incompatible with poststructural accounts. In particular, Foucault's understandings of power relations have provided a foundation for some of the most influential scholars who have advanced the discipline of postcolonial studies (Said, 1978; Bhabha, 1994).

The majority of the research that critically examines Aboriginal histories in Canadian contexts originates from a postcolonial paradigm informed by especially Marxist orientations. I find that much of this body of work tends to simplify differences between colonized and colonizing groups, sometimes reinforcing racial binaries that clouds how power is exercised in communities. However, for understanding the production of difference, postcolonial theory can be very effective. As a result, there are some theoretical tools from postcolonial

studies that have been useful in my theorizing of discursively produced identities. For example, one of the most important influences of postcolonial criticism has been to “force a radical re-thinking of forms of knowledge and social identities authored and authorized by colonialism” (Prakesh, 1994: 87). The strength of postcolonial theory is its insistence on offering analysis from the viewpoint of the marginalized (Wearing and McDonald, 2002). This is incredibly effective and necessary when theorizing the production of the subjectivities of colonized individuals or communities. Being cognizant of the contradictions that may exist between paradigms and being careful not to conflate theoretical approaches, specific tools from postcolonial theorists are used in my analysis of the production of Aboriginal identities (Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988; Bhabha, 1994, Jiwani, 1996). Even though they may not be necessarily poststructuralist in orientation, these theorists have been helpful to understand debates on issues of race relations or the discursive production of Aboriginal identities in colonial contexts.⁹

By outlining some of the theoretical perspectives that influenced my thinking throughout the research and writing of this dissertation, I hope to provide a foundation for readers to assess the basic theoretical assumptions that inform this study. The specific tools employed in this research are highlighted in the descriptions of the individual dissertation chapters (pages 78-82). To evaluate how these tools are applied to the specific context of this research, a review of each of the content chapters is required. Prior to describing each of these chapters in more detail and the methodological approaches that inform them, it is necessary

to discuss the principal studies that have used Foucault's theoretical directions in their research on racial discourse.

Influential Studies on Racial Discourse and Foucault

With the goal of highlighting a few of the most influential studies for this project, the gaps in scholarship in tourism, parks, physical activity and sport specific research were identified, but ultimately this analysis needs to be extended to research stemming from the broader disciplines of sociology, anthropology and history. While sport and physical activity specific research (mainly sport sociology and sport history) and the works in parks and tourism studies do not provide a large body of material that examines racial discourse using Foucault, with even less work focused on Indigenous peoples, the wider fields of sociology, anthropology and history offer more extensive analyses in this area. Some of the important works that have impacted my approach to this topic are reviewed below.

As previously indicated, further comprehensive applications of Foucault's methodological and theoretical tools are ripe for analyses in tourism and sport disciplines. When considering the mother disciplines, Foucault's writings have been widely utilized in studies on sexuality and gender, but much less frequently have scholars adapted his works in their research on racial discourse. The purpose of the following section is to specify some of the more significant scholars who have borrowed from Foucault in their research on racial discourse and indicate how each work influenced my thinking. In order to demonstrate how this study is situated within the related works from broader disciplines, it is imperative to

identify relevant research to tease out some of the similarities and differences between my dissertation and key studies that use Foucault to examine racial discourse.

Wetherell and Potter's book entitled: *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation* (1992), makes an explicit attempt to engage Foucault in investigating racial discourse. Oriented in sociology and psychology, the authors examine discourses of racism in texts collected through personal interviews conducted with European New Zealanders, or Pākehā. Through interviews with a large sample group, the researchers center on the ways societies give voice to racism and how forms of discourse create, institute, solidify, and reproduce formations. The authors identify racist discourse and then demonstrate how discourses had the effects of establishing, reinforcing and sustaining oppressive power relations. In some respects, their research can be used as an example for scholars endeavouring to understand how racial ways of knowing are used in everyday conversations and solidified in discourses. Wetherell and Potter are interested in how racial discourses are enacted in society and they also use personal interviews as a main source of their texts on racism. That being said, the authors attempt to identify and problematize racial discourses by consulting the dominant majority group, whereas my work seeks to understand racial discourse, at least in part, by consulting Aboriginal interviewees to clarify their perspectives.

In almost every respect, Wetherell and Potter's project is ambitious in scope and this extends to their use of social theory. The authors advocate for a

mixing of Marxist and Foucauldian understandings of ideology/discourse and analysis of discourse. This becomes problematic in several respects as the researchers simultaneously take up Foucault and aspects of Marxism or liberal-humanism. For example, their use of the concept of ideology at times endorses the liberal-Marxist position that supports an external reality that exists independently of power. Their use of the Marxist concept of ideology also localizes the power/knowledge nexus in centers of knowledge production which Foucault would argue are only the points of concentration in a more dispersed or generalized force field of relations.

Another theoretical issue that stems from their collage-style approach to theory is the manner in which they inadvertently establish and reinforce racial binaries between groups. Although they refute the biological determinants of race, without actively revealing how these categories are produced or problematizing their use in both common and academic discourses, they reify these categories. The authors set out to deconstruct the very subject positions that they end up reifying. While the authors argue for the productive and relational powers of discourse and actively borrow from Foucault for this task, without defining their use of the socially produced categories of Pākehā and Māori¹⁰ ultimately they reinforce these subject positions and recreate the binaries between these groups. Ironically, they fall into the same Marxist theoretical and epistemological positions they spend so much energy and space defining themselves as being in opposition to.

Even though it is a difficult task in this type of research, I consider it important to avoid reifying racial binaries by emphasizing a couple of critical concepts. The power of discourse to not only maintain, but also to produce all racial subject positions must be highlighted. It is also crucial to demonstrate that the categories I take up are discursively produced. In this study it is significant to show how the subjectivities reflected in Euro-Canadian whiteness and Aboriginality redness are fluid, dynamic and discursively produced. It is imperative to note that racial subject positions have major consequences for those that occupy these positions: racial identities have real implications in our societies that can and do reproduce forms of racial inequalities and foster socio-economic, political and cultural exclusion. How these discursively produced subjectivities are lived by the individual members in the communities within which I work, and the processes by which racial identities generate significant meanings for those with whom I collaborate is an important task.

Jiwani's influential book, *Discourses of Denial: Mediations of Race, Gender, and Violence* (2006), provides an excellent sociological analysis of some of the forms of racial discourse expressed in Canadian contexts. By focusing on the experiences of young immigrant women and women of colour, she traces the ways that the violence of racism and sexism is communicated and experienced in these women's encounters with healthcare and educational systems as well as in mainstream media representations. Jiwani focuses on structures of power and the discursive devices used to maintain them, and she privileges the voices or lived realities of racialized women in the process. Utilizing discourse analysis to

investigate both representations of race in the media and the women's experiences through personal interviews, she draws from an impressive resource base. While she mainly relies on postcolonial theories, she uses Foucault to explain the discursive production of subjectivities and workings of discourse. Jiwani's central argument is that discourses of racism and sexism are systematically denied by Canadians in ways that produce sexual and race-based violence. The discourses of denial contribute to the erasure, containment, trivialization, or dismissal of racism as a form of violence. She examines how practices of denial produce inequalities and are manifested at the micro and macro levels of social reality.

Even though Jiwani's research is concentrated on women of colour who reside in urban settings, while my work examines Aboriginal experiences in a semi-rural environment, there are some similarities between Jiwani's research and my own. Partly influenced by her analysis, I am also interested in how discourses of race are erased when it suits the public imagination and the media's agenda, and at other times, invoked in a culturalized form. Drawing parallels with her work, I attempt to understand the ways that racism is manifested and expressed in society by situating various acts within the broader discourses in which these experiences are made possible. There are several strengths to Jiwani's work that are worth detailing to convey how it has informed this project. She deconstructs racial binaries in a multicultural Canadian context and she effectively demonstrates how these categories are discursively produced. She also provides an example of how to not only identify and problematize different discourses of race but also assess the impacts of these discourses on particular communities. I

consider this second step central to my project. Jiwani indicates how this can be accomplished by researchers: for her, it is critical to not only examine certain power relations in society, but also suggest interventionist strategies. She directs her attention to sites of intervention or places where such power relations can be challenged, transformed, or diverted in the interests of privileging subjugated knowledges.

While her work is very convincing, theoretically sound, practically oriented, and politically charged, there are some weaknesses to recognize. Jiwani draws on a large body of diverse evidence for her conclusions, but this evidence is localized to a specific geographic region. Although one example emerges from Montréal, her research is primarily based on media accounts and the experiences of participants from the greater Vancouver metropolitan area. This in itself is not an issue, but she does at times over-generalize her evidence by extending her data to represent all of Canadian society and geography, including rural areas where there would be differing processes that implicate the production of racial discourse. When the evidence collected is localized, it is imperative to not over-extend the material. For example, in my work it is important to emphasize that I am gaining perspective on discourses that inform the processes of Nakoda identity-production. While it is necessary to situate these discourses in broader contexts like Canadian multiculturalism, I cannot extend my evidence to generalize for all of Canada's Aboriginal peoples or even regionally to the peoples who occupied the Canadian Rockies unless it can be shown that similar discourses shaped their experiences. In this regard, evidence can only speak to the

perspectives gained and the relevant associated discourses. Although some might see Jiwani's work as essentializing non-white or immigrant experiences in Canada by glossing over major differences based on class, sexual orientation, language and religion, I feel that she convincingly argues that a degree of this is necessary to emphasize the common cultural and structural barriers facing many minority women. Overall, Jiwani's research is significant for any scholar examining racial discourse from postcolonial and poststructural perspectives. Her analysis is also extremely valuable for those interested in a North America milieu. Consequently, her work has played a considerable role in shaping my study.

In contrast to Jiwani is Stoler's book, from anthropology, entitled: *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (1995), draws on a completely different resource base to examine racial discourse from a Foucauldian perspective. While Jiwani centers her analysis on the experiences of her contributors, Stoler relies on research in French and Dutch colonial archives for her evidence. As a result of her resource base and focus on European based archives, Stoler's study is situated quite differently than my research, but her theoretical thinking and use of Foucault offers a lot to researchers examining discourses of race.

Stoler argues that in general, few scholars have used Foucault to undertake comprehensive interrogation of racial discourse. Stemming from the fact Foucault rarely discussed race, many researchers see it as marginal to Foucault's work. Yet Stoler contends that race is more central to Foucault's thinking than many scholars have realized. Drawing from Foucault's Collège de France lectures on

“racism and the state,” which have garnered very little attention from most Foucauldian scholars, Stoler offers a new interpretation of the modern disciplinary power regime introduced in the *History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, and she contends that Foucault’s works have major applicability in the study of colonialism and discourses of race. This sits in direct contradiction to most Foucauldians, who generally agree with Said (1979, 1991) in that Foucault failed to adequately address, or that he even ignored, issues of colonialism in his histories that focused on Western Europe.

Stoler reveals how forms of nationalist discourse (intricately involving race) drew on and gave force to a wider politics of exclusion. To interpret her evidence on the colonial control of the Dutch East Indies, she assesses how colonial politics shaped what was possible to know about the colonized, and also about the boundaries of race in European bourgeois society. In this manner her understanding of the implications of racial discourse for representations of both colonizer and colonized have been useful in my research. Although differing in orientation and focus, Stoler’s important work has contributed to my thinking on racial discourse by actively applying Foucault’s theorizing of race to her research. She is one of the only scholars to argue that colonial conceptions of race were intricately tied to broader politics of exclusion in Foucault’s analyses of European history. Moreover, she outlines Foucault’s theoretical conceptualization of racism and the complex links between discourses of sexuality, race and the state.

As previously mentioned, history as a discipline has been reluctant to accept the work of Foucault and as a result, few historians seriously consider his

contributions or apply his concepts in their research. However, there are some historians who have taken up the Foucauldian project and below I outline the works of two scholars who have adapted Foucault in their historical interpretations and analyses of racial discourse. Phillip Deloria is one of only a few Aboriginal scholars to employ Foucault in their study of racial discourse. His book *Indians in Unexpected Places* (2004) is an examination of the Aboriginal athletes, performers, actors and leaders who contributed to the development of their respective fields at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. He uses discourse analysis of Aboriginal accounts, the media and related literature. Deloria follows various Aboriginal individuals and groups who had significant impacts on their particular fields to investigate how societal expectations, anxieties and new social conditions opened up unique windows of opportunity for Aboriginal peoples in North America.

His research is not only about the discourses and related expectations of “Aboriginality” that were produced, he also considers how specific individuals and groups carved out spaces for themselves in relation to those discourses and expectations. Deloria focuses on how individuals intelligently assessed the cultural climate and acted in ways that sometimes involved intentionally playing with societal understandings of Aboriginal peoples. While Deloria uses an entirely different resource base than mine for this book, his work is influential as he demonstrates the manner in which Aboriginal actors creatively engaged in cultural, sporting, and tourist performances by examining Aboriginal experiences. Even though Deloria does at times seem to confuse discourse and ideology and by

extension conflate false consciousness with the ability of discourse to conceal, his work does use Foucault's concepts to show how disciplinary power implicates Aboriginal individuals and communities. He demonstrates that under the right conditions, Aboriginal actors can produce diverse representations and meanings around Aboriginal cultures and their own identities – subverting, impacting, and asserting certain discourses that inform the production of “Aboriginality” at key moments of action.

Butchart's 1998 book, *The Anatomy of Power: European Constructions of the African Body*, is an excellent historical analysis of the production of racial discourse from a Foucauldian perspective. One of the few historians to adopt a Foucauldian approach to the study of racial discourse, Butchart shows why and how it can be effective in historical research. He examines how the “African body” became an invention of colonial medical discourse. By using Foucault's conceptions of the unique relationships between power, knowledge and discourse, Butchart contends that disciplinary power gave rise to specific socio-medical technologies, methods of surveillance and social controls that produced what was possible to know about African bodies and peoples. Following from Foucault, he centers on the micro and macro functioning of disciplinary power as a way to deconstruct bodies to reveal how they are inventions of power relations rather than discoveries of knowledge. As indicated by Butchart's intricate analyses, during a transfer from sovereign to disciplinary power regimes, the medical bureaucracy, which was once considered a tool for colonial domination and

exploitation, was reinterpreted as a productive and humanitarian process aimed at liberating Africans.

This work is influential to my research as it uses racial discourse to provide a superb example of productive power relations and it demonstrates why the conventional notion of separating power and the body can be problematic. However, using his study as a complete model for explaining colonial encounters is problematic as he relies on evidence from previous histories and written accounts of European doctors and administrators who were the very arms of colonialism. Butchart deconstructs these accounts with precision and pays close attention to the details of how medical exams, reports, and conservative histories, produced the subjectivities of Africans. Focusing intently on this particular resource base, he did not provide any Indigenous perspectives. So even though he was able to reveal how the ways of knowing about African bodies and Africans were produced through colonial systems of knowledge production, in contrast to Deloria, he was not able to show how local peoples engaged with these discourses. Consequently, the possibilities to refuse or transform discourses are left absent from his work. In a fashion similar to that of the Marxist-inspired histories that Butchart critiques, his work fails to explore the plurality of experiences on the margins.

In contrast to Butchart's book, my research positions these experiences as central to the examination of how discourses that informed the production of "Aboriginality" implicated local peoples. Butchart's selection of methods and the subsequent sources reviewed present obvious differences between our approaches.

Although it would have been a more difficult task for the period of inquiry in Butchart's research, it certainly would have been possible to consult various written or oral accounts of South Africans' own histories or perspectives of colonial processes of systems of knowledge production. As seeking out Nakoda perspectives was a main objective of my research, my results inherently present different opportunities to interrupt the discourses that informed the production of "Aboriginality" and to establish their impacts on local Nakoda individuals and/or communities.

My aim in this section was to highlight some of the more influential works that have shaped my thinking throughout the research and writing of this dissertation. Although Foucault has been used by scholars in physical activity, sport, parks and tourism research, the number of studies applying Foucault's theoretical tools and methodological approaches in examinations of racial discourse is severely limited. Moreover, there are only a handful of researchers relating this material to their research with Indigenous peoples. However, outside of these sub-disciplines, there are some extensive works that have engaged Foucault in their analyses of racial discourse. I have pointed to some of the more influential studies (Whetherell and Potter, 1992; Stoler, 1995; Jiwani, 2006; Deloria, 2004; Butchart, 1998) that provide models, although some are problematic in several respects, to take up the Foucauldian project in my own work with Nakoda histories of the Banff-Bow Valley.

Methodological Approaches

Discourse Analysis

The purpose of this section is to reveal the methodologies that will be employed in this study and to demonstrate how my theoretical perspectives align with the approaches that direct this research. Wetherell and Potter (1992) assert that:

Much of the work of discourse analysis is a craft skill, something like bicycle riding or chicken sexing that is not easy to render or describe in an explicit or codified manner (101).

While this statement may be true, using discourse analysis appears to be a catchall methodological approach that seems to excuse some scholars in the humanities and social sciences from explaining anything about their methodology or justifying their methodological choices. It is important in this section to discuss what forms of discourse analysis I utilize in this study and also how my research specifically relies on discourse analysis to produce and refine data or evidence. In my research, a form of discourse analysis was used to identify the ways that discourses are structured, organized and produced. Also, it shows links between texts, discursive practices, and socio-cultural practices. As indicated by Smith and Sparkes (2005), discourse analysis seeks to explore the processes of how texts are made meaningful and how they contribute to the constitution of social reality by making meaning. Philips and Hardy (2002) contend that discourse analyses interpret the constructive effects of discourse through the systematic study of texts and relate these texts to broader social contexts. The social contexts from which the texts were extracted and discourses produced remain central to discourse analyses. There are of course many ways that researchers apply different kinds of

discourse analysis in their own work. In the forthcoming section, I indicate how this methodology is employed in my research.

Foucauldian-Informed Discourse Analysis

This research project uses a variety of discourse analyses informed by the methods of Foucault to interpret the collected texts. As Burr (2003) implies, Foucauldian-based analyses aim to identify the discourses operating in a certain area of life and to examine the implications for subjectivity, practice, and power relations that these have. Importantly, Foucauldian analyses show how discursive formations and systems of rules make it possible for certain statements, but not others, to occur at particular times, places and locations (Fairclough, 1992). This is an effective tool to expose how power relations are invested in discourse and produced or maintained in discursive practices. The kinds of materials that can be used for Foucauldian-based discourse analysis are almost limitless; virtually any text or artefact may be used to interpolate meanings (Burr, 2003). However, in this study written texts such as tourism promotional materials, photographs, newspaper accounts, and transcripts of conducted oral history interviews are the focus. It is important to note that the interviews were also subject to a different order of textual analysis. The methods and practices that are predominantly utilized in linguistic anthropology informed this aspect of my collection and analysis of texts and related discourses (Sherzer, 1983, 1987; Urban, 1991; Silverstein and Urban, 1996).

While also centering on intertextuality, or how individual texts draw on and are related to the discourses of other texts, having a critical focus, and also at

times an overt political agenda, Foucauldian approaches to discourse analysis are quite dissimilar from critical discourse analysis (CDA). In contrast to CDA, Foucauldian approaches do not try to expose “taken-for-granted power relationships and describe the ways in which power and dominance are produced and reproduced in texts and social practice through the discourse structures...” (Smith and Sparkes, 2005: 223). The goal of CDA is to expose the ideologies that serve the interests of dominant groups through certain discursive practices. The focus is on the ideologies that permeate language and maintain the hegemony of certain groups while simultaneously oppressing others (Liao and Markula, 2009). As a result, CDA is a top-down, linear, hierarchical approach. It is interested in classifying dominant-subordinate relations. This approach sees power as limiting and oppressive and it focuses on identifying these forces. It studies how subtle and overt ideologies are manifested in text (Fairclough, 1992).

In contrast to CDA, Foucauldian approaches are not hierarchical as they stem from his productive and relational conceptions of power relations. They examine the complex interplay of how power relations operate through discourses. The objective is not to challenge the hegemony of a certain group, but to map how power is used through discourses to produce and define practices in certain fields. It is focused on the ways of knowing, how they become dominant and the effects of knowledge. How power is exercised as opposed to who has power is the focal point. Foucault asks what are the statements made, how are they ordered, and what subjects emerge as a consequence. In contrast to Marx, who asks who did what to whom and why, Foucault asks how, what and whom

are constituted (Whetherell and Potter, 1992). For Foucault, we all live in power relations. These power relations are both limiting and enabling (Shogan, 2002). The exercise of power can either be negative or limiting, positive or enabling, and sometimes simultaneously limiting and enabling, depending on the context and the interests and values of those affected. Instead of understanding why something is occurring, the Foucauldian project tries to explain how individuals come to experience and understand the world in particular terms.

Foucauldian-informed discourse analyses are concerned with what Foucault has called genealogies and archaeologies. His methods determine how the historical development of discourse influences how power can be exercised. First published in French, Foucault's "archaeological methods" (1961, 1963, 1966, 1969) analyze discourses in the conditions of their emergence and transformation (Foucault, 1969). Discourse is central to Foucault's archaeological analysis because it is the workings of discourse that provide the appearance of stability and continuity. By analyzing the unconscious rules of formation which shape the workings of discourse his archaeologies show how knowledge and discourse are interrelated and how knowledge is formed in society. Archaeologies reveal the interplay between discourses and sets of rules that shape or constrain reality and guide social practices (Markula and Pringle, 2006). In these studies, he uncovers the internal contemporary workings of the discourse by asking how rules are operating at a particular time in history.

In his archaeologies, Foucault came to the important insight that histories of disciplines and knowledges have sections of discontinuity, ruptures, mutations,

breaks, and/or transformations between parts. Therefore, the meta-narratives composed about them are not as rational as they appear to be. By examining representations of the past, Foucault tried to complicate understandings of meta-narratives by providing examples of these ruptures (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005). Foucault realized that the conditions of the emergence of statements involve exclusions, limits, or gaps that define what cannot be said (or said overtly). Scholars who conduct archaeologies are interested in the rules and procedures within specific contexts, which determine what could be said and who is deemed the most qualified to speak. Conducting an archaeological analysis has important implications for the study of identities. Archaeologies are not as concerned with negotiating between accurate or better representations of identities as they are with mapping different circulations in which particular identities are claimed (D'Cruz, 2001).

In his archaeologies, Foucault acknowledged that the workings of power were de-emphasized. His genealogies explicitly examine the workings of power and knowledge. This shift in focus to the material workings of power is one of the main differences between his archaeologies and genealogies. Genealogies invert the approaches of conventional histories. This inversion enables researchers to examine power from the assumption that it not only works through repression, but also as a creative force that fabricates all human objects of social reality. Conventional histories presuppose a subject and then investigate how power seizes upon that subject. Standing at the centre of these studies is the knowing, feeling, acting subject (Butchart, 1998). As Foucault reminds us:

the individual is not a pre-given entity which is seized on by the exercise of power. The individual, with his identity and characteristics, is a product of the relations of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, desires, and forces” (1980: 74).

Foucault’s genealogies can be considered histories of the present (Stoler, 1995). Foucault described them as “examinations of the relations between history, discourse, bodies, and power, in an attempt to understand social practices or objects of knowledge that continue to exist and have value for us” (1977: 146). Genealogies trace the effects of power by recognizing that “truth” is produced as a reflection of certain power relations. As Bové notes:

genealogies let us confront how power constructs truth-producing systems in which propositions, concepts, and representations generally assign value and meaning to the objects of the various disciplines that treat them (1995: 57).

Genealogies then question how certain discourses emerge as and when they did, how the discourses and rules were produced, and what conditions made them possible. These methods consider the emergence of systems of knowledge and related discourses while maintaining that histories are discontinuous and origins are socio-historical productions.

In his two most influential genealogies (1977, 1978), Foucault reveals the discontinuities and breaks in discourses. He adopts an anti-hermeneutic approach that rejects the concept that you can determine from fragments a picture of the whole (this positions him in direct opposition to much of the discipline of history). Rather the objective of genealogies is to suspend judgement about meanings and determine the knowledge formations that lead to meanings being established and understood in certain ways (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). In doing

so, he aims to show that there are other ways of thinking and that discourses are not “truer,” but simply exercise more power and value. Genealogies provide histories of the development of dominant and marginalized knowledge that have influenced individuals’ understandings of themselves (Markula & Pringle, 2006). This approach raises critical consciousness of the workings of discourse and power and can have important implications for theorizing the production and consumption of identities.

It is imperative to draw distinctions between a Foucauldian-informed approach to discourse analysis and the more formal or structured Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA). While scholars have provided methods for conducting FDA based on Foucault’s methodological and theoretical perspectives, conceptual tools to guide these analyses are not very common in the application of FDA. There are a few scholars who have created in-depth models to apply FDA to individual research projects and these provide some helpful guidelines for researchers. These guidelines are well suited for many types of textual analyses. For example, Willig’s (2001) model for FDA is appropriate when texts are drawn from a smaller temporal period or from one or a few textual sources.¹¹ However, when a project spans decades or even centuries of history, a detailed method is not as useful as examples of texts are taken from an extensive data set that cannot be as well-managed, organized or analyzed. The structured approach that Willig outlines is also less effective when texts are used from numerous resource bases. My research relies on textual analyses of tourism promotional materials and photography as well as texts from newspaper accounts and transcribed interviews.

Willig's model is not apposite for all of these diverse types of texts or resource bases. In sport studies, Liao and Markula (2009) and Barker-Ruchti (2009) both offer models of FDA that define the process even further than Willig.¹² Their systematic approaches can be useful for analyzing discourses in television commercials or newspaper coverage of a particular event (as they do), but it is less suited to an analyses of diverse categories of texts that span many decades.

Similarly to Foucault, Butchart (1998) conducted a discourse analysis of an extended temporal period. His Foucauldian-informed approach to discourse analysis of several centuries of South African history not only uses Foucault's tools, but also applies his methods. Numerous parallels can be drawn between Butchart's research and the methodological approaches adopted in this study which are both quite dissimilar from the more structured FDA models outlined above. In this dissertation, Foucault's concepts of discourse, power relations and the discursive production of identities are central to the analysis. Moreover, archaeologies and genealogies are utilized to determine the rules that shape the workings of discourse, how knowledge is formed in society and the conditions or power relations that allow certain discourses to emerge and circulate. Using a Foucauldian-informed discourse analysis, I theorize and analyze discourses, the social practices of which the discourses are a part (their interdiscursivity) and underlying power relations.

After years of data collections and using some of my thesis material into various term papers, publications and conferences presentations, prior to any detailed data analyses, I already had a sense of what some key discourses were.

When I began the data analysis process, I looked for statements in the form of texts that expressed how Aboriginal peoples were talked about, referred to, or represented. I then tried to notice general themes in these statements that indicated several key concepts. These concepts allowed for understandings of what discourses implicated the production of “Aboriginality” in specific periods of history. All individual identities are informed by particular discourses and Aboriginal identities are certainly no exception. While it is impossible to examine all of the key discourses in any given historical period, my research highlights a number of significant discourses that influenced the production of “Aboriginality.” While numerous discourses were first identified from the various types of texts, I eventually focused on the discourses of: conservation, naturalness, exoticization and temporalization. While the two latter discourses were certainly evident prior to conducting the analyses, the relevance of the discourses of “naturalness” and especially “conservation” were brought to my attention through the analysis process. The selections of these discourses were made because I found examples of them throughout the different varieties of texts and I considered them the most important in the production of “Aboriginality.” I then used these discourses to shape a historical narrative that portrayed some of the significant experiences of Aboriginal peoples in the Banff-Bow Valley. While identifying the discourses was a necessary first step, this dissertation is more concerned with how the experiences of Nakoda peoples were shaped by these discourses under specific socio-historical conditions.

As previously acknowledged, Foucauldian approaches aim to identify the power relations embedded in and being produced by discourse. This also includes how discourses are resisted, refused and transformed in various human interactions (Macdonell, 1986). It must be recognized that all forms of discourse analysis are interpretive tasks that involve selection processes. While some questions are useful in elucidating the presence of certain discourses and the operating power relations, researchers still need to decide which discourses will be examined. It is also critical to highlight the ways in which texts are constructed. Cole (1991) raises a significant point concerning the production of texts by stating that all texts require important decision-making processes by researchers, as texts involve privilege, framing, and editing that can emphasize, suppress, or distort the mechanisms of construction. Along with being aware of Cole's assertion, I take this into account by including quotations and portions of dialogue from the texts produced in my work as examples of the discourses identified. While it is important to explain the methodological approaches of this study, it is now appropriate to identify the specific methods by which evidence was obtained for the content of this dissertation.

Methods

This dissertation uses a mixed methods approach to examine a variety of texts that are constitutive of the most relevant discourses in the production of "Aboriginality." Archival analysis and personal interviews are the focus of this section as it is through the use of these methods that evidence was gathered for

this dissertation. In addition, I also indicate how aspects of participant observation informed this research as well as the ethical considerations and obligations that facilitated this study.

Archival Analysis

A significant percentage of the texts generated for analysis in this project were obtained from archival materials. For the purposes of explaining the different types of materials that are analyzed in my research, I find it helpful to group these materials as either official and personal documents or documents of mass communication. Official and personal documents refer to records of governments, corporations, policy statements, reports, personal correspondence and other documents that were not issued to the mass public (Booth, 2005a). These records are mostly organized and housed in official public archives. Acquiring and studying documents of this nature presents several important issues to be considered. While some scholars continue to view archives as neutral sites of knowledge, I support the predominant view that consider archives as localized sites of power. To inquire about how representations contribute to discourses and evaluate the tangible and intangible consequences of these discourses, archives are valuable resources because they provide information about the production and maintenance of these discourses. As Achille Mbembe (1995) explains, not all documents are destined to be in archives as only some documents fulfill the criteria of “archivability.” Archives are the product of coding, classifying, organizing, judging, and regulating processes that fundamentally are selection and discrimination procedures that grant (through donors, archivists and their aids)

privileged status to some documents while refusing others. For me, these gaps and admissions, processes of preservation and exclusion, can disclose important information about the production of particular discourses.

Official and Personal Documents

While it is clear that official and personal documents do not contribute to all aspects of this research, for example Aboriginal perspectives of their own history, these documentations do reflect prevailing discourses and as a result are important in this study. Official and personal documents are not the only focus of my analyses of texts, but they certainly have relevance for this project as I contextualize their use with the socio-economic, political and cultural conditions that produced the documents and the discourses they limit or enable. It must be emphasized that these documents cannot be divorced from the individuals and institutions that (re)produced and preserved them. In this research, I examined some formal documents concerning park policy, including national parks acts, park warden reports, and municipal, provincial and federal governmental policies. An analysis of these documents offer insights into how policies and laws implicated Aboriginal peoples and contributed to circulating discourses. These types of official documents were primarily obtained from Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa and the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies Archives in Banff.¹³

Another group of documents that were examined in this study are personal collections that were acquired by museums. This includes the collections of tourism entrepreneurs and guides who had extensive relations with Aboriginal

peoples. To a lesser extent, these collections, for example the *Norman Luxton Papers*, contain important correspondences between tourism producers and Aboriginal peoples in regard to various tourism ventures over the 20th century. This also includes the correspondence of the Banff Indian Days Committee, of which Norman Luxton was involved with for decades. Most notably, examination of these collections provided insights into correspondence on the topic of the Indian Days that were held in Banff for over eight decades. In addition, the collections also feature photographic images (sometimes originals) that provide a unique and valuable window into less-publicized historical events. Although one personal collection reviewed is housed at the Glenbow Museum Archives in Calgary, most of the relevant collections for this study are housed at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies Archives in Banff. All information gleaned from official documents was grouped and organized chronologically.¹⁴

Documents of Mass Communication

In addition to official documents, I also investigated documents of mass communication. Although also stored in archives, unlike official and personal records that are printed in small numbers or never printed at all, documents of mass communication are produced in large volumes for wide distribution (Booth, 2005a). In this study, these documents include newspaper accounts and tourism promotional materials. These two varieties of documents of mass communication can be excellent signifiers of prevailing discourses. The questions of whose values are being represented in these forums and also how these discourses are produced or enacted through these texts are important to address in this research. Scholars

using evidence especially from newspaper sources also have to recognize the preferences, bias, knowledge, and opinions of journalists and their employers and how this influences their observations and subsequently their written accounts. It is precisely these aspects that make documents of mass communication sources of power and as a result crucial sites of inquiry to identify and problematize operating discourses. Since this project involves identifying discourses that inform the production of “Aboriginality,” biases and preferences are important components to examine in my research. In this study, I analyze newspaper accounts and tourism materials not as neutral historical evidence, but as mediated texts that have clear orientations and rationale. These forms of documents of mass communication offer important insights when the information acquired from them is contextualized and the inherent assumptions in their production are acknowledged.

I reviewed the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) tourism promotional images that were produced in Canada and distributed internationally to major markets in Europe, Asia and the United States. The CPR was formed in 1881 with the intention of building a railway that would unite central Canada to British Columbia and the Pacific coast, a task they completed in 1885. From the 1880s until the beginning of the Second World War, the CPR diversified into tourism ventures, including hotel and infrastructure construction, in addition to numerous other profitable businesses. By the turn of the 20th century, the CPR developed into the world’s largest and most extensive travel company (Choko and Jones, 2004).

I analyzed all CPR images concerning travel in the Canadian Rocky Mountains over an eighty-three year period (1897-1980). In total over three hundred images were examined. These images offered important perspectives on how the Canadian Rockies, but also Canada as a whole, was produced through CPR advertising campaigns and sold to international audiences. This provided unique insights into discourses of travel that focused on selling some aspects of the cultures, landscapes and technological infrastructures that comprise the Canadian Rockies, while actively concealing others (Mason, 2008). These marketing campaigns not only shaped tourists' expectations of Canada and the Rocky Mountains, but they also impacted the processes whereby Canadian governments, tourism companies and local entrepreneurs met these expectations by representing and producing cultures, landscapes and infrastructures in Banff townsite and the surrounding national park (for more on this see chapter 4). Some of these discourses implicated local Aboriginal populations and as a result were of interest in this study. All CPR images were examined using the CPR online archives. Although this online analysis was sufficient for most of the images, the more relevant images were ordered and copyrighted for closer scrutiny and application or use.

Newspaper accounts represent the second type of mass communication document utilized in this study. Newspaper reports provided a significant opportunity to examine the discourses of a particular period and it is for this reason that they are imperative for much of the evidence presented throughout this dissertation. Due to the broad temporal scope of this research initiative, it would

be almost impossible to review all of the content of several publications throughout the time period examined. As a result, there are several delimitations placed on the newspaper data collection. I selected two local weekly newspapers: the *Banff Crag and Canyon*, which was first published in 1900 and the *Banff Advocate and Rocky Mountains Park District Recorder*, which has only published from 1918 to 1922. In conjunction with the years the Banff Indian Days festival was celebrated, the *Banff Crag and Canyon* was reviewed for the following years (1900-1980). The *Banff Advocate and Rocky Mountains Park District Recorder* was reviewed for five years of its operation (1918-1922). Rather than relying on a search engine to find relevant articles, they were reviewed based on specific times of the year that were of particular relevance. For example, the Banff Indian Days were annually held in July, so all of the months of July were analyzed. In addition, important events that occurred were also investigated. For example, in 1920 there was a conflict involving Aboriginal individuals or communities and park wardens regarding the exclusion of Nakoda peoples from the national park and Aboriginal hunting rights. As a result, coverage of this period was investigated in both local papers. Published academic and popular histories were used to help pinpoint some of these key events. Moreover, oral histories also identified certain occurrences that at times were not a component of the various published historical sources reviewed. The *Banff Crag and Canyon* and the *Banff Advocate and Rocky Mountains Park District Recorder* were available on microfiche from the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies Archives in Banff

and also the Alberta Legislature Library in Edmonton. Both local newspapers were productive to review and the data collections produced 368 separate articles.

Although only analyzed from 1970-1979, two local Nakoda publications were reviewed. For information regarding the later period of the Banff Indian Days (covered in chapter 5), I reviewed *Stoney Country* and *The Stoney Drumbeat* using a search engine. This data collection produced 19 separate articles which offered the only mass communication documents written by Nakoda community members. Although these publications were short-lived, these articles were significant to my understandings of the conflicts and issues surrounding the discontinuation of the festivals in the late 1970s.

To gain a broader regional perspective, the province of Alberta's two largest provincial daily papers were also examined. The *Edmonton Journal* and the *Calgary Herald* were reviewed using an electronic search index. Key words and significant dates were effective in locating relevant materials. In contrast to the local weekly publications, where the focus is on local events, a much broader approach was adapted for the provincial dailies. The search engine was used to investigate issues concerning Aboriginal peoples, including representation, government policies and land claims as well as information about the Banff Indian Days and the Rocky Mountains National Parks. While the provincial daily data collection was also fruitful, as one might predict, the scope was much broader, and as a consequence, so was the evidence that was collected. The *Edmonton Journal* and the *Calgary Herald* were available on microfiche from the University of Alberta's Leddy Library in Edmonton. Both the *Edmonton Journal*

and the *Calgary Herald* were investigated from 1900-1980 and this investigation produced 214 relevant articles.¹⁵

Even though weekly publications have less content to cover than daily newspapers, there are often distinct challenges in reviewing dailies that an inexperienced researcher might not anticipate, but will certainly encounter. For example, in small rural communities there is relevant content that may appear in any section of the publication so a meticulous analysis of all material is required. Also, weekly papers have less of an organized structure. This means that articles often assume the form of conversations as they can reference other issues and articles from previous weeks. I found it most effective to simply read the papers in their entirety to ensure that I captured most details.

