

THE IMPACT OF TOURISM ON HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION
IN NOVA SCOTIA

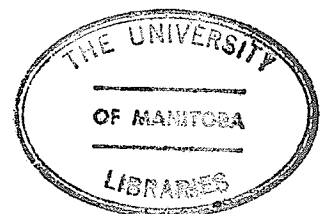
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by

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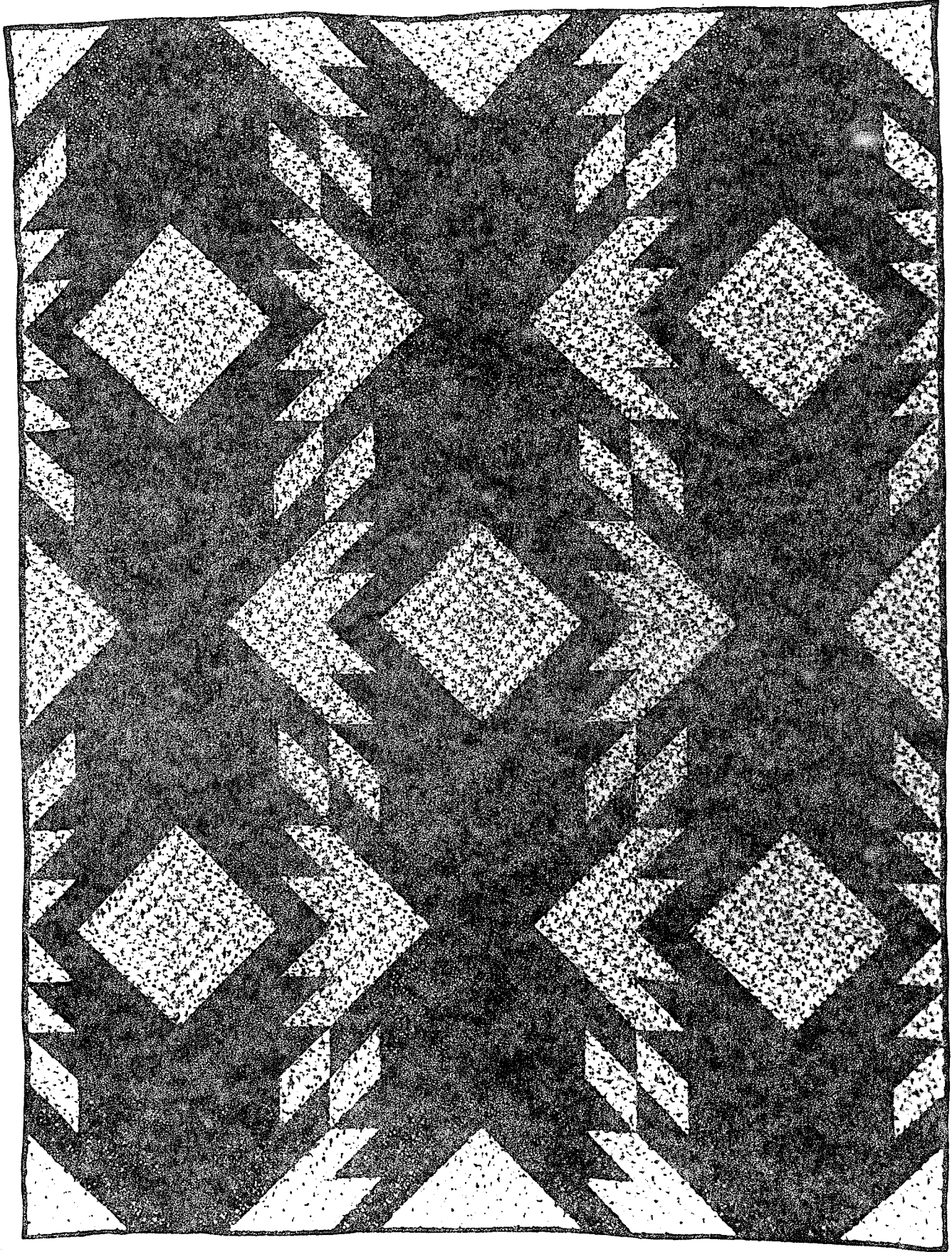
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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CROW'S NEST QUILT

Award for best in Designer Craftsmen '78 Juried Exhibition
by Barbara Robson.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of how modern mass tourism affects the production of handicrafts in a host community. Using anthropological literature on this subject as a starting point, I have restricted the empirical aspects of my investigation to Nova Scotia, arguing that the influence of the tourist market has been felt on several levels. By simultaneously reviving local interest in traditional handicraft production and by initiating the process of commercialization, the mass tourist market influences changes in the form and function of craft objects, in the modes of their production and distribution and in the traditional social values associated with these objects. Unlike most other Nova Scotian crafts, quiltmaking was found to have been strongly resistant to market pressures and to have remained, on the whole, consistent with the values of traditional craftsmanship.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis reflects a study of how modern mass tourism affects the production of handicrafts in a host community. Its primary concern is with the process of craft commercialization and with the modifications of tradition that occur when local craftsmen respond to the demands of the tourist souvenir market. I have restricted the empirical aspects of my investigation to the province of Nova Scotia and focus upon the manner in which tourist-related transformations in craft production tend to change the attitudes of local craftsmen, especially of those who are engaged in quilting.

The main impetus for the topic came from a review of literature in two areas of anthropological concern: 1) the anthropology of art and 2) the anthropology of tourism. The work of Nelson H. H. Graburn concerning the transformation of arts among peoples undergoing acculturation was especially suggestive. His enunciation of problems which exist in this field and his description of what happens to arts under the influence of tourism have given stimulus to the growth of anthropological interest in this area of human behavior. Such interest is reflected in the recent collection of re-

search articles in Ethnic and Tourist Arts (Graburn 1976). These studies deal with the influence of tourism upon arts production in a number of regions around the world frequented by the mass tourist.

Much of the work in this field has focused almost exclusively upon acculturating, non-Western or small-scale societies rather than communities which are fully incorporated into the modern industrial system. It has generally been concerned with the impact of external influence, stemming from industrial centers, on the social environment of this production. Studies of tourism have tended to emphasize the interaction between natives and tourists, drawing attention to the negative sociocultural consequences of tourist consumption upon the host societies. They have also cast doubt upon the prevailing assumption that significant economic benefits accrue to the local inhabitants as a result of the tourist industry.

The present research project therefore fits into a larger theoretical framework of anthropological concern. However, although the theoretical basis and the principal hypotheses for this study were derived from anthropological literature, it differs from most other research in this area insofar as it focuses not on a small-scale society but upon a region (Nova Scotia) which is part of industrialized society.

The anthropological and sociological literature surveyed indicates that, while there appears to be a general and widespread trend towards the modification of artistic traditions in response to the mass tourist market, there have also occurred instances of resistance to these pressures. It was therefore desirable to explore those factors which tend to foster a wholesale transformation of local arts into objects for tourist consumption, and also to describe those influences which may be at work fostering the preservation of artistic traditions.

Additionally, the literature surveyed seemed to indicate that local arts production has been generally vulnerable to tourist-induced modifications, but that the influence of tourists varied according to two variables: the specific conditions under which the tourist/craftsman interaction occurred and the differing technical and social characteristics of a particular artistic tradition. Another aim of this study, therefore, is to help explain the particular types of resistance responses of some artistic traditions to the tourist impact.

Based upon these findings deriving from published research and from a preliminary inspection of the tourist market in Nova Scotia, the starting assumption of this study was that there exists a tourist demand for souvenirs in this province and that local craftsmen have responded in large numbers to this demand. Two derivative and coincidental hypotheses were (1) that tourist demand for souvenirs in

Nova Scotia had acted as a stimulus for the revival and increase in production of local handicrafts and that, (2) simultaneously, tourist demand had also created conditions which were leading to the transformation of this production, from one which was tradition and function oriented to one which was being directed by the requirements of the tourist market. Such transformations would involve, on one level, modifications in the forms of the handicraft objects and a relaxation of standards of workmanship. On another level, this commercialization process was thought to modify the function of the objects produced, from that of serving the social and aesthetic (as well as the practical) needs of the producing community to that of serving exclusively as a commodity which was convertible into cash.