While it may appear that utilizing a search engine to locate articles in the provincial dailies is less arduous than the full reviews completed for the local weeklies, anyone who has done *thorough* newspaper reviews with search engines recognizes the massive time commitment involved with this task. I personally grossly underestimated the time and energy required for the data collection processes associated with the archival analysis for this study. All information acquired from analyses of documents of mass communication were organized chronologically and then combined with the official documents so that each successive year could be searched or examined.

Semi-structured Oral History Interviews

As noted in the introduction (pages 7-8) literature reviews on Banff-Bow Valley histories indicated a large gap in the current research. Popular and

scholarly accounts of the region's histories were overwhelmingly focused on Euro-Canadians. Very few works centered on Aboriginal histories and even less consulted or privileged Aboriginal perspectives. From the beginning of this project, I committed to seeking out Aboriginal perspectives and collaborating with Aboriginal communities. As a consequence of privileging evidence obtained from these important contributions, oral histories were a seminal source in this study. Not only do oral accounts complement archival evidence by introducing firsthand perspectives that in some cases are completely absent from documents, they also provide a relatively unmediated window into actors' perspectives. These perspectives cannot be obtained through any archive or newspaper. In this sense, oral history interviews have complicated my perspectives on the cultural history of the Banff-Bow Valley. The texts produced from these accounts, offer different and at times contradictory perceptions of prevailing discourses.

In addition to the challenges associated with recording oral testimony (Ives, 2005), the evidence generated from oral history interviews is also problematic in some respects. Similar to archival forms, oral evidence is also fragmented, bound by assumptions and embedded with intent (Booth, 2005b). In this manner, oral histories are formed through a relationship between the past and the present. Consequently, oral testimonies are located in particular cultural practices that are informed by cultural specific systems of relations. These relations must be identified explicitly to be of the most value to researchers (Sommer and Quinlan, 2002). It is worth specifying that in the case of this

research the relations were mostly cross-cultural given my location relative to the Nakoda interviewees.

Semi-structured oral history interviews give the researcher a broader knowledge base of an individual's life, rather than just the interviewee's specific perspective on a topic. It also allows interviewees the flexibility to discuss many aspects surrounding a general topic. As Sommer and Quinlan (2002) indicate, semi-structured oral history interviews foster a deeper understanding of the interviewee's life experiences, as the context for the analysis is often included in the answers provided. These interviews produced in-depth narratives within a semi-structured environment through conversational dialogue (Fetterman, 1998). Although the interview is only semi-structured, that does not suggest that it is not centered on a general topic of inquiry or set of issues (Patton, 2002). The semi-structured aspect of this method means that the interview is not structured or organized so that specific questions or issues are asked or even discussed. Semi-structured interviews often elicit the interviewees' opinions and ideas on the topics in question or discussion, in contrast to directing the interviewee to discuss specific questions or issues. The topics of discussion become broad and open-ended conversations which permit the interviewee significant latitude in constructing answers.

In my experiences, interviewees often knew prior to the interview that I was interested in the history of the Indian Days and Nakoda perspectives of their histories in the Banff-Bow Valley. Often during the interviews, the topic of the Indian Days would come up and the remainder of the conversation would flow

from this point. As each contributor had a unique knowledge base, the interviews often centered on what the contributor felt compelled to discuss. This is an effective method to encourage long answers and support interviewees to discuss their life experiences or stories around the more specific topics. Although sometimes discussions did not even broach the subject of the Indian Days, I remained committed to not interjecting or interrupting. For the most part I also refrained from even subtly directing the conversations as I wanted to follow important cultural protocol at all times. It would have been disrespectful for me to direct conversation with an elder and as a consequence, in most interviews, interviewees simply discussed what they thought I should know about their perspectives of local history.¹⁶ Although the manner in which this is described may sound as if this presented a challenge in my research, on the contrary, this was an important learning opportunity that became valuable to me as a researcher. As a direct consequence, I learned a great deal about topics that I had not anticipated and throughout the process, I was able to engage with community members in respectful manners.

Coupled with Foucauldian-informed discourse analyses, these interviews uncovered how the interviewees came to have certain experiences and not others. Moreover, this style of interview lets researchers make connections between important topics of inquiry. For example, in discussions with individuals who participated in the Indian Days festivals, interviewees provided context concerning their experiences living on the Morley reservation, at residential schools, or other topics that they felt were related or wanted to share. Even though

my focus remained on how discourses have made experiences possible or produced certain types of experiences, in this process, interviewees' responses provided a window into life experiences that may or may not have been directly related to the Indian Days.

As Hart (1995) contends, semi-structured oral history methods are appropriate means of engaging with Aboriginal peoples in Canada because it encourages listening by the researcher, long segments of speech without interruption, and overall cultural sensitivity. This method has proven to be very effective for numerous researchers from diverse academic backgrounds who have collaborated with Aboriginal individuals and communities in North America to record and tell important aspects of their histories and cultures (Cruikshank, 1990, 1998; Palmer, 2005). It has also been an effective method in sport and physical activity related research involving Aboriginal communities in Canada (Paraschak 1983, 1996; Heine, 1991; Robidoux, 2001, 2004; Giles, 2004, 2005a).

Open-ended questions and discussions help to foster or encourage an understanding of the interviewee's language and meanings (Hart, 1995). There are two criteria that are central to this type of interview: 1) avoid leading the interviewee or imposing meaning as much as possible; and 2) create a relaxed comfortable conversation that is sensitive to the approaches, needs, and desires of the interviewee. While semi-structured interviews do not require an interview guide, it was still important to think critically and carefully about what might be discussed and how an interviewee may respond to certain topics or issues (Patton, 2002).

As a male, Anglophone, Euro-Canadian researcher, part of the planning process for conducting semi-structured oral history interviews included learning how to be culturally sensitive while interacting with Nakoda peoples on their reservations. According to Tuhiwai Smith (1999), this means recognizing that Indigenous peoples have different speech patterns, methods of communicating, manners of listening, and ways of knowing. For me it was also critical to have an extensive knowledge of the Nakoda communities in which I worked. It was necessary to learn about local geography, history, and cultural practices prior to attempting to interview community members (Bishop, 2005). Learning about local peoples and their lives not only helped me relate to individual interviewees, but it also indicated a certain amount of respect for the community which guided a process of cultural sensitivity (Hart, 1995).

While in the interview process participants did have some control over important topics to be discussed, one of the difficulties with interviews is that they can create an atmosphere where the researcher is positioned as the expert. The interviewee relates information and the expert reinterprets the information and delivers it back to the interviewee. This pattern is often found in research and undermining it became a challenging but important task. Rather than building a relationship with interviewees that established me as the expert, I asked for their expertise to understand more about local history and Aboriginal perspectives. As a result, the topics to be discussed on local history were developed in collaboration with community members who were willing to offer their expertise. As Tuhiwai Smith (2005) effectively argues, research collaborations with

Indigenous communities should foster a consultation processes that not only seeks feedback on finished products at the end of the research project, but engages with the community from the very beginning. This is imperative to understand the perspectives of community members about what work needs to be undertaken, what topics should be discussed, or what information should be shared regarding specific issues. Support from community members in the development of the topics that they felt were relevant or important to be discussed also helped avoid inadvertently breaching cultural protocol (Hart, 1995). While it is difficult to summarize the content of the interviews, here are some of the issues or topics that were directly related to the Banff Indian Days: 1) Nakoda experiences of participating in cultural and sporting practices at the festivals; 2) the role that some individuals played in negotiating participation at the Indian Days, including decisions over activities, remuneration, and cultural representations; 3) the relationship between different individuals and groups that hosted and participated in the events, and 4) the broader socio-economic, political and cultural conditions that facilitated Nakoda participation in the festivals and at times presented distinct challenges to participation. As is often the case when conducting semi-structured oral history interviews, most conversations led to other important topics that may seem unrelated to the Indian Days, but were central to the memories and lives of individual interviewees. Some of the following topics are examples that were discussed by more than one interviewee: 1) experiences growing up in the Banff-Bow Valley; 2) exclusion of Nakoda peoples from BNP; 3) experiences at the residential school in Morley; 4) Nakoda interpretations of the Treaty Seven

agreements; and 5) Nakoda philosophies about the role of humans in larger ecosystems. In addition to providing invaluable Aboriginal perspectives, the interviews demonstrated how key discourses were constrained and enabled during specific periods of history. In the participant observation section below, I more thoroughly discuss how I prepared for the interviews by learning about important cultural protocols. It is now imperative that I provide more information about how the interview processes unfolded in my research.

Contributors, Sampling and Consent

After conducting an extensive literature review on the history of the Banff-Bow Valley and Nakoda cultural practices, I contacted and had several interactions with the Banff Indian Days Organizing Committee via email and telephone. Along with introducing myself, I expressed my interest in the history of the event and set up a time to meet with one of the committee members. This initial contact became crucial for facilitating my introduction to numerous community members. Snowball sampling, a form of purposeful sampling, was used in this research to locate interviewees. Snowball sampling, is a method of finding interviewees based on identifying your interest to community members and allowing them to facilitate your introduction to other community members who may be regarded as knowledgeable in the identified topics of inquiry (Cresswell, 1998). This was an effective method to meet knowledgeable community members that were interested in the project while avoiding the process of contacting uninterested individuals.

Semi-structured oral history interviews were conducted with twelve individuals. On three occasions, these interviews required multiple sessions. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed in their entirety. Two interviews required an interpreter to facilitate the interview and a translator as they were conducted and recorded in Nakoda/Stoney. A simple transcription method was used that included errors, pauses, omissions, and emphasis, but speed and intonation were mostly ignored. The total time recorded per individual varied in length from one hour and thirty-seven minutes in a single session to nine hours and forty-eight minutes of recorded time over multiple sessions. Ten interviewees self-identified as Aboriginal, nine lived on the Nakoda reservation at Morley and one individual lived on the Nakoda reservation at Big Horn. The remaining two individuals were of Euro-Canadian lineage and lived in Banff. While I originally anticipated that only Aboriginal perspectives would be included in the oral history component of my research, I met two individuals who had extensive knowledge of the history of the Banff Indian Days and who agreed to participate in my study. Of the twelve oral histories, there was almost an equal gender split as five interviews (42%) were conducted with women and seven (58%) with men. Most were interviewed as individuals, but one interview consisted of two participants. Moreover, with the exception of one interview, where an undergraduate student participated as well, I was the sole interviewer for all of the sessions.¹⁷ The interviewees ranged in age from their late twenties to their mid-seventies. Although the exact average age of participants was not calculated, the majority of individuals interviewed were elders over the age of sixty.

Based on previous readings (Hart, 1995; Medicine, 2001; Nettle, 2004; Cruikshank, 2005) and advice from other researchers who had worked in Aboriginal communities, I was anticipating that written consent may not be appropriate for interviewees. At the beginning of my research this was confirmed as I was informed that it was culturally unacceptable to seek written consent with Nakoda peoples. As stated by one elder, “you are talking with people...who either themselves...or their ancestors had signed much of their land and lives away to white people.”¹⁸ As Snow (2005) explains, throughout the 20th century, Nakoda peoples have been bombarded with researchers seeking all kinds of aspects of their knowledge – some of which is sacred and not meant to be heard by outside groups. As a consequence, I found it more acceptable to verbally explain the contents of the participant information letter. It was important to emphasize that they could withdraw their information at any time and it would be removed from the study and destroyed. Fortunately, I did not face this situation with any of the contributors.

Most of the risks associated around the interviews stemmed from the possible sensitivity of the information offered by the contributors. As the number one priority, there were three key steps taken to ensure that contributors and sensitive information were protected. First, although most participants did not wish to remain anonymous, all contributors were offered anonymity at the beginning of the each interview. Second, all contributors were asked to review the transcripts from the interviews to not only confirm their accuracy, but also to highlight any statements or parts of the discussions they wished to be removed or

not associated with their names. Even though some contributors did not offer any feedback on the transcripts, others provided detailed comments that resulted in the reassignment of some information as unusable or anonymous. Pseudonyms or a general reference to a Nakoda elder were automatically applied to all information from individuals who wished to remain anonymous. In some cases, contributors wanted their names linked to the information they provided in the interviews and this was also noted.

Lastly, much later in the analytic process, another important step was employed to filter and protect contributors and sensitive information. In addition to the decisions made by contributors through the data analysis and writing processes, I also took some extra considerations concerning what cultural information should not be disclosed and how to protect contributors from being identified if that was their desire. For example, I recognized that evidence obtained from the interviewees could be grouped into three different categories of information resulting from both my evaluation of the sensitivity of the material and how an individual requested the information to be treated. These categories broke down material as either: unusable because of its cultural sensitivity; usable but the source to remain anonymous or be given a pseudonym; or usable and linked to the contributor. Because of the possibilities of knowledgeable community members evaluating the information presented and linking it to individuals always exists, extra considerations were needed (Furniss, 1999). The end result of this lengthy process was that unless a contributor insisted that their name be linked to the information provided through the interview, anonymous

references or pseudonyms were applied throughout the dissertation. The overall objective of these filtering, editing and consultation procedures was to commit to privileging these perspectives throughout the research and writing process by working with community members to ensure that the historical, and at times personal, materials collected were not only used in appropriate manners, but also in a way that did not create issues or problems for individuals or the community.

Organization, Coding and Judgement

In order to organize the transcripts and make the material more manageable, coding techniques were applied to select, code, interpret, and compare segments of text. This first involved developing the themes to refine and organize the information. Blocks of texts were copied from original documents into the relevant themes. This process organized texts to fit under general themes or in some cases several themes. As a stubborn historian might do, I initially insisted on organizing information based on chronological order. I quickly established that it was easier to utilize themes that related to the discourse that I was already attempting to identify and problematize. I preferred an inclusive approach to the coding, in that I would rather have a section of information copied into several themes and cross-referenced to establish where it was best suited than to exclude material that may be relevant. This means that texts were considered that did not necessarily fit categorizations or generalizations (Fairclough, 1992).

A coding technique was employed to identify relationships between different categories of texts and create a familiarity with the texts. I established that the most effective way to ensure the appropriate placement of texts was to

read and reread the transcripts in order to accurately determine where they were best suited and to fully understand the contexts in which specific statements were made. It was important to assess the contexts in which the statements were made as this was often as significant as the actual content of the statements themselves. Although at times this process was tedious, coding was effective to organize and categorize large bodies of material into manageable texts to be examined and utilized.

Some scholars in the social sciences and humanities insist on applying methods of judgement criteria as validation in qualitative research. Developing validation standards in qualitative research has become a topic of considerable debate particularly in disciplines that are centered in both science and social science paradigms (Whittemore et al, 2001). One of the many issues discussed in these debates is whether it is a necessity to identify methods that measure the rigor and subjectivity as well as the creativity of the social science research process (Sandelowski, 1993). I agree with Hammersley's (1992) contention that because qualitative research is based on entirely different epistemological and ontological assumptions than quantitative studies, validation criteria could be inappropriate in some contexts, as it stretches qualitative researchers to define their methods and evidence from a pseudo-scientific lens. However, several of the suggested models for establishing validation criteria can be helpful for qualitative scholars to ensure the quality of their research by considering many of the issues that face researchers of similar theoretical and methodological backgrounds. For example, I found Kvale and Brinkmann's (2007) seven stage process to interview

inquiry a very helpful model for both pre- and post-considerations of the most appropriate processes for conducting interviews. All of these models or steps to establishing validation criteria are most effective when implemented early in the research process or at the design stage of a particular study. As this was not the case for this dissertation, unfortunately, these models of judgement and validation criteria did not play a significant role in my research. It is my hope that the depth of my descriptions in the methods and ethics sections of this document are sufficient to establish how I claim to know what I know about the specific topics and issues presented.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a method commonly used in ethnographic research. Fetterman (1998) describes it as a method that immerses the researcher into a culture by participating in the lives of research participants while striving to maintain an acceptable degree of professional distance. Participant observation informed this study in several important manners. However, it must be clearly stated that while I was at times an “observing participant” (Holy, 1984) through some of the activities in which I was involved in the Morley community, none of the information acquired from these experiences was included in my dissertation as evidence. I contend that for anyone who does research with human beings, it is impossible not to have experiences that in some ways shape your perspectives. That being said, using participant observation as a method for collecting material or evidence is quite different than relying of your experiences to learn about cultural sensitivity while participating within a community.

An example here is helpful to clarify my position. On many occasions over the course of this research I attended both public and private events in the community. During some of these experiences, individuals spoke openly about their personal opinions and community perspectives on certain aspects of their cultures and histories. Importantly, using this material as evidence not only would have required an agreement from the committee members and ethical clearance from the University of Alberta, but also consent from community members. The following example highlights this important distinction. One year while volunteering at the Banff Indian Days, I was asked to join an elders' campfire where men and women reflected for hours on their personal experiences and memories of participating in the festivals. Of course this material was very informative for my research, but any reporting of this material would not only jeopardize my own ethical principles as a researcher, but also violate the trust that I have worked so hard to build with community members. Experiences working in a community necessarily facilitate aspects of research and by reflecting on how our work is informed by what we know and the relationships we build, we can learn from others, become more culturally sensitive and develop relationships. In some respects these experiences had to inform and facilitate my research.

It is worth providing more detail on the types of community engagement and experiences that helped build and maintain trust with community members. At the beginning of my research, I was very fortunate to meet several extremely welcoming and generous individuals who shaped the remainder of my experiences in the community. My initial interest and entry point was through

volunteering at the current Banff Indian Days gatherings that are held annually near Banff townsite. These experiences provided opportunities to meet and interact with community members. Eventually as a volunteer member of the organizing committee, I was able to spend more time with some members of the committee and the broader community. A few years later, I also was invited to join the organizing committee of the Stoney Park Aboriginal Cultural Society (SPACS), which is a group that facilitates cultural and artistic opportunities for Nakoda youth. In September 2009, I was named to the board of directors of SPACS, which entails a new level of engagement and responsibility. In October 2009, I was asked to be part of the foundation of an Aboriginal-owned and operated cultural and ecotourism organization in Morley. The organization is committed to educating and employing Nakoda peoples, increasing levels of outdoor activity and exercise in the local community, and operating a successful cultural and ecological tourism venture that supports Nakoda perspectives of travel, spirituality, and subsistence land uses. My role has been to apply for development grants and advise on various issues. I take all of these opportunities and responsibilities very seriously and am encouraged by the possibility that my time, energy and skill set have and will continue to make significant contributions to the specific organizations and the broader community.

As a result of developing relationships over the years through these interactions, I began to be regularly invited to both community events and private cultural practices. I am honoured by these types of invitations and attend as often as I can. Over the past five years, I have been fortunate enough to attend

numerous rodeos, powwows and other community functions. In addition, over the last year I have regularly been participating in sweats at the private sweat lodge of a respected elder and medicine man. All of these experiences and opportunities have allowed me to get to know community members and develop meaningful relationships that extend far beyond any research interests into the realm of my own personal life.

Ethical Considerations and Obligations

Ethical procedures can be daunting for researchers. Having some experience working in a community extending from my master's research helped me anticipate certain ethical issues in my doctoral work. That being said, each project can present new ethical challenges and this was my first time working with Aboriginal communities, which I have found to be a different experience altogether. I first started to consider ethics for this project during Dr. Andie Palmer's class (Anthro 589) that I took in the winter of 2006. The course focused on the challenges of conducting oral history interviews and ethics became a significant component of the course material and the regular discussions. The oral histories that I conducted in relation to the course's term paper on the Banff Indian Days received ethical clearance (Research Ethics Board ID#: 434). This course was invaluable for preparing me to conduct any kind of research in Aboriginal communities as it forced me to think through many issues related to methods and ethics, including the unique responsibilities that researchers should uphold when working with Aboriginal individuals and communities.

During that semester, I also submitted a research application, which included an ethics section, to the Banff Indian Days Organizing Committee. After a presentation the members agreed to conditionally support my project. In early the spring of 2006, I conducted a series of key interviews. In September 2007, I took Brian Maraj's seminar in ethics as the first component of the faculty's ethical requirements for graduate researchers.¹⁹ In October, I submitted an ethics package to the Research Ethics Board associated with the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation in preparation for the research associated with my candidacy exam. In October 2007, after a few minor revisions, the review committee accepted my application. Over the next two months, I conducted several interviews related to representation of Aboriginal histories, identities and cultures. Much of the material from these interviews was also suitable for my dissertation topic.

In the spring of 2009, I moved to Banff to complete my data collection and to then write this dissertation. Not long after my arrival, a member of Parks Canada's research division requested that I submit an application for a parks' research permit. I completed this application, which entailed a section on ethics, only to be notified soon after that I did not require a permit because my research involving participants took place outside of the park's system. At the beginning of October 2009, a community member with whom I had worked closely over the years had facilitated a meeting with several elders who were identified as knowledgeable on the history of the Banff Indian Days. I met with four elders and several members of the Wesley Band Council on the afternoon of October 7th.

Although the group of elders were keen to tell their stories and participate in my research, the Wesley Band Council decided that my research would have to undergo more scrutiny as part of a new process that was created earlier that month for managing any requests for research with community members on any of the three Nakoda reservations. As a consequence of a number of disputes between an anthropologist who had been researching in the community and the Nakoda First Nations Band Council, all research requests were to be reviewed by the Traditional Land Use Committee and then also the Nakoda Band Council, which represents all three of the bands (Wesley, Bearspaw, and Chiniki). The major issues that were exacerbated by the anthropologist's research revolved around the use and misuse of sensitive or protected information. After submitting an application to the Traditional Land Use Committee in late October 2009, I am still awaiting a decision on whether my application to conduct oral histories with the four identified elders will be passed on to the Nakoda First Nations Band Council. I have recently heard unofficially that all research has been temporarily put on hold until a new system for evaluation of research proposals can be put into place. As is the case in many Aboriginal communities across the country, a long history of exploitation by government and university researchers has forced these communities to closely guard much of their cultural heritage. As expressed to me by one elder, "you have to understand...many of us want to support this type of research with individuals such as yourself, but every time we open ourselves up...we keep getting screwed over."²⁰ Unfortunately, at times this position can inhibit mutually beneficial relations between Aboriginal peoples and researchers,

but Aboriginal leaders must first and foremost protect their cultural information, materials and community members.

Although written consent was not pursued in the process of conducting the oral history interviews, that does not suggest that contributors did not have their own informal systems of checks and balances to evaluate a researchers' ethical standards and the intentions of their specific research to complement the more formal procedures outlined above. Throughout my research, contributors expressed a number of conditions for their participation in the study. Importantly, contributors wanted to know exactly how their information was going to be used, where the information would be stored, if they were going to be consulted about what they felt needed to be discussed on certain topics, and if they would be able to review the information prior to it being used. I was always glad to answer these questions and at times brought several of these issues up to be clear about my intentions and what they could expect from me and the project.

Contributors were notified that the information would be used in three specific ways. Firstly, the information would be a component of my doctoral thesis in the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta. Second, it would be used to produce an accessible chronological history for community members. This history focuses on the finer details of each year of the Banff Indian Days festivals. In addition to many other particulars, this includes the specifics of the sporting and cultural events, how many tourists or performers attended, and the dates the events were held. For community members, this was a significant use of the material as there was no written

account of what occurred at each festival over its long history. This accessible history will be compiled and put on record at the Nakoda Institute and Archives in Morley, which will provide easy access to contributors and community members. Contributors were also given a personal hardcopy. Although in some cases the information needed to be edited, all recordings of oral histories will be put on file and made accessible to community members through the Nakoda Institute and Archives. Upon requests, contributors were also given an unedited digital copy of their specific interview(s). Lastly, parts of the material will be used for academic publications, including scholarly articles and larger manuscripts.

As previously detailed, both the types of interviews conducted and the way they were conducted provided opportunities for contributors to discuss what they thought was most important for me to know around general issues of Nakoda cultures and the Banff Indian Days. From my perspective, contributors were satisfied with their input about the direction and topics of conversation or inquiry. Feedback from contributors has and will continue to be sought at each level and use of their information. To be specific, feedback will be encouraged from contributors for the accessible overview history of the Banff Indian Days, for this dissertation and all formal publications that might ensue. Although from initial processes, I expect that community members will be more interested in and willing to comment on the accessible history for their community, they will be given opportunity to provide feedback on all of the materials described.

In addition to the ethical procedures undertaken in this project, it is important to outline the ethical responsibilities that I adhered to throughout my

research, which included ideas of reciprocity. I feel that most of my responsibility to give back to community members has come in the form of time and energy through volunteering. As previously discussed, this was the main way that I got to know community members, develop relationships and contribute to the broader community at Morley. At times, my volunteering assumed the form of simple elbow grease, such as setting up tents, cooking dinners and cleaning the camp area for the Banff Indian Days festivals. On other occasions, with the committees I sat on, my work was more centered on a particular role, such as grant writing or finding sponsorship to support community events. In addition to the conditions expressed over the treatment of information, many contributors offered feedback on what they considered to be appropriate reciprocity on my part. Most contributors suggested that I should give back to the community in ways that extend beyond the treatment of the knowledge gained through my research. In other words, being culturally sensitive and adhering to high ethical standards were the minimum requirements for conducting research with community members. It was also expected that I would contribute to the broader community in positive ways. Through several years of volunteer work and actively participating in community events, I not only was able to meet the expectations of reciprocity for my contributors, but I was also fortunate enough to develop working relationships, and at times friendships, that provided unique insights into my research and improved my day-to-day quality of life.

Descriptions of Individual Chapters

Chapter 2:

Mapping a Regime of Disciplinary Power: Treaty Seven, Assimilation Policies, and the Constraints of the Colonial Bureaucracy

This chapter investigates the immense changes that Nakoda peoples experienced in the second half of the 19th century. Beginning with missionary movements, the 1877 Treaty Seven agreements and the establishment of the reservation systems, I trace the emergence of a disciplinary power regime and the subsequent destructive consequences for Nakoda communities. Instituted by Canadian governments and fostered by agents of the colonial bureaucracy, disciplinary power disrupted aspects of a way of life that had persisted for millennia. I argue that regulations extending from the treaties and missionary movements worked in conjunction to further cultural assimilation processes through a regime of disciplinary power. Drawing on evidence from oral history interviews, but also relying on previous historical accounts, this chapter provides the historical background on which the remainder of the dissertation is based. This historical and cultural context is critical to interrogate power relations, but also to understand the discourses that informed the production of “Aboriginality” that emerged through the Banff Indian Days festivals. Using Foucault’s theorizing of disciplinary technologies, more specifically the art of distributions, I demonstrate how the manipulation of time, space and movement altered the structure of Aboriginal lives in ways that tended to increase visibility, economic productivity and docility. The chapter assesses how power was exercised through these

colonial systems and how constraints began to structure the lives of Aboriginal peoples. In addition to presenting the effectiveness of the disciplinary regime, I also show how some community members at times refused these structures.

Chapter 3:

Race as a Dividing and Normalizing Practice: Discourses of Conservation and the Repression of Aboriginal Cultures in the Formation of Rocky Mountains National Park

In the third chapter, I examine the conditions that led to the formation of Canada's first national park and the development of the region 1880s-1920s. The creation of Rocky Mountains Park and the related discourses of conservation had numerous impacts on Nakoda communities. In addition to greatly restricting access and curbing the subsistence land uses of Nakoda peoples, the exclusion from the park lands also produced another level of disciplinary power designed to repress Aboriginal cultural practices. Foucault's concepts of panopticism and correct training are considered as tools to theorize how disciplinary technologies furthered government assimilation strategies. Specifically race as a normalizing and dividing practice is investigated. This research relies on primary evidence collected from oral history interviews with Nakoda peoples and archival materials, mainly in the forms of government documents and personal collections.

Chapter 4:

Interpreting Representations of Aboriginal Peoples: Sporting and Tourism Festivals, Discourses of “Naturalness,” And the Complexities of Colonial Power Relations

The fourth chapter analyzes the early development of tourism economies in the Banff-Bow Valley. The focus is on the various capacities through which local Aboriginal peoples participated in the tourism industry and contributed to the production of discourses of “naturalness.” Nakoda community members influenced the production of these discourses through both their involvement in the tourism industry and the use of representations of their cultural practices in tourism promotions. The Indian Days sporting and cultural festivals are the primary example of mass engagement of Aboriginal communities in the tourism industry and subsequently they are a focal point. Concentrating on the festivals from 1894-1960s, I indicate how the Indian Days were established and eventually developed into the region’s most important tourist attraction. Along with providing a general overview of what sporting and cultural events occurred at the Indian Days, I also center on the specifics of key interactions between tourists, participants, organizers and performers. Oral history interviews with Nakoda peoples and archival materials, mainly newspaper accounts, photographs, tourism advertisements, and government documents form the foundation of primary evidence presented. Utilizing aspects of poststructural social theory, more specifically Foucault’s conceptions of power as a productive, relational and

omnipresent force, this chapter reveals why it is critical to consult Aboriginal perspectives to understand power relations in the contexts of colonial societies.

Chapter 5:

Rethinking the Banff Indian Days as Critical Spaces of Cultural Exchange and Identity-making Opportunities

The fifth chapter examines how the Indian Days contributed to discourses that reinforced temporalized and exoticized images of local First Nations and informed the production of “Aboriginality,” 1910-1972. While discourses are the focus of this research, it is also concerned with how Nakoda peoples responded to these discourses through their engagement in the tourism industry. In addition to facilitating a process where Nakoda peoples returned to important sites within the parks and reasserted their cultural links to these landscapes, the Indian Days offered unique socio-economic, political and cultural opportunities. Drawing from both poststructural and postcolonial theory to interpret the discursive production of Aboriginal identities, it is revealed how some community members defied limiting definitions of their cultural practices. The sporting and cultural festivals are established as crucial spaces to assert, invent, contest, and produce Aboriginal identities. Drawing from oral accounts with Nakoda peoples and archival documents collected from newspapers, photographs and tourism materials as primary evidence, this study demonstrates that the Indian Days became critical

spaces of interaction and exchange that fostered identity-making possibilities for Nakoda peoples.

Endnotes

¹ Banff National Park began with the 1885 formation of the Banff Hot Springs Reserve, which encompassed a small 26 km² area. Just two years later, on 23 June 1887, the area was expanded to 673 km² and Rocky Mountains Park was established. Becoming Banff National Park in 1930, the park currently comprises 6,641 km². The Banff-Bow Valley Task Force. *Banff-Bow Valley: A Crossroads Summary Report*. Minister of Supplies and Services Canada, 1996.

² Currently in Canada, “Aboriginal” has been established as one of the most useful terms for referring collectively to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples. For this reason, throughout this paper I have chosen the term “Aboriginal” when describing Canadian contexts. That being said, it is critical that whenever possible to invoke an Aboriginal nation’s own self-appellation. Attention to such terminological specificity prevents a homogenization of distinct Aboriginal cultures and recognizes the heterogeneity and diversity of Aboriginal languages and cultural groups.

³ The individuals from Nakoda First Nations communities who participated in this research refer to themselves and are referred to by several appellations. Nakoda First Nations is the contemporary appellation that many individuals use in formal references. The word Nakoda means “the people.” The name Nakoda peoples, has mostly replaced the older reference to Stoney Peoples, although Stoney is still widely used by many individuals in informal settings and exclusively by most elders. I have chosen to use NFN, but will also at times refer to Nakoda peoples and Stoney peoples depending on the context of use. The name Stoney is derived from a European reference based on their unique practice of boiling water by placing large heated rocks or stones into water-filled pits that were lined with Bison stomachs (Snow, 2005).

⁴ While this is not an exhaustive list, as there are more histories that could fall into these categories, I saw no point of extending this list any further because this is not the focus of the research for this dissertation.

⁵ It is worth acknowledging that I consider Genevieve Rail and Jean Harvey’s article of particular significance as they not only overview a series of Foucault’s concepts that have applicability to sport scholarship, but they also introduce much of the relevant Francophone literature that had received little or no consideration in the Anglophone dominated disciplines of sport studies.

⁶ I consider the following three works to comprise the most extensive analyses of racial discourse in sport studies that use both Foucault’s theoretical tools and methodological approaches: Cole, 1996; Sloop, 1997; Farnell, 2004. Cole’s seminal article shows, through analysis of racial discourse, how a disciplinary power regime produced NBA superstar Michael Jordan within the boundaries of

the American popular imagination. The author reveals how these discursive productions reinforced neoliberal ideals and defined the financial success of the iconic athlete in opposition to marginalized, poor, black, urban populations. Using a genealogical analysis, Sloop delineates the discursive rules and knowledge/truth nexus that produced the discourses that demonized the African American boxer Mike Tyson in the American media prior to his rape trial and eventual conviction. Farnell's article examines racialized discourse that emerged during debates over the use and misuse of Aboriginal sporting mascots at the University of Illinois. By focusing on the power of discourses that informed the production of "Aboriginality," she demonstrates Euro-American myths about North American history, neo-colonial appropriation of both imagined "Indian" identities and lived Aboriginal cultural practices.

⁷ It is not accurate to characterize Farnell as a researcher who focuses more on representational issues involving Aboriginal peoples. Of the group of scholars mentioned, Farnell has produced the most extensive research working with Aboriginal communities (mostly Lakota communities of Northern Montana). That being said, her work applying Foucault to sport-related issues, has focused more on representation. For more on her community based research see: Farnell, *Do You See What I Mean?: Plains Indian Sign Talk and the Embodiment of Action*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2009.

⁸ It is important to define my use of the term "prevailing discourse" in this dissertation. I utilize this term in reference to the discourses that were partly produced through the written texts that inform this study. These texts include newspaper accounts, tourism promotional materials, photographs, correspondence and government documents. Although these texts were mostly written by Euro-Canadians, they were still central to the production of "Aboriginality" as Nakoda peoples often acted and defined themselves within the constraints shaped by these discourses.

⁹ As with the construction of identities, representations involve processes of discursive production. Representations enter and shape social processes and practices. Hall (1997) defines representations as the production of meaning through language, text, and symbols. As indicated above, for Foucault the connections between discourse, representations of knowledge, and power are complex and interdependent. Foucault was concerned with groups of statements that provide a language and a way of representing knowledge. Thus, he was interested in the production of knowledge (instead of just meaning) through discourse. Relations of power then, not relations of meaning, were his main focus in especially the latter parts of his career (Stoler, 1995). Consequently, in this view meaningful practices and representations are always constructed through and within discourses.

¹⁰ Māori are the Indigenous peoples of New Zealand. They most likely arrived from regions of southwestern Polynesia in several waves sometime before 1300 CE and settled the major islands that currently comprise New Zealand. Māori societies were considerably destabilized from the late 18th century onwards by waves of European immigration that brought new weapons and diseases to the region. Following the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, they lost an increasing amount of their land and were often marginalized within the emerging commonwealth nation. Despite a series of difficult struggles to maintain their economic and cultural resources, Māori populations have consistently increased throughout the decades of the 20th century and now represent over 15% of New Zealand's population base (Hiroa, 1974; Sutton, 1994).

¹¹ Several of the key steps in Willig's (2001) method are summarized: 1) identifying discursive productions or the ways that individuals or groups are referred to in texts; 2) locating discourses or the images being discursively produced in the texts; 3) identifying the actions, orientations, or the effects that the productions have for speakers or readers; 4) identifying the subject positions made available by the discourses; 5) identifying the possibilities for action made available by the subject positions. Although it can be quite difficult to discern between some of these steps when actually applying them to data, this model can be effective with a well-organized data set. Also, this method begins with identifying discursive productions and discourses, so it is not very constructive for researchers trying to establish what the prevailing discourses are in the first place. It is more useful to aid researchers to determine the actions of discourses.

¹² Liao and Markula's (2009) model first identifies the objects or issues for analysis, the sources, and the key concepts of analysis. Their model focuses on discourse practices as objects, enunciations, concepts and theories. Then they suggest identifying the theoretical formations based on the concepts as this links statements to broader discourses that structure certain experiences. Lastly, it is important in this model to link discourses to power relations to understand what is constituted through the discourses. In contrast to the Willig model, this method is very effective at providing steps to identify the prevailing discourses in linking them to broader power relations. As a result, it can be valuable for researchers who have not yet located the discourses for analysis in their study. Barker-Ruchti (2009) offer another method that is helpful if a researchers' data analysis is further developed. This is based on Foucault's model that examined discourses in three different levels: the general domain of all statements, an individual group of statements, and as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements (Foucault, 1972). Barker-Ruchti breaks this down to: 1) Pinpointing statements or major enunciations as the first step. This focuses on what is being said and left out; 2) Recognizing groups of statements or concepts. This is about the concepts the individual statements refer to and explores possible meanings; 3) Identifying clustered concepts. This investigates how these groups of statements draw on and

reinforce certain discourses. This model is quite easy to follow and it keeps the objective of each step simple and clear. I find that each of these models have strengths in that they focus attention to different aspects of how discourses are produced and are put into action.

¹³ I spent two full days in Ottawa examining original documents. These included national park acts and some governmental correspondence around the creation of the Rocky Mountain parks. I was not searching for new information as I knew what acts I was looking for and simply wanted to review the original documents. At the Whyte Museum, a different process transpired. I spent several weeks analyzing municipal and regional government documents around the formation and extension of Rocky Mountains National Park and park warden reports. I utilized a search engine to find much of this data.

¹⁴ I spent two days at the Glenbow to review correspondence between tourism producers and Aboriginal leaders. These materials were from the *Norman Luxton Papers* and the *Norman Luxton File*. On a separate trip I also reviewed the Glenbow photograph archives where I focused on the *F. Gully* collection. I worked approximately six weeks in the Whyte Museum examining personal collections. These mostly consisted of local individual and family collections that have been acquired by the museum. The majority of this time was centered on the *Norman Luxton Papers*, but I also investigated other collections from families who were involved in the tourism industry, including the Brewster and Whyte families. As I was also searching for tourism promotional materials and photographs, I relied on the search engines and archivists to indicate where to find certain information. Regarding photographs, I concentrated on the *Notman*, *Underwood* and especially the *Harmon* collections.

¹⁵ It is important to acknowledge that two undergraduate students (Jayn Villetard and Leslie LeMoal) participated in various aspects of my newspaper data collection as a component of the Senior Research Experience (PERLS 495) course that I directed. I thank them for their individual contributions to this study.

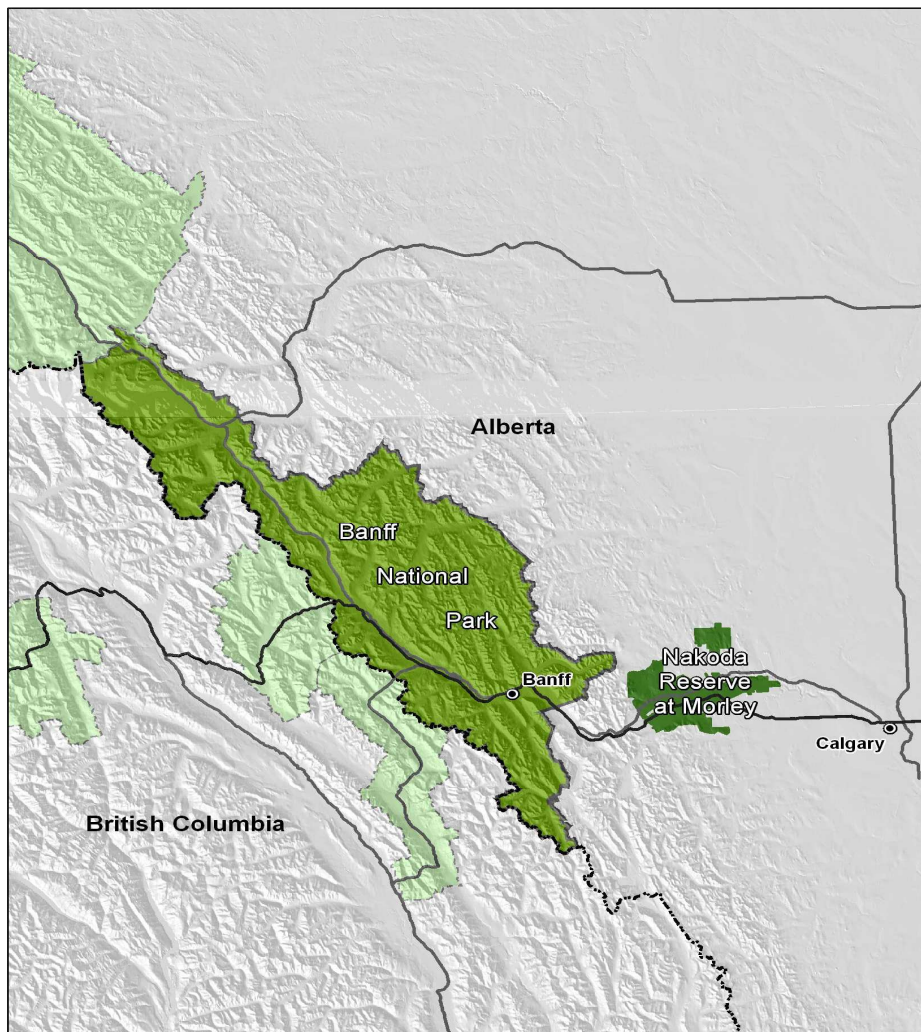
¹⁶ Among Nakoda peoples, elder is a respected title only given to some members of the community. Elder is not necessarily a gender or age category. Elders are considered educators about cultural practices and life in general. Based on their unique experiences and knowledge base, their values and wisdom make them highly regarded as decision makers. For more see: Hildebrandt et al., 1996: 25-26.

¹⁷ I was accompanied by undergraduate student (Erin Flaherty) on a trip down to Morley as a component of the PERLS 495 course. She not only participated in one of the interviews, but also transcribed the material for this interview. I thank Erin for her contributions to this study.

¹⁸ Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.

¹⁹ I completed the second component of the faculty's ethics requirement (an online ethics course) in January 2010.

²⁰ Leland White (personal interview, 14 Dec, 2007).

Appendix.**Figure 1.**

Current boundaries of Banff National Park and the Nakoda Reservation at Morley. The Lighter shade of green denotes the boundaries of Jasper, Yoho, Kootenay and Glacier National Parks.

Map was created by Ali Buckingham, Parks Canada.

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CHAPTER 2.

MAPPING A REGIME OF DISCIPLINARY POWER: TREATY SEVEN,
ASSIMILATION POLICIES, AND THE CONSTRAINTS OF THE COLONIAL
BUREAUCRACY

This chapter investigates the cultural histories of Aboriginal peoples in the Banff-Bow Valley, Alberta.¹ Beginning with the arrival of Europeans to this region in the late 18th century, Aboriginal peoples began to undergo a series of significant changes that would alter aspects of a well-established way of life that had persisted for millennia (Snow, 2005). This research centers on the experiences of Nakoda First Nations in the second half of the 19th century. Stemming from the landmark 1877 Treaty Seven Agreement which established the reservation system, but also considering the impact of missionary movements and assimilationist institutions, I examine the emergence of a disciplinary power regime and the subsequent consequences for Nakoda communities.

Partly through the enforcement of the written terms of Treaty Seven, which was instituted by the Canadian government and fostered by agents of the colonial bureaucracy, forms of disciplinary power disrupted the lives of local Aboriginal peoples. Regulations extending from seemingly independent colonial policies worked in conjunction to further cultural assimilation processes through disciplinary power. Drawing on evidence from oral history interviews with Nakoda peoples, but also utilizing popular and academic historical accounts, this chapter provides the cultural context that is critical to interrogate acting power relations. Using Foucault's theorizing of disciplinary technologies (Foucault, 1975), more specifically the art of distributions, I investigate how the manipulation of space, time and movement altered the structure of Aboriginal lives in ways that intended to increase visibility, economic productivity, and ultimately, docility. This chapter assesses the ways in which power was exercised

through these colonial systems and how constraints began to alter the lives of Nakoda peoples. In addition to revealing the effectiveness of the disciplinary regime, I also demonstrate how some community members continued to refuse these constraints by pursuing opportunities to sustain their cultural practices.

A History of Aboriginal Peoples in the Banff-Bow Valley

The Banff-Bow Valley is located on the eastern slopes of the Canadian Rocky Mountains. This region includes the area between the headwaters of the Bow River at Bow Lake and the Kananaskis River, which is south of the current boundary of Banff National Park and at the western border of the Nakoda reservation (see Figure 2-1).² Diverse groups of Aboriginal peoples lived in and migrated through what is now considered the Banff-Bow Valley. Evidence collected from archaeological research indicates that Aboriginal peoples used this landscape for millennia prior to any European presence (Hart, 1999). One archaeological study reveals evidence of semi-permanent settlements dating as far back as 11,000 years (Fedje, et al. 1995). The Nakoda (Stoney), Ktunaxa (Kootenay), Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee), Pikunni (Peigan), Siksika (Blackfoot), Kainai (Blood), Secwepemc (Shuswap) and members of the Cree Nations lived, fished, hunted, gathered and traded throughout the eastern slopes of the Canadian Rockies for many centuries prior to the arrival of the first Europeans (Hungry Wolf & Hungry Wolf, 1989). Just before the turn of the 18th century, as a consequence of the massive fur trading networks that were formed in Western Canada, members of other Aboriginal groups, including the Iroquois, Nipissing

and the Saulteaux from the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River districts, also began to live and work in the region (Luxton, 1974).

While the Banff-Bow Valley has been of importance to diverse groups of Aboriginal peoples, the region is of particular significance to the Nakoda peoples who inhabited the foothills and mountains ranges for several centuries and currently have reservations near both the northern and southern sections of the valley (Snow, 2005). This land has not only been vital to Nakoda peoples for their subsistence land uses, but their spiritual and cultural practices are also anchored in these landscapes (Jonker, 1988). As a consequence, the majority of this chapter focuses on the cultural histories of Nakoda communities in the Banff-Bow Valley.

The Nakoda peoples were members of the Sioux Nation and Assiniboine groups who primarily lived throughout the plains of North America. Even though it is difficult to pinpoint exactly when, many centuries ago Nakoda peoples split from the larger Sioux Nation and began to migrate towards the plains in the southern sections of what are now considered the Canadian provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta (Dempsey, 1998). Although it is unclear what motivated the split with the Sioux Nation, it is likely that sickness or migrating bison herds may have been factors (Whyte, 1985). Later, Nakoda peoples also separated from the larger Assiniboine groups and began to live closer to the foothills and mountain ranges of the eastern slopes of the Canadian Rockies. The Nakoda peoples broke into three bands as they moved west. The Chiniki, Jacob (later Wesley), and Bearspaw bands, as they eventually became known, all preferred to occupy the foothills and mountain ranges. This gave Nakoda

communities access to both the plains and mountain regions for seasonal encampments and hunting grounds (Snow, 2005).

Oral accounts from members of Nakoda First Nations reveal similar migration histories but they also emphasize the established presence of their communities in this region. These oral histories reinforce the idea that Nakoda peoples have been living in the Banff-Bow Valley for a significant period of time. As one Nakoda elder explains, “we have been living here on this very land...from the beginning of time.”³ Another elder provided a bit more detail on their presence in the valley,

While at times my people did not permanently reside in this area, as for centuries we followed the buffalo herds throughout the plains of North America...in years of drought or when we had troubles finding the herds...we would rely on food sources closer to the mountains...you know like the bighorn, elk and goats.⁴

As the bison herds were severely threatened by the late 1870s (Hildebrandt et al., 1996), Nakoda peoples began to rely more heavily on mountain ecosystems for their main forms of subsistence. This partly explains why the Nakoda adapted so well to mountain ecosystems after the bison no longer provided their principal sources of food. Their transition to hunting and gathering in the mountains was successful because of their previous experiences of seasonally or periodically relying on this region for subsistence. Compared to many of the Plains peoples who were forced to make drastic changes to their hunting practices after the collapse of the bison herds, as skilled hunters and gatherers, Nakoda peoples adapted well to alternative resources (Snow, 2005).

The arrival of Europeans through the fur trade to the eastern slopes of the Rockies in the late 18th century created new rivalries between Aboriginal groups over control of fur markets. This facilitated a shift in balances of power between Aboriginal communities that, through conflict, rapidly extended the territories of some groups while displacing others. As Hart (1999: 15) notes, “the period of first white contact was one of jealousy, rivalry and sometimes open hostility at the mountains’ foot.” This shift of power accounts for the successful transition of the Nakoda to the Banff-Bow Valley. Although the Cree infringing from the north and the Pikunni encroaching from the south had already encouraged the Ktunaxa to spend more time over the continental divide on the western slopes of the Rockies prior to the presence of Europeans in the region, conflicts sparked by the fur trade ensured more conflict in the area (Hart, 1999). Also a consequence of the European explorers and fur traders heading west, the smallpox epidemic ravaged the plains and eventually reached the mountains by the late 18th century. This impacted all groups, but it especially affected the Pikunni and they subsequently were not able to assert their presence in the region (Hart, 1999). These shifts of presence and influence allowed the Nakoda to actively inhabit the Banff-Bow Valley and adjacent regions (Whyte, 1985).

In addition to these factors, the Nakoda also made alliances with neighbouring groups, including the Cree who occupied land north of the Banff-Bow Valley. One Nakoda elder’s explanation of this is related to the knowledge of his peoples in producing medicines from plants and animals found in the mountains. At times Nakoda peoples shared some aspects of this knowledge with

local groups and often made alliances through these processes.⁵ Despite the European presence in the mountains that altered the well-established trade networks and ways of life that had supported extensive networks of Aboriginal peoples, Nakoda communities continued to successfully live and work on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains and the Banff-Bow Valley by assuming numerous adaptive strategies. In the last quarter of the 19th century, Nakoda peoples began to face additional threats to their cultural practices and ways of life.

Further Colonial Encounters: Missionary Movements and Treaty Seven

The Wesleyan minister Robert Rundle first had contact with Nakoda communities in 1840 and remained in the region for eight years, but it was not until the 1870s that a permanent mission was founded in the Banff-Bow Valley (Dempsey, 1997). Methodist missionaries, George McDougall and his son John, visited the Banff-Bow Valley in 1873 to determine a suitable location to set up a mission (Whyte, 1985). While the McDougalls were motivated by what they considered to be improving the lives of local peoples, Nakoda perspectives suggest that the missionaries did not really understand their cultures, but coveted their way of life. In reference to the McDougalls, Hungry Wolf and Hungry Wolf state: “Like those before them, they came with good intentions, but they looked at Stoney [Nakoda] ways only through European eyes” (1989: 53). Although at times the McDougalls did express a genuine concern for the welfare of the Nakoda communities within which they worked and lived, the “civilizing” and assimilating elements of their mission created several problems for Nakoda peoples.⁶

In 1875, with the help of Nakoda peoples, the McDougalls built a settlement and church on the valley bench of the Bow River at the junction of Jacob's Creek. Although the Nakoda communities welcomed the McDougalls into the area, they sometimes did not comprehend the "civilizing" and Christianizing intentions of their work (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). In addition, Nakoda peoples had difficulty understanding the objectives of the missionaries as well as how they were related to the emerging governments of the new nation. Nakoda Chief John Snow explains:

The government was to educate and civilize the savage. The Church was to Christianize the savage. These three words, educate, civilize, and Christianize, were used synonymously by both the state and the Church. Sometimes it was difficult for my people to recognize whether they were talking to government representatives or Church personnel because it was almost impossible to distinguish between the two (2005: 28).

Although not entirely clear to local peoples, there was a clear alliance between the missionaries and governments in the Banff-Bow Valley. As well as the education and conversion principles that inspired the missionary movements, missionaries sometimes served as conduits connecting government interests with Aboriginal communities. Furniss (1995) reveals that similar alliances between missionaries and the federal government also existed in British Columbia during this period. In 1874, John McDougall accepted a government commission to explain the treaty processes and the benefits of agreeing to treaties for local Aboriginal communities (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). There was a definite need for governments to benefit from the established relationships between missionaries and Aboriginal peoples of the west. Of primary concern to governments was the introduction and

preparation of Aboriginal peoples for the treaty agreements that would be pursued throughout the decade. Missionaries played significant roles in brokering these arrangements (Whyte, 1985). This was of particular importance in the west as fewer Euro-Canadians had established relationships with Aboriginal communities in comparison to the prairie and Great Lakes regions of the country. This was the case in the Banff-Bow Valley where the McDougalls used their experience with Nakoda peoples to perform this function. The McDougalls were viewed by Nakoda peoples as men of God, but not necessarily representatives of the state. They had earned the respect of many community members and were entrusted to negotiate on the behalf of the Nakoda peoples in several critical circumstances throughout the ensuing decades (Snow, 2005).

After the Confederation of Canada in 1867, a number of events in the western part of the nation would further shape the lives of Aboriginal peoples. In 1870, the Red River Rebellion of the Métis in southern Manitoba raised the consciousness of governments and Aboriginal leaders to the growing potential of conflict over control and access of land and its resources (Flanagan, 1983).⁷ The final sale of Hudson Bay Company lands to the emerging Dominion of Canada in 1870 and the start of the construction of the national railway in the early 1870s also had major impacts on Aboriginal groups as more Europeans began to frequent their territories. In the fall of 1874, the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) added to the European presence in the region. Nakoda peoples initially welcomed the police to the Banff-Bow Valley as they brought some safety and security by managing the conduct of new settlers as well as reducing the impact of

the illegal whisky trade that had plagued some Aboriginal communities (Snow, 2005).⁸ When first introduced, the role of the mounted police in the area was not clearly outlined to Aboriginal communities. They were representatives of the government, but they often acted to help local Aboriginal peoples. The appreciation and respect that the mounted police had gained in many Aboriginal communities was another factor that encouraged some Chiefs to sign Treaty Seven (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). Within two decades of the Treaty Seven Agreement, the relationships between the mounted police and local Aboriginal communities would be strained as the police eventually became viewed as a critical arm of the colonial bureaucracy that greatly restricted the rights and cultural practices of Nakoda peoples.

These significant developments, in combination with the rapid decline of bison herds, caused great concern in Aboriginal leaders in the west as well as with government officials in Ottawa. In September of 1877, following decades of abrupt changes that had altered Nakoda ways of life, representatives of the three bands of Nakoda peoples along with John McDougall went to Blackfoot Crossing to negotiate a treaty with David Laird, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories and James Macleod, the superintendent and inspector of the NWMP. Representatives of the Nakoda peoples signed Treaty Seven and under the direction of the McDougalls, agreed to several terms that would become the subject of confusion, dispute and conflict over the coming decades (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). For years the McDougalls had been trying to convince Nakoda peoples to give up their subsistence land use practices of hunting, trapping, gathering and

fishing in the foothills and mountains to settle near the mission and pursue a life of ranching and agriculture (Whyte, 1985). This gave the McDougalls a vested interest in the signing of the treaty by Nakoda Chiefs. When referring to McDougall's role as an interpreter at the treaty agreement, Nakoda elder Archie Daniels states: "It is thought that McDougall voiced his own ideas, not those of the Stoney" (Hildebrandt et al., 1996: 132). The Treaty Seven Agreement would further reveal the underlying "civilizing" intentions of the missionaries and the colonial bureaucracy. Moreover, the agreements would introduce multiple problems for the Nakoda peoples as the first of the formal policies that would try and specifically limit Nakoda practices and rights.⁹

From the perspective of Nakoda communities, Treaty Seven had a number of important components. While Aboriginal groups agreed to share land and resources with new settlers, the government secured some land for Aboriginal communities and they provided critical support in the form of food rations, payments, healthcare, education and protection. While some farming infrastructure was included in the case of the agreements with Nakoda communities, they were permitted to continue their subsistence land use practices of hunting, gathering and fishing on their long-established migrations through the foothills and mountains. As Laird stated, when referring to the rights of Aboriginal communities at the time of individual treaty signings: "they would be free to hunt and fish after the treaty as they would be if they never entered into it" (Fumoleau, 1973: 84). Referring to Nakoda understandings of how the treaty would implicate their hunting and subsistence practices, Nakoda elder Lazarus

Wesley explains: “If the land for growing wheat was all they wanted, there was no problem. If the Stoneys could continue to hunt as they always had, there was no problem” (Hildebrandt et al., 1996: 79). The Aboriginal groups who participated in Treaty Seven unanimously asserted that they always interpreted the agreement as a peace treaty not a concession of their lands, resources and ways of life.

Nakoda peoples viewed the treaty as an opportunity to protect their cultural practices and decrease the amount of conflict with other Aboriginal groups and new settlers, not a surrender of their lands. In reflecting on the conditions that led to the signing of the treaty by their Chiefs, Nakoda elders emphasize this point:

They went to Blackfoot Crossing intent on an alliance of peace, to safeguard their territory and to protect their way of life. This would last for as long as the sun will shine, and as long as the rivers flow.” (Hildebrandt et al., 1996: 25).

While this summarizes some of the key aspects of Nakoda leaders’ interpretations of the treaty, not long after the treaty was signed, it became evident that there were several critical discrepancies between government and First Nations’ understandings.

Part of the confusion around Treaty Seven is a consequence of fundamental differences between British Common Law and Nakoda understanding of individual ownership of land and its resources (Snow, 2005). A Nakoda man expresses this differing perspective by stating: “we’ve never owned the land...the land always has and it always will own us.”¹⁰ Nakoda elder Lenny Poucette explains this perspective that reflects the conflict between contrasting interpretations of the land and its resources:

We had very different ideas about the land than the Whitemen that settled here...you see we shared the land and everything on it with other Native peoples...like when we would invite the Kootenays [Ktunaxa] from over the mountains to come meet us and go hunting...we would camp at Banff and they would meet us to hunt in the surrounding areas...we were happy to share with people that respected the land.¹¹

Furthermore, there are numerous discrepancies between the oral and written versions of the agreements because of different cultural practices. As Stanley (1983) suggests, the differences between written and oral cultures can account for many of the inconsistencies that have arisen through informal and formal treaty agreements between North American governments and Aboriginal peoples. This can also be seen in the land and resource agreements involving Indigenous peoples internationally (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Little, 2004; Stewart-Harawira, 2005). Poucette alludes to some of the important distinctions between oral and written documents:

It may have caused a bit of problems in the past with the treaties, but our traditional history is not written down you see...nor are the methods of using and collecting herbal medicine or other important cultural information...it's not written down...the true story of all these methods is in our hearts. You may read a book about a person...you may read a book about how things happened, but it's when you can visualize it within your heart and mind...that it becomes the truth.¹²

As well as cultural differences, there were also difficulties concerning the involvement of interpreters between English and the Cree, Nakoda and Tsuu T'ina languages that were present at the signing. According to Nakoda elders, in addition to inadequate interpreters, no one interpreter fluently understood more than two of the languages. This meant that sometimes documents were translated and conversations interpreted into one language before they could be employed in

another (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). All of these conditions contributed to the outright confusion over Treaty Seven. These misunderstandings and discrepancies would become more apparent as the treaty began to impact local First Nation communities.

Even though cultural and linguistic differences can account for some of the initial confusion over aspects of the treaty, it is now clear that this agreement was not an attempt by the government to help Aboriginal communities manage the changes they were facing in the late 1870s. Rather, the treaties were opportunities for the government to secure the lands of Aboriginal peoples and to effectively resolve the question of their rights, in order to provide resources to mostly European settlers migrating west and prevent further conflict between groups (Tobias, 1983).¹³ Within a few decades, Nakoda peoples realized that “the treaties were the vehicle through which the government achieved its objective of opening up the west to settlement and commercial exploitation” (Snow, 2005: 33). In essence, the government’s primary intentions concerning the treaties were to relinquish Aboriginal peoples of their land rights and assimilate them into broader Anglo and Franco Euro-Canadian society. While this became clearer to Nakoda peoples as the decades passed, there was also serious debate between Aboriginal leaders over the key issues at the signing of the treaty. It is important to recognize that all parties involved represented different sets of concerns and perspectives regarding how these agreements would implicate their communities. Nakoda Chiefs and the other leaders representing the Plains peoples were not passive figures who were duped into signing their lands and resources away. Cardinal

(1969) argues that Aboriginal leaders had much to offer in return for the rights they expected. This position is also supported by the elders of Treaty Seven nations who assert that their leaders knew that they were in a position to negotiate with the government and they made significant efforts to improve what they were initially offered. The signing of the treaty was not a unanimous agreement by all individuals and groups represented. Nor was it anticipated that it would establish a peaceful panacea for Aboriginal communities. Aboriginal leaders were well aware of the broken promises made by the government to other Aboriginal groups in central Canada and they also anticipated many of the issues that would eventually develop with the treaty agreement (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). In the fall of 1877, as well as an acute awareness for the broader political and socio-economic conditions, Aboriginal leaders demonstrated a remarkable foresight regarding many of the issues that would impact their communities.

The Reservation Systems and Assimilationist Institutions

This section examines how Treaty Seven directly targeted the very foundations of Aboriginal ways of living. A significant aspect of the treaty agreement was the relocation of Aboriginal communities to relatively small tracts of land that were defined as reserves. At the signing of the treaty, this was not seen as a large problem for Aboriginal leaders who were reassured that they could continue their long established subsistence land use practices (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). For Nakoda peoples, this meant that they could continue their seasonal migrations in the foothills and mountain ranges. It cannot be emphasized enough

that Aboriginal leaders were mostly concerned with access to lands and its resources. The treaty designated 640 acres at Morleyville (later renamed Morley), “conveniently” located around the McDougalls’ mission, for each Nakoda family of five (see Figure 2-2). While the size of each parcel of land was not an initial issue for the community, where it was located was most certainly a problem. Some Nakoda bands preferred different locations for their own reservation, but the treaty only specified the land adjacent to the current mission site. This would become the subject of much controversy that is yet to be properly resolved even in the 21st century.¹⁴ As some bands preferred other locations, for reasons that would become more apparent in the first few decades following the signing of treaty, they were deeply dissatisfied with being located at Morley (Snow, 2005).

By 1880, bison had almost disappeared from the Canadian prairies, but the implications of the treaty for Nakoda peoples had yet to fully emerge. Even though the First Nations that lived on the plains of southern Alberta, mainly the Tsuu T’ina, Pikunni, Siksika, and the Kainai, were forced to rely heavily on the government rations after the collapse of the bison herds, Nakoda peoples continued to hunt in the foothills and mountains where large mammals were still prevalent. In the first few years following the treaty, Nakoda communities were actively encouraged by the government to continue to provide for themselves through their hunting, gathering and fishing in order to save ration funds greatly needed in the south on the open prairies (Snow, 2005). The scarcity of bison actually facilitated the government’s desire to relocate many Aboriginal communities onto the new reservations. In order for individuals or families to

receive their government food rations, they needed to remain on or in close proximity to the reservation. Although some Nakoda families did move to the allotted land near the missionary settlement on the Morley reservation to raise cattle and plant crops, in contrast to the Plains peoples, the majority of community members continued their migrations in the mountains and maintained their subsistence land use practices.¹⁵

By 1880, most of the Nakoda peoples had agreed to winter at Morley and would leave the reservation to hunt and gather throughout the summer and fall seasons. Despite the disapproval of the McDougalls and the Indian agent, there was also a small group of Nakoda peoples who preferred to live at the head waters of the North Saskatchewan River on the Kootenay Plains, approximately 125 kilometers north of Morley (Snow, 2005). Led by John McDougall, the few budding agriculturalists who remained at Morley for the summer and fall seasons had serious difficulties raising crops due to poor soil and the late frosts that were so common in the foothills. Agricultural lifestyles were quite foreign to Nakoda peoples and few decided to conform to this way of life. As a result, in addition to the extremely tough growing conditions on the reservation, the stationary aspects of agriculturalist living still had little appeal to most of the community.¹⁶

The 1885 completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway was the first of a series of events that would drastically constrain the possibility of Nakoda peoples continuing their subsistence land uses. The rail lines through the Banff-Bow Valley not only disturbed wildlife, but they also brought an influx of farmers, ranchers and miners (Hart, 1999). Between 1885 and 1888, Nakoda hunters

encountered significant challenges and the scarcity of large mammals made it increasingly difficult to feed community members. Also by 1885, the Indian agents, who lived in the communities, to both provide surveillance and to serve the peoples' needs, were instructed by the Indian Affairs Branch to introduce a pass system in an attempt to restrict movements of Aboriginal peoples. The pass system threatened people with fines or even incarceration if they were found off the reservation without the proper documentation. Initially it was not strictly enforced at Morley, so many Nakoda groups ignored it and continued their seasonal hunting in the mountains, but by 1889 restrictions were tightened through a number of methods and it became progressively more complicated for community members to leave the reserve for lengthy periods (Snow, 2005). However, budget cuts that decreased the amount of government food rations and the low production from reservation lands from either agricultural or ranching endeavours gave Nakoda communities few options but to rely on their subsistence practices. Despite worsening conditions, decades after the signing of the treaty, some Nakoda peoples successfully continued to hunt, gather, and fish in the mountains. At times these practices took Nakoda individuals considerable distances away from the reservation.¹⁷

The necessity of Aboriginal communities remaining in the vicinity to collect their food rations, allowed government agents and missionaries to pursue their assimilation strategies with a new level of intensity. Although severe cuts were made to the rations that were promised to Aboriginal communities in the treaty, there appeared to be a healthy budget committed to the promotion of the

“civilizing” mission (Snow, 2005). Even though the missionaries had been performing services at the church and teaching classes at the school they built with community support since 1875, local participation in these institutions was not very high. By the late 1880s, with more Nakoda peoples forced to remain on reservation lands because of the strict pass system and their need for rations, the Indian agent and McDougall eagerly encouraged local church and school attendance (see Figure 2-3). By 1894, many community members were attending church services and despite objections from Nakoda leaders, school attendance was made mandatory by the government. Tobias contends: “school attendance was of vital concern to the government, for education of the Indian child was the keystone of the “civilizing” process the reserve was supposed to perform” (1983: 48). In addition to a Christian education, the Indian agent at Morley was directed to encourage local peoples to adopt more aspects of the lifestyles of European agriculturalists.

While the government and missionary objectives were often meant to improve the socio-economic and health conditions on the reservation, underlying assimilation intentions directed their initiatives. As Nakoda elder Leland White indicates when specifically referring to the process at Morley:

I think that the early government and the Indian agents...and definitely the missionaries generally had some good intentions...but they just did not understand our way of life...we lived in a similar way for a long time...and we did not really want to change our ways to be more like the European.¹⁸

Snow reinforces this view:

Granted they were trying to improve the conditions on the reserves, but at as little cost as possible and with no recognition of, much less

respect for, our heritage. No attempt was made to suit goals to specific local needs and conditions...their policy was rooted in the nineteenth century whiteman's assumption that his own civilization was far superior to any other lifestyle (2005: 78-79).

The assimilation objectives of missionaries and government agents not only directly impacted the livelihoods of Nakoda peoples in the last quarter of the 19th century, but the initiatives and policies that they put into action would become a major source of disruption and conflict for generations to come. These drastic changes contributed to considerable loss in Nakoda communities. Unfortunately, with the missionary movements and schools, some Nakoda individuals lost their Aboriginal names, which expressed meaningful aspects of their cultures. Their names were replaced with Christian, Hebrew and western European monikers (Jonker, 1988). This symbolic renaming process was only the outer surface of what became a deeper rupture: the attempt to strike at the very core of Aboriginal values and practices. Assimilationist initiatives targeted almost all aspects of their cultures and identities. Treaty Seven and the colonial policies and institutions that followed, enabled a system that was meant to gradually erode Aboriginal rights and cultural practices. In spite of the powerful desire and concerted efforts of many Nakoda peoples to refuse the assimilation processes they encountered, these networks of colonial assimilation eventually changed some fundamental aspects of their ways of living.

Rethinking the Colonial Bureaucracy as a Regime of Disciplinary Power

This section is a rethinking of the histories of the colonial policies that Nakoda peoples confronted as a consequence of Treaty Seven and the

implementation of the reservation systems. Disciplinary technologies (Foucault, 1975), through the manipulation of time, space and movement, produced a regime of disciplinary power that began to structure many aspects of Nakoda communities. In Foucault's influential work *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975), he examines how organizing and structuring space, time and movement shaped individuals and bodies with the values of discipline. Foucault identified discipline as:

neither an institution nor an apparatus; it is a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets, it is a 'physics' or an 'anatomy' of power, a technology (1975: 215).

By focusing on how disciplinary technologies were applied to various institutions in French society, including the medical and educational systems, the prison, the military and the industrial complex, Foucault demonstrated the extent to which disciplinary power was exercised in a modern regime. His influential work can be considered a history of these different disciplinary institutions. In this section, the criteria put forth by Foucault regarding the emergence of disciplinary power is mapped on to the reservation in order to indicate how these technologies came to influence the lives of Aboriginal peoples. Disciplinary technologies that formed aspects of colonial power produced a set of knowledges about where and how to live for the administrators of the reservations. In revealing Nakoda perspectives about how this occurred in their communities, it can be shown how the facilitation of policies and regulations represented different technologies of discipline that were designed to control the lives of Aboriginal peoples within the matrix of broader "civilizing" and assimilating processes.

The Ordering of Space, Time and Movement

Foucault argued that the ordering of space was a key aspect in the production of disciplined bodies. He theorized the art of distributions, including the categories of enclosure, partitioning and function, to further specify how space can be organized to facilitate the exercise of power through discipline (Foucault, 1975). As already demonstrated, following Treaty Seven, Nakoda communities were relocated onto the reservation at Morley. Under the pretext that the reserves were needed to secure lands for Aboriginal peoples, this became a significant mechanism to enclose Aboriginal communities and control the spaces where they lived. Foucault viewed enclosure as a critical aspect of discipline. Foucault asserted that for discipline to be optimized, spaces needed to be enclosed. Enclosure was required to differentiate the purposes of one space over other similar spaces, or the “specification of a place heterogeneous to all others...” (Foucault, 1975: 141). Reservations established what was considered Aboriginal land and thus defined it from other properties that often bordered these newly formed spaces. For example, it was important to distinguish the reservation from lands that would eventually be situated along its edges, including territories that were designated for Euro-Canadian settlers to establish farms or for government exploitation of natural resources. Tobias (1983) indicates that the reservation, which he considers the heart of Canada’s policies regarding Aboriginal peoples, was conceived of as a social laboratory where communities were confined to minimal spaces so they could be controlled and prepared to cope with Euro-Canadian ways of life. The enclosure of space, which was achieved by the relocation of communities to the reservations, was a crucial aspect of exposing

Aboriginal peoples to disciplinary technologies. If reservations formed large tracts of lands that allowed Aboriginal peoples to continue their migration patterns over considerable distances, their communities would not have been as susceptible to disciplinary technologies. Subsequently, enclosure was a key part of the assimilation tactics forwarded by arms of the colonial bureaucracy.

It is also imperative to recognize that enclosure is not entirely about space. As Shogan (1999) notes, enclosures also reinforce hierarchical boundaries and to this effect can also serve to define peoples in spaces, as well as the spaces themselves. This is an important distinction because the reservation systems not only designated spaces where Aboriginal peoples would live, but as a consequence they also established barriers between these spaces and others which determined who could live within them and under what circumstances. These boundaries can be considered attempts to control the lives of Aboriginal peoples, but also define the individuals who occupied these constructed spaces. The reservations marked Aboriginal lands from those occupied by governments or settlers, but this demarcation was one further step towards asserting control over the definitions of Aboriginal cultures and identities.¹⁹

Foucault recognized that enclosure was merely one action in organizing space to facilitate disciplinary practices. After enclosing a particular space, it would then have to be partitioned into micro spaces to optimize discipline. Foucault stated that partitioning spaces would “eliminate the effects of imprecise distributions, the uncontrolled disappearance of individuals, their diffuse circulation, their unusable and dangerous coagulation...” (1975: 143). Although

this reference was to spaces occupied by the military, health and education systems, this description applies well to some of the government's objectives of the reservations which were intended to erect spatial constraints for Aboriginal communities and ultimately control how they lived in those spaces.

Following Treaty Seven, reservations were divided into multiple districts with meeting locations, a ration distribution site and subdivisions for church lands and schools. Where residents could live and work became increasingly constrained (Snow, 2005). The landscape was reordered, structured, and controlled. In reference to the reservations that were instituted throughout North America, Dakota Sioux scholar Phillip Deloria states that Aboriginal peoples who were:

used to moving as they chose, found themselves confronting a far more static life, one in which they lived within a bounded landscape, among a web of centers established by church and state, in ways that could be tracked and restricted... (2004: 27).

This was certainly the case at Morley where the reservation was increasingly divided based on the activities that should be performed. For example, the reservation was broken into property distributed to certain families where they could erect their tipis or build small cabins, lands designated for church and school activities, spaces for growing crops or ranching and a location where rations were issued (Jonker, 1988). The disciplinary advantages of partitioning spaces are to discern "where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual..." (Foucault, 1975: 143). As Nakoda reservation lands were remade to facilitate this process, the church, school and ration

distribution site took up central locations where they were woven into the center of Nakoda communities.

According to Foucault, the objective of partitioning spaces was to increase the functionality of the enclosed sites and redefine them as productive or useful. Functional sites are spaces where efficiency can be optimized. As spaces and the activities to be performed within them are increasingly specified, the responsibilities of individuals occupying the particular places are more defined. Foucault described the changes instituted in French industrial workshops during the late 18th century:

production was divided up and the labour process was articulated, on the one hand, according to its stages or elementary operations, and, on the other hand, according to individuals, the particular bodies, that carried it out...(1975: 145).

Snow refers to how the reservation at Morley became a site to control and increase the efficiency of the activities of Nakoda peoples:

The treaties all aimed at locating my people on reserves in order that we might be collected into easily controllable communities. Only there could we supposedly become self-supporting through agriculture, only there could schools be constructed for our children to teach them “industrial pursuits,” to develop “moral improvements,” and to learn “social grace” (2005: 35-36).

Foucault argued that it is through constructing functional sites that discipline improves the productivity of peoples. After spaces are enclosed, partitioned and the functionality is increased, the next level of asserting discipline involves attempting to control how time is spent in specific spaces. The following section discusses how this particular aspect occurred in Nakoda communities.

Foucault asserted that discipline was almost always “adopted in response to particular needs” (1975: 138). Following the move of Nakoda peoples onto reserves, it was then essential to initiate a new way of life so that the reservations could become productive sites that would sustain local communities and thus save government funds designated for food rations (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). Foucault found that temporal limits were often asserted in conjunction with spatial constraints (1984). As previously detailed, beginning in the 1880s, there was pressure on Nakoda peoples to alter their long- established subsistence land use practices of hunting, fishing and gathering in the mountains, to remain on the reservations and conform to European agriculturist lifestyles. A considerable amount of effort by governments, missionaries and Indian agents went into encouraging Nakoda peoples to assume these abrupt changes. As Snow (2005) details, this included training in agricultural techniques and Christian education. Under this new regime of disciplinary power, the lives of many community members were structured differently. It is important to recognize that prior to the arrival of Europeans to the eastern slopes of the Rockies, Nakoda peoples had structured lives that revolved around migrations associated with food sources, seasonal weather patterns and significant cultural practices. As White explained:

Our lives were always organized by the seasons...they determined when we would move in search of different game and when and even where we would set up our camps...when we got together with other groups for social and cultural reasons...it was the seasons that decided most aspects of our lives.²⁰

The agricultural pursuits on reserves that were strongly encouraged by governments and their agents, necessitated a restructuring of time that Nakoda

communities had developed through centuries of experiences and knowledge of the land, local conditions and ecosystems (Hungry Wolf & Hungry Wolf, 1989).