An additional anticipation was that the expectations of the producers, with regards to the profits that they would realize from production for the tourist market, were exaggerated and that in fact such profits would be inhibited by factors which are endemic to the commercialization of handicraft production. Among the factors which were expected to act in this inhibiting manner was the subordination, in a free market, of the interest of local producers to the more powerful economic forces of mass factory production. Another was the ability of importers and local retailers to obtain mass produced imitations of local handicrafts from the cheap labor areas of Asia.

In fact, as Chapter IV of the thesis will show, these

hypotheses, while being generally useful as an initial guide to research, proved to be rather oversimplified and lacking in sufficient discrimination between types of artisans involved in the handicraft process. They were also found to lack precision when it came to an analysis of the manner in which such crafts as quilting, for instance, had resisted market pressures towards standardization and loss of quality.

The principal part of the actual field work upon which Chapters III and IV are based was done during the tourist seasons of 1976 and 1977. There were two phases in this research. The first phase was focused upon the production of handicrafts generally, the second upon quilting. Although the main sources of information were craftsmen, retailers of handicrafts and other souvenirs and tourists, interviews were conducted with government officials involved with handicrafts or with tourism. There were altogether ninety-three interviews, which are classifiable into the following seven categories:

Tourists	22
Quilters	19
Other craftsmen	14
Retailers of handicrafts	16
Retailers of general souvenirs	13
Government officials	8
Wholesale distributor of souvenirs	1

Informants among the craftsmen included weavers, quilters, potters, makers of shell and woodcrafts, and a

variety of needlecrafts such as knitting, sewing, crocheting and embroidery. Owners of gift stores, their sales personnel and a wholesale distributor of souvenir merchandise were interviewed. Tourist informants were primarily from the North Central United States and Ontario, although quite a number were from other points of origin scattered throughout North America. Government officials interviewed included members of the provincial departments of tourism, recreation, development and education as well as representatives of the federal Cape Breton Development Corporation.

Several methods for locating informants were used, the principal of which was to travel by automobile on the tourist routes of Nova Scotia (see Appendix A for a map of these routes) seeking interviews at gift stores or private houses bearing "craft for sale" signs. Frequently this procedure required one or more return visits to a location where referrals to additional craftsmen could be followed up. Tourists were generally interviewed on the spot in front of gift stores, although some were contacted aboard ferries or in restaurants. Travel brochures which guide tourists through the province and to particular points of interest were adhered to in a manner designed to duplicate the movements of tourists.

Selection of informants from among craftsmen was made from a handicraft directory produced by the provincial government in order to help tourists locate craftsmen who live off of the main highways. Some additional craftsmen

were contacted at various art and craft fairs. Another group was interviewed as a result of the researcher's enrollment in a course in quilting. Still others were contacted through personal references of acquaintances or of craftsmen who had already been interviewed. This last method, however, was not successful with retailers who generally refused to give the interviewer the names of craftsmen who supplied them with their products for fear of losing sales to an out-of-house transaction.

Contacts with government officials were facilitated by a key informant at the Department of Development who referred the researcher to appropriate spokesmen. Interviews with retailers took place on their business premises while craftsmen were interviewed primarily in their homes. Informants were generally hospitable and cooperative, with interviews usually lasting for one hour. The shortest interview was ten minutes long and the longest lasted for over two hours. Interviews with craftsmen were the longest in duration while those with tourists tended to be considerably shorter.

Interviews were open-ended. Questions were introduced during the course of the conversation encouraging informants to speak at length on a particular topic and returning them to the primary subject when necessary. The main topics covered in interviews are listed in Appendix B.

Among the limitations placed on this study owing to time and space restrictions, the most important one was a decision not to attempt to obtain quantifiable data. This decision was made because no reliable figures are available for such critical variables as the total number of craftsmen in the province and for their break-down into the categories of artist-craftsmen, kitchen craftsmen and hobbyists. Nor are there any figures giving production rates and average annual incomes for these categories or figures indicating the amount of souvenirs imported from foreign countries.