The changes to lifestyle that were facilitated by the move to reserves had major implications for Nakoda peoples. Foucault argued that discipline was achieved by a rhythmic of time. This meant a structuring and refining of time with certain degrees of precision. On the Morley reservation there was a newly enforced temporal regime. Within a few short years of moving to the reservation, Nakoda peoples were confronted with a new set of time tables that were based on the lives of European agriculturalists and ranchers. These lifestyles were completely foreign to community members. Time was increasingly divided and specified with activities. Under this new structure, there was time allotted for planting and harvesting crops, for butchering domestic animals, for meeting with community members, for attending church services and schools and all other activities that were deemed important or appropriate by the colonial administration (Jonker, 1988). Time was micromanaged in efforts to increase the productivity of life on the reservation. In addition to providing classes about how to improve agricultural techniques, Aboriginal peoples were also instructed in domestic responsibilities and the appropriate uses of leisure time (Snow, 2005). Foucault emphasized the importance of not wasting time and maintaining high levels of productivity in a disciplinary regime: "In the correct use of the body, which makes possible a correct use of time, nothing must remain idle or useless" (1975: 152). Despite the extended periods over which Aboriginal communities produced a particular structuring of activities that formed their quotidian lives, in

the last two decades of the 19th century, the physical and cultural practices of Nakoda peoples were reinterpreted through a colonial lens as unimportant or wasteful of time.

The control of time was also linked to methods of exercising power by colonial agents. It was through this reorganization of the temporal constraints, which profoundly impacted community members, that power was exercised by colonial systems. Foucault explicitly indicated the connection between time and power: “Time penetrates the body and with it all the meticulous controls of power” (1975: 152). The reordering of time, which was fostered by the reservation system, extended the impacts of the spatial constraints that continued to expose Nakoda peoples to technologies of discipline.

According to Foucault, the control of space, time and movement were deeply integrated in disciplinary regimes. Controlling the modalities of movement were the consequences of space and time constraints. For Foucault, time and movement constraints are linked as time considered of good quality was spent with the body constantly engaged in movement. Constraining the movements of individuals and groups was a crucial aspect of asserting discipline over bodies. Foucault describes the intentions of exercising discipline over the movement of peoples:

...discipline fixes; it arrests or regulates movements; it clears up confusion; it dissipates compact groupings of individuals wandering about the country in unpredictable ways; it establishes calculated distributions (1975: 219).

Constraining the movements of Nakoda peoples was an important aspect of forwarding colonial assimilation objectives. In addition to time and space, the

movements of Nakoda peoples were reordered under the new regime of colonial discipline.

How did constraints to spatiality and temporality change the ways Nakoda peoples moved in and through landscapes? The constraints specified above give indications of how the movements of Nakoda peoples were reordered. Spatial and temporal constraints were attempts to structure when and how Nakoda peoples moved about reservation lands and even where they engaged in various activities. In this manner, these constraints partly determined the distributions and micro movements of Nakoda peoples on the reserve, which as indicated, had a series of consequences. However, perhaps more importantly, this structure also implicated the macro movements of Nakoda peoples to and from reservation lands. The pass system began to restrict the movements of individuals, from and between reservations. This required Aboriginal peoples to seek permission to leave their reserve to hunt or for any other purpose. A pass was then either granted or denied based on the subjective decision of the local Indian agent (Bracken, 1997). While at least initially, the pass system was not strictly enforced at Morley, by 1889, under the direction of the government, the Indian agent and missionaries began to adhere to the system by discouraging Nakoda peoples from leaving the reserve through several methods, including refusing to provide rations to guests and visitors from other reservations. It was the opinion of the colonial administration that spending time off the reserve served as a distraction to local peoples and also a barrier to assimilation strategies (Snow, 2005). Foucault revealed how distractions were major barriers to productivity and the functioning of discipline

(1975). As one would expect, the missionaries also had vested interest in the reinforcement of regulations restricting the movements of Nakoda peoples. With these intentions, the pass system was implemented; despite the fact that the hunting, fishing and gathering practices of local Aboriginal groups were supposed to be secured by the signing of Treaty Seven.

These regulations constraining the movements of Nakoda peoples not only interrupted their subsistence land uses and cultural practices, but also altered their patterns of interaction with other Aboriginal groups. Through a complex network of conflict, trade and collaboration, over centuries Nakoda peoples had formed alliances with other Aboriginal groups that were based on mutual respect and the sharing of knowledge, land, and resources. At times these alliances were actively improved and solidified with intermarriage between groups (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). Whyte (1985) notes the positive relationship between the Stoney (Nakoda) and the Kootenay (Ktunaxa) was formed through hunting together in Ktunaxa territories on the western slopes and Nakoda lands closer to the plains. The Nakoda peoples also had similar relationships with members of the Cree Nations and other Aboriginal groups. As one Nakoda elder details:

Over many generations we had become good friends with the Kootenay [Ktunaxa] and the Cree...we even had relationships with the Blackfoot too...who at times were our traditional enemies.....we would learn from each other...hunt together, share knowledge about the mountains and...also get together to celebrate our cultural practices...these interactions were important for many reasons...²¹

These relationships between Aboriginal peoples were formed over many centuries and were considered deeply sacred to all the groups involved (Hildebrandt et al.,

1996). However, the government opposed these interactions between Aboriginal groups. White expresses his opinion on a dual purpose of limiting the movement of Nakoda peoples through the pass system and other regulations:

I feel that the Indian Act and all the restrictions...were about controlling the interactions between peoples as much as it was about assimilations...the outlawing of the Sun Dance and other cultural and spiritual events was to do with limiting interaction between Native peoples as much as anything else...both on the individual reservations...and in the ways that they controlled how we lived and where we went...but maybe more importantly how we could communicate with the other tribes. I know I've read about the assimilation ideas...and that maybe true...but I think that controlling the way we interacted with each other was also the intentions of the government's restrictions.²²

Although the government was clearly not comfortable with large meetings where Aboriginal groups could share their experiences, express forms of dissent over the treaty agreement and discuss the various changes to their ways of life, discouraging their cultural practices was also a fundamental objective of limiting these interactions (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). In conjunction with the spatial and temporal constraints, limiting the movement and interactions of Nakoda peoples was also a significant component of exercising assimilation strategies through disciplinary practices. All of the constraints produced by government policies and implemented by the agents of the colonial administration would fundamentally change many aspects of Nakoda cultures and ways of life throughout the ensuing decades.

Refusing Constraints

Foucault contends that improving productivity, which is one of the main objectives of discipline, can only be accomplished if docility is increased and power is disassociated from the body. Foucault summarizes this point:

Discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, “docile” bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an “aptitude,” a “capacity,” which it seeks to increase; on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection (1984: 182).

This analysis of disciplinary power was derived from his studies of select disciplinary institutions in French society. Prisons, military operations, hospitals for the mentally ill and industrial workshops, which certainly did not represent the most unruly of institutional locations in society, were all constructed spaces where the implementation of disciplinary technologies could be optimized. As Foucault indicates, carrying the exercise of power to bodies was also facilitated in such locations (1975). In contrast to the levels of discipline outlined by Foucault, this absolute position of strict subjection was not reached on the Morley reservation. Ultimately, the colonial assimilationist intentions that motivated policies during this period were only partly successful at conforming Aboriginal peoples to European ways of thinking and living. In the case of Nakoda peoples, assimilation policies appeared to have been even less productive than they were in some other Aboriginal communities. This is partly the consequence of being allocated reserve lands that were incompatible with the agricultural objectives set out by the colonial administration, but also because of the desire and resolve of Nakoda

peoples to resume their physical, cultural and spiritual practices that were established by generations of their ancestors.

As with many Aboriginal communities throughout the country, Nakoda peoples continued to refuse some of the spatial, temporal and movement constraints that the colonial administration attempted to assert over their ways of living. Despite the strength of the disciplinary technologies applied by the colonial presence in the region and its impacts on changing their ways of life, Nakoda peoples sought out opportunities to refuse this discipline and pursue their subsistence land use practices. Far from occupying positions of complicity and docility, many Nakoda peoples continued to hunt, gather and fish in the mountains as well as interact with other groups and celebrate their cultural practices. Referring to the regulations placed on aspects of their culture in the late 19th century, one Nakoda elder stated:

Even while the governments tried to change how we lived with their rules... when there were opportunities...or a need to do so...many of us continued to hunt in the mountains like we'd always done.²³

In general reference to the often diverse constraints that were operating on reservations throughout North America, Deloria argues that: “These structures represented a colonial dream of fixity, control, visibility, productivity, and, most importantly, docility” (Deloria, 2004: 27). He suggests that these dreams, which embodied the aspirations expressed by government assimilation policies, were only partially realized.

Despite the limiting aspects of constraints that did restructure the lives of Aboriginal peoples, they also enabled opportunities to reinterpret landscapes in

manners that asserted them as their own. These new spaces and the conditions that shaped them certainly constrained Nakoda peoples, but they also produced opportunities to refuse these structures. As Foucault contends, increased levels of discipline also generate more possibilities to resist structures that produce disciplinary technologies (1976). Powwows, reunions, political meetings, hunting trips and festivals such as the Banff Indian Days, are only a few of the ways that some Nakoda peoples created openings to redefine their ways of living, their cultures, and the very lands they occupied. While seriously constrained by colonial structures, these opportunities also represented new forms of resistance and possibilities for many community members.²⁴

Conclusion

It must be emphasized that colonial power relations cannot be understood or interpreted through a one-dimensional lens. This analysis of a disciplinary regime only represents some of the colonial strategies that were employed and therefore only some of the levels of disciplinary power that were exercised over a particular socio-historical period. Foucault contends that there are several levels of discipline simultaneously operating in any given society at any temporal interval (1980). This chapter did not intend to map the entire strategic fields of power relations that impacted Aboriginal peoples during this period. Conversely, it examines some of the intricacies of colonial power and, importantly, the ways it was specifically exercised in relation to Nakoda peoples.

Following from Foucault, this research was purposely more concerned with how technologies of discipline came to implicate Nakoda peoples than it was

with specifying the sources of discipline. Subsequently, little attention was given to explanations of the philosophies behind the government policies designed to assimilate Aboriginal peoples. Rather, the focus remains on how disciplinary constraints fundamentally altered a way of living in Nakoda communities. In order to properly outline how a disciplinary regime was established through the mechanisms of the colonial administration, it was necessary to determine how the treaty agreement, missionaries and colonial institutions produced constraints on space, time and the modalities of movement as part of a larger regime of disciplinary power.

The decades that passed from the initial contacts with Europeans until the impacts of the treaty agreement began to constrain the lives of Nakoda peoples, represents a dynamic period of history for Nakoda communities and other Aboriginal groups across the nation. Marked by interactions, exchanges and negotiations, Nakoda peoples were faced with difficult circumstances that would abruptly alter many aspects of how they lived in the Banff-Bow Valley and the eastern slopes of the Canadian Rockies. Even though these changes would have serious consequences for their communities, throughout this period they managed these challenges with an incredible degree of adaptability and resilience. Unfortunately in the following decades, Nakoda communities would continue to encounter additional socio-economic, political and cultural hardships in their complex and prejudicial relationships with the colonial bureaucracy.

Endnotes

¹ The Bow Valley gets its name from a Nakoda translation of *mun-uh-cha-ban*, meaning the place of bows. This refers to the strong withes of the Douglas Fir trees that were found along the river's banks. Nakoda hunters used them to make bows before the arrival of Europeans to the region. For more on this see: Hart, 1999: 8.

² This region only includes the upper stretches of the Bow River. The Bow River runs 587 kilometers from Bow Lake to where it joins the South Saskatchewan River in southern Alberta.

³ Leland White (personal interview, 14 Dec, 2007).

⁴ Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.

⁵ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

⁶ For example, especially John McDougall lobbied the government on several occasions to increase reservation lands and improve access to resources. That being said, some Nakoda elders seriously question how often he put their community's concerns ahead of his own personal objectives. For examples of this, see: John Snow. *These Mountains are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005: 100-101; Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Councils, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*. Montréal: McGill-Queens Publishers, 1996: 262-269.

⁷ The Red River Rebellion was a dispute between the established Métis settlement along the Red River and the newly formed Canadian government. In addition to a conflict over control of land and resources, the rebellion was fundamentally about Aboriginal and French cultural and linguistic rights. The rebellion was quelled with the Manitoba Act of 1870 which brought the province into Canadian Confederation. Although the Métis leader Louis Riel went into hiding in the United States in 1870, he remained a significant voice in furthering the rights of Aboriginal and Métis peoples until he was executed by the Canadian government in 1885 following his role in the North-West Rebellion. For more see: Frits Pannekoek, *A Snug Little Flock: The Social Origins of the Riel Resistance of 1869-1870* (Winnipeg: J. Gordan Shillingford Publishing Inc., 1996); Thomas Flanagan. "Louis Riel and Aboriginal Rights," In: A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (eds.), *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983): 230-247.

⁸ For a good analysis of some of the consequences of the illegal whisky trade for some Aboriginal communities in the west see: Robert S. Allen, "A Witness to Murder: The Cypress Hills Massacre and the Conflict of Attitudes towards the Native Peoples of the Canadian-American West during the 1870s," In: A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier (eds.), *As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983): 229-246.

⁹ While the Indian Act did precede the Treaty 7 agreement, it dealt with some of the issues that affected Aboriginal communities in a generalized form and did not address the individual concerns of specific Aboriginal groups. The Indian Act of 1876 did not really have any immediate implications for Aboriginal peoples of western Canada as they were excluded from most sections. The Aboriginal groups in the west were not considered to be "civilized" by the superintendent general of Indian Affairs (Tobias, 1983). Although the Indian Act did specify qualifications of "Indian status," directly promoted assimilation policies, and repressed Aboriginal cultural practices, the individual treaties were designed to manage the particular definition of lands and resources for specific Aboriginal groups. For more on the 1876 Indian Act and the earlier regulations see: Richard H. Bartlett, *The Indian Act of Canada* (Saskatoon: Native Law Centre, 1980).

¹⁰ Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.

¹¹ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ It is critical to acknowledge that while the assimilationist aspects of the Dominion of Canada policies concerning Aboriginal peoples were developed in the 1870s, these were merely extensions of the imperial governments' approaches that can be traced to the middle of the 18th century (Tobias, 1983).

¹⁴ While there are current land claims that have yet to be resolved over the size of and access to Nakoda lands, it was not even until 1948 that official reserves were created for Nakoda Peoples in Eden Valley (reserve 216) and on the Kootenay Plains (Bighorn Reserve 144A). For more on this see: John Snow, *These Mountains are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney Indians*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005: 89-104 and Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Councils, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*. Montréal: McGill-Queens Publishers, 1996: 139-141.

¹⁵ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

¹⁶ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).

¹⁷ As will be examined in Chapter 3, the 1887 creation of Rocky Mountains Park presented new restrictions to subsistence land uses practices and additional challenges for Nakoda peoples.

¹⁸ Leland White (personal interview, 14 Dec, 2007).

¹⁹ The question of how to define the ethnicity of community members in order to determine who has access to reservation lands and resources remains a heated issue in the 21st century for some Aboriginal communities. Most recently on 9 February 2010, on the Kahnawake Mohawk reservation in Quebec, the band council evicted non-Aboriginals who were in common-law relationships with local band members. Resulting from conflicts over the use of resources, the band has established a strict review process to determine the “Mohawk-ness” of community members and subsequently their access to these resources. For more on this specific issue, see: <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/non-natives-evicted-from-mohawk-reserve/article1468533>. Tracey Deer’s 2008 documentary film entitled *Club Native*, breaks down the fundamental principles that surround these complex issues in Aboriginal communities.

²⁰ Leland White (personal interview, 14 Dec, 2007).

²¹ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

²² Leland White (personal interview, 14 Dec, 2007).

²³ Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.

²⁴ In chapter 5, I analyze conceptions of resistance that align more directly with Foucauldian approaches to show how these opportunities were pursued by community members and the broader impacts of these processes.

Appendix.

Figure 2-1.



The upper section of the Banff-Bow Valley with current boundaries of Banff National Park and the Nakoda Reservation at Morley.

Map was created by Ali Buckingham, Parks Canada.

Figure 2-2.



The Morleyville settlement and mission site (1885).
In the foreground of the picture is McDougall's ranch and in the
background is the mission site near Jacob's Creek.

Courtesy of the Glenbow Archives.
NA-4967-59. (photographer: unknown).

Figure 2-3.



Instructors and students at the mission school in Morley (1885).
Reverend John McDougall is in the center of the front row.

Courtesy of the Glenbow Archives.
NA-1677-1. (photographer: unknown).

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CHAPTER 3.

RACE AS A DIVIDING AND NORMALIZING PRACTICE: DISCOURSES OF
CONSERVATION AND THE REPRESSION OF ABORIGINAL CULTURES
IN THE FORMATION OF ROCKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK

This chapter traces the emergence of Canada's first national park and the consequences of the protected areas for local Aboriginal communities. Content specifically concentrates on how these new regional developments implicated the lives of Nakoda First Nations. For centuries, Nakoda communities lived throughout the Banff-Bow Valley before being relocated to a reserve south of the park as a criterion of the 1877 Treaty Seven Agreement. Prior to analyzing the formation of Rocky Mountains Park (RMP), I will outline the established uses of the region by Aboriginal peoples. The primary objective of this inquiry is to examine the discourses of conservation that were produced during the period from the treaty-making until the early 1920s. These discourses were central to both the creation of the parks system and the extension of restrictions placed on the subsistence land uses of Nakoda communities. Discourses of conservation were also intricately linked to the implementation of levels of discipline that forwarded government policies designed to foster the repression of Aboriginal cultural practices. In this manner, discourses of conservation and related knowledges informed dividing practices that were intended to exclude and assimilate Nakoda peoples as part of broader processes of colonial power relations.

This research relies on primary evidence collected from oral history interviews with Nakoda peoples and archival materials, mainly in the forms of government documents and personal collections. Determining how discourses of conservation came to significantly alter Nakoda subsistence land uses as well as perceptions of local Aboriginal communities is the central concern of this chapter. Foucault's concepts of panopticism and correct training (1975) are considered as

tools to theorize how race was utilized as a dividing and normalizing practice to further government strategies to repress the cultures of Nakoda peoples.

The Formation of Rocky Mountains Park

Prior to expanding on the early history of RMP which emerged through the federal government's efforts to secure lands surrounding a series of hot springs near the current location of Banff townsite, it is critical to recognize that these unique geologic formations had significance to local Aboriginal communities for many centuries before the arrival of the Europeans to the region. Some early histories represent the late 19th century discovery of the Cave and Basin mineral hot springs by railway workers in a manner that attempts to erase the Aboriginal presence in the Banff-Bow Valley by failing to acknowledge their extensive use of the region. While recognizing the presence of Aboriginal peoples in the Banff-Bow Valley, some historians have claimed that it was only Europeans who understood the value of the hot springs. For example in 1948, popular historian and park employee, Williams writes:

it is probable that the Indians had known of the existence of the springs for years, but as usual they ascribed their peculiar behaviour, as they did everything they could not understand, to evil spirits, and regarded the spot as a place that was wise to avoid (11).

Since the 1960s, the majority of historians have readily accepted the long history of Aboriginal peoples in the region and therefore when discussing the first Europeans to locate the hot springs, they utilize the stylistic device of putting the words "discovery" into quotation marks. While this does underscore the arrogant and absurd notion that the diverse groups of Aboriginal peoples living in the

Banff Bow-Valley for millennia had not located the hot springs, this method does very little to develop the histories of Aboriginal use or incorporate their perspectives of the hot springs.

In direct contradiction to what some Euro-Canadian authors contend, in addition to other Aboriginal groups who at times have migrated through or lived in the Banff-Bow Valley, Nakoda peoples had significant cultural practices related to their experiences and diverse uses of the hot springs. In 1954, Nakoda Chief Walking Buffalo (George McLean) elaborated on the importance of the hot springs to local Nakoda peoples and how it was believed a great spirit lived in the waters:

They would bathe in the springs because of the medicine in them. Then they would drop something in the water as a sacrifice, as a thank you to the spirits for the use of their water...But since the white people came, the strength has gone out of the water. That mysterious power that comes from the spirits is there no more. Probably the white peoples do not pray to get well. In the old days, the Indians used to pray to the spirits to cure them of their sickness. Then they were healed by the mysterious strength of the waters (Clark, 1960: 95-96).

Other oral accounts also suggest that the hot springs was a sacred site for the Nakoda peoples. One elder indicated that, as a result of the unique microclimate produced by the warm waters, the lands surrounding the springs were vital locations for gathering herbal medicines.¹ A Nakoda woman stated that her grandparents told her of the important cultural significance of the hot springs for their communities. Marriage and initiation ceremonies, to celebrate young men and women reaching adulthood, were held at sites near the Cave and Basin

mineral hot springs.² Nakoda elder Roland Rollinmud also spoke of these sacred ceremonies:

Yeah, the Cave and Basin was a place for baptisms that we would do. So the youth and the younger generations were blessed there...everybody was, but the young generations were blessed there to become an adult...It was about getting as much knowledge for the journey of life and knowledge to understand the earth.³

Based on oral accounts, it is clear that the hot springs were important cultural sites for Nakoda communities in many respects. In addition to the significance of the area for its healing potential, medicines, and cultural ceremonies, the springs represented a key meeting location where Nakoda peoples, and sometimes other Aboriginal groups, would gather at certain points throughout their seasonal migrations.⁴ It is essential to establish the Aboriginal use of the hot springs prior to elucidating the conditions that led to the formation of RMP. Nakoda perspectives of their histories provide understandings of why the creation of the park and the subsequent limitations on access to the region had implications that extended far beyond constraining their subsistence land uses in the Banff-Bow Valley.

Early Europeans in the region also visited the hot springs, including James Hector in 1859 and Joe Healy in 1874, but it was not until railway workers reported a series of hot springs in the fall of 1883 that the immediate vicinity would be of concern to the federal government (Hart, 1999). Recognizing the potential of the springs and the surrounding landscape, Frank McCabe, William McCardell and Tom McCardell immediately made efforts to secure ownership of the hot springs and proximal lands by developing them as a homestead and a

mineral claim (Bella, 1987). In 1885, following a dispute between several parties that lasted over a year, the federal government settled the conflicting claims by creating a 26 km² reserve surrounding the Cave and Basin mineral hot springs (Nelson, 1970). Based on two earlier American examples, the 1832 Hot Springs Reservation in Arkansas (Scace, 1970) and the 1872 Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming (Locke, 2009), the Banff Hot Springs Reserve was part of the Canadian government's first initiative to establish federal protected areas. Just two years later on 23 June 1887, the area was expanded to 673 km² and Rocky Mountains Park, Canada's first national park, was formed (Nicol, 1970). The Parks Act stipulated that land was "set apart as a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada."⁵ The Act actually promoted the tourism industry and permitted, under government direction, the development of mining sites, timber interests and grazing lands (McNamee, 1993). As long as these did not "impair the usefulness of the park for the purposes of public enjoyment and recreation," these developments were actively encouraged by the government (Bella, 1987).⁶ The formation of the park would soon have important implications for local Nakoda communities.

Discourses of Conservation

In 1885, the same year that the Banff Hot Springs Reserve was created, a pass system was introduced to monitor and restrict the migrations of Aboriginal peoples across the country (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). As noted in chapter 2, in Nakoda communities, this was the beginning of a period where movements from their reservation were increasingly constrained. Although the pass system initially

was not strongly imposed at Morley, a significant factor motivating the enforcement of these restrictions in years to come was the formation of RMP. The Rocky Mountain Parks Act specified that the forceful exclusion and removal of “trespassers” who did not adhere to the new park regulations was critical to the early development of the park.⁷ Aboriginal subsistence land uses, including hunting, gathering, trapping, and fishing became a source of conflict between park managers and local Nakoda communities (Whyte, 1985). At the time of the creation of the Banff Hot Springs Reserve, the majority of Nakoda peoples continued their subsistence land uses in the mountains as they considered them their right affirmed by the 1877 treaty agreement. Nakoda elder Lazarus Wesley explains their understandings of how the creation of the park infringed on their rights to hunt in the mountains:

At the time [1877] nothing was ever mentioned about the cutting up of the land here and there into recreational areas and parks. The government didn't tell them it will eventually be doing this. It is because of these special areas that we can't go hunting...(Hildebrandt et al., 1996: 90).

The government never consulted with or informed Nakoda peoples about the formation of the reserve or the national park. This lack of consultation continued to bring Nakoda peoples into direct conflict with park policies and those that enforced them (Snow, 2005).

The knowledges that repositioned the hot springs as a potential tourism site were jointly produced by the government as well as individuals and organizations that held vested interest in its development for this purpose. These knowledges stood in direct opposition to the ways local Aboriginal communities

imagined the hot springs. As demonstrated by their extensive uses of the location for centuries prior to European presence in the region, Nakoda understandings of the springs as sacred spaces were informed by very differing foundations of knowledge. These contrasting conceptualizations of this site would be one of several conflicts between tourism producers and Aboriginal peoples that would justify the dividing and normalizing practices throughout the coming decades.

In 1886, the government's Department of the Interior sent a biologist, W.F. Whitcher, to report on the state of the mountain ecosystems. The Whitcher report, as it was known, directly implicated the hunting practices of local Aboriginal peoples, as well as depredations by foxes and wolves, in the decline of the large game mammals in the region. When Whitcher made his recommendations in his 1886 report, he did not consider the rights of Nakoda communities that were solidified through the treaty agreement. He suggested that:

exceptions of no kind whatever should be made in favour of Indians. Those who now invade that territory are stragglers and deserters from their own reserves, where they are well cared for in food and clothing at the public expense (Binnema and Niemi, 2006: 729).⁸

The Whitcher report led to the first wildlife regulations in national parks. As they did not serve to maintain all mammal and fish populations, the regulations were designed to sustain the region as a sportsmen's playground, rather than preserve a healthy and intact ecosystem. By the early 1890s, both CPR representatives and the government recognized the value of creating a sportsmen paradise to the development of local tourism economies. Access to exceptional hunting and fishing opportunities was one of the region's largest draws for early tourists (Binnema and Niemi, 2006).

With the completion of the railway, the increasing number of sportsmen that were attracted to the region created further interest in the restriction of Aboriginal hunting and fishing in the parks. Aboriginal subsistence practices were in direct opposition to the sportsmen code of etiquette that specified that “big game” was not to be eaten but used for sport and hunting trophies. The differing objectives for hunting often formed an entirely separate code for hunting practices (Bouchier and Cruikshank, 1997). Not surprisingly, the sportsmen ethic was quite foreign to Aboriginal peoples as it originated in urban elite Euro-Canadian understandings of landscapes (Gillespie, 2002). The sportsmen ethic, which was inherently linked with discourses of conservation, aimed to “conserve” large mammals for sportsmen. It was also this ethic that supported harsh and, at times, completely unfounded critiques of Nakoda hunting practices (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). By 1893, strong opposition was mounted against Aboriginal hunting in the mountains by gun and hunting clubs located throughout much of what would become the province of Alberta in 1905 (Dempsey, 1997). The impact of the railway, increased numbers of sport hunters, mining and timber operations were often discounted as factors in the decreasing populations of large mammals and Aboriginal peoples were situated as the main target of sport hunting organizations of the period. These organizations were powerful advocates that at the time outweighed any conservation voices in the region (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). As a result of their influence, sport hunting groups were able to lobby the federal government to increase hunting and fishing restrictions on local Aboriginal peoples. The importance of sportsmen to the local tourism economy,

which was growing rapidly at the beginning of the 20th century, aligned them with major tourism producers, such as local entrepreneurs and the CPR, and entrenched the power of sport hunting organizations that had been established over several decades.

The Witcher report not only condemned Nakoda hunting practices but also connected these practices to larger discourses of conservation as it situated Aboriginal peoples as the central target of emerging conservation movements committed to preserve fish and mammal populations for the pleasure of sport hunters and the benefit of the tourism industry. In this example, biological science was taken up in ways that produced knowledges which contributed to broader discourses of conservation that effectively excluded Aboriginal peoples and Nakoda ways of knowing. Witcher's findings, founded in the rigor of scientific inquiry, added to the support for the exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from park lands and the repression and assimilation of their cultural practices.

While no hunting was permitted in the park in 1890, it was not until a few years later that the Indian commissioner notified the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) about government and special interest group concerns over Nakoda subsistence hunting practices (Snow, 2005). Over the next few years, the movements of Nakoda peoples were more closely monitored. In 1893, the Indian agent was directed to inform the police if any individuals were missing from the reserve. Indian Affairs specified that Indian agents were to be very attentive to "the movements of their Indians" and the police were to investigate any anomalies (Snow, 2005: 82).

While it is clear that several groups did combine their efforts with the objective of limiting Nakoda subsistence land practices in the mountains, there were certainly individual exceptions to the strident opposing voices that were so audible during this period. There are examples of government officials, police and missionaries who openly defended Nakoda subsistence practices against the unjustified charges of stakeholder groups such as sport hunting organizations (Binnema and Niemi, 2006). Of course, Nakoda peoples also greatly resented the manner in which their subsistence practices were (re)imagined as unethical and illegal. One example of their objection to these processes is in a 1907 letter to the federal government where Nakoda peoples express their resistance to the game laws and reminded the government of their treaty commitments to protect their subsistence practices (Snow, 2005).

In 1902, the boundaries of the park were extended to cover 11,400 km² (Hart, 1999). This massive expansion greatly affected Nakoda communities as their hunting grounds were almost entirely swallowed up by the extension of park lands. Rollinmud explains the impact this began to have on their communities:

It cut off all the circulation that was providing us of life...which is our game and berries...anything that's in the mountains is brought back and is preserved. When we lost access to the area this meant straying away from all of our roots and our physical and spiritual energy.⁹

In the park's annual report in 1903, Nakoda hunters are directly blamed for decreases in populations of large mammals (Snow, 2005). By 1909, under rising pressure from sport hunting organizations and stakeholders in the local tourism economy, the government introduced game wardens into the park. The

government's keen interest in curbing Nakoda hunting in the region was exemplified by their selection of Howard E. Sibbald as the first park warden. In addition to being the Indian agent at Morley from 1901-1904, Sibbald was not an advocate for Nakoda subsistence land uses (Snow, 2005). His position on the issue is reflected in his annual report in 1903:

as long as they can hunt, you cannot civilize them...with the exception of a few of the younger ones, they are no more civilized now than they were when I first knew them, and I blame hunting as the cause.¹⁰

The selection of Sibbald as the first game warden is a clear indication that the government viewed Nakoda subsistence practices as a problem to be solved. Moreover, the appointment of Sibbald also reveals that the government intended to prohibit the subsistence land uses of Nakoda peoples to appease the interests of sport hunting organizations and, ultimately, the tourism industry. Again scientific based studies and reports are utilized to document and provide support for discourses of conservation that subjugated Aboriginal peoples and their ways of knowing. In this case, parks explicitly endorse a conservation ethic that is deeply linked to knowledges produced by and through individuals who were invested in the tourism industry. These particular ways of understanding conservation later inform dividing and assimilating practices.

The conservation ethic of the period was deeply connected to discourses that positioned Aboriginal peoples as illegal "trespassers" and "poachers." The conservation of large mammals to satisfy sport hunting organizations and tourism producers was a key objective of government policies designed to limit the subsistence practices of Nakoda communities. The expansion of the park and the

enforcement of regulations greatly restricted access to the region for Aboriginal peoples. Conservation principles were also used to exclude Aboriginal peoples in numerous national parks and protected areas throughout North America from 1880 until 1920 (Keller and Turek, 1999). Parallels with the experiences of other Aboriginal groups reveal a pattern of exclusion that was part of regional and national policy throughout Canada and the United States rather than an isolated occurrence in RMP (Urion, 1999; Murphy, 2008).¹¹ Relying on discourses of conservation, tourism producers, government directors and park officials excluded Nakoda peoples and other Aboriginal groups from living in key protected areas on the continent and practicing their subsistence land uses. Although it was in direct contradiction to the treaty agreement and it required several decades to implement, by the mid-1920s, the restrictions had ensured that few Nakoda community members relied on hunting, gathering or fishing as their main forms of subsistence (Snow, 2005). The next section explores further rationale behind the government's intentions to limit the subsistence practices of local Aboriginal peoples.

Cultural and Subsistence Practices as Threats to the Colonial Bureaucracy

Tobias (1983) contends that the ability of the Aboriginal peoples in the west to continue subsistence land use practices was particularly irksome to the Canadian government. Although complex regional circumstances led to the policies opposing Nakoda hunting practices in the Banff-Bow Valley, in most Aboriginal communities in the west, the reasoning behind the government restrictions on their subsistence practices and seasonal migrations was less

convoluted. If Aboriginal groups or individuals provided their own subsistence from hunting, gathering and fishing, the ration system no longer functioned properly, as it was designed to ensure that Aboriginal peoples needed to live close to, and rely on, ration sites. Hunting and subsistence practices also stood in direct opposition to the agricultural systems implemented by the government. Most importantly, if Aboriginal communities were left to move as they chose, they would not be as susceptible to the cultural repression and assimilation strategies that were underway on most reservations in the west by the 1880s.

In 1885, the government began to directly repress specific cultural practices of Aboriginal peoples in the west. By prohibiting Sun Dances and Potlatch ceremonies, the government sought to reinforce capitalist notions of private property and discourage any practices that were viewed as “uncivilized” through a Euro-Canadian lens. Select cultural practices were seen as obstructing or opposed to a white way of living. As Bracken notes, “to be white is to reside in one place and practice agriculture. It does not include roving around and neglecting property” (1997: 72). If Aboriginal groups placed value in or experienced pleasure from engaging in their own cultural practices, they may reject the structured and constrained lives that were instituted by assimilation policies. While initially government agents were apprehensive about military and physical uprisings, they eventually became just as concerned with political and cultural forms of resistance (Deloria, 2004). While the banning of the Potlatch targeted the Aboriginal communities on Canada’s west coast, the prohibiting of the Sun Dance impacted the Plains peoples, including the Nakoda. In the 1890s,

Indian agents and the mounted police used Section 114 of the Indian Act to ban the performing of Sun Dances (Bracken, 1997). By 1914, stronger efforts were made to eradicate the cultural practices of the Plains peoples as it became illegal to wear Aboriginal dress or perform traditional dances (Tobias, 1983).¹²

Aboriginal forms of dance and music were also prohibited on reservations and they were even strongly discouraged from performing for tourists at festivals like the Banff Indian Days or the Calgary Stampede (see Figure 3-1).

Through a Euro-Canadian government lens the Sun Dance was reinterpreted as pagan festival where Aboriginal peoples worshipped the Sun and sometimes engaged in forms of self-torture. Government officials and agents of the colonial bureaucracy also viewed this particular custom as a barrier to their Christianizing procedures (Snow, 2005). Lazarus Wesley clarifies the purpose and significance of the Sun Dance to Nakoda peoples:

It is a time of acknowledging our blessings and to give thanks. Just like the birds of feather who make their nests in the trees and sing their sweet songs praising the Creator, so do the Indian people. They make a nest in the Sun Dance tree. They think of it as representing the Creator. They see it as a tree of life. It is a family representation and they rejoice at these Sun Dances. They rejoice during the beautiful summer season that they survived another harsh winter. The Sun Dance was seen in this concept to give thanks and praise the benevolence of the Creator (Hildebrandt et al., 1996: 153).

Rollinmud also shares his perspective of the Sun Dance:

The Europeans never really did understand it...it is a gathering to share the wealth of mother earth and to thank the creator for all that life is...it is sacred because it is believed that the creator could communicate to the people that are there.¹³

The sweat lodges, which were also prohibited by the government, were important in Nakoda cultures. From his perspective, Nakoda elder Lenny Poucette explains the value of the sweat lodge:

We used the sweat lodges for spiritual guidance and cleansing for a long long time. It is about our spirituality, it is about renewal. For me it is all about opening up our hearts and having the opportunity to heal each other.¹⁴

In addition to disrupting long-established cultural practices that embodied profound cultural meanings that extended to all aspects of Nakoda ways of living, the banning of the Sun Dance and the sweat lodge ceremonies were extremely harmful in that they broke up the unity of Aboriginal communities and the relations between different Aboriginal groups. As well as forming social gatherings around these practices, they were important celebration and bonding opportunities for Nakoda peoples. Furthermore, hunting and other cultural practices such as the Sun Dance fostered interaction and meaningful relationships with other Aboriginal groups.¹⁵ When the movements between reservations were restricted and Nakoda cultural practices were prohibited, aspects of relationships were also severed in Nakoda communities and between Nakoda peoples and other Aboriginal groups (Snow, 2005).

The regulations prohibiting Nakoda cultural practices had calamitous impacts in their communities. However, throughout the first few decades of the 20th century, Nakoda peoples continued to produce opportunities to celebrate their significant practices among themselves on or near the reservation (see Figure 3-2). Despite the restrictions, Nakoda peoples also strived to maintain relationships with other Aboriginal groups by interacting with them as often as possible

(Jonker, 1988). While these opportunities were considerably constrained by the regulations and they became less frequent for many decades, the prevalence of Sun Dances, sweat lodges and other practices such as powwows at Morley in the 21st century, speaks to both the importance of these practices for Nakoda peoples and their determination to maintain them as a part of their communities.

In addition to viewing subsistence and cultural practices as a barrier to colonial processes to assimilate and repress Aboriginal peoples, the federal government also recognized the importance of dismantling tribal political systems (Tobias, 1983). According to federal policies as early as 1869, Aboriginal forms of government were intended to be replaced by elected councils. To encourage Aboriginal communities to adopt the council system, the government offered communities that agreed to elect councils a number of additional authorities (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). By the 1880s, the band council systems were strongly advocated by the government and many communities did conform to them in order to secure more autonomy in decisions over local issues. The choice to adopt an elected council had a large impact on Aboriginal communities. As Tobias argues: “The elected band council was regarded as the means to destroy the last vestiges of the tribal system, the traditional political systems (1991: 135).¹⁶

Reforming Aboriginal communities to an elected council system was a key step in furthering government assimilation objectives and part of larger dividing and normalizing practices. Although Nakoda peoples switched to an elected band council in the 1880s, they found that the government increasingly intervened into their local matters. Snow suggests that the government asserted a

great degree of control over the councils, often determining who would be considered “acceptable” as elected members. This significantly altered the political structure in communities as the government favoured individuals who represented their positions in the council. Through these processes the government not only devalued the established Aboriginal political systems, but they also gained insight and power over any political decisions that were made in Nakoda communities (Snow, 2005). The government facilitated a new system that was completely foreign to Aboriginal peoples and then asserted a significant amount of control over political processes in Aboriginal communities by infiltrating the councils and influencing key decisions. Just a few decades following the signing of Treaty Seven, the federal government systematically changed the political processes that shaped Aboriginal communities and used this influence to further their cultural repression and assimilation objectives.

The Panopticon and Surveillance in a Colonial Regime of Disciplinary Power

In his studies on the history of French disciplinary institutions, Foucault explored his theories around disciplinary power by using Jeremy Bentham’s philosophy of the panopticon. Based on models of French prisons, the panopticon was a machine for producing and maintaining power relationships. From Foucault’s perspective, the panopticon was a “laboratory of power” with the primary objective of shaping more productive societies (1975: 204). The panopticon has two main criteria for how disciplinary power is exercised. According to Markula and Pringle (2006), Foucault specified that in the panopticon the source of power is omnipresent and constantly visible, but it is

also simultaneously unverifiable. It is this second aspect that makes this disciplinary technology so effective. A key part of the panopticon model is that individuals become the source of their own discipline. Foucault explains this self-policing process:

He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection (1975: 203).

The main intention of the panopticon is to induce a state of consciousness and visibility that produces the automatic functioning of power. The omnipresent gaze is what brings discipline, and in its ultimate form docility, to bodies. However, it is the individuals' response to the panoptic gaze that constrains them through technologies of discipline (Foucault, 1984).

Foucault's adaptation of the panopticon is certainly a visually stimulating concept to theorize levels of disciplinary power. What remains less clear is whether it is an effective tool when applied to understandings of how disciplinary power functions in colonial societies. The panopticon has been widely used, and sometimes misused, by scholars attempting to understand how disciplinary power is produced and sustained in any given society (Arac, 1991). Despite Spivak's (1988) warning that Foucault's analysis itself reinscribes the West as the only subject, the panopticon has also been commonly, and sometimes carelessly, utilized in efforts to understand disciplinary power in colonial societies. In both Mitchell's (1991) analysis of the British colonization of Egypt and Kaplan's

(1995) study of colonial conditions in India, the panopticon model is applied to understand the distribution and the consequences of forms of disciplinary power produced by colonial regimes. Instead of abandoning panopticism and establishing more unique Foucauldian-based arguments, such as Stoler's (1995) examination of how colonial practices maintained, ordered and displayed power relations by simultaneously drawing from discourses of sexuality, race and class, both studies insist on adapting the panopticon as their main theoretical thrust. The most unique and fascinating aspect of Foucault's use of the panopticon is how one can exercise discipline on oneself. The self-policing element of the panopticon is captivating, but scholars must then establish how the disciplinary gaze is internalized. While it is attractive to use the various types of surveillance that are often present in many colonial societies to suggest that certain levels of discipline were prevalent, the use of panopticism is not very effective unless scholars can demonstrate this self-monitoring aspect.

At least one scholar has utilized the panopticon in their interpretation of the surveillance systems on reservations that Aboriginal peoples encountered during the 19th century (Greenwald, 2002). I find this analysis unproductive in some regards because it is difficult to provide evidence of the self-surveillance aspects of the panoptic gaze in Aboriginal communities. In this case, Greenwald fails to demonstrate how Aboriginal peoples internalized the disciplinary gaze. It is clear that the colonial bureaucracy did establish several methods to increase surveillance as part of the reservation systems. However, as Foucault detailed, a very high level of discipline is required to internalize this gaze and ensure that

individuals become the producers of their subjection. In his study on disciplinary power in colonial plantations in the Caribbean, Richardson (1992) asserts that the horrendous journey of the Middle Passage, the terrible living conditions on slave plantations and the extremely high levels of surveillance, did not automatically homogenize captured Africans into docile members of the plantation workforces. His study shows that even though disciplinary power constrained the agency of colonized peoples through violent forms of cultural oppression and exploitation, slaves continued to exercise autonomous action for survival and the pursuit of emancipation. Despite the brutal history of repression and assimilation principles that guided colonial policies and practices with regards to Aboriginal peoples in North America, evidence of this level of visceral and internalized discipline was not found in Nakoda communities as most continued to refuse aspects of colonial discipline by pursuing opportunities to maintain their cultural practices. As the next section reveals, the colonial bureaucracy did indeed incorporate the technologies of both correct training and docility, but the extent of discipline required to ensure that Nakoda peoples embodied all the values of this discipline, fortunately, was never realized.

Correct Training: Knowing, Individualizing and Assimilating Processes

It is important to theorize the levels of discipline that repressed the cultural practices of Aboriginal peoples in the government's efforts to forward assimilation objectives. As Stoler contends, one group of disciplinary technologies do not cancel out another. Rather, disciplinary technologies act simultaneously, producing multiple levels or rungs of discipline (1995). As

extensions of the levels of discipline exercised over the control of space, time and the modalities of movement (see chapter 2), technologies of correct training were also instituted as key components of the assimilation strategies that were initiated by the agents of the colonial bureaucracy. In the context of Aboriginal peoples in the last quarter of the 19th century, the means of correct training are useful to examine the restrictions that were employed to repress the cultural practices of Nakoda peoples and eventually assimilate them into broader Euro-Canadian society. As Foucault outlined, disciplinary technologies produce a set of knowledges that create demands to perform to various standards (1975). The collection of personal knowledge is a key disciplinary technology. Foucault suggests that the collection of personal knowledge has three critical aspects or instruments:

The success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the use of simple instruments; hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination (1975: 170).

The remainder of this chapter concentrates on how aspects of these three instruments were utilized by the colonial administration in Nakoda communities to collect personal knowledge and further implement technologies of discipline.

As an instrument to produce knowledge of a subject, hierarchical observation reflects the connection between visibility and power. “A visible body is a knowable body that can subsequently become subject to the workings of power” (Markula and Pringle, 2006: 41). As Foucault outlined in great detail, hierarchical observation often includes a rearrangement of space so that visibility can be optimized (1975). In referring to how the design of many disciplinary

institutions reoriented space to facilitate the exercise of disciplinary power,

Foucault states:

the architecture would operate to transform individuals: to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them (1975:172).

Just as classrooms in French schools and positioning of barracks in French military camps were reorganized for this purpose, the reservations that Aboriginal peoples were limited to also underwent a series of changes to increase opportunities for observation and to structure visibility. In Nakoda communities, the reservation was organized so that the mission site, including the church and residential school, became the geographic center of social life (Snow, 2005). This attempted to organize spaces on the reservation so that most community members were seen regularly by the missionaries and Indian agents. The government's intent of increasing the observation of community members was an objective of locating Nakoda peoples in a fixed landscape and organizing that space accordingly.

Foucault suggested that the most effective disciplinary institutions had several sources of surveillance or calculated gazes (1975). In addition to Indian agents and missionaries, the mounted police also served an important disciplinary function during this period. While it was initially a positive relationship between the police and Aboriginal groups involved in Treaty Seven, within two decades of their 1874 arrival, these relations deteriorated as Aboriginal peoples became more aware of the role of the police as another arm of the government providing surveillance to constrain their land uses, restrict their movements and erode their

cultural practices (Snow, 2005). As noted earlier, by 1893 Indian agents and the police worked in conjunction to increase surveillance and identify those who were not present at various activities on the reservation. Similar to the attendance records taken by missionaries in their schools and church services; this functioned as a roll call for Nakoda community members. Foucault specified that at schools, hospitals, workshops and military exercises, “roll-call were taken, from the list on the wall; the absentees were noted down in a register” (1975: 157). He identified roll calls as central to the exercise of discipline. As Deloria argues, activities involving hunting and other cultural practices, such as Sun Dances, became a source of conflict between Aboriginal peoples and administrators or missionaries. These types of activities were not only a fundamental contradiction to assimilation strategies attempting to discourage Aboriginal cultural practices, but they also drew Aboriginal peoples out of, and away from, the visibility of church and government officials (2004).

Foucault indicates that increasing observation and visibility are integrally linked to gaining or producing knowledge of subjects. At Morley, the Indian agents were encouraged to get to know the individuals on the reservation (Snow, 2005). This process of knowing individuals was not motivated by a desire to understand the personal needs or concerns of families undergoing abrupt changes to their lifestyles, but it was intended to increase the amount of surveillance on communities to ensure that the reservation was converted into a productive space. Snow states:

the agents were encouraged to become more thoroughly acquainted with them, as to their mode of life, character, etc, but the purpose of that interest was to promote “greater progress”...(2005: 72).

Following Treaty Seven and the attempt to fix Nakoda communities to the reservation, a series of methods were introduced to improve visibility on these new constructed spaces and increase opportunities for colonial agents to observe the lifestyles and behaviour of Nakoda community members. This observation and visibility increased discipline and the “knowing” of local Nakoda peoples.

After the quotidian behaviour of community members was observed, it then became necessary to invent a system that forwarded the repression and assimilation principles of the colonial administration. As Foucault suggested, normalizing judgement can involve a system of rewards and punishments where individuals are evaluated based on their ability or inability to replicate desired behaviour (1975). The purpose of a punishment/reward system was to establish differences between individuals, attempt to close the gaps that exist, and consequently homogenize individuals and their experiences. “Disciplinary punishment has the function of reducing gaps. It must therefore be essentially *corrective*.” (Foucault, 1975: 179). Ironically, it is critical to individuate in order to homogenize. Foucault explains:

In a sense, the power of normalization imposes homogeneity; but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialities and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another (1984: 196-197).

While measuring and comparing individuals can establish norms and subsequently produce opportunities for individuality, normalizing judgement ultimately promotes homogeneity. A normalizing system involving both

punishments and rewards was established for Nakoda communities at Morley in the late 19th century with comprehensible assimilation objectives.

In 1885 the enforcement of the pass system at Morley formed an aspect of this system as Nakoda peoples were severely punished for breaching the regulations that required them to seek approval from the Indian agent to leave the reservation. The pass system began to considerably restrict the movements of Nakoda peoples. Individuals found off the reservation were fined or faced incarceration. Snow explains:

Any Indian person found off the reserve without a pass was treated as a vagrant and summoned to court... a treaty Indian was ordered back to his reserve; the alternative was jail (Snow, 2005: 73).

Besides avoiding conflict with colonial agents, including the police, remaining on the reservation also had its benefits or rewards for Nakoda peoples. Localized Nakoda community members were more likely to receive their treaty payments and food rations. In addition, access to health facilities and education, although limited, were incentives for some to remain on the reservation and participate in activities supported by the Indian agent and missionaries, such as attending church or school and engaging in agricultural production (Dyck, 1991). This system allowed colonial agents to distinguish between those who remained on the reservation and those who left to continue their subsistence practices. Foucault suggests that the punishment/reward system “refers individual actions to a whole that is at once a field of comparison, a space of differentiation...(1975: 182). This field of comparison not only encouraged Nakoda community members to live year-round on the reservation and participate in activities designed to assimilate

their cultures, but it also singled out those that refused to adopt this new way of life. From a Foucauldian perspective, this field of identification and comparison allowed colonial agents to determine where and when more discipline was required. As a result, the normalizing judgements of colonial agents encouraged Nakoda peoples to assimilate Euro-Canadian lifestyles and cultural practices.

According to Foucault, the combination of hierarchical observations and normalizing judgements produce the examination, which he considered one of the most powerful tools for individualizing. The examination is an excellent example of how disciplinary societies make individuals and bodies the target and the effect of power relations (Markula and Pringle, 2006). Foucault claimed that: “The examination is at the centre of the procedures that constitute the individual as effect and object of power, as an effect and object of knowledge” (1975: 192). As described by Foucault in his analyses of the French medical systems throughout the 18th century, documentation was a key aspect of the examination and the knowing of individuals and groups. The knowing of individuals also fostered processes of exercising discipline in communities. As he explains:

it is the individual as he may be described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality; and it is also the individual that has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalized, excluded...(1975:191).

Although homogenization or assimilation were the colonial objectives, it was necessary to know individuals for this to occur. As already outlined, individuation was a key step in the creation of sameness. Deloria (2004) refers to the process of “knowing Indians” on reservations throughout North America by highlighting how documentation facilitated the exercise of power. He explains

these multifaceted procedures by describing how: tribal rolls standardized names and replaced them with English monikers; church records collected demographic information about relations, dates of baptism, confirmation and death; ration distribution records quantified the amount of food provided to individuals and families; Indian agents recorded infractions, property, character, education, and employment of individuals. As Snow notes, similar documentation processes occurred at Morley for many decades (2005). These records mapped individuals and families into spaces on reservation lands in a process that transformed personal knowledge into opportunities to discipline and exercise colonial power. To be recorded and known by name, relations, character and physical location was to be intimately visible to the colonial bureaucracy. It made it possible and sometimes easy to locate individuals in time and space as well as determine when to intervene and the amount of discipline to implement. These processes made the acquisition of knowledge central to the exercise of power. The colonial bureaucracy achieved this by attempting to constrain Aboriginal bodies and cultures in ways that furthered colonial assimilation strategies. Foucault's means of correct training provide useful tools to interrogate some of the levels of disciplinary technologies that were employed by the colonial administration during this period.

The instruments of correct training produced systems that observed, judged, documented and differentiated with regards to the quotidian lives and cultures of Nakoda communities. The disciplinary technologies not only forwarded colonial assimilation objectives, but in the process, they also

circumscribed the boundaries of “Indian-ness.” From a Foucauldian standpoint, the production and recording of personal knowledge creates opportunities to determine how much difference there is between individuals and the norm, or the standard deviation from the norm. This is critical for colonial assimilation processes as one can evaluate how “civilized,” progressive, religious, or Euro-Canadian, an individual is based on the subjective judgements of colonial agents. The knowing, individuating, documenting and homogenizing of Nakoda practices encouraged assimilation, and highlighted those who refused these methods. These outliers, who were identified through disciplinary technologies, were the individuals who did not yet meet the standards of Euro-Canadian society. The means of correct training were not only effective in furthering the government’s assimilation intentions, but also in ascertaining where more discipline was required to achieve these objectives.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the conditions that led to the emergence of Canada’s first national park and examined how these regional developments impacted the lives of local Nakoda communities. Discourses of conservation were closely tied to the exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from the constructed protected areas as related knowledges positioned their subsistence practices as unethical or illegal. These knowledges also motivated representations of Nakoda peoples as “poachers” and “trespassers” which would continue to have serious consequences for Nakoda communities throughout the 20th century. The restriction of access to the lands that provided subsistence to Nakoda peoples for centuries not only

limited their opportunities to hunt, fish and gather in the foothills and mountain ranges, but also greatly implicated other cultural practices. Limiting access to the region and actively encouraging Nakoda peoples to remain on the reservation, forwarded the government's assimilation strategies. In these processes race is considered a dividing practice designed to exclude, repress and assimilate Nakoda cultures as a component of larger colonial power relations. However; the exclusion of Nakoda peoples from park lands also had other profound impacts on their cultures. As Cruikshank (2005) demonstrates in her research with Tlingit peoples in Klune National Park and Reserve in the Yukon Territory, when access to the region was limited, there were long-term cultural and socio-economic impacts in their communities. When cultural knowledge was lost there was rupture in educational strategies, but spaces were also reorganized, reclassified and bordered in ways that had devastating consequences for local peoples. For Nakoda peoples one of such impacts was not having access to significant sites, such as the hot springs. This is an example of how these regulations formed barriers to the celebration of cultures which are so vitally connected to the landscapes they occupied. As Poucette reiterates:

Our culture is about stories and all of our stories they come from the land...it is through being on the land that we tell these stories...this is to understand and later pass on who we are and where we come from.¹⁷

Similar to many Aboriginal groups across Canada, the land and its resources are the lifeblood of Nakoda cultural practices. The creation of RMP severely altered the relationship between Nakoda peoples and the lands that were redefined as protected areas under the emblem of the parks system, but the coming decades

would produce a unique set of opportunities to re-establish Nakoda cultural practices related to significant sites claimed by the Canadian government and safeguarded by boundaries of the national parks.

Endnotes

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- ¹ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).
- ² Margaret Snow, (personal interview, 14 November 2008).
- ³ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).
- ⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵ *Rocky Mountains National Park Act*, 23 June 1887 (Statutes of Canada, 50-51 Victoria, Chapter. 32).
- ⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷ *Rocky Mountains National Park Act*, 23 June 1887 (Statutes of Canada, 50-51 Victoria, Chapter. 32).
- ⁸ As sourced in Binnema and Niemi, 2006: 729. (ARDI, 1887, 1, 92).
- ⁹ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).
- ¹⁰ Howard Sibbald to Frank Pedlley, 23 December 1903. Howard Sibbald, Indian agent's Annual Report, ARDIA, 1903, 192.
- ¹¹ Well-researched examples include the exclusion of Blackfeet in Glacier National Park, Montana (Urion, 1999); Shoshone in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming (Keller and Turek, 1999); Ahwahneechee in Yosemite National Park, California (Keller and Turek, 1999); Métis in Jasper National Park, Alberta (Murphy, 2008); and Seminoles in Everglades National Park, Florida (Keller and Turek, 1999).
- ¹² Sadly, the prohibiting of Aboriginal cultural practices remained a component of government policy until 1951 (Hildebrandt et al., 1996).
- ¹³ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).
- ¹⁴ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ By 1945, the Canadian public was beginning to demand that the government address the issues surrounding the rights of Aboriginal peoples. In 1969, the *White Paper*, a policy document was introduced by Pierre Trudeau and Jean Chrétien. The policy attempted to absolve the government of the responsibility of

managing Indian Affairs by essentially withdrawing the special status granted to Aboriginal peoples. This document drew massive protests from Aboriginal communities across the nation. It was not until 1981, and the adoption of the *Declaration of First Nations* by the Chiefs across the country, that the rights to self-government as sovereign peoples was achieved. For more see: Tester et al., 1999.

¹⁷ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

Appendix.*Figure 3-1.*

Nakoda hunters at the Banff Indian Days camp grounds near Banff townsite (1910).

Pictured from left: John Simeon, Eli Rider, Eli Rider's mother, John Salter and Ben Kaquitts.

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.
v263-na-3254. (photographer: Byron Harmon).

Figure 3-2.



Nakoda man John Hunter prepares for the Sun Dance ceremony near the Morley reservation (1915).

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.
v263-na-3147. (photographer: Byron Harmon).

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CHAPTER 4.

INTERPRETING REPRESENTATIONS OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLES:
SPORTING AND TOURISM FESTIVALS, DISCOURSES OF
“NATURALNESS,” AND THE COMPLEXITIES OF COLONIAL POWER
RELATIONS

This chapter examines the development of tourism economies in the Banff-Bow Valley from the 1880s until the middle of the 20th century. The focus is on the various capacities through which local Aboriginal peoples participated in the tourism industry, and thereby contributed to the production of discourses of “naturalness.” These discourses were central to the marketing of Rocky Mountains Park and Banff townsite by selling certain images of the region while actively concealing others. Nakoda First Nation community members influenced the production of these discourses through both their involvement in the tourism industry and the use of representations of their cultural practices in tourism promotions. The production of discourses of “naturalness” relied upon specific representations of pre-colonial Aboriginal cultures that shaped tourists’ perceptions of Nakoda peoples during this period.

The Banff Indian Days cultural and sporting festivals are the preeminent example of the engagement of Aboriginal peoples in the regional tourism economy and subsequently an analysis of these events frame this chapter. The festivals were held annually for many decades and became a major tourist draw which was widely promoted to international markets. Oral history interviews with Nakoda community members and archival materials, mainly newspaper accounts, photographs, tourism advertisements, and government documents form the foundation of primary evidence presented.¹ The effectiveness of a poststructural approach to understanding colonial interactions is demonstrated by utilizing Foucault’s conceptions of power as a productive, relational and omnipresent

force. In addition, this chapter reveals why it is critical to consult Aboriginal perspectives to understand power relations in the contexts of colonial societies.

Problematizing Discourses of “Naturalness”

Prior to focusing on the development of the tourism industry in Banff, it is critical to define a central concept of this chapter. Over the last few decades, scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds have deconstructed discourses of “naturalness” in efforts to reveal that they are formed by individual and collective human values, assumptions, interpretations, and inventions concerning the physical and social worlds humans occupy and produce (Wilson, 1991). When environments or objects are produced as “natural” by individuals or groups, these discourses reflect as much about the orientations of the people as they do about what they attempt to identify (Cronon, 1996). The problematic understandings of these discourses often stem from specific urban Eurocentric ways of explaining space and the tenuous and ambivalent relationships between humans and the environments they inhabit. Cruikshank explains:

Enlightenment categories, like nature and culture, were exported from Europe through the expansion of empire to places deemed to be at “the verge of the world,” and these categories have become sedimented in contemporary practices (2005: 245).

Some urban Eurocentric perspectives position “natural” environments as essentially devoid of humans and their cultures. While many urban Europeans held values that supported binaries between “nature” and “culture,” it must be recognized that similar to North America, Europe comprises a diversity of peoples. Even though other European influences effected the production of

“naturalness” in a Canadian context, “empire” in this case mainly refers to the colonial powers of England and France. Moreover, it was particularly the urban perspectives in these nations that most impacted the production of “naturalness” in the colonies. Despite familiar binaries between “nature” and “culture,” it is cultures that produce the “naturalness” of any environment (MacEachern, 2001). As one Nakoda elder succinctly expressed in reference to RMP and the relationships between First Nations and park lands: “you know that land is just a park there...because there are no histories there without us. Without the people there is no life...you know people made the nature?”² In direct contrast to common conceptions, it is difficult to conceive of any single environment that has not been substantially altered by human activity and culture. Notably, Williams contends that “natural” environments have always contained an extraordinary amount of human history (1980). Cruikshank points out that as proliferating claims and counter-claims are made in the name of nature, areas deemed to be “natural” are (re)imagined as uncontaminated by humans. She demonstrates how through the creation and classification of parks and world heritage sites, when lands are defined as having exceptionally “natural” value, the “cultural” significance of the locations can be discounted. The idea that a “natural” world might be pried from its cultural moorings has become increasingly problematic in places where local understandings inform a different framework (2005). As Said (1978) systematically exposed, the discursive conditions that produced Eurocentric cultural meanings were critical to Western imperialism in that they were used to justify colonial projects. These claims to “naturalness,” and the

discourses they support, act to exclude differing practices or understandings of place and thus can have major implications for Aboriginal communities who were directed by colonial administrations.

In addition to discourses of “naturalness” that are meant to infer pristine or uninhabited landscapes, for the purposes of this study the use of “natural” also denotes a particular socio-cultural production propagated by tourism producers who relied on the exclusion of existing sites of labour and subsistence land use practices. It is the production of discourses of “naturalness” that motivated tourism producers in Banff to actively forward certain representations of Aboriginal peoples in a complex process involving both exclusion and inclusion principles. For the urban elite who traveled to national parks in North America beginning in the 1880s, the “natural” environment was not perceived as a site of productive labour or a permanent home, but rather as a place of recreation and consumption (Wilson, 1991). In the case of Banff townsite and RMP, tourism entrepreneurs produced a variety of representations that contributed to discourses of “naturalness.” These discourses encouraged the active exclusion of sites of labour and subsistence land uses while simultaneously promoting and selling pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples. The production of discourses of “naturalness,” which were both utilized and valued, had significant consequences for local Nakoda peoples. Problematizing the production of these discourses and assessing their impact on the lives of Nakoda peoples is the focus of this chapter.

The Origins of the Tourism Industry in Banff

To understand how the representations of Aboriginal peoples contributed to discourses of “naturalness,” it is necessary to provide some background to broader contexts, including the origins of the international tourism industry. Increasing significantly with the package travel business in the 1860s and the creation of the British travel firm *Thomas Cook*, Western elites toured mountain ranges like the European Alps and later more “exotic” destinations such as the Canadian Rockies (Rojek, 1995). The touring of these environments emerged as these landscapes began to offer recreational experiences for elite tourists. Urban-elite conceptions of these environments also arrived with the affluent tourists and the flow of economic capital that facilitated the development of the tourism industry.

Although it was established two decades after *Thomas Cook*, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) became one of the world’s largest travel companies by the turn of the 20th century (Choko and Jones, 2004).³

The 1887 formation of RMP, was the beginning of tourism infrastructure development in the Canadian Rocky Mountains. As a joint venture between the Canadian federal government and the CPR, the national park was the first of its kind in Canada and was originally established as a means of generating railway tourism with few conservation or preservation objectives considered (Hart, 1983). As was the case for much of Canada’s early history, and especially in the development of the west, public and private interests were strongly linked in the formation and development of RMP (Scace, 1970). The construction of the national railway and the building of a new nation brought about severe financial

challenges. Through the creation of the park, the federal government and private corporations sought to develop the tourism industry to recover some of the mounting costs of completing the east-west railway that linked central Canada to the emergent west (Nicol, 1970).⁴ As William Cornelius Van Horne, the president of the CPR, stated in the 1888: “If we cannot export the scenery, we will import the tourists” (Hart, 1999: 114). The park solidified a symbiotic relationship between the CPR and the federal government that would prosper throughout much of the 20th century. The park became a convenient way to establish a monopoly on transportation access to the region which effectively controlled development. The establishment of the national park designated governmental control of natural resource management and the leasing of property. Few conservation principles shaped these decisions as the park was originally created to centralize control of the lands and restrict access to the region (Brown, 1970).

While at least one researcher supports an argument that the Parks Act also had important conservation principles to protect wildlife and preserve the region for the benefit of civil society (Locke, 2009), the majority of evidence suggests that even though the federal government did claim that they were securing the region for the future “benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada,”⁵ they were initially motivated by natural resource and tourism development opportunities (Bella, 1987). It is indicative that the legislation actually endorsed the expansion of the tourism industry and permitted, under government direction, the development of mining sites, timber interests and grazing lands. As long as it did not “impair the usefulness of the park for the

purposes of public enjoyment and recreation,”⁶ these developments were encouraged and at times facilitated by the government.

In the early 1880s, a small silver and copper mining town, referred to as Silver City, developed near Castle Mountain only thirty kilometers north of Banff townsite. The formation of the park allowed the CPR and the government to shift the mining enterprise from a private operation into a public asset while also prohibiting the alcohol and gambling lifestyles of Silver City miners (Bella, 1987). There is little record of opposition to resource extraction activities in the park during this period and the federal policy of the Conservative government in the 1880s emphasized the desire to exploit natural resources in order to develop the national economy (McNamee, 1993). Parks’ leadership also reflected the government’s development intentions. In his annual report, the commissioner of Dominion Parks, J.B. Harkin, stated that “Nothing attracts tourists like National Parks. National Parks provide the chief means of bringing to Canada a stream of tourists and a stream of tourist gold” (Marty, 1984: 98).⁷ In reviewing early government policy and practice it is clear that natural resource and tourism development were the primary rationale in the formation of RMP.

Tourism at Banff townsite began as a spa destination for elite guests of considerable financial standing. The luxurious facilities built by the CPR, like the Banff Springs Hotel, completed in 1888, were designed to meet the needs of its affluent clientele and were some of the continent’s most opulent accommodations during the period (see Figure 4-1). As Canada’s first Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, stated during the development of the townsite, “the doubtful classes

of people will probably not find an overly gracious welcome at Banff' (Brown, 1970: 46). The MacDonald administration advocated developing the townsite in the style of an elite European resort community and only leasing the land to affluent individuals who could afford to erect buildings that would complement the local environment and reflect the government's vision of the townsite (Hart, 1983). The marketing of Banff also reflected the objectives to attract the urban elite of North America and Europe (see Figure 4-2). Jessup's research recounts the processes that led to the CPR's hiring of members of Canada's famous Group of Seven artists to paint the Rocky Mountains and promote the region for tourism. Her study reveals how the CPR endeavoured to:

...establish the value of the region, not in the eyes of the traveller as such, but in the eyes of the urban elite that, like the artist it patronized, possessed the cultural capital necessary for discriminating between different landscapes (Jessup, 2002: 150).

While the initial promotional campaigns of the park concentrated on the wealthy clientele that had the leisure time to undertake such an extended sojourn and the capital to facilitate it, tourism producers soon expanded the tourism market at Banff.

Access to Banff townsite and RMP was rapidly increasing with the 1914 creation of the Calgary-Banff coach road and the proliferation of the automobile. After the road was completed, the CPR monopoly on transportation access to the region ended and individual entrepreneurs began to expand the tourism market by providing cheaper accommodation and alternative forms of recreation. While access to the region was opening up, this did not signify the end of the CPR's dominant influence in Banff as the company developed strategies to capitalize on

new forms of automobile tourism (Bella, 1987). It was not until the 1920s, when several accommodation options were developed for middle-class visitors and the road became more frequently utilized, that access to the park was granted to a larger portion of society (see Figure 4-3). By 1930, 88% of the 188,000 tourists who arrived in Banff came by automobile (Hart, 2003). The park as a playground for more than society's elite began with the rise of the automobile and the subsequent expansion of road and highway infrastructure that provided greater access to the region (Hart, 1983).

With the democratization of tourism, local entrepreneurs began to shift marketing campaigns and subsequently changed the reputation of Banff (Meijer-Dress, 1991). During this period, local tourism producers made efforts to convince the CPR that Banff did not have much of a future as a tourist destination if it continued to be marketed solely as an affluent spa or resort town, similar to many elite European tourist locations throughout the Alps and the Pyrenees mountains. These businessmen felt that Banff should be sold as a place that could offer all tourists outdoor recreational experiences (Hart, 1983). Entrepreneurs made convincing arguments for the expansion of the tourism industry to reach new markets and as a result, the region began to be promoted as a destination that could provide outdoor leisure opportunities to tourists from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Facilitated by transportation infrastructure and marketing campaigns, the attraction of middle-class tourists to Banff and the consequent expansion of accommodation and recreation opportunities to meet these visitors' needs led to a distinct shift in the orientation of the townsite. Although initially

established as an elite tourist destination, with the introduction of the automobile, it was transformed into a place that also catered to middle-class tourists with an infrastructure that would accommodate the mass tourism of the coming decades.

The Production of “Naturalness” in Banff

In response to international travel trends of the late 19th century, “natural” environments were positioned as prime tourist destinations throughout the Western world. In an effort to explain the 20th-century tourists’ desire for spending time in remote mountainous environments like Banff, Schama (1996) asserts that the presumption was that in “natural” environments one could find the preservation of the world – it was out there awaiting discovery and it would be the antidote for the poisons of industrial society. Seizing upon the growth of interest in especially foreign travel to regions conceptualized as “natural,” competing travel firms promoted the health benefits of visiting these locations (Wilson, 1991). The tourists who traveled to places like the Canadian Rocky Mountains were partly in pursuit of a healthy lifestyle (Rojek, 1995). This is reflected in the tourism advertising campaigns that emphasize the health benefits of being surrounded by Banff’s pristine mountain air and glacier fed rivers (Williams, 1922). The healing and curative potential of visiting the hot springs were particularly promoted in marketing campaigns. In the 1880s, the CPR employed Dr. Robert G. Brett to help establish and promote the healing values of the waters of the hot springs (Hart, 1999). The health benefits of the region were one aspect that made Banff an attractive place to visit for tourists of the period. Banff was sold as a location that not only provided health benefits, but also an escape from

urban life. In this regard, discourses of “naturalness” endorsed the region’s tourism economies by marketing these features.

Despite the efforts of the CPR and government to sell Banff as a health destination, the rejuvenating value of mountains and rivers for the ills of industrial capitalism were as much a product of prevailing discourses as was the “naturalness” of the environments themselves. At the turn of the 20th century, tourism materials suggest that Banff was advertised as a place that offered urban tourists an escape from the complexities of modernity as well as leisure opportunities that would rejuvenate the mind, body, and soul (Williams, 1922); however, this escape had to be carefully constructed by the producers. Motivated by capitalist objectives that facilitated the (re)imagining of the region to align with mass tourism markets, the federal government, the CPR, and local tourism entrepreneurs produced holiday experiences that sold Banff as an outdoor recreation paradise that had various health benefits while intentionally hiding the evidence of productive sites of labour and subsistence land use practices (Bella, 1987). This often meant concealing the presence and history of the resource extraction industry, some technology such as hydro-electric power infrastructure, and local Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities as well as the work that sustained them, including mining, railway construction, hunting, trapping, gathering and fishing.

With the creation of the park, access to the region for local Nakoda peoples was greatly reduced as their subsistence land uses were redefined as intolerable or illegal (Binnemi and Niemi, 2006). Nakoda communities were

actively excluded from the park because their hunting, fishing and gathering practices did not align with tourism entrepreneurs' production of the region, yet pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples were frequently utilized in tourism marketing campaigns to promote Banff townsite and the park. This particular version of the "natural" not only included these representations, but relied upon them to reinforce the production of these discourses. Aboriginal peoples were imagined by many tourists to be embedded within the "natural" environment and as a result a significant component of tourists' experiences (Meijer-Dress, 1991).

For the urban elite tourists that arrived from Europe and North America, conceptions of Aboriginal peoples were heavily influenced by their exposure to Wild West literature, live performances and film (Kasson, 2000). Beginning in the mid-19th century, this imagery captured significant portions of popular culture markets. The Wild West genre re-enacted colonial narratives and celebrated pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal cultures (Deloria, 2004). Exemplified by the mass appeal of Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West live theatre in the United States and Western Europe in the 1870s (Moses, 1996) and the incredible success of Karl Friedrich May's Wild West themed novels in Germany in the 1890s (Bugmann, 2008), these pre-colonial representations were highly visible in Western culture prior to the turn of the 20th century. Later, Wild West films, which were widespread by 1910, solidified the entrance of the Wild West genre into mainstream popular culture in both Europe and North America. The genre proliferated pre-colonial images of especially North America's Plains peoples

(Kasson, 2000). The popularity of Wild West theatre dwindled by the 1930s and the film industry soon after began to orchestrate a variety of subplots that did not always reinforce pre-colonial imagery of Aboriginal peoples (Deloria, 2004). However, the conceptions of Aboriginal peoples that the Wild West genres helped manufacture significantly impacted the urban elite that travelled throughout Western Canada during this period.

Shaped by the Wild West imagery propagated in mainstream popular culture, the tourists who visited Banff from the formation of the park until the 1930s, likely arrived with specific expectations of Aboriginal peoples that were linked to, and reinforced by, the discourses of “naturalness” that were supported by established tourism objectives (Meijer-Dress, 1991). In this manner, these types of representations of Aboriginal peoples were highly valued by tourism producers in Banff because they helped meet tourists’ expectations by supporting the desired discourses of “naturalness,” and importantly, they did not depict the current lived realities of local Aboriginal communities. Analyses of marketing campaigns of the period suggest that tourism producers were concerned with selling pre-colonial images of local Aboriginal peoples, while concealing the contemporary lives of Nakoda cultures on the nearby reservation at Morley. In her research on the history of the Williams Lake stampede which was established in 1919, Furniss (1999) reveals how a very similar process occurred. Although pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal cultures that indulged tourists’ Wild West imaginations were welcomed by tourism producers during the stampede each summer, local Aboriginal peoples were largely excluded from social life. The

inequalities that structured the lives of local Aboriginal peoples were also often ignored as they did not support the perceptions of Aboriginal cultures that were valued by tourism producers. At Banff, the quotidian lives of Aboriginal peoples and their presence in the townsite and park were not the only elements that threatened the production of discourses of the “natural” environment during this period.

While the 1887 Rocky Mountains Park Act specified that no permits would be issued to individuals or groups who might “impair the usefulness of the park,”⁸ the region continued to support the development of resource extraction industries (Brown, 1970). This created an interesting paradoxical relationship as it was the processes of industrialization and urbanization that generated tourists’ interest in traveling to Banff and provided the transportation infrastructure which allowed access to the mountainous setting, while these very same influences threatened the production of the desired discourses of “naturalness” and therefore had to be hidden from the tourist gaze. In her research on early tourism promotion in the Rocky Mountain national parks, Zezulka-Mailloux extends this point:

there is a paradox in the rhetoric that presented the tourist with the option not just to see the last wilderness, presumably a place that needs protection, but to penetrate its very core (2008: 246).

Banff townsite and RMP, as with most locations in Canada, have been marked by productive sites of labour and subsistence land use practices. Not only had local Aboriginal peoples lived and traded for millennia prior to European presence (Snow, 2005), but since the formation of RMP, the region was also developed for hydro-electric power, mining, grazing, and timber interests for several decades.⁹

Moreover, the boundaries of the park were altered on several occasions to facilitate these resource extraction industries (Gadd, 1989). Miners and other labourers, including those that worked in internment camps during the First and Second World Wars, were brought to the Banff-Bow Valley to develop transportation and mining infrastructure (Kordan and Melnycky, 1991).¹⁰ The park was partly formed to safeguard CPR and government natural resource interests and the multiple reorganizations of park boundaries offered further protection for these industries until conservation groups and the Canadian public eventually encouraged a rethinking of the orientations of national parks (Bella, 1987). In contrast to common conceptions, the “naturalness” of Banff and RMP were direct products of the discourses that were heavily influenced by tourism objectives.