The second limiting decision was not to attempt to develop scientific sampling procedures. This decision was based on the assumption that before such precise methodology could be meaningfully introduced into a new area of investigation, a broad overview study should be done. Additional research in this area would entail a statistical treatment of the major variables uncovered by this effort.

Subsequent chapters of this study are organized in such a way that a discussion of the literature surveyed is presented in Chapter II. Data collected in Nova Scotia are described in Chapters III and IV, the former dealing with tourism and its general impact on local handicrafts production, the latter dealing with quilting activities in relation to tourism. Finally, Chapter V attempts to

summarize the main findings in Nova Scotia as they tend to support or refute the initial hypotheses of the research project.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON TOURISM AND CONTEMPORARY ARTS

This review of literature has been divided into several sections. The first of these outlines some of the current directions in the anthropological study of art. It is followed by a discussion of works on mass tourism. The broad focus on topics of art and tourism is then narrowed down to a consideration of the relationship between art production and tourism. Specifically, this involves a survey of anthropological literature dealing with the impact of mass tourism upon host societies, with mass tourism and the demand for souvenir art, with the impact of the tourist market upon art traditions, with the impact of commercialization on traditional art forms and, finally, with resistance to standardization by traditional artists. The survey concludes with a review of literature on the economic impact of arts production for the tourist market and on the effects of government intervention in this area.

The key concept with which these writings are concerned is art. Much of the meaning of this term depends upon the particular frame of reference within which one places the activities subsumed under it. In addition to the general

term "art", a number of specialized words are also used by anthropologists in order to define more closely their subject matter. Therefore, this Chapter will begin with a brief terminological discussion, the aim of which is to establish a series of definitions for terms frequently used in anthropological writings which are relevant to this study.

Anthropologists as a rule approach art in a comparative manner, as a cultural phenomenon. They tend to include a large spectrum of artistic manifestations in the scope of their studies and in their definition of art. This tendency is reflected in Dark's definition (1967:132) in which "art" stands for those "products which man has created as a result of the application of his knowledge and skill according to the canons of taste held as artistic by his culture." Thus, those productions which are subsumed under the term art, when used in this sense, may be those which are classed in the tradition of Western civilization as fine arts, as well as those which are defined as crafts.

The term "traditional art" tends to be used by anthropologists to specify cultural artifacts that are linked with the past and that carry those associations of social, religious, aesthetic, or psychological significance which are still important to contemporary populations (Mead 1976:292).

"Folk art" is a term which usually refers to the artistry of peasants. The term is also used for "those remnants of local traditions that have broad appeal, that represent the continuing traditions of hand-made things, which are not

officially part of the art establishment..." (Graburn 1975: 5-6).

The traditional arts of small-scale, non-Western peoples have long been termed "primitive art". However, since the number of art-producing societies which still follow local traditions has decreased, the concept of "acculturation art" is now used by some anthropologists to distinguish contemporary production from that of the past. As defined by Graburn (1969:1) this term refers to that production which "differs significantly from traditional expressions in form, content, or function, and often medium, which also differs from the various forms of art indigenous to ever-growing civilization".

Anthropologists of art are increasingly using three additional definitions which have been devised by Graburn. According to that author, "functional arts" are those which "perform traditional functions within the society where they are created although changes may have taken place at the level of medium or technique. ...The forms, symbolic meanings, and place of the arts in society have not changed significantly from their traditional forerunners" (Graburn 1969:2-3). "Commercial (fine) arts" are those which are "produced to satisfy their creators and other members of the artist's society, but must also appeal to the buyers of "primitive arts [or "folk arts"] around the world" (Graburn 1969:3). According to Graburn, these art forms generally stem from traditional production but they may be new forms

devised for commercial purposes. Finally, "souvenir art", "tourist art" or "airport art" are produced for a general public concerned with obtaining a travel memento at a cheap price. They are characterized by the subordination of the producer's own tastes and traditions to increase the quantity of output and the saleability of the product. They may stem from traditional arts, and may be produced by native peoples or they may be imitated by the mass producers of souvenirs in the orient (Graburn 1964:4).