In 1928, a survey of RMP recommended that the Kananaskis and Spray Lakes watersheds be removed from the park and secured for the province of Alberta to develop hydro-electric power, coal and timber extraction facilities (McNamee, 1993). On the 30th May 1930, there was a fundamental shift in the direction of Canada’s national park system with the establishment of the National Parks Act. Along with changing the official name to Banff National Park, the act settled the disputes between provincial development aspirations and protection of lands in national parks. Especially in the Rockies, the shifting of park boundaries removed lands with industrial potential and left them in trust of the provinces. In Banff, this included Canmore, Exshaw, the Spray Lakes and the Kananaskis Valley (Bella, 1987). The Act altered the park’s administration and fundamental

premise in declaring that parks were to be left “unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.”¹¹ Even though the legislation did permit leases for grazing, small scale mining, timber and water rights for the purposes of replenishing park and railway supplies, a conservation ethic emerged that ended industrial resource extraction and restricted tourists’ consumption and recreation practices. Rather than change the orientation of tourism markets, the National Parks Act only reinforced the intentions of tourism entrepreneurs to promulgate the perception of the parks as a “natural” wilderness area. The developing tourism industries would not only encourage the use of representations of Aboriginal peoples in the marketing of the region, but also their employment in expanding tourism industries.

Nakoda Participation in Early Tourism Economies

After establishing how pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples aligned with prevailing discourses of “naturalness” and as a consequence tourism development objectives of the period, it is critical to provide tangible evidence of the ways in which Nakoda communities contributed to these discourses through their engagement in local tourism economies. While restrictions eventually reduced the number of Nakoda peoples who travelled inside the lands redefined as parks, there were individuals who formed unique relationships with entrepreneurs in the Banff region through the tourism industry. As a result of their extensive knowledge of the land and ecosystems, Nakoda peoples often served as effective guides in the mountains. The history of Nakoda peoples as guides in the Rocky Mountains extends back to the first European explorers who relied on Aboriginal

knowledge in their attempts to establish transportation and fur trading routes (Snow, 2005). CPR employees also drew from the knowledge of local Aboriginal peoples in their early surveys of the Rockies to denote the best mountain passes for railway construction (Hart, 1999). With park restrictions increasing the difficulty for Nakoda peoples to continue their subsistence practices, by the 1880s, some community members began to pursue alternative types of employment (Snow, 2005).

Nakoda man William Twin is a prime example of the adaptability that many Aboriginal peoples exhibited during this period. Twin, who had previously worked for the Hudson's Bay Company, was employed by the CPR as a guide and labourer in the 1880s. In 1888, Twin began to work in Banff townsite for the Brewster family. The Brewsters were actively involved in the region's tourism industry. Although he was initially employed as a labourer in the family's dairy, in 1892, he began guiding trips throughout the park for the Brewster's tourism ventures. Over the ensuing decades, Twin established meaningful and long-lasting relationships with several members of the Brewster family (Bradford, 2005). Twin also worked with Tom Wilson, another notable tourism entrepreneur in the Banff-Bow Valley. After Edwin Hunter, a Nakoda man from Morley, took Wilson to *Ho-run-num-nay* (Lake of Little Fishes, later renamed Lake Louise) in 1882, Wilson began a small guiding operation based near the lake. Twin worked with Wilson guiding affluent tourists in the area throughout the 1880s and 1890s (Bradford, 2005). In 1894, Twin and Tom Chiniquay, another Nakoda man from Morley, also worked for the CPR maintaining trails around the CPR's chalet at

the famed lake (Whyte, 1985). Resulting from their skill-set and experience in the mountains, some Nakoda peoples were offered employment by local tourism producers and in some cases unique opportunities to travel. In 1895, Twin ventured to New York City to participate in the CPR's exhibit in the New York Sportsman show. With the approval of the local Indian agent, on the trip Twin represented a "real" Grizzly Bear hunter and promoted CPR railway tourism in the Canadian Rockies (Whyte, 1985).

In addition to employment as labourers and guides, some Nakoda peoples also pursued their own opportunities to profit from the developing tourism economies as well as interact with tourists. Especially after the proliferation of the automobile, opportunities for Nakoda peoples to engage with tourists travelling from Calgary to the park greatly increased. A Euro-Canadian woman, whose family has lived in the Banff Bow-Valley for generations, recalls some of the ways that Nakoda peoples contributed to local tourism economies:

Yes a lot of the Stonies [Nakoda] had big horse businesses in those days and people would come out and go camping in the mountains with their horses and so they were employed through that as well as being guides and horsemen. So there was a lot of activity and exchange through tourism...and quite a few relationships formed.¹²

Along with renting their horses to local guides and outfitters, some Nakoda peoples initiated their own small-scale tourism operations that catered to the needs of transient tourists.¹³ Several Nakoda peoples did participate in the early tourism economies, but for the most part access to the Banff-Bow Valley was greatly restricted for Nakoda communities and many individuals had difficulty consistently securing adequate employment. Furthermore, most of these

opportunities were restricted to younger men who were flexible enough to leave the reservation to pursue alternative occupations. While the tourism economies were growing at exponential rates in Banff and many entrepreneurs were subsequently prospering, during this same period Nakoda communities at Morley were facing difficult socio-economic conditions. Without their subsistence practices, many Nakoda peoples were struggling to adapt to an entirely new way of living (Snow, 2005).

The Origins of the Banff Indian Days

While there are examples of a few Nakoda community members who were involved in Banff's tourism industry in various capacities, the Banff Indian Days were the primary instance of mass participation of Nakoda peoples in local tourism economies. Subsequently, these events provide a case study of not only how Nakoda communities participated in producing discourses of "naturalness" through these festivals, but also how these discourses conversely came to shape perceptions of "Aboriginality." From the perspective of many Nakoda peoples, the antecedents of the Banff Indian Days precede the presence of Europeans in the Banff-Bow Valley. While later at the end of the 19th century more formalized events were established, most Nakoda peoples consider this event a continuation of earlier gatherings that occurred at the same location rather than something new.

Nakoda elder Roland Rollinmud explains:

So, the Indian Days itself began way back...before the train lines, before Banff, before anything like that. It was a socializing of the First Nations. It really benefited a lot of relationships that gathered there as it became a trading area. It was a part of a meeting of the Shushwap [Secwepemc], Kootenay [Ktunaxa] and of course the

Stoney [Nakoda] and even others. It was a gathering of the First Nations for exchanging and trading. So the Indian Days are just a continuing of what the Stoney always did anyway...the gathering that they always had.¹⁴

In addition to congregating at Banff for the purpose of establishing trading relationships, the area was also utilized extensively by Aboriginal peoples for cultural purposes:

This place [Banff townsite and proximal lands] was for a very long time an important place for the Stoney [Nakoda] and for other First Nations. My grandfather told me of the seasonal hunting camps that were held there for centuries. He remembers that the Kootenay [Ktunaxa], Shuswap [Secwepemc], and the Blackfoots [Siksika] participated with the Stoney in at least three Sun Dances in the eighteen hundreds at the same location prior to the Indian Days.¹⁵

What is critical to recognize from these perspectives is that many Nakoda peoples do not consider the Indian Days an event with a distinct starting point or as separate from previous gatherings and established cultural practices. In contrast to the few histories of the region who denote the origins of the contemporary version of the Indian Days (Whyte, 1985; Parker, 1990; Meijer-Drees, 1991; Dempsey, 1998; Hart, 1999), many Nakoda peoples do not distinguish between the festival that began in the late 19th century and gatherings of First Nations that occurred at the same geographic locations in earlier periods.

The modern version of the festival began when a significant spring flood washed out a section of the CPR railway lines stranding a group of affluent tourists at the Banff Springs Hotel.¹⁶ Wilson, a local guide and entrepreneur, travelled to Morley to try and convince some Nakoda peoples to come to Banff and put on cultural performances for the tourists. A Nakoda woman suggests that while other entrepreneurs were responsible for different aspects of the early

organization of the event, Wilson played a vital role: “it was Tom Wilson who was really responsible for our [Nakoda] participation.”¹⁷ Under the leadership of Chief Hector Crawler, a group of Nakoda peoples were convinced, with appropriate monetary incentives, to travel to Banff on horseback and stage an event and camp in the area.¹⁸ With the typical patronizing tone imparted by newspapers of the period, an *Edmonton Journal* article that recounts the origins of the festival and explains Wilson’s request to the Nakoda peoples to come to Banff and perform for tourists, stated: “the Indians, always delighted to play rather than work, were glad to fulfill the requests of local organizers and come to Banff.”¹⁹

When reviewing the written historical accounts of the Indian Days, it is clear that they have difficulty determining an accurate date for when the modern version of the festival was established. At the beginning of the 20th century, the *Banff Crag and Canyon* indicates that the first festival was in 1899.²⁰ Perhaps as a consequence, several historians have either noted the discrepancies (Meijer-Drees, 1991, 1993) or concluded that the first festival was held in this year (Whyte, 1985; Parker, 1990; Dempsey, 1998). Based on Department of Interior reports, Hart (1999) contends that it was in the summer of 1894 that a flood washed out the railway line and also resulted in an early closing of the Banff Springs Hotel. My analysis of the reports supports Hart’s contention. As it was the only year the lines were not operational for a significant period, I deduced that it was in June of 1894 that Wilson made his journey down to Morley to negotiate with Crawler.²¹

After the Indian Days were established in 1894, newspaper analysis of the *Banff Crag and Canyon* indicates that they were not held annually as an

independent event until 1911.²² While Nakoda peoples did gather in Banff on several occasions during this period, in conjunction with other gatherings, such as Dominion Day,²³ and they sometimes competed in horse races and other activities, 1911 is considered the inaugural year of the festival as an annual event.

The Growth the Banff Indian Days and the Production of “Naturalness”

The Banff Indian Days festivals played important roles in the production of discourses of “naturalness” during this period. Although the festival began as a one-day affair, as a consequence of its success as a tourist attraction, by 1912 it was expanded to a two-day event and in 1928 it was extended to three days.²⁴ The festivals mainly exhibited the sporting and cultural practices of Aboriginal peoples. In addition to an annual parade, musical and dance performances, the Indian Days also featured sporting competitions such as running races and rodeos. Even though they were sponsored by the CPR, the events were initially organized by local entrepreneurs Norman Luxton, Jim Brewster, Sam Armstrong, and Tom Wilson. As noted earlier, some of these men had established relationships with Nakoda individuals and communities. In addition to the connections between Wilson, the Brewster family and Nakoda peoples who worked in the tourism industry, Luxton also had extensive links with community members at Morley.²⁵ A Euro-Canadian woman, who is an ancestor of the McDougall family, explains Luxton’s relationship with Nakoda peoples as he became associated with the family of early missionaries on the Morley reservation:

Well, Norman took over David McDougall’s trading post [on the reservation] for a while and started up a relationship there. That’s where he met his wife of course, Georgina. You know he did quite a

lot in trying to intercede a bit with the government on behalf of the Stoney [Nakoda]. And many of them speak very warmly of him.²⁶

Rollinmud indicated the important relationship between Norman Luxton and some members of the community at Morley:

Every generation needs a good connector between the communities of Banff and Morley...during his time Luxton was that connection and at the Indian Days he was a great organizer.²⁷

Another Nakoda man expressed an appreciation for Luxton's role in their community:

It is like I owe him in life, or at least I feel that way sometimes because he was really good to my people...he could be generous and he even saved them from bad circumstances on more than one occasion.²⁸

Although some Nakoda peoples did have issues with Luxton's influence in their communities (Snow, 2005), the Luxton family clearly had longstanding positive relationships with many Nakoda peoples (see Figure 4-4). The established relations between Euro-Canadian entrepreneurs and local Nakoda peoples were critical in the early development of the Banff Indian Days.

Beginning with the 1914 completion of the Calgary-Banff coach road, Banff became a thriving mountain village capable of accommodating an increasing number of visitors. The Indian Days were very successful at attracting tourists to the isolated community and park. Attendance peaked in 1922 when an incredible 71,540 tourists arrived to take part in the festivities and 600 Aboriginal people participated.²⁹ The festival became a massive event that was an important economic generator for the CPR, tourism entrepreneurs and the local Aboriginal peoples. A substantial body of research demonstrates how cultural festivals that

embody considerable financial benefits to host communities can be particularly influential in shaping perceptions of place through producing influential representational images (Urry, 1990; McKay, 1994; Hughes, 1995; Greenwald, 2004; Mason, 2005, 2007). As one of the region's largest tourist draws, the Indian Days was a prominent aspect of international marketing campaigns promoting Banff townsite and RMP national park.

Along with having significant economic impacts on the region, the festivals also sold Banff as a "natural" tourist destination (Meijer-Drees, 1993). Pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples had a mass appeal to Western tourists as they were perceived as an important characteristic of the "natural" setting. As a result, tourism producers went to great lengths to preserve the "naturalness" of various representations of Aboriginal cultures. For example, in the 1950s and 1960s when numerous Nakoda families transported themselves to and from the Indian Days by automobile, tourism producers emphasized that cars and trucks must be hidden behind the campgrounds so that pre-colonial images of Aboriginal peoples were not disrupted by their use of modern technology.³⁰ The media coverage of the Indian Days also helped explicitly establish connections between Aboriginal peoples and discourses of "naturalness." Particularly in reference to Aboriginal music and dance performances, these links were evident. In 1938, a description of an Aboriginal performance indicated that "their songs and dances come from nature itself."³¹ Later in 1956, this type of reference also appears in newspaper accounts. A review of one musical performance suggested that the "singing of the Indians was just as it was intended in nature."³² Pre-

colonial representations in media and tourism promotions were critical aspects of marketing the festival and the region to tourists (see Figure 4-5). These promotions contributed to emerging discourses of “naturalness” by shaping the expectations of tourists and solidifying the region’s reputation as a uniquely “natural” environment.

When considering that the presence of some productive sites of labour and subsistence land use practices were removed from RMP and Banff townsite to support productions of the region as a “natural” environment, why were Aboriginal peoples included in advertising campaigns while other working-class peoples remained on the margins? Whereas Aboriginal peoples were part of the many aspects of marketing the townsite to tourists, including tourism posters, local and regional newspaper advertisements, and formal CPR tourism publications,³³ labourers were not represented in any form in the materials consulted. One must assume that the presence of pre-colonial Aboriginal peoples was an important aspect of promoting RMP and Banff. As Meijer-Drees (1993) contends, pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples were symbols of how “natural” the Rocky Mountains were and as a result their presence aligned with current tourism markets. In direct contrast, the labourers who worked in mines or built transportation and accommodation infrastructure that met tourists’ needs and allowed access to the region, served no purpose in Banff once their work was complete and they were subsequently excluded from the public imagery. In comparison to these labourers, the presence of Aboriginal peoples supported discourses of “naturalness” and the vested interests of government and private

enterprise as long as they continued to sell valuable images of the town that were evidently in high demand.

Even though the tourism industry was democratizing with the improved access to the region, until the late 1920s, the majority of the tourists were from affluent and upper middle class backgrounds (see Figure 4-6). Arriving from urban centers throughout North America and Europe, tourists were not necessarily familiar with the local environment. As a result, nature was often interpreted for tourists. Everything, from animal populations, mountain weather, glaciers, and especially local Aboriginal peoples required explanations (Meijer-Drees, 1991). As indicated by Wilson (1991), throughout North America at the beginning of the 20th century, nature had to be explained to tourists. In 1915, park rangers at Banff began a process of institutionalizing nature by creating an interpretive trail, the first of thousands that soon developed all over the continent.³⁴ Influential entrepreneurs capitalized on the desire for interpretation and the growth of the mass tourism industry. Tourism producers benefited as they were able to position themselves as the local experts of all things “natural” (Parker, 1990).

Luxton’s tourist souvenir shop, the *Sign of the Goat Curio Store*, became a lucrative source of revenue as it featured impressive specimens of taxidermy and the craft work of local Aboriginal peoples (Meijer-Drees, 1991). During this period the success of Luxton’s shop is exemplary of the tourists’ consumption of all that was considered “natural.” Tourism producers acted as the master interpreters for the activities during the Banff Indian Days by translating their cultural significance for the crowds. Luxton and other entrepreneurs would often

provide a running commentary for tourists while Aboriginal participants competed in the sporting and cultural events. As a *Calgary Herald* article states: “Luxton was a long-time friend of the Indian and he was able to interpret the red man to the white at the Indian Days.”³⁵ His tourist shop and the cultural festival he helped organize and initiate are two examples of how he and other business elite marketed Banff as a “natural” place, produced this “naturalness” in various forms, interpreted it for the public, and fostered its mass consumption.

Problematizing Representations of Aboriginal Peoples

The pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples disseminated in promotion of the Indian Days were problematic in several respects. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett asserts (1998), festivals organized by agents or institutions that control some aspects of cultural representations may share a performance discourse that often stands in opposition to the ways communities may stage themselves. From his work with the Maasai in Kenya, Bruner contends that when tourist productions are consumed predominantly by one cultural group and that same group also controls some of the means of production, representations of Indigenous peoples can often reinforce racist stereotypes as they are in some ways designed to simulate consumers’ expectations of Indigenous groups and meet market demands to satisfy the tourism industry (2005). Analogous to Bruner’s findings, the representations of Aboriginal peoples produced through the Banff Indian Days were at least partly determined by tourism producers and were designed to satisfy non-Aboriginal stereotypical conceptions of “Aboriginality.” However, an *Edmonton Journal* article that traces the changes in events and prizes

throughout the festival's history indicates that Aboriginal peoples did have some control over the events they participated in, the scheduling of the events, and the negotiation of the prizes that were given to top finishers.³⁶ Parker (1990) and Meijer-Drees (1993) both suggest that Nakoda leaders did negotiate with organizers in Banff to determine various components of the event. Oral accounts indicate that many aspects of the festival, including the appropriate remuneration for Nakoda participation, were constantly discussed as Nakoda leaders interacted with organizing groups.³⁷ Nakoda peoples had some leverage over control of their representations at the Indian Days – including their ceremonial attire, their horses, and their own embodied labour.³⁸ Conversely, tourism producers exercised considerable power in the production of the cultural representations by controlling the spaces the festivals were celebrated in and tourists' access to the events. As Lennon and Foley (2000) contend, access to spaces and the spaces themselves are the most powerful aspects of controlling representation at any tourism production. The tourism producers who organized and profited from the Banff Indian Days exercised considerable influence on Aboriginal representations at the festival by controlling access and space. This influence encouraged the use of pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples, which supported the production of discourses selling Banff as a "natural" environment.

Through an analysis of the CPR tourism promotional posters circulated for the event, local and regional print media coverage, and Aboriginal accounts of the festival, it is clear that the Banff Indian Days homogenized Aboriginal peoples, as they were all represented under a generic term and presented as one single cultural

group (see Figure 4-7). None of the sources reviewed suggest that the diverse Aboriginal peoples who participated in the festival were represented as anything other than “Indians.” Over the many decades the events were held Nakoda leaders and organizers of the event invited numerous local Aboriginal groups to participate.³⁹ In addition to the three Nakoda bands, the Cree from Hobbema, the Ktunaxa (Kootenay), Tsuu T’ina (Sarcee), Pikunni (Peigan), Siksika (Blackfoot), Kainai (Blood) were all regular participants and invited performers at the festival.⁴⁰ While Nakoda peoples were certainly the lifeblood of the event, oral and newspaper accounts establish that various local Aboriginal groups did regularly participate. On special occasions, other Aboriginal groups from different parts of North America also attended.⁴¹ Even though diverse groups of Aboriginal peoples participated in the festival over the many decades it was held, the marketing images overtly homogenize participants as they are represented under the generic term “Indians” and presented as one cultural group.

As Sioux scholar Beatrice Medicine argues (2001), a lack of sensitivity and perception has been the main tragedy of understanding Native cultures throughout the 20th century. Homogeneous labels support offensive and even racist stereotypes regarding Aboriginal peoples by glossing over the diversity of Indigenous languages and cultures. While homogenous labels were applied to the Aboriginal participants at the Indian Days, it is critical to consider how these labels at times had productive meanings for Aboriginal participants. As Hertzberg’s work has shown (1971), in other regions of North America during the early decades of the 20th century, while Aboriginal peoples did resist

homogeneous categorization, they also unified themselves according to it and established intertribal networks to secure specific social, political and economic objectives. Moreover, other research indicates that intertribal identities were also formed during this period to extend cultural networks around powwow celebrations (Arndt, 2005). In my discussions with a Nakoda elder, they revealed that their community has strategically adapted various labels throughout the 20th century. Specifically they refer to how this occurred in their community:

we've been called Indians, Natives and sometimes people thought we were Blackfoot or Cree....so we did not always object...but we've always been Stoney [Nakoda]....because that is who we are to ourselves.⁴²

In what can be considered a form of strategic essentialism, some Nakoda presented a unified front as a productive way of exercising power in their relations with Euro-North American groups and institutions.⁴³ Spivak's (1988) seminal essay in postcolonial studies contends that ethnic, minority or marginalized groups can form solidarity for the purpose of social action by accepting essentialist subjectivities. While major differences exist between members of these heterogeneous groups, at key moments it can be advantageous for them to temporarily essentialize themselves to assert a unified group identity to achieve significant goals. As Brah (1992) asserts it can be particularly productive for groups when conscious of the values and consequences of adopting essentialized subjectivities. In the case of Nakoda communities, calculated steps to unify local Aboriginal peoples were welcomed when tangible socio-economic, political or cultural advantages resulted. Furniss suggests that these unifying practices “should be considered a form of political action through which symbols of

Indianness are deliberately and carefully mobilized to bring about specific political effects” (1999: 165). Nakoda elder Lenny Poucette referred to how the mixing of groups during the Banff Indian Days unified the distinct cultures and identities of the Aboriginal peoples who participated:

It wouldn't matter if it was Stoney [Nakoda] there, or Kootenay [Ktunaxa] or Cree or whoever, they [tourists and organizers] would just say the “Indians” and that sort of thing. Today that might be pretty offensive because obviously we have different languages and different cultures. You know from what I remember the Stoneys invited the other Native groups when it was going good...because when there was no hardship, there was no competing. Everybody enjoyed themselves and all the groups lived amongst each other. The days were such a mixture of the different groups, you camp someplace and there would be Cree, Kootenay or Bloods [Kainai] right beside you. It was a real uniting thing to be intermixed like that and it also was good to share stories and some of the similarities between all of our cultures.⁴⁴

The Banff Indian Days offered a unique opportunity to local Aboriginal groups to gather, socialize and celebrate some of their cultural practices. From 1894 when the festival began throughout the first few decades of the 20th century, these types of opportunities were infrequent for many local Aboriginal communities. As federal government assimilation strategies were strictly enforced by the many agents of the colonial bureaucracy, Aboriginal peoples had difficulty finding spaces and opportunities to celebrate their cultural practices and interact with other Aboriginal groups (Bracken, 1997). As noted in chapter 3, this was certainly the case for the Nakoda communities during this period as any occasion to leave the reservation was meticulously scrutinized by the acting Indian agents.⁴⁵ Cultural gatherings where Nakoda peoples could interact with other Aboriginal groups were particularly viewed with suspicion and at times they were

strongly discouraged or prohibited (Snow, 2005). In this manner, the opportunities facilitated through the Indian Days to leave the reservation, gather with other Aboriginal groups and engage with broader society were highly valued by many Nakoda community members.⁴⁶

Power Relations in Colonial Societies

Foucault's understandings of micro power relations can reveal why forms of strategic essentialism were used during this period by Aboriginal individuals and communities. In the example of homogenous labels at the Banff Indian Days, Foucault's theories of how power is exercised in a capillary-like nature (Foucault, 1980) suggests ways that cultural labels could have been strategically or ironically taken up in various contexts. Through their interpersonal interactions with tourism entrepreneurs, spectators, and even with each other, Aboriginal participants strategically essentialized themselves to exercise power in processes that had potential to enact political and cultural change.⁴⁷ Understanding how homogenous labels were productive for Aboriginal participants demonstrates why Foucault's conceptions of power relations are so effective. Foucault's view of power as a productive force is one of his most important theoretical ideas (Bové, 1995). Foucault summarizes his notion of productive power:

In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production (1975: 194).

As discussed in the introduction, in contrast to Marxist oriented paradigms, his perspective rejects binary oppositions and refuses to see power as an oppressive tool that is only held by dominant groups. He explains further:

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted... is simply the fact that it doesn't weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse (Foucault, 1980: 119).

In *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction* (1976), Foucault rejects the repressive hypothesis as he demonstrates the actions of productive power by revealing how the attempts to control and monitor sexuality led to an explosion of discourses of sexuality. By viewing power as productive, it is easier to more fully appreciate the complexities of colonial relations as this perspective investigates the enabling possibilities in constraints, not just their limitations (Shogan, 2002). In the case of the Indian Days, the use of homogenous labels for Aboriginal participants cannot be isolated from the complex systems of colonial power that they existed in and helped reinforce. These labels were reproduced in Canadian society as part of government assimilation objectives where not recognizing differences in the diversity of Aboriginal cultures was tactically encouraged. However, homogenous labels were also a productive force for local Aboriginal peoples as they consciously unified themselves according to these one-dimensional racial and linguistic categories when it furthered the various political, cultural or socio-economic intentions of their communities.

Foucault's conceptualizations of power are useful to understand relations in the context of colonial politics in Alberta throughout the 20th century. His theorizing of power relations accounts for complexities of discursive formations by focusing on the fragmentation and the indeterminacy of the articulations between different subjectivities. Foucault's theories challenge analyses that would reduce the intricacy of colonial power to dichotomies between state apparatuses

and Aboriginal peoples, or dominant and subordinate subject positions (Wakeham, 2008). For Foucault, power is not possessed or centralized in single individuals or groups, but it is part of all human relationships as it radiates and penetrates throughout all of society (Foucault, 1987). This does not suggest that Foucault thought that power was exercised equitably in any society. While his relational perspectives of power have been interpreted as pluralism, on the contrary, his view of power relations argue that it is continually renegotiated under asymmetrical organized structures (Markula and Pringle, 2006).

Following Foucault's theorizing of power relations, one would recognize that Aboriginal peoples are members of diverse groups who hold perspectives that, may or may not, have similar objectives, motivations, and actions. As Bracken asserts in reference to power relations in Aboriginal communities, it is "patronizing to assume that they did not hold a diversity of views or opinions – or that they did not often disagree when it came to deciding how to best manage their own lives" (1997: 79). For example, key Aboriginal organizers or leaders had more to gain through their interactions with entrepreneurs involved with the Indian Days in comparison to the many performers who participated. Similarly, the business community in Banff had more at stake in the success of the event compared to Euro-Canadian spectators or international tourists. Struggles involving Aboriginal peoples cannot be reduced to simple conflicts between European colonizers and the colonized as it is sometimes difficult to draw clear distinctions between government initiatives and the multiple objectives of Aboriginal communities. Foucault's studies illustrate how individuals are

constituted through discursively produced power relations within specific socio-historical contexts. His works offer researchers a nuanced model of how power is exercised in relational, productive, and not necessarily hierarchical processes that can escape limiting binaries that, in some cases, predetermine and over determine power relations. When considering the experiences of Aboriginal peoples at the Banff Indian Days, it is vital to comprehend that for Nakoda participants, these opportunities had important enabling, as well as limiting, implications.

Conclusion

This chapter challenges research that reduces the complexities of representational images of marginalized groups. It is imperative to avoid simplifying cultural representations and consequently the possibilities within their display when examining the intricate web of power relationships that often characterize colonial societies. This is particularly important for studies in colonial contexts as the theorizing of these relations have predominantly been viewed from Marxist oriented postcolonial perspectives (Stoler, 1995). Scholars can avoid pre-determining power relations by adopting theoretical lenses that open up spaces for the intricacies of colonial power to be unravelled.

Poststructural theories and specifically Foucault's productive, relational and omnipresent perspectives of how power is exercised, present researchers with nuanced models that can escape predetermined binaries and demonstrate the complexities and possibilities in representational processes. Poststructural discourse analysis has generally concentrated more on texts of representational

images than everyday discourse which can include discussions, interactions and personal accounts (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; Smith and Sparks, 2005). This study contributes to a growing body of research (Butchart, 1998; Deloria, 2004; Wakeham, 2008) that contests claims that scholars utilizing poststructural theoretical and methodological approaches focus too intently on the images of display and subsequently ignore, or uncritically account for, the material conditions underpinning the production of representations.

By drawing primarily on oral accounts, this chapter demonstrates that the Banff Indian Days offered unique opportunities for Nakoda peoples to contest, produce and assert representations of their cultural practices. Pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples and cultures contributed to discourses of “naturalness.” While these discourses were heavily influenced by the objectives of the region’s developing tourism economies, as they were produced and consumed through the tourism industry, Nakoda peoples also pursued opportunities to strategically manipulate these representations and (re)interrupt them for their own socio-economic, political and cultural purposes. This analysis of the Indian Days festivals indicates that cultural representations that are situated within colonial power relations require scholars to adopt in-depth approaches that adequately interrogate the complexities and possibilities that they often embody.

Endnotes

¹ Primary documents reviewed for this study includes: 1) tourism materials from 1895-1930 in the form of CPR posters that were issued several times annually and distributed to both national and international audiences as well as formal publications that were commissioned by the CPR about the history, geography, and peoples of the Canadian Rocky Mountains; 2) Canadian national park acts, including the 1887 *Rocky Mountains National Park Act* and the 1930 *National Parks Act*; and 3) newspapers, including the *Banff Crag and Canyon* (published weekly throughout this time period), and the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Calgary Herald* (both published daily from Monday to Saturday in the month of July). The three newspapers were reviewed from 1907-1930 and were searched for information on the Banff Indian Days and other tourism-related articles. Although all weekly issues of the *Banff Crag and Canyon* were reviewed throughout each year, the daily issues of the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Calgary Herald* were reviewed using an index for the month of July in each year. Special attention was allocated to this month because the Indian Days were normally held during the middle of July throughout this period. The year of 1907 was selected as the first year for review as this was the first year the Banff Indian Days were established as an annual event although they were often held concurrently with other events until 1911.

² Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.

³ The CPR was formed in 1881 with the intention of building a railway that would unite central Canada to British Columbia and the Pacific coast, a task they completed in 1885. From the 1880s until the beginning of the Second World War, the CPR diversified into tourism ventures, including hotel and infrastructure construction, in addition to numerous other profitable businesses. For more see: Choko and Jones, 2004.

⁴ Although the railway was completed at Craigellachie, British Columbia, on November 7, 1885, it did not become officially operational until June of 1886. The completion of the railway fulfilled the 1871 commitment that the Canadian federal government made to connect British Columbia to central Canada. The promise of a transcontinental railway was a significant factor in securing the western province in Canadian Confederation (Nicol, 1970: 23-25).

⁵ *Rocky Mountains National Park Act*, 23 June 1887 (Statutes of Canada, 50-51 Victoria, Chapter. 32).

⁶ *Rocky Mountains National Park Act*, 23 June 1887 (Statutes of Canada, 50-51 Victoria, Chapter. 32).

⁷ For an excellent resource on J.B. Harkin and his role in the development of the Rocky Mountain national parks see: Hart, 2009.

⁸ *Rocky Mountains National Park Act*, 23 June 1887 (Statutes of Canada, 50-51 Victoria, Chapter. 32).

⁹ Although there were already hydro-electric power developments inside RMP, the opposition to power dams did occur between 1910 and 1930. This opposition was led by the Alpine Club of Canada (ACC) which was formed in 1907. Later a conservation organization related to the ACC, the Canadian National Parks Association, would organize in 1923 to protect national parks from commercial development and exploitation. One of their first priorities was to oppose the creation of a hydro dam on the Spray River near the current town of Canmore. For more on the issues and controversies that surrounded the development of hydro-electric power in or near park lands, see: Bella, 1987; McNamee, 1993; Reichwein, 1996. Hydro-electric dam developments also occurred just outside the park on the Nakoda reservation at Morley between 1914 and 1920. These developments had significant implications for local peoples as the flooding of portions of the reservation and the increase in human activity in the vicinity, including heavy machinery, greatly reduced the local large mammal populations on and around the reserve. For more see: Snow, 2005.

¹⁰ In what remains a dark shadow in the history of the Rocky Mountain Parks, prisoners of war were forced to labour in internment camps in both Banff and Jasper National Parks. Hungarians, Germans, Austrians and especially Ukrainians worked at the Castle Mountain internment camp during the First World War and Japanese and Mennonite prisoners worked in Banff and Jasper during the Second World War. For an excellent source on internment camps in the Rocky Mountain Parks see: Kordan and Melnycky, 1991; Waiser, 1995. For more of a national context see: Kordan, 2002.

¹¹ The National Parks Act, 30 May 1930 (Statutes of Canada, 20-21 George V, Chapter. 33).

¹² Ralphine Locke (personal interview, 18 June, 2007).

¹³ Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.

¹⁴ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 26 July 1913, 2; *Calgary Herald*, 20, July, 1921, 14.

¹⁷ Margaret Snow, (personal interview, 14 November 2008).

¹⁸ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 11 July 1914, 1.

¹⁹ *Edmonton Journal*, 14 July 1956, 7.

²⁰ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 14 June 1913, 2.

²¹ I must acknowledge E.J. (Ted) Hart for sharing his resource base and pointing me in the proper direction to make this assessment. See: Department of the Interior Report, 1894, Part V, *Report of the Superintendent of Rocky Mountains Park*.

²² *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 22 July 1911, 1.

²³ Dominion Day is the name of the holiday that commemorated the confederation of Canada on 1 July, 1867. The holiday was renamed Canada Day in 1982. For a description of these events, see: *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 7 July 1906, 1-2.

²⁴ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 20 July 1912, 8 (for a description of two-day event expansion) and *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 6 July 1928, 1 (for a description of three-day event expansion).

²⁵ *Calgary Herald*, 18 July 1953, 1.

²⁶ Ralphine Locke (personal interview, 18 June, 2007).

²⁷ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 14 November, 2008).

²⁸ Jackson Wesley (personal interview, 3 December, 2007).

²⁹ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 22 July 1922, 1.

³⁰ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 30 July 1980, 4.

³¹ *Edmonton Journal*, 24 July, 1956, 13.

³² *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 16 July 1938, 23.

³³ For examples of these print media advertisements, see: *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 14 June 1913, 2; *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 5 July 1913, 4; *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 1 July 1916, 4.

³⁴ The trails and the interpreters themselves are simply one example of how early 20th century visitors to national parks were spoon fed a version of nature that simultaneously expanded tourists' experiences of the "natural" world while often

supporting capitalist objectives. By the post-war years, the institutionalization of nature interpretation was in full bloom as directors of parks created positions for interpreters and built visitor centers and gift shops. The process of fostering the consumption and institutionalization of nature through interpretation is perhaps best exemplified in a post-war Parks Canada memorandum stating that “parks will now be explained and interpreted as living museums of nature, where people can observe and appreciate the beauty that surrounds them.” The figurative and literal construction of “living museums” encouraged the active consumption of nature and its products. These centers of interpretation led to successful park programs that facilitated expansions to accommodate more visitors. Ironically, the increases in public use and the expansion of infrastructure to meet the visitors’ demands also had detrimental effects on the very same aesthetic resources that were the objects of consumption, interpretation, and conservation. For more see: Wilson, 1991: 52-58.

³⁵ *Calgary Herald*, 7 July 1950, 9.

³⁶ *Edmonton Journal*, 14 July 1958, 11.

³⁷ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 14 November, 2008).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

⁴⁰ The Ktunaxa (Kootenay) and Tsuu T’ina (Sarcee) first participated in 1914 and soon after attended regularly, as reported in the *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 18 July 1914, 1. While oral accounts suggest that the Cree from Hobbema and members of the Blackfoot Confederacy may have participated with the Kootenay, Tsuu T’ina and the Nakoda earlier, newspaper accounts first acknowledge Cree and Blackfoot participation in the 1930s. See, *Calgary Herald*, 6 July 1931, 15.

⁴¹ Numerous Aboriginal groups did attend over the decades the event was held. The 1962 festival was a particularly inclusive year as in addition to the Nakoda (Stoney), Cree, Tsuu T’ina (Sarcee) and members of the Blackfoot Confederacy, Cree from Manitoba, Saskatchewan and other regions of Alberta; Umatilla from Oregon; Peigan from Montana; and Yukamis from Washington participated in the events. In total, over 820 Aboriginal peoples were in attendance in 1962. See, *Calgary Herald*, 19 July 1962, 27.

⁴² Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.

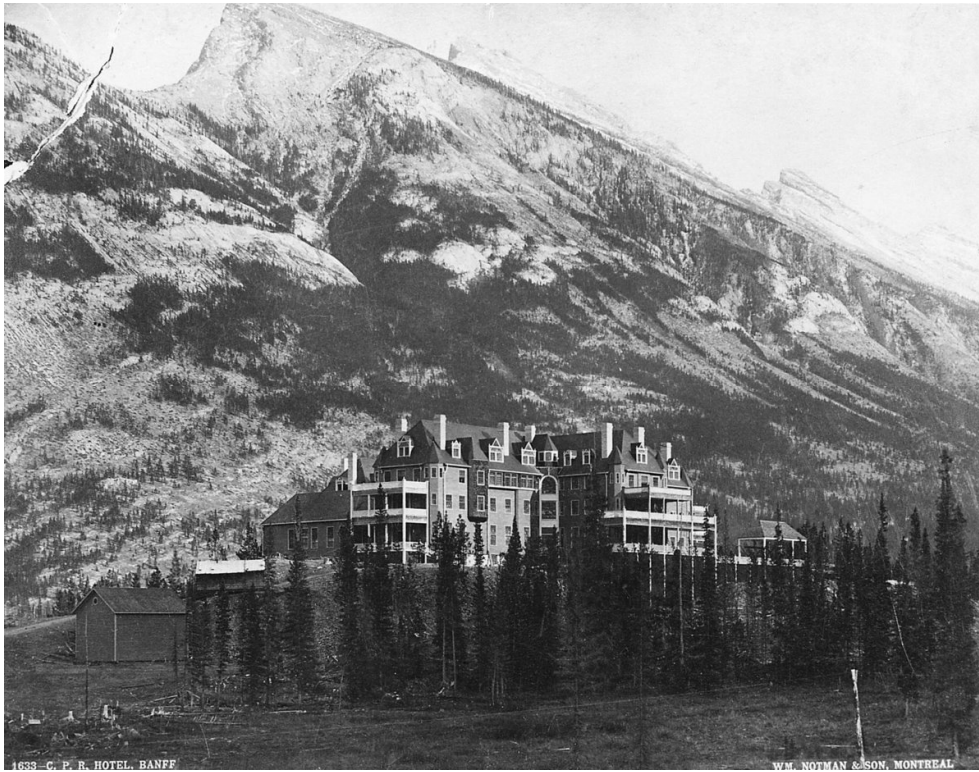
⁴³ For sources on how this occurred through the tourism industry, see: Moses, 1996; Kasson, 2000; and Deloria, 2004.

⁴⁴ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

⁴⁵ Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.

⁴⁶ Margaret Snow, (personal interview, 14 November 2008); Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 14 November, 2008).

⁴⁷ Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.

Appendix.***Figure 4-1.***

Banff Springs Hotel (1889).

Set at the foot of Mt. Rundle, at the time the Banff Springs was one of the most luxuriant hotels in North America.

Courtesy of the Glenbow Museum Archives.

na-1075-4. (photographer: William Notman and Son Photography).

Figure 4-2.



CPR Tourism Poster (1897).

This promotional material was clearly designed for an affluent tourism market. This scene features urban, sophisticated characters dressed in Victorian attire situated in a dominant position above nature in classic picturesque style. Their gaze is directed toward the Banff Springs Hotel.

Courtesy of Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives.
A. 20297. (artist: unknown).

Figure 4-3.



CPR Tourism Poster (1928).

This image promotes some of the expansion of accommodation infrastructure that occurred after 1914. In contrast to the Banff Springs Hotel, bungalow camps became affordable accommodation options for middle-class tourists. Meeting the demands of middle-class tourists also diversified the recreational opportunities offered in the region.

Courtesy of Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives.
BR. 176. (artist: Charles J. Greenwood).

Figure 4-4.



From left: Georgina Luxton, Hector Crawler, Norman Luxton, Mrs. Hector Crawler (1915). Although they at times had tumultuous relationships with some individuals at Morley, the Luxtons formed numerous close relationships with many families in the Nakoda community.

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.
V263-na-3350. (photographer: Byron Harmon).

Figure 4-5.



CPR Tourism Poster (1933).

This promotional image featuring a pre-colonial representation of Aboriginal peoples was internationally distributed to numerous markets on several continents.

Courtesy of Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives.
A. 6521. (artist: Morley Rigal).

Figure 4-6.



Spectators at the Banff Indian Days Sporting Grounds (1915).
This photograph demonstrates the class orientation of some of the
tourists who attended the festival in its early stages.

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.
V465-pd3-012. (photographer: Underwood Fonds).

Figure 4-7.



CPR Tourism Poster (1920).

This promotional material is an example of a pre-colonial representation of Aboriginal peoples. The image focuses on exotic regalia, the homogenous label “Indian” is italicized, and the figure’s closed eyes and off center position displaces analysis and avoids direct engagement with viewers. This image features Nakoda man John Hunter.

Courtesy of Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives.
A. 6517. (artist: unknown).

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CHAPTER 5.

RETHINKING THE BANFF INDIAN DAYS AS CRITICAL SPACES OF
CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND IDENTITY-MAKING OPPORTUNITIES

This chapter examines discourses that informed the production of “Aboriginality” which partly emerged through the development of tourism economies in the Banff-Bow Valley from 1910 to 1972. The participation of Nakoda First Nations peoples in the Banff Indian Days cultural and sporting festivals are the focal point of this analysis. The Indian Days offered unique socio-economic, political and cultural opportunities for Nakoda peoples. Beginning in the 1880s, Aboriginal peoples were increasingly refused access to the protected areas that were assumed in the formation of Rocky Mountains Park (see chapter 3). The exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from the lands and resources that were fundamental to their cultural practices had significant impacts on their communities. The Indian Days facilitated a process where Nakoda peoples returned to important sites within the park boundaries and reasserted their cultural links to these landscapes.

While the discourses that were circulated during this period are the focus of this research, it is also concerned with how Nakoda peoples responded to the expectations that were created in the production of “Aboriginality” through their engagement in the tourism industry. It is imperative to indicate how some Nakoda peoples pushed the limits of what was possible by playing with the very boundaries that constrained their lives. Relying on poststructural and postcolonial theory to interpret the discursive production of Aboriginal subjectivities, this chapter reveals how some community members refused structures and defied limiting definitions of their cultural practices and identities. Drawing from oral accounts with Nakoda peoples and archival documents collected from

newspapers, photographs and tourism materials as primary evidence,¹ this chapter demonstrates that through the Indian Days Nakoda peoples created critical spaces of interaction as well as fostered identity-making possibilities.

Producing Pre-colonial Representations of Aboriginal Peoples

Although chapter four denotes the origins and growth of the Banff Indian Days as a tourism event, this chapter focuses more on the details of Aboriginal participation. Over the many decades the festivals were celebrated, the Indian Days became one of the most influential cultural events in the history of the Banff-Bow Valley (Parker, 1990). Even though it was formally held as early as 1894, the Indian Days did not become an annual two-day affair until 1912.² The festivals originally involved only Nakoda peoples, but by the 1920s, several other Aboriginal groups, including Cree, Ktunaxa (Kootenay), Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee), Pikunni (Peigan), Siksika (Blackfoot), and Kainai (Blood) also participated.³ The majority of Nakoda peoples did regularly attend and with the support of other participating groups, some years there were over 1000 Aboriginal participants with a record high of 1200 in 1959.⁴ Although dominated by Euro-North Americans and Europeans for the first three decades of the 20th century, in the 1950s and 1960s the audiences were quite diverse. Some years all American states and Canadian provinces were represented in the audiences and over thirty nationalities were noted in attendance.⁵ Along with considerable economic impacts, the festivals were influential events that shaped regional, national and international perceptions of Banff and the surrounding area.

The Indian Days consisted of numerous activities that profiled the sporting and cultural practices of local Aboriginal peoples as well as other events that featured Aboriginal participants (Meijer-Drees, 1993). As discussed in chapter 3, at the turn of the 20th century, very few Aboriginal peoples lived in Banff townsite as they were not permitted to live in the surrounding national park (Snow, 2005). Moreover, as there were few spaces during this period where Aboriginal peoples simultaneously interacted with broader Canadian society and international tourists, the Indian Days became an essential space for audiences to learn about Aboriginal peoples.⁶ As a consequence, the festivals were an influential part of producing discourses that informed the production of “Aboriginality.” This research examines how these discourses were partly engendered through the representations of Aboriginal peoples at the festivals. Though there were many different factors that impacted the production of “Aboriginality” through the Indian Days, it would be impossible to assess all of these influences. As a result, this chapter will center on how certain discourses forwarded pre-colonial images that exoticized and temporalized local Aboriginal cultures. Importantly, this chapter will also investigate the production of Aboriginal subjectivities to demonstrate how some Nakoka peoples responded to these discourses and positioned themselves within these processes.

An article from the *Banff Crag and Canyon* indicates that throughout the history of the event a “typical Indian village” was erected at the “Indian grounds” and sporting competitions became the main forms of entertainment.⁷ While the location of the campgrounds did change on several occasions, the tipi village was

always an aspect of the gathering. The campgrounds not only provided a space for Aboriginal participants to gather, socialize, sleep and eat during the festival, but it was also a main tourist attraction (see Figure 5-1). Promotional materials for tourists circulated by the CPR described the tipi village in the following manner:

The braves mounted on their gaily decorated ponies wearing magnificent bonnets of eagle feathers is a sight to be remembered... visitors are welcome at their camp where good-natured squaws sit at the doors of the tepees and watch their brown babies sprawling at their feet.⁸

A description from a regional newspaper, that promoted the Indian Days, also centers on exoticized aspects as it itemizes the contents of the tipi village:

Beating tom-toms, ki-yiing Indians, madly galloping cayuses [horses], gaudily painted braves and squaws [men and women], papooses [children], dogs, a hundred tepees and everything that belongs to the Indian village.⁹

These statements highlight some of the exotic elements of the camp, its subsequent appeal to the Western tourist gaze and the potential intimacy of some of these encounters. Time slots were allotted for visitors to tour the campgrounds, examine the tipis and interact with Aboriginal participants.¹⁰ As Nakoda elder Margeret Snow indicates:

Especially the tourists from Europe liked the village. They would say that it was an Indian camp and would come to take pictures...it was the center of attraction.¹¹

Nakoda peoples did open their camps to be toured by visitors, but some community members expressed a concern for the tours of the campgrounds because of what can be characterized as invasive aspects.¹² Other Nakoda individuals welcomed the campground tours and viewed them as opportunities to display and sell their art, bead and quill work.¹³ Despite these differing

perspectives, visiting the tipi village was an occasion for tourists to learn from Aboriginal cultures and take photographs. The high level of interest in touring the campgrounds reflects the mass appeal of these types of experiences to European and North American tourists throughout the history of the event.

The Indian Days consisted of diverse activities, but a crowd favourite was always the annual parade where Aboriginal participants were expected to dress in “Indian” attire and be judged for the most colourful and decorative costumes (see Figure 5-2 and 5-3). As early as 1911, it is noted that it was “the barbaric splendour of their costumes” that attracted most spectators to the parade.¹⁴ In 1921, one newspaper account summarized a scene at the parade:

The braves mounted upon Indian ponies, resplendent in buckskin beadwork, feathers and war paint make a showing which can be witnessed nowhere else upon the American continent.¹⁵

As demonstrated in the following description from 1925, regional newspaper reports of the parade emphasize the exotic elements:

Painted with brilliant red and yellow from the old Indian ochre beds at Marble Canyon, the costumed Indians drew large crowds of tourists to view them in the glimmer of their ancient glory. Many of the tourists had never seen Indians before.¹⁶

Some Nakoda peoples expressed that they were uncomfortable with the attention they received during the parade. One elder recalls his experiences:

As a young kid in the parade, all of these tourists were taking pictures of us and you know holding our hands...and taking more pictures. They [tourists] wanted to be around you and they liked coming. For them...I’m not too sure, but to us Native peoples it was a way of living, not a onetime show.¹⁷

The Indian Days parade was a feature event that was one of the main tourist attractions. Tourists lined the streets of Banff Avenue to take pictures of and

interact with the participants, who were usually paid for posing in photographs.¹⁸ Prizes were given to the “best dressed” in the parade and the judges were most often notable residents of Banff townsite. From analyses of Nakoda descriptions of the participants, it is clear that awards were predominantly given to the men, women and children whose attire most accurately met Western tourists’ expectations of “Aboriginality,”¹⁹ which as revealed in chapter four, were generally based on pre-colonial perceptions promulgated in Wild West genres of film, literature and theatre.

Sporting competitions were also a component of the Indian Days and by 1915 they comprised the majority of the program. An article from the *Banff Crag and Canyon*, which recounts the history of sporting events, specifies that foot and horse races along with Indian wrestling, a unique competition which took place on horseback, were part of the Indian Days from the very beginning (see Figure 5-4 and 5-5).²⁰ Other competitions involving horses, such as barrel jumps, bare and saddle bucks, calf roping, steer riding, relay and carriage races were some of the rodeo-oriented events that formed the festival’s sporting schedule in the 1920s.²¹ Nakoda elder Roland Rollinmud reflects on the rodeo events at the Indian Days:

Ah...and then there was the rodeo events. Back then there were no fancy suits and equipment, like the rodeos today. You just hold on to the horse, sometimes without a saddle or anything. As far as I can remember, back then you just got on. You’d bring your fastest horse and if you win you would have one-year of bragging rights [laughs aloud].²²

Tipi pitching, pie eating and tug-of-war competitions were also eventually added to the itinerary in the 1930s.²³ According to an article from the *Calgary Herald*, archery competitions clearly had the most appeal for the crowd.²⁴ As outside of

these annual contests they rarely ever used bows and arrows, it should have been expected that local Aboriginal peoples would not display very much proficiency in archery competitions (see Figure 5-6). The fascination of the archery competitions for tourists was at least partly related to the fact that archery reinforced and celebrated pre-colonial perceptions of “Aboriginality.”

Although in the early stages of the Indian Days, non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal competitors participated together in many athletic events, as the festival became more established in the 1920s, interracial events were abandoned in favour of all-Aboriginal contests.²⁵ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) maintains that festivals that re-enact activities in a discrete performance setting designed for spectacular commerce can objectify participants by clearly separating the performers from the observers based on ethnicity. Especially when involving Aboriginal peoples, this is inherently problematic as these spectacles can highlight exoticizing and marginalizing aspects. Sporting events at the Indian Days became a significant component of the festival. Along with entertaining spectators and at times displaying pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal cultures, participants were positioned and positioned themselves within the Western tourist gaze during the athletic competitions.

Prior to discussing some of the cultural performances at the festivals, it is imperative to recognize the fundamental roles that Aboriginal women played in the Indian Days. In contrast to most sporting and physical activity spaces in other regions throughout Canada at the beginning of the 20th century where women were often excluded or marginalized (Hall, 2009), Aboriginal women were active

participants in the Indian Days in several respects. Nakoda women were key organizers of the events by facilitating their family's participation. While the familial tasks of preparing meals, organizing the campgrounds and taking care of children, supported men's participation in the festival, Nakoda women also actively engaged in many of the sporting and cultural events.²⁶ Although men led most of the pre-festival negotiations with tourism producers and more often represented their communities through the various public ceremonies, Aboriginal women were the backbone of the organization of the events.²⁷

Not surprisingly, Aboriginal women were participants in the cultural performances that often highlighted the Indian Days' schedule. In addition to the annual parade where women were directors and organizers, the music and dance performances relied upon women's participation (see Figure 5-7). In the earlier versions of the Indian Days, the women's sporting events consisted mainly of foot races and horse races where, similar to the men, they demonstrated their endurance and skill on horseback in competitions for monetary prizes.²⁸ By the 1930s, women specific events, including travois races, tipi pitching and nail driving competitions were also added to the program (see Figure 5-8).²⁹ Aboriginal women also participated in some rodeo contests and events such as tug-of-war.³⁰ In 1954, an Aboriginal women's fashion show was scheduled into the festival.³¹ Despite the verity that the number of events and participants in the women's competitions were significantly less than in the men's, the scale of participation of women in the sporting competitions remains quite remarkable considering their extensive contributions as organizers and facilitators in other

aspects of the festival. Moreover, when one acknowledges the limited and severely restricted involvement of women as competitors in international sporting events during this period, such as the Olympic Games (Young, 1996), the extent of participation of Aboriginal women during the Indian Days is exceptional.

An examination of the representations promoted during the Indian Days suggest that the festival temporalized Aboriginal peoples as a part of a bygone era – a stagnant or unchanged aspect of Alberta’s past, not an active component of the historical present (see Figure 5-9). In 1923, newspaper accounts that promoted the events, sold the Indian Days as the last chance for tourists to witness a “vanishing culture that was quickly disappearing.”³² In a *Calgary Herald* article entitled “Redskins Invade Mountain Resort,” the author describes a scene from the parade:

Medicine men with their girdled loins and painted bodies dressed in their feathered finery and beaded costumes, others in simple Buffalo hides, paraded through the crowded streets of Banff to their teepee village at the foot of Cascade Mountain.³³

This description of the clothing worn by some of the individuals who participated in the parade and the spaces they occupied indicates some of the ways pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples were displayed at the festival. During the parade and cultural events, Aboriginal participants and performers were encouraged to endorse representations which supported particular representations of “Aboriginality.”

Although attempts to fracture pre-colonial images were made by some Nakoda peoples, they were often rejected by tourism producers. As early as 1913, organizers prohibited any participants who chose to wear modern attire from

marching in the parade.³⁴ Later during cultural performances, a similar code of dress was reinforced (see Figure 5-10). It is important to indicate that the ceremonial dress of Nakoda peoples should not only be characterized as disciplinary. Throughout the history of the Indian Days many Nakoda participants took a great deal of pride in displaying their forms of ceremonial dress.³⁵ What is notable regarding the exchanges between Nakoda participants and Euro-Canadian organizers over appropriate attire is the amount of control that tourism producers attempted to exercise over what Aboriginal peoples wore. Moreover, how certain participants responded to these attempts in ways that either supported or disrupted tourists' expectations of "Aboriginality" is also of interest. From an analysis of tourism materials, photographs, newspapers and oral accounts, it is clear that understandings of how Aboriginal peoples managed introduced European influences or the current state of their communities were absent from any of the cultural interpretations or representations at the Indian Days. Resulting from the objectives of tourism producers to maintain pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples to align with tourists' expectations, the complexities, histories and contemporary lives of local Aboriginal peoples were not overtly part of the festival and its marketing campaigns.

In their influential study on photographic representations, Lutz and Collins (1993) contend that colour, pose, framing, and vantage point can be used to produce pre-colonial representations that relegate Indigenous peoples to earlier stages of progress while simultaneously celebrating Western ideals and modernity. Wakeham (2008) asserts that pre-colonial representations can racialize

Aboriginal bodies and relegate them to static spaces of primitive nature uninfluenced by history and the progressive temporality of Western culture. Temporalizing and exoticizing Aboriginal peoples at the Indian Days was problematic because non-Aboriginal consumers, who always constituted the majority, were left with simplistic understandings of Aboriginal cultures and histories. As Moses reveals with his study on Wild West shows, which occurred throughout North America and Europe from 1883-1933:

The most popular Indian shows and performances appeared to be those that exhibited old-time habits and pagan ways which placed Indians in a false light (1996: 258).

Similar to Wild West theatre, the cultural performances of Aboriginal peoples at the Indian Days were more focused on celebrating pre-colonial aspects of their cultures. With no attempt to foreground Aboriginal peoples in contemporary realities, the representations reinforced understandings of “Aboriginality” that were based on stereotypes or urban Western perceptions. Misleading representations left consumers at the Indian Days with inaccurate impressions of the contemporary lives of Aboriginal peoples in the Banff-Bow Valley. Even in the 21st century, representations of Aboriginal peoples are still challenged by discourses that situate them in a primitive past (Mason, 2009a). By juxtaposing pre-colonial representations with Aboriginal accounts that highlighted their lived experiences, the Indian Days could have potentially located cultures in spaces that would have fragmented the perception of Aboriginal peoples in an idealized past. This would have forced consumers to acknowledge Aboriginal peoples as a component of contemporary Canadian cultural life.

The Indian Days as Socio-economic, Political and Cultural Opportunities

While the Indian Days did popularize pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples, it is imperative not to discount the roles that local Nakoda peoples played in these festivals and the significance of these gatherings. As researchers in sport studies have continued to argue, events celebrating physical, sporting and cultural practices can be influential arenas where Canada's Aboriginal peoples can exercise agency, be self-determining, take up significant opportunities and challenge or assert representations (Heine, 1991; Paraschak, 1997, 2000; Nesper, 2003; Giles, 2004; Robidoux, 2006; Forsyth and Wamsley, 2006). The Indian Days offered local Aboriginal communities considerable socio-economic, political and cultural opportunities. Becoming increasingly relevant throughout the first few decades of the 20th century, the festivals presented limited financial assistance for Nakoda peoples in a period when supplementary income was in some cases necessary for survival. Although many Aboriginal communities on reservations in southern Alberta experienced poor living conditions throughout the first half of the 20th century, it was during the depression (1929-1939) that some reservations became desperate for governmental support. As a 1935 article in the *Calgary Herald* indicates, Nakoda peoples at the Morley reservation relied upon the food rations and supplementary income that was intended to compensate them for their participation at the Indian Days during these difficult times.³⁶ Heavy cattle losses and the construction of the Banff Highway through their reservation, which resulted in very poor hunting conditions, made Nakoda leaders petition the federal government in 1935 to

reinstitute the Treaty Seven rations system that had been discontinued in 1904. Although local Aboriginal peoples began to rely heavily on the Indian Days as early as 1920, during the depression the remuneration for participating in the festival became a major source of subsistence.³⁷

Beginning in the 1940s, the high profile of the Indian Days was ideal for Nakoda peoples to hold inductee ceremonies and introduce honorary members of their nation. These special individuals, mostly prominent men and women from Calgary's business and political communities, were singled out for their dedication to improving the lives of Nakoda peoples.³⁸ In some cases, famous celebrities and members of royalty were also given honorary status.³⁹ From 1940 until the 1970s, Nakoda leaders took advantage of the media exposure of the Indian Days to use their own cultural capital to build and publicly solidify connections with influential persons in broader urban Euro-Canadian communities and internationally. The Indian Days were used to strategically build political bridges between Nakoda peoples and individuals in powerful positions. Being made a honorary member was indicative of an interest in helping Nakoda communities in the past, but it also established a responsibility to do so in the future. In this capacity, the festivals were key political networking opportunities.

Along with socio-economic and political benefits, the festivals also offered cultural opportunities for Aboriginal peoples during a period when legitimate spaces for representation were uncommon (Meijer-Drees, 1993). Similar to Wild West theatre, these types of performances were one of only a few places in North American society where Aboriginal peoples had some measure of

control over material aspects of their lives (Moses, 1996). The 1877 Treaty Seven Agreement stemming from the 1876 Indian Act had significant consequences for Nakoda communities (Snow, 2005). The subsequent policies attempted to further assimilate Aboriginal peoples, but resulted in advancing the socio-economic, political and cultural exclusion of Aboriginal communities from many aspects of Euro-Canadian society (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). For much of the first half of the 20th century, this isolation limited interactions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. In many cases, events like the Indian Days were one of the main opportunities for international tourists and Euro-Canadians alike to learn from and engage with Aboriginal peoples. This was a valued aspect of the gatherings as Nakoda communities had opportunities to share their cultures with interested participants. As one Nakoda man, who spoke about the Indian Days in a positive light, emphasized:

The people [Nakoda community members] enjoyed coming to Banff to interact and perform for tourists because we liked helping them learn about Native cultures.⁴⁰

This sharing of cultures was recognized by Nakoda elder Lenny Poucette who clearly depicted the Indian Days as honouring Aboriginal peoples:

They [tourists and Banff residents] didn't want to make a mockery of us and they weren't bad people. Back then it was more about honour. They came because they wanted to understand us and honour our cultures.⁴¹

Nakoda peoples had few chances to interact with broader Euro-Canadian communities during this period. Especially earlier in the 20th century, the Indian Days were critical sites of cultural exchange. In contrast to other spaces where Aboriginal peoples interacted with non-Aboriginals in the province of Alberta, the

festivals not only provided viable financial support for Aboriginal participants, but it also offered infrequent cultural opportunities for Nakoda peoples, tourists and participating residents of Banff townsite.

While some of the representations offered through the Indian Days did temporalize and exoticize Aboriginal peoples in ways that negatively contributed to perceptions of “Aboriginality” by reinforcing the expectations of tourists, the festivals also presented several unique cultural possibilities to the Nakoda. As detailed in chapter 4, there were numerous music and dance performances that were staged for tourists throughout the gatherings that constituted the Indian Days. Despite the fact that these performances were primarily held as tourist events, this does not negate the significant meanings Nakoda peoples generated from their involvement. Through their interactions with tourists, local entrepreneurs and with other Aboriginal groups, Nakoda peoples valued these performances as critical spaces of exchange.⁴² It is important not to construe the tourist performances at the Indian Days as insignificant to Aboriginal participants. Oral accounts indicate that Nakoda participants relished opportunities to engage with both international audiences and local Banff residents. Poucette refers to the value community members placed in these types of interactions at the Indian Days:

We enjoyed meeting all the different people. We would mingle and...you know Native people we like to talk to people, laugh and bring humour...at the same time that was a gathering place to visit relatives and new friends and that was the only certain time that they could see one another as some of them live in different areas and they couldn't get together very much.⁴³

In addition to these music and dance performances, both Nakoda and Euro-Canadian participants frequently produced theatre productions for the Indian Days that re-enacted aspects of Aboriginal histories and cultures. Some years, these plays were entirely organized by Nakoda participants. These productions allowed Nakoda directors and performers a great deal of license to represent their cultures in the ways they desired.⁴⁴ It is crucial to recognize that there were few spaces throughout most of the 20th century where Aboriginal communities could interact with broader society on such mass scale of participation. Furthermore, few of these experiences were more than brief encounters. Annually for over seven decades, the Indian Days provided these types of extended periods of interaction.

In addition to the performances staged for tourists, Aboriginal participants held their own cultural events in conjunction with the gatherings, these included powwow ceremonies and Aboriginal games or sporting contests.⁴⁵ Often in the evenings after Aboriginal participants had returned to their campgrounds, they continued to engage in activities away from the gaze of tourists and non-Aboriginal organizers. These evenings for Aboriginal participants, which were looked forward to by community members, were regularly referenced in oral accounts as the most significant aspect of the festivals.⁴⁶ Poucette passionately explains the central rationale behind the evening components of the gatherings in his descriptions of how the elders would share their stories around the campfire:

What we [Nakoda community members] appreciated the most about coming down to Banff was the telling of stories of how life is and at the same time to express to all the young people what life is all about. Events may happen during the day...games and sports, but it was during the night that the elders had time to sit down with the young people and talk to them. You see, a family member can tell

her kids a story and then another family comes over and tells them their version in a different way. All of them may be different, but when you listen to these stories together, you'll understand who we are and where we came from. It was a great learning time...how to take care of a horse or how to present yourself to others. They would teach us how to listen with respect and that's why the gatherings were so important.⁴⁷

These experiences were viewed as great locations for younger generations to celebrate and learn about their cultures. In addition to understanding the histories that shaped Nakoda cultural life in the past, these learning sessions, articulated through stories, also facilitated discussions about many of the contemporary issues facing their communities. The following statement by an elder highlights this point:

This was not just a celebration. It was about the long learning process of survival...life moving from the traditional towards the contemporary. There's so many stories that I heard there [Indian Days campgrounds]. The stories were about what we should do in the future and what not to do...they told us who our relatives were and taught us to respect them as well as Mother Earth. All this and more...I learned there.⁴⁸

Oral accounts suggest that through their public interactions and private gatherings, Nakoda peoples considered the Indian Days important sites of cultural exchange. Although these experiences took place in both public and private spaces, they both cultivated the processes of the production and transmission of cultural knowledge for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participants.

In order to understand the cultural importance of these gatherings for Aboriginal peoples, the colonial contexts in which the Indian Days occurred must be considered. It was not until 1951 that the federal government revised its policies of prohibiting Aboriginal cultural practices (Hildebrandt et al., 1996). The

Indian Days not only presented the opportunity for Nakoda peoples to celebrate their cultures among themselves, but also to interact and share with other participating Aboriginal groups. Particularly during the decades when legislation banning their cultural practices was harshly enforced, festivals like the Indian Days served as critical gathering locations for Aboriginal peoples. This was also witnessed in other locations in Canada where annual tourist festivals were considered by local Aboriginal groups as the most significant annual gathering (Furniss, 1999). When taking into account the colonial policies of assimilation which continued to severely repress forms of cultural celebrations in Aboriginal communities throughout most of the history of Indian Days, it is easy to understand why these opportunities were highly valued by Nakoda peoples.

In efforts to appreciate the Indian Days as opportunities to celebrate Aboriginal cultural practices, it is crucial to connect the Banff-Bow Valley as a pivotal location for Nakoda peoples. As chapter three demonstrates, the exclusion of Nakoda peoples from the lands redefined as national parks had significant impacts on their ways of life. The restricted access to these areas not only greatly influenced their subsistence land uses, but also limited the celebration of their cultural practices which were anchored in the places they traveled through and lived in for centuries.⁴⁹ Over the last two decades, there has been an increase in the scholarly investigations into the fundamental links between landscapes and cultures (Wilson, 1991; Cronon, 1996). Schama metaphorically refers to landscapes as “a work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock” (1996: 5). As humans inhabit specific locations,

land formations become repositories for memories as they always contain the cultures of the peoples who occupy them. This is particularly relevant for oral cultures, such as Canada's Aboriginal peoples, whose histories are often stored in the many geological features that frame their lives (Palmer, 2005). Cruikshank (2005) suggests that there is a growing body of research on social memory that portrays landscapes as critical sites of remembrance where culturally significant landforms provide archives that store the memories and related histories that are held within them. Early European explorers in the Canadian Rocky Mountains viewed the region's rivers, mountains and glaciers as considerable but conquerable obstacles to progress. Conversely, for Aboriginal peoples these land formations evoked individual and collective memories, marked their histories and embodied their cultural practices.

For Nakoda peoples, the Banff-Bow Valley, particularly the proximal lands surrounding the townsite, contains their histories. Many specific sites also have close associations with aspects of their cultural practices.⁵⁰ Nakoda man Jackson Wesley eloquently emphasizes the role that mountains play in the storing of valuable knowledge and culture:

we keep our secrets secret...we are very quiet people who don't like to share stories with outsiders. You see these mountains around us? All of our secrets are in these mountains...millions of our secrets are held in these mountains and they are not meant to be shared.⁵¹

In reference to the importance of the Rocky Mountains and the land encompassing the national parks to Nakoda peoples, Chief Snow writes:

The Rocky Mountains are sacred to us. We know every trail and mountain pass in this area. We had special ceremonies and religious areas in the mountains. These mountains are our temples, our

sanctuaries, and our resting places. They are a place of hope, a place of vision, a place of refuge, a very special and holy place where the Great Spirit speaks with us. *Therefore, these mountains are our sacred places* (2005: 19).

After decades of being excluded from RMP, the Indian Days were viewed as periods for Nakoda communities to reassert their physical and cultural links with the region. In the following statement, Rollinmud discusses why access to the lands around Banff townsite is integrally connected to his community's culture:

In the mountains around there the spirits are all around. You feel them...that is the place where we will never be forgotten. It is what we are and it preserves us...because we protected this land.⁵²

A Nakoda woman succinctly reinforces this point:

it is a healing place [Banff townsite and surrounding region]...when you are there...your mind is really calm as you have moments in time with nature.⁵³

For some Nakoda peoples the Indian Days represented a type of homecoming.⁵⁴

In reference to the exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from park lands and their eventual return to the region, which was facilitated by the gatherings, a Nakoda elder states:

Well in that way the Indian Days have always been a bit about forgiveness...as we could return to use the lands that were important to our cultures for so long.⁵⁵

For many participants, the Indian Days were considered a holiday or a rejuvenation period. The festivals were regarded widely by Nakoda peoples as something to look forward to and a period to celebrate their cultures away from the constraints of life on reservations. One Nakoda elder explains this perspective:

Boredom on the reserve has always been a great problem. The Indian Days was always important as a way to break away from...the social

life on the reserve. We would leave Morley to head to Banff and leave it behind to enjoy life for awhile.⁵⁶

For Nakoda communities the Indian Days were widely viewed as chances to not only leave their reservations, interact with other Aboriginal groups and tourists, but also to establish or maintain relationships with Banff residents. However, perhaps the most significant aspect of the festivals for Nakoda communities was regaining access to the lands and sacred places that over centuries had become fundamental to their cultures. This access (re)asserted the links with the lands that shaped their practices and connected Nakoda communities to the places that hold their cultural secrets, knowledge and histories.

Identity-Making Opportunities

While the Indian Days did facilitate a process whereby Aboriginal communities returned to the places that were deeply connected to their cultures, the festivals also presented identity-making possibilities. For the purposes of this section, which examines the production of Aboriginal subjectivities through the Indian Days, it is essential to deconstruct “Aboriginal” racial categories. Like all individuals and cultures, Nakoda peoples are not homogenous. Poucette reveals in a discussion of his family’s history or ethnic background:

I’m part Kootenay [Ktunaxa]! Yah on my late Dad’s side, you know his great-grandparents were part Kootenay. At the same time...I don’t know how this works, but I’m also part Cree. So you could say that I am represented by the meeting of all those peoples at the Indian Days [laughs aloud].⁵⁷

Even though prevailing discourses and related disciplinary technologies shape what is possible to understand in society about racial subject positions, this does

not devalue the significant meanings that are formed through and around the production of any subjectivity. Especially when examining marginal identities, whether they are racial or otherwise, one must acknowledge that the production and maintenance of these categories do have tangible consequences. For example, the ways power relations are exercised in society have direct implications for individuals and communities related to the subject categories they occupy. In other words, discursively produced identities are no less lived or experienced as “real” and “natural.” While some researchers feel threatened by knowing that race as a category is discursively produced or that discourses and disciplinary technologies shape what experiences are possible, it is necessary to indicate that these conceptualizations of identity-making processes do not in any way deny the material experiences of individuals or communities.

While readings of representational images of the Indian Days certainly highlight exoticizing and temporalizing elements that supported pre-colonial perceptions of “Aboriginality,” it is more difficult to locate evidence of how these representations were fractured by Aboriginal participants. This process did occur at the festivals. Through their interactions with tourists, entrepreneurs and other Aboriginal groups, Nakoda peoples actively sought out opportunities to challenge prevailing discourses and the related representations of their cultures. Numerous studies indicate that Aboriginal performers are particularly well-situated to challenge stereotypical representations of their cultures (Moses, 1996; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Mason, 2004). As Furniss argues, Aboriginal peoples can “use performance to express distinct cultural meanings and identities,

but also to subvert and challenge dominant colonial stereotypes” (1999: 172). Oral accounts with Nakoda performers indicate that even though the majority of the representations of their cultures were produced to align with tourists’ expectations of “Aboriginality,” participants also played with these expectations in ways that disrupted their reception.⁵⁸ An example of this comes from Chief Walking Buffalo (Tatanga Mani) or George McLean who was extensively involved with organizing the Indian Days for many years, beginning in 1920 when he was elected Chief of Nakoda First Nations until his death in 1967. As well as a strong and committed leader, Walking Buffalo was well-known for his great sense of humour and his insistence on the acceptance of Aboriginal peoples as an important part of Canadian society.⁵⁹ He regularly played with aspects of his own identity and those of spectators or Banff residents. He was known to refer to Euro-Canadians as “white savages.” In one instance in 1946 at the ceremonial address of the Indian Days following the parade, he used the “white savages” reference to “confuse and delight the large crowd.”⁶⁰ Walking Buffalo also added that he noticed how the “white savage women wore more paint on their faces than the Indians.”⁶¹ Aboriginal Chiefs not only had more opportunities to play with representations and performances of their identities, but these opportunities also had greater potential to draw attention to stereotypes that exoticized or temporalized their cultures, as their positions as leaders afforded higher profile interactions.

Instances of playing with Indigenous cultural insignia, whether it be for the purpose of entertainment or to co-opt Indigenous identities and cultures, has

been well-documented internationally (Scanlon, 1990; Deloria, 1998). Particularly in tourism industries, representations of “playing Indian” became prevalent in North American popular culture in the later decades of the 19th century (Springwood, 2001). While at the Indian Days Nakoda peoples did occasionally play with cultural forms in the performance of their own identities, Euro-Canadians also played with representations of Aboriginal peoples. A prime example of this comes from the 1950s when a visitor, Shaman Chief Kitpou, arrived to participate in the Indian Days. Claiming he was part of a First Nations group in British Columbia, Kitpou stayed in the tipi village and took part in cultural performances along with his Euro-Canadian wife and son (Parker, 1990). Kitpou wore a hide of a wolf with deer antlers adorned to each side of his head, beads and a loin cloth. In addition to refusing to change out of his exotic regalia that many Aboriginal peoples had difficulty placing or understanding, Kitpou spun a mixture of exaggerated stories and lies that resulted in the questioning of his ancestry and knowledge of Aboriginal cultural practices. The inconsistencies in the stories of his past led at least one account to suggest that he was “more of an imitation than the genuine article” (Parker, 1990: 141). A considerable amount of scepticism regarding Kitpou circulated among the participating Aboriginal groups and he was notified that he would not be welcomed to attend the following year (Parker, 1990). The level of “authenticity” in Kitpou’s Aboriginal ancestry is irrelevant for this analysis. However, this peculiar occurrence in the history of the Indian Days can be paralleled with numerous other examples where Euro-North Americans took great pleasure in playing with Aboriginal cultural forms in ways

that often reinforced discourses that informed the production of “Aboriginality” which were based on pre-colonial representations.

By performing “Aboriginality” in the ways that played with representations of their cultures, Nakoda participants, and sometimes Euro-Canadians, did confuse conceptions of race. As Butler (1993) asserts in her examination of the discursive production of subjectivities related to sex, identities are stabilized by repetitions of stylized acts of certain behaviour performances over others. It is because identities are repeated performances of acts that they can be contested or refused. As a consequence, if one were to change the patterns of these repetitions, identities could be destabilized in ways that could subvert perceptions of them. One way in which this could be accomplished is through using forms of parody to play with identities (see Figure 5-11). However, representations can be read in a multitude of ways and as a result only some readings have the potential to create alternative understandings or critiques. If the parody of a representation is lost in the consumption of it because the consumer lacks the necessary resources to reinterpret it, the readings can actually support damaging stereotypes of racial subjectivities. Unfortunately, there are no ways to ensure that practices of parody will reach their intended audience (Robidoux, 2004; Brayton and Alexander, 2007). Accordingly, the subversive value of any parody entirely depends upon the contexts and receptions in which the disruptions occur. For example, when an Aboriginal participant exaggerates exotic regalia in the Indian Days parade or plays with stereotypes of “Aboriginality” in their interactions with tourists, if their performance of identity aligns with expectations of the identities, instead of

subverting stereotypical perceptions, it could serve to strengthen them within the audience.

As chapters two and three detail, discipline can take control of individuals by filling in gaps in space, time and movement. Organizations of these modalities constitute the technologies or constraints of docility that were used by agents of the colonial bureaucracy in attempts to assimilate Aboriginal peoples by closing gaps of behaviour and culture. Despite the relentless influence of disciplinary technologies, Nakoda peoples did not become homogenous because of the breaks or interruptions in identity production that are omnipresent. Technologies of discipline are not absolute in the ways they impact individuals or implicate the processes of identity production. Foucault emphasizes this point: “instead of bending all of its subjects into a single uniform mass, it separates, analyses, differentiates....” (1975: 170). Just as Foucault’s technologies of the self (1985) do not guarantee a weakening of disciplinary processes or changes in the discourses that produce power relations, disciplinary technologies do not ensure the production of homogeneous subjects.

While Foucault conceptualized disciplinary technologies as producing homogenous and eventually docile bodies, the fact that discipline implicates individuals differently is exemplified in the production of hybrid identities in colonial societies. Hybrid identities are produced by the multiple and competing subject positions that individuals simultaneously occupy as well as the influence of disciplinary technologies (Young, 1995). Bhabha (1994) contends that it is the ambivalence of colonial rule that enables hybrid identities the capacity for

resistance. In the case of the Nakoda peoples participating in the Indian Days, individuals had different aspects at stake in the continuation of relationships with tourism entrepreneurs and in the performance of “Aboriginality.” Both newspaper and oral accounts indicate that convincing Nakoda youth to participate in the parade was always a difficult task as few were willing to wear the elaborate regalia and dress of the generations before them.⁶² By the late 1930s, especially young Nakoda men were interested in showcasing the “cowboy” attire which more accurately reflected their quotidian lives as many were active participants in rodeo events throughout the spring and summer seasons.⁶³ Although it was noted as an issue as early as the 1930s, it became a problem in the 1960s for the Indian Days organizing committee chairman Claude Brewster, who stated that “no one will be allowed in the parade unless they are wearing full Indian regalia.”⁶⁴ Even though it was strongly encouraged by tourism entrepreneurs for Aboriginal participants to appear in pre-colonial dress when in the public spotlight or tourist gaze, Nakoda youth defied one-dimensional representations of their cultures by disrupting these images and insisting on dressing like “cowboys” throughout the festival.⁶⁵ These representations of Nakoda peoples, which included chaps, cowboy hats and boots, not only conflicted with the discourses that forwarded pre-colonial imagery of Aboriginal peoples, but they also signified the hybrid aspects of the identities of young Nakoda men. While some youth insisted on dressing like cowboys especially during the parade, they also wore traditional dress in other celebrations associated with the festival, including the evening powwows held away from the gaze of tourists.⁶⁶ In this case, the presence of

hybridity provides evidence of the different ways that some Nakoda youth were implicated by discipline and responded to the technologies that were designed to assimilate Aboriginal cultures.

Just as Nakoda youth were reproved for their lack of compliance with dress codes established by tourism producers, representations of Indigenous peoples that do not align with tourists' expectations are often discouraged by agents of the tourism industry (Bruner, 2001; Sweet, 2004; Johnston, 2006). Responding to prevailing discourses that promoted exoticized and temporalized aspects of their cultures, Aboriginal peoples who successfully and creatively adapt to changing conditions are rarely conceived as cultural strategists, but more often portrayed as peoples who have lost their cultures (Deloria, 2004). As Wetherell and Potter (1992) demonstrate, this is one of the *catch-22* situations that Indigenous youth regularly encounter. This is particularly relevant as Indigenous peoples try to represent their cultures in forms that assert their contemporary realities but also meet tourists' expectations (Mason, 2004). Butler (1990) argues that it is when individuals are required to satisfy the demands of competing disciplines that they can "necessarily fail." The disciplinary demands of subjectivities eventually open gaps for individuals to make decisions about how they will participate in various disciplines. Conflicts most often occur as individuals are managing the technologies of docility of one discipline and they cannot meet the requirements of another. Shogan (1999) notes that it is when participants realized some dissonance from the demands of other disciplines to which they are committed that they might choose to engage in the technologies of

the self and refuse aspects of their identity. Although they often have limited resources to draw from and as a consequence have fewer opportunities to alter prevailing discourses in comparison to adults, youth are sometimes less invested in the disciplines they engage with and subsequently have more potential to refuse them (Dallaire, 2003, 2006). It is when refusals occur that opportunities are created to produce new understandings of “Aboriginality.” These understandings have potential to open up spaces for alternative ways of participating in discourses.

Disciplinary Technologies and Refusals in Colonial Contexts

Foucault argued that in power relations there is always the possibility of resistance. He stated that “where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power” (Foucault, 1976: 95). In his theorizing it is necessary to recognize that disciplinary practices continue to function when there is resistance. As Foucault asserts in describing the role of resistance in power relationships:

Their existence depends on a multiplicity of points of resistance: these play the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations. These points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network (1976: 95).

While Foucault spent less of his career examining how specific individuals responded to disciplinary technologies and prevailing sets of discourses, this was the focus of his later works. Foucault’s technologies of the self (1985) and practices of freedom (1986, 1987) provided a sophisticated map of how individuals managed these structures to actively engage in processes of self-

negotiation. These works not only give examples of responses to disciplinary technologies, but also strategies that individuals can employ to contribute to the production of their own subjectivities as well as problematize discourses with the intent of transforming them.

As discussed in chapter three, despite the significant changes to Nakoda ways of life that were instigated by the disciplinary technologies that they were exposed to with the creation of the reservation system, many community members continued to pursue their long-established subsistence land uses. The regime of disciplinary power that Nakoda communities encountered before the turn of the 20th century was extended into the ensuing decades through a multitude of technologies. Many of the aspects of the Indian Days itself can be considered disciplinary, but once again Nakoda participants at times refused certain disciplinary practices while engaging others. As Foucault (1980) recognized, when disciplinary techniques fail, it does not signify the dwindling influence of power, but rather that it requires as specific reorganization. From this perspective, resistance is not an indication that power is loosening its grip, but rather it is demonstrating that it is being exercised at a particular point. For Foucault, resistance simply symbolizes the need for power to be exercised in new ways. Resistance actually works as a catalyst to create new strategies of exercising power and consequently strengthens its positions in society (Markula and Pringle, 2006).

Butchart's (1998) historical research on colonial systems of medicine in South Africa provides an excellent example of how Foucault's (1980) concept of

strategic elaboration works on the ground in colonial contexts. In his study of how power was exercised to produce discourses of the African body, Butchart reveals how forms of resistance created new opportunities to exercise power and produce subjectivities. He indicates how a marketing campaign produced by Western doctors to educate Indigenous peoples about pressing health issues was rejected by local populations because it utilized European actors and did not include Indigenous perspectives of medicine. In contrast to Marxist-based analysis, which celebrated the protest by local populations over the campaign as the height of resistance against Western medical practices and the British colonial administration, Butchart argues that the response to the protests instituted changes to the health campaign that further entrenched colonial systems of discipline. By adopting some aspects of Indigenous medicine, the campaigns had more appeal to local populations, but Indigenous health practices were co-opted in processes that clearly situated them as supplementary and secondary alternatives to Western medicine. This had devastating implications for local traditional knowledge and Indigenous medicinal practices as it supported the health apparatus that was deeply invested in the philosophies of Western medicine.

Another example of how resistance produces new corridors for the exercise of colonial power can be seen in the history of the Indian Days. Whether considering local and regional newspaper coverage or oral accounts from 1910 to 1972, the majority of perspectives present a positive image of the event and very little direct public resistance to the festivals has been recorded.⁶⁷ However, in 1970, members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) arrived to investigate

the involvement of Aboriginal peoples in the festivals and convinced some participants to demand complete control over the event and exclude any outside influence in making representational decisions. The idea was raised by some Nakoda participants to shift the location of the festival to the Nakoda reservation at Morley to further facilitate this process. In addition to some negative media coverage on the Indian Days, the influence of the AIM forced a reconsideration of the roles Nakoda participants played in the organization of the event which opened up discussions for representational changes and negotiations on compensation. While this resistance can be conceptualized as creating better conditions for Nakoda participants at the Indian Days, this fuelled an internal debate within Nakoda communities which led to a boycott of the Indian Days the following summer in 1971.⁶⁸ As a consequence of the Nakoda boycott, other participating Aboriginal groups, including the Cree, Ktunaxa (Kootenay), Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee), Pikunni (Peigan), Siksika (Blackfoot), and the Kainai (Blood), were asked to fill the void at the Indian Days and as a result of their participation, the event ran quite smoothly. As a result of the boycott, Nakoda peoples temporarily lost their position and status as the majority group, which over many decades afforded them a unique position of influence compared to the other Aboriginal participants who were considered guests of the Nakoda. The 1971 festival clearly demonstrated that the Nakoda contributions to the Indian Days were replaceable by other Aboriginal groups and left them in a somewhat vulnerable position. The disapproval of the direction of Indian Days and the desire of Nakoda leaders to exercise more power over key decisions was certainly the

intent of the boycott; however, this expression of resistance facilitated a shifting of the balance of power in ways that asserted the authority of Euro-Canadian tourism producers to run the events in ways that did not relinquish control to participating Aboriginal groups. In this manner, resistance encouraged the formation of new and strategic currents of disciplinary power that allowed Nakoda peoples to participate in the Indian Days as long as tourism producers maintained the degree of organizational and representational control that they had become accustomed to over several decades of running the events. These examples demonstrate some of the complexities in the ways power relations are exercised in colonial contexts. Moreover, this analysis also reveals the need for interpretive frameworks that account for the intricacies of these interactions by acknowledging the resistive strategies employed by groups and also how these points of resistance fit into broader processes of colonial power relations.

Conclusion

The disciplinary practices that were introduced as part of the colonial administration's objectives to control and assimilate Aboriginal peoples cannot be viewed from only one perspective. It requires a multi-faceted approach to capture the heterogeneity, disjuncture and fragmented nature of the historical conditions that shape subjectivities and discursive realities in periods of colonial rule. By applying poststructural methodologies to colonial texts, Bhabha (1994) encouraged further interpretations of colonialism as dynamic processes that were more than something frozen in earlier temporal periods, but entities that

continually inform the present by demanding that we transform our understandings of cross-cultural relations.

This chapter offers a rethinking of the historical conditions and discourses of which the Banff Indian Days contributed to and existed within. The festivals had an incredible appeal to audiences as they were the region's most successful tourist draw throughout the first half of the 20th century. By selling specific pre-colonial representations of Aboriginal peoples, the Indian Days contributed to discourses that informed the production of "Aboriginality." To comprehensively examine the impact of the festivals within a broader historical context, one must understand how they exoticized and temporalized Aboriginal peoples in the processes of reinforcing pre-colonial conceptions of Aboriginal cultures, but also provided atypical socio-economic, political and cultural opportunities for Nakoda communities. Important aspects of these opportunities included financial gain, establishing critical spaces of interaction, reasserting links to significant cultural sites and identity-making possibilities.

As Kasson (2000) reveals in her study on Wild West theatre, the relationships between Aboriginal performers, entrepreneurs and audiences were filled with complexity and contradiction. Similarly through the Indian Days, questions of representations and derived meanings for Nakoda performers were varied and complicated as each individual produced many layers of understandings on how they were represented by others and how they represented themselves through the performance of their subjectivities in response to tourists' expectations. Oral accounts with Nakoda peoples reflect the great diversity of

experiences that were embodied by generations of participation in the Indian Days by their communities. Despite the presence of varied perceptions and interpretations of the event, Aboriginal peoples who participated in the Indian Days were never passive victims of the colonial policies that marginalized and disadvantaged their communities. In response to the constraints that affected their lives, Aboriginal peoples constantly negotiated with Euro-Canadian tourism producers, made decisions that best served their communities' interests and pursued any potential opportunities to celebrate their cultural practices and reassert their links to significant spaces.

Endnotes

¹ Primary information reviewed for this study includes: 1) transcripts of personal interviews conducted with Nakoda First Nation community members; 2) tourism materials from 1910-1972 in the form of CPR posters that were issued several times annually and distributed to both national and international audiences; 3) photographs of the Banff Indian Days and related events from the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies and the Glenbow Museum and Archives; and, 4) newspapers, including the *Banff Crag and Canyon* (published weekly throughout this time period), and the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Calgary Herald* (both published daily from Monday to Saturday in the month of July). The three newspapers were reviewed from 1910-1972 and were searched for information on the Banff Indian Days and other tourism-related articles. Although all weekly issues of the *Banff Crag and Canyon* were reviewed throughout each year, the daily issues of the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Calgary Herald* were reviewed using an index for the month of July in each year. Special attention was allocated to this month because the Indian Days were normally held during the middle of July throughout this period.

² *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 20 July 1912, 8.

³ The Ktunaxa (Kootenay) and Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee) first participated in 1914 and soon after attended regularly, *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 18 July 1914, 1. While oral accounts suggest that the Cree from Hobbema and members of the Blackfoot Confederacy may have participated with the Ktunaxa, Tsuu T'ina and the Nakoda (Stoney) earlier, newspaper accounts first acknowledge Cree and Blackfoot participation in the 1930s. See, *Calgary Herald*, 6 July 1931, 15.

⁴ *Calgary Herald*, 15 July, 1959, 49.

⁵ *Calgary Herald*, 20 July 1956, 2; *Calgary Herald*, 20 July 1963, 15.

⁶ *Calgary Herald*, 11 June 1943.

⁷ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 19 July 1958, 11.

⁸ See: Williams, 1922: 34.

⁹ *Calgary Herald*, 19 July 1926, 5.

¹⁰ *Calgary Herald*, 18 July 1929, 18.

¹¹ Margaret Snow, (personal interview, 14 November 2008).

¹² *Calgary Herald*, 17 July 1947, 1.

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- ¹³ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).
- ¹⁴ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 22 July 1911, 12.
- ¹⁵ *Calgary Herald*, 20 July 1921, 1.
- ¹⁶ *Calgary Herald*, 22 July 1925, 8.
- ¹⁷ Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.
- ¹⁸ Margaret Snow, (personal interview, 14 November 2008).
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Margaret Snow, (personal interview, 14 November 2008); Also supported by: *Calgary Herald*, 20 July 1921.
- ²¹ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 12 July 1936, 7. Also supported by Margaret Snow, (personal interview, 14 November 2008).
- ²² Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).
- ²³ *Calgary Herald*, 21 July 1955, 13; *Edmonton Journal*, 16 July 1957, 12.
- ²⁴ *Calgary Herald*, 19 July 1958, 14.
- ²⁵ *Edmonton Journal*, 16 July 1957, 12.
- ²⁶ *Calgary Herald*, 24 July 1936, 9.
- ²⁷ Margaret Snow, (personal interview, 14 November 2008); Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 14 November 2008).
- ²⁸ *Calgary Herald*, 19 July 1926, 2.
- ²⁹ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 16 June 1939, 1. Travois are a method of carrying loads behind a horse in rough terrain. They were often used by Plains peoples to carry children.
- ³⁰ Margaret Snow, (personal interview, 14 November 2008).
- ³¹ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 15 July 1954, 1.
- ³² *Calgary Herald*, 18 July 1923, 7.

³³ *Calgary Herald*, 22 July 1925, 7.

³⁴ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 11 July 1913, 2.

³⁵ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).

³⁶ *Calgary Herald*, 12 July 1935, 15.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ For an example of some of the individuals see, *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 25 July 1941, 1.

³⁹ Helen Keller (*Banff Crag and Canyon*, 28 July 1939, 1) and British Princess Margaret Rose (*Banff Crag and Canyon*, 18 July 1958, 7) are examples of some of the more famous honorary Nakoda First Nations members.

⁴⁰ Jackson Welsey (personal interview, 3 December, 2007).

⁴¹ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

⁴² *Calgary Herald*, 4 August 1927, 6.

⁴³ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

⁴⁴ For descriptions of these theatre performances see, *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 19 July 1929,1; *Calgary Herald*, 18 July 1941, 1.

⁴⁵ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

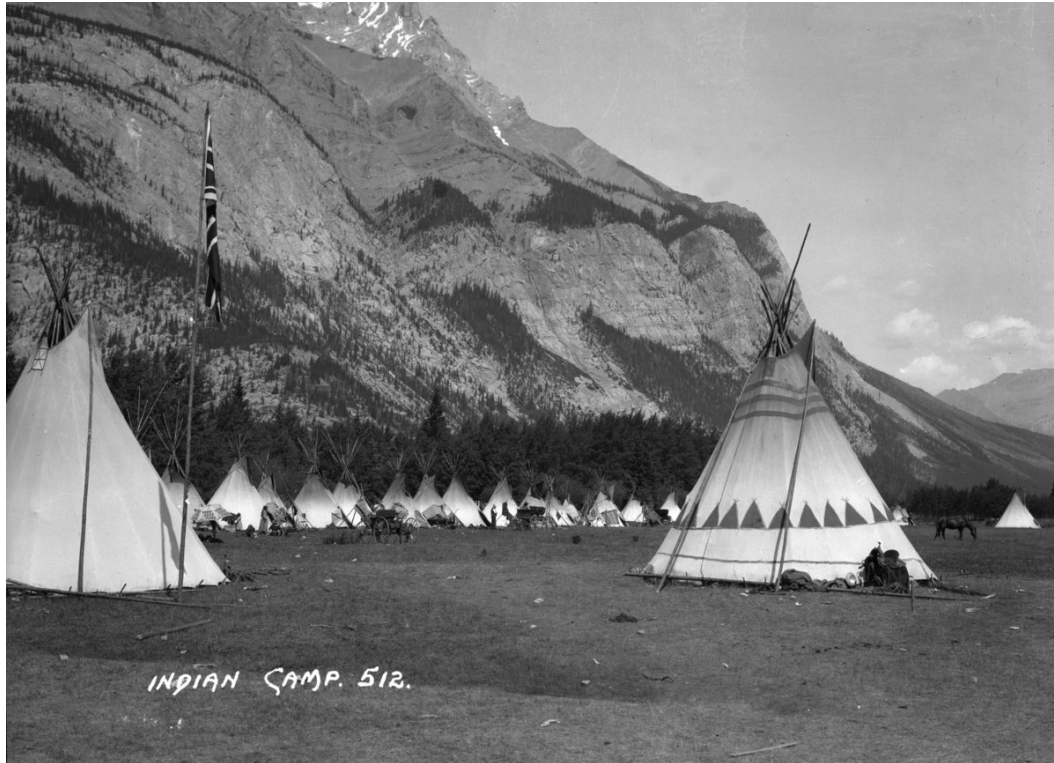
⁴⁹ For more of the exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from RMP based on conflicts over their subsistence land use practices and park policies see: Binnema and Niemi, 2006.

⁵⁰ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).

⁵¹ Jackson Welsey (personal interview, 3 December, 2007).

⁵² Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).

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- ⁵³ Margaret Snow, (personal interview, 14 November 2008).
- ⁵⁴ *Calgary Herald*, 11 June 1943, 4.
- ⁵⁵ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).
- ⁵⁸ Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April, 2006).
- ⁵⁹ *Calgary Herald*, 21 July 1956, 1.
- ⁶⁰ *Calgary Herald*, 20 July 1946, 1.
- ⁶¹ Ibid.
- ⁶² Banff Crag and Canyon, 19 July 1931, 9.
- ⁶³ *Calgary Herald*, 11 July 1936, 17.
- ⁶⁴ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 19 July 1961, 2.
- ⁶⁵ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 17 August 1965, 1.
- ⁶⁶ Personal Interview, Nakoda elder, Morley, Alberta.
- ⁶⁷ While the Banff Indian Days were last celebrated in 1978 because of changing attitudes and organizational problems, beginning in 1971, disputes over fair compensation for Aboriginal participants caused the Nakoda to boycott the event. Moreover, the organizing committee became frustrated with the amount of work and the lack of support from businesses in Banff. It is also worth noting that in 1992 the Buffalo Nations Cultural Society revived the festival at a local ranching venue near the Nakoda reservation at Morley. Under the name *Tribal Days*, the event received relatively little attention from local tourists. Since 2005, a small three-day Nakoda gathering has annually occurred in Banff. This initiative is led by Nakoda leaders and Parks Canada. Roland Rollinmud (personal interview, 10 April 2006).
- ⁶⁸ *Banff Crag and Canyon*, 28 July 1971, 4.

Appendix.***Figure 5-1.***

Banff Indian Days Campground Underneath Cascade Mt. (1920).

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.
V263-na-3229. (photographer: Byron Harmon).

Figure 5-2.



The Banff Indian Days Parade (1941).
In full regalia, including elaborate headdresses and decorated horses, Aboriginal peoples pass by the Banff Springs Hotel during the parade. Nakoda men George McLean on foot at right and Job Slevin on foot at left.

Courtesy of the Glenbow Museum Archives.
na-1241-753. (photographer: F. Gully).

Figure 5-3.



The Banff Indian Days Parade (1942).
Led by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and
witnessed by spectators, Aboriginal participants parade down
Banff Avenue on their way to the Banff Springs Hotel.

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.
v263-na-3372. (photographer: Byron Harmon).

Figure 5-4.



Aboriginal Contestants in the Men's Foot Race at the Banff Indian Days (1925).

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies
v263-na-3327. (photographer: Byron Harmon).

Figure 5-5.



Aboriginal Competitors in the Men's Horse Race at the Banff Indian Days (1925).

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.
v263-na-3323. (photographer: Byron Harmon).

Figure 5-6.



Aboriginal Participants in the Archery Competition at the Banff Indian Days (1939).

Courtesy of the Glenbow Museum and Archives.
na-1241-563. (photographer: unknown).

Figure 5-7.



Banff Indian Days Campgrounds (1923).

Several woman organizers preparing to set off to participate in the parade.
From left: unidentified Nakoda woman, Enos Hunter, Mrs. Enos Hunter,
Mrs. Hector Crawler and an unidentified child.

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies
v263-na-3257. (photographer: Byron Harmon).

Figure 5-8.



Aboriginal Women Participants in the Banff Indian Days (1941).
Aboriginal women race around the track during the travois race as a
component of the rodeo events.

Courtesy of the Glenbow Museum and Archives.
na-1241-699. (photographer: F. Gully).

Figure 5-9.



CPR Tourism Poster (1939).
 Focusing on exotic regalia, such as the peace pipe, this promotional image is an example of a pre-colonial representation that temporalizes Aboriginal peoples as part of a bygone past.

Courtesy of Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives
 A. 6143. (artist: unknown).

Figure 5-10.



Aboriginal Performers at the Banff Indian Days (1941). Nakoda men during a dance performance with tipis and the Banff Springs Hotel in the backdrop. In this case, the dress of Nakoda performers support the desired pre-colonial representations of “Aboriginality” forwarded by tourism producers.

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies v263-na-3353. (photographer: Byron Harmon).

Figure 5-11.



Playing with Identities (1935).

The tourism industry became an interesting space to fracture one-dimensional imagery of Aboriginal peoples. This picture was taken during the Indian Days for a postcard promoting tourism in Banff. It depicts several Nakoda leaders and one young woman golfing at the Banff Springs Hotel course as tourism entrepreneurs caddy for the group.

Courtesy of the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies.
v263-na-3284. (photographer: Byron Harmon).

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CONCLUSIONS, NEW DIRECTIONS AND WAYS FORWARD

The Awakening (August 2009)

It was one of those summer days where you are just glad to be alive. It was early in the evening in August and I was travelling on the 1A highway east through the Nakoda reservation near Morley. The sun was shining with brilliance and I had just turned away from the sparkling Bow River heading into the shadow of Yamnuska, a mountain that has particular significance for Nakoda peoples as a location for important ceremonies. I was on my way to a sweat lodge at the home of an elder I had met through volunteering. I felt honoured and excited to be invited, along with a friend, to such an intimate cultural experience by a respected elder and medicine man.

On the eve of my 30th birthday, in general I was feeling pretty good about life. I had moved to Banff in May to be closer to the people I was working with and the places I was writing about. I had enjoyed a productive summer interacting with community members through volunteering with the Banff Indian Days Organizing Committee and the Stoney Park Aboriginal Cultural Society. I was really getting to know some community members and my work was serving some of the interests of the individuals that had participated in my study. I felt that these community members were satisfied with my commitment to reciprocity - a responsibility that I assumed and took quite seriously. Most of the projects I was involved with centered on developing cultural and youth programs to help manage some of the pressing health and social issues facing the growing under twenty-five population on the reserve. I was always hopeful that my research and

volunteering would make a positive contribution to this community, but now the specifics of how these small but meaningful contributions would impact the lives of some community members were starting to emerge.

As I waited at a stop to make a turn, it hit me! A minivan going over 80km/hr rear-ended my vehicle and the impact sent my car across the road into an adjacent field. After a few minutes of orienting ourselves, I approached the minivan as it stopped at the side of the road where the accident had occurred. After a short discussion with the driver, the local Nakoda woman informed me that she did not intend to stick around for the RCMP. She left the scene of the accident and shortly thereafter rolled the vehicle killing one passenger and seriously injuring two others. She eventually was charged with driving under the influence of alcohol and manslaughter.

Over the next few weeks my time was filled with accident reports, insurance forms and self-reflection. I had a series of interactions with insurance adjustors, RCMP officers, a medical examiner, a tow-truck driver and numerous others over the details of the accident. Through these exchanges I was awakened to all the different forms of institutionalized racism that were expressed through this process. At times overt racial tropes were evoked regarding the “Natives” and also more subtle and suggestive comments that linked my accident to broader issues facing Aboriginal communities. Through these discussions, individuals reaffirmed their knowledge of and experience with Aboriginal peoples and contributed to discourses that informed the production of “Aboriginality.” For me, these experiences not only emphasized the relevance of my research, but also

demonstrated the forms of colonial violence that were constituted through diverse discursive fields.

Aboriginal author Thomas King suggests that “the truth about stories is that that’s all we are” (2003: 32). This personal account of my own can be paralleled with many of the experiences of the Nakoda peoples who contributed to this study in that it represents only a few of the many possible stories that could or should be shared. While this dissertation is primarily about the histories of Nakoda peoples in the Banff-Bow Valley, my own subjectivity as a researcher is also a part of this story, especially in how the experiences of Nakoda peoples have been shared, interpreted and presented in the context of this written dissertation.

For several years I have tried to understand my own position as a Euro-Canadian, male, graduate student working with Aboriginal peoples and in their communities. This issue first emerged early in my graduate studies as I took courses that forced students to problematize their own subjectivity in their research. I spent time processing some of the key works in standpoint theory (Collins, 1998; Smith, 2004; Harding, 2004, 2006), which outlined the strengths and pitfalls of adhering to standpoint positions in research with marginalized peoples. I appreciated several aspects of the standpoint approach, including the concentration on the experiences of marginalized subjectivities and the privileging of their knowledges. However, I was uncomfortable with the binaries produced and maintained by some standpoint perspectives and I felt that they limited possibilities for political action and change. Crosby (1992) also heeds caution in her analysis of the limitations that can stem from tying epistemic perspectives too closely to social or material locations.

Years later in my fieldwork, an important conversation with a Nakoda elder expanded my thinking on this topic. Through the telling of a story, he expressed his opinion that the best political work is accomplished by individuals who share similar objectives, not necessarily cultures. To him, the collective values that guide political work are far more important than the specific social locations from which researchers arrive at such work.¹ This aligns with Butler's (1992) point of view that argues against showing one's "identity card" at the door before being granted access to come inside and work on political issues. She suggests that politics get done by people coming together through issues that are of interest rather than having to identify with specific groups. While always critically aware of how my own subjectivity impacted my research, whether it was how I behaved or how my behaviour was evaluated when working in Aboriginal communities, I was reassured by confirmations that my research mattered to community members and that it was generally welcomed by leaders and elders. The accident itself and the related experiences encouraged a deeper level of self-awareness that forced me to reflect on the ways that I was emotionally and physically connected to the peoples and stories that informed this study.

Part of the successful relationships that I established related to this research was due to my commitment to privilege Aboriginal perspectives in the histories I was listening to, recording, learning about, and later interpreting. Much of the primary evidence presented in this dissertation was obtained from the oral histories with Nakoda First Nations community members. The accounts of their experiences engendered new meanings of the history of interactions between

humans in the Banff-Bow Valley. Rooted in the theoretical and methodological choices that guided this research, this dissertation makes an explicit call for scholars working with Indigenous communities to establish collaborative relationships and privilege Indigenous perspectives. Butchart (1998) warns scholars about the drawbacks that exist in conducting research with a distinct cultural group. He argues that academics sometimes essentialize group experiences and reify cultures as static entities. Despite the fact that I was aware of Butchart's critique, I did at times find myself essentializing the experiences of Nakoda peoples and overextending evidence based on the experiences of a few individuals. I found this a distinct challenge to overcome in both the research and writing processes. By treating the experiences of individuals with a high-level of sensitivity, closely specifying how these experiences were connected to broader policy and politics, and historically contextualizing each experience, my work reinforces the point that an ethno-specific analysis can offer representative accounts of specific cultural groups without essentializing their experiences and related identities.

An increasing body of scholarship continues to develop that is concerned with the inequalities that face Indigenous communities internationally (Bruner, 2001; Brennan, 2004; Sweet, 2004; Stewart-Harawira, 2005; Butler and Hinch, 2007). Unfortunately, only a small portion of the extensive amount of research that examines the disparities in quality of life that exist between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, consults Indigenous perspectives. In sport and tourism disciplines, these studies are predominantly focused on representational

issues. As both Said (1978) and Bhabha (1994) contend, examining representations in colonial contexts is decisive as the motivations and sources of Western compulsions to colonize are due in large part to Western representations of foreign cultures. In this regard, all critical examinations of representations of Indigenous cultures are important, but the epistemological bases of these studies also need to be reconsidered from time to time. I encourage researchers to move beyond deconstructions of representations that leave the underpinning historical and material aspects of the representations uncritically examined. Scholars can avoid these epistemological issues by selecting methods that consult with those that produce and consume representations to interpret the conditions and the constraints that influence these processes. Especially when involving Indigenous peoples, a lack of consultation is considered a major oversight (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Therefore it is essential to identify with the experiences of the individuals who have the most at stake in these representations – Indigenous peoples and communities. As Bishop (2005) argues, to evade reifying colonial discourses, scholars must form extensive collaborations with Indigenous communities in any forms of research that involves Indigenous peoples. By incorporating their perspectives, scholars can commit to conducting research that privileges Indigenous knowledges, voices and ways of interpreting (Tuhiwai Smith, 2005). This consultation process also connects Indigenous representations and histories with the present and future material conditions of their lives. Contextualizing analyses of cultural representations is fundamental, but it is also crucial to link

these processes to the contemporary lived realities of the communities with whom researchers collaborate.

The forms of institutionalized racism that are alluded to in my story at the beginning of this conclusion demonstrate why it is critical to reach out to broader Canadian society to foster relationships where non-Aboriginal peoples can learn from and with Aboriginal peoples. My teaching and research experiences as a graduate student have offered reminders that most forms of intolerance are fundamentally based on a lack of experience with and understandings of a particular subject. In a Canadian context, projects that privilege the experiences of Aboriginal peoples can certainly make critical contributions to informing all Canadians about the distinct challenges that Aboriginal communities face. Moreover, exploring aspects of Aboriginal cultural histories, practices and identities can be one step in building relationships where their viewpoints can be shared in ways that encourage appreciation, tolerance and respect. Cruikshank (1994) argues that listening to the experiences of Aboriginal peoples will promote respect for the human diversity of North America and produce innovative solutions to many of the problems our societies currently face. For example, as the Canadian federal Conservative government continues to forward short-sighted economic development at the cost of polluting the air we breathe and the water we drink, diverse Aboriginal perspectives of subsistence land uses and environmental sustainability could help answer the complex questions that all Canadians confront.

By no means am I presenting this piece of scholarship as a model for best practice, as there were some challenges that I encountered where I failed to meet my own expectations and those of others. As an inexperienced researcher in Aboriginal communities, I learned to manage difficult situations in collaborative processes through trial and error – making some mistakes along the way that would have been pre-empted by more seasoned scholars. One of the most significant challenges that I confronted was trying to understand how historical research with community members can create bonds and unify groups, but sharing difficult stories can also be emotionally charged in ways that produce divisions in communities. This challenge was not easily overcome as it forced a critical rethinking around the negative impacts my research could produce in communities that I cared very much about. However, despite these stumbling blocks, I hope that this study encourages other scholars, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, to incorporate and privilege Aboriginal perspectives by collaborating with the communities that enable their research.

This dissertation does offer new understandings of the cultural histories of the Banff-Bow Valley as it centers on the experiences of Nakoda peoples in their interactions with the colonial bureaucracy and later through tourism industries in Banff. The intent of this study is not to outline the diverse meanings generated about racism for Aboriginal peoples, but to highlight the specific constraints and barriers that operated in ways that had distinct consequences for the individuals that contributed to this research and their respective communities. While examining how the technologies of discipline that the colonial regime

systemically instituted altered the lives of Nakoda peoples, this work is also concerned with how individuals and groups reacted to these limitations to generate meanings from their lived experiences. Through analyzing the discursive conditions that led to the formation of the national parks and the development of tourism economies, it is clear that local Aboriginal peoples played a significant role in the production of discourses that positioned their cultures as a component of emerging multi-cultural Canadian societies. Although perhaps only as a diminutive component of larger complicated processes, this dissertation does contribute to our understandings of the experiences of Aboriginal peoples and the discourses that informed the production of “Aboriginality” during a dynamic period of the history of Alberta.

As with the personal account that led this discussion, in many ways new experiences and knowledges can engender more complex readings. By reflecting on the experiences associated with conducting this research, it is clear to me that this work has produced more questions than it has actually addressed. Although there are a plethora of relevant areas of inquiry that surfaced in the processes of completing this study, for the purposes of this forum, I limit them to a few that I feel are the most pressing. This set of questions is concerned with some of the gaps in scholarship that exist in the cultural histories of the Banff-Bow Valley: 1) What were the experiences of other non-European groups, such as Chinese miners or Japanese Prisoners of War, who also contributed to the development of the parks and had their access to the region severely restricted?; 2) What were the conflicts or struggles that led to the discontinuation of the Banff Indian Days in

the late 1970s and what discursive conditions contributed to their revival in 2005?; and 3) What other types of experiences opened up spaces, or presented limitations, for Aboriginal actors to pursue socio-economic, political and cultural opportunities in the Banff-Bow Valley? To accompany these questions, I offer some future directions of research which are more concerned with broader contexts of examining power relations in colonial societies: 1) How do more comprehensive perspectives of power offer new understandings of the diverse intentions, interactions and meanings that produced colonial relationships?; and 2) How do acts of colonial violence endure in contemporary Canadian societies in ways that form significant barriers for Aboriginal peoples to engage with non-Aboriginal communities and cultivate positive relations? The knowledge I have gained through my research about the cultural histories of the region has not provided comprehensive answers to these multifaceted questions or subjects of investigation, but I pose them because they demand the attention of critical scholars.

By anchoring this work in the experiences and knowledges that are situated on the margins, I have tried to recognize the ways that some discourses are enabled, and as a consequence, reveal opportunities both for the production of alternative discourses and the refusal of prevailing discourses. Jiwani (2006) argues that it is through disturbing the complacencies that we get a glimpse at the alternatives. The first step in this process begins with an investigation of the discourses that produce perceptions of racial subjectivities. Determining what the discourses are, including the practices and values that inform them, and how they

implicate the lives of marginalized peoples, can open up possible sites of intervention. It is important to identify the forms that legitimation takes and then chart the fragmented and dilemmatic nature of discourse as it is at these points of fracture and contradiction that there is scope for transformations (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). Offering alternative stories to the ones that are usually told is an integral component. After key discourses are identified, it then becomes necessary to refuse prevailing discourses in attempts to generate alternatives. Although sites of refusal may be tenuous and only available at particular moments, they are crucial to formalize changes to the lives we live and the practices that shape them (Jiwani, 2006). It is when these brief possibilities arise that the practices that produce discourses and related representations or identities must be subverted (Hutcheon, 2002). Shogan (1999) demonstrates that it is through questioning the discursive codes and standards and then refusing to passively engage these standards that opportunities to push the limits and produce new experiences of subjectivity are formulated. By identifying discourses and how they impacted the lives of Aboriginal peoples, this research serves as a springboard for producing social change as sites of intervention or refusal, and the possibilities within them, are subsequently exposed.

Histories of colonial exploitation and violence cannot be partitioned from the contemporary realities of racial discourse, identity-making, and power relations. Paul Gilroy (2005) contends that we must pursue ownership of our own pasts in order to properly contextualize these histories in ways that account for the current processes of decolonization, multiculturalism, identity-making and social

justice. It must be stressed that these histories of colonial violence cannot be erased from our collective memory. Ultimately, it is my hope that this dissertation contributes to our knowledge and understandings of the histories of colonial oppression in Canadian society and the discursive conditions that produced the experiences of Aboriginal peoples. Acknowledging these experiences is a critical aspect of appreciating our collective pasts, however it is also a necessary mechanism of moving forward as these processes allow us to strategically navigate political corridors, enact meaningful changes and respond to the vital question: where do we go from here?

Endnotes

¹ Lenny Poucette, (personal interview, 9 October, 2007).

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