Contemporary Directions in the
Anthropological Study of Art

The modern anthropological approach to the study of art as a cultural phenomenon focuses upon two distinct aspects of artistic behavior: the processes involved in the actual manufacture and utilization of art objects, and the effect which the production and the use of these objects has upon society. The first aspect implies an understanding of the symbolic meanings associated with the different types of social relations which occur in particular cultures. The second approach requires an understanding of the aesthetic values which are expressed through the formal characteristics of the art object (Firth 1966:18).

The collections of Otten (1971) and of Jopling (1971) exemplify contemporary research in the field of the anthropology of art. Both authors have brought together a collection of articles which focus upon the relationship between art and other elements of society, and both works present studies of the creative processes and the aesthetic

ideas that are encountered in non-Western societies.

A major change in these art studies has occurred since 1971, when Charlotte Otten pointed out that, up to that time, research on the process of acculturation in art had been almost totally neglected. She observed (1971:xv) that

any ethnographer will comment verbally upon the deterioration and rapid change in art style and function in his area associated with tourism and the almost limitless demand for cheap souvenir items or "pseudo-ethnographic" art objects. Yet systematic studies of the exact sources and nature of cultural pressures, the differential changes in various styles and function categories, and of the avenues and modes of transformation have been, as yet, hardly attempted.

Since that date, several anthropologists have begun doing research in this field. Perhaps the most prominent among them is Nelson Graburn, whose interest in arts involves the study of both the continuity and the changes which occur within them as a result of the process of acculturation.

The Phenomenon of Mass Tourism

Tourism has, in the last decade, become an important area of research for social scientists. Literature on this subject covers the history of tourism as well as its economic, social and cultural impact upon host communities.

Mass traveling for pleasure is a relatively modern phenomenon. According to Pi-Sunyer (1974:8), tourism began to emerge in the nineteenth century, but mass tourism, a qualitatively new development, emerged in the years following World War II. It was made possible by a drastic improvement

in transportation facilities, particularly in air travel, and by the growth of prosperity among the middle class and the better paid working class of North America and Western Europe. Today, mass tourism is characterized by a very large volume of demand and by huge capital investments. Observers such as Greenwood view mass tourism as a manifestation of mass consumptionism which today characterizes the advanced capitalist societies. Greenwood, in fact, has remarked that tourism has become "the largest scale movement of goods and services that humanity has perhaps ever seen" (1974:1).

Studies of mass tourism demonstrate that it has become one of the major industries of the world. Thus Fletcher (1976:8) draws attention to statistics of the World Tourist Organization, which show that tourism is the second most important category of world trade, exceeded only by sales of petroleum products.

Realizing its growing importance, Cohen (1974:533) has attempted to refine the concept of tourism. By isolating the "tourist component" from a variety of other travel roles, Cohen was able to postulate six basic factors which he claims distinguish the tourist from other kinds of travelers. For him a tourist is a "voluntary, temporary traveler, traveling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round-trip". He further claims that it is the institutionalized expectation of pleasure which is the most relevant element in his definition of the mass tourist,

rather than the actual gratification that individuals might experience.

Although novelty and strangeness are essential elements in the tourist's motivation to travel, Cohen (1972:166) observes that few mass tourists are prepared to immerse themselves totally into an alien environment. In his typology of tourists, the "organized mass tourists" are viewed as the least adventurous. They seek maximum familiarity and a minimum of novelty, characteristics readily available in most of the packaged group tours which are specifically designed to provide a kind of micro-environment closely resembling the homes from which they come. "Individual mass tourists", as Cohen calls his next category, demand a greater control over their time than is possible on the standard packaged tour, but they too search for the familiar. His third category, the "explorer" type, is primarily focused upon novelty. In contrast to the first two types, "explorers" arrange their own trips, and they try to associate with native peoples. But even they do not really immerse themselves in the host society since they continue to require comfort in their transportation and in their accommodations, similar to those which they could obtain at home. Finally, Cohen describes his fourth type of tourist, the "drifters" who are characterized by the desire to maximize novelty at the cost even of comfort. These individuals shun any connection with tourist establishments, and try to adopt the way of life of the people they visit.

Cohen's most interesting contribution lies in his analysis of the dynamics of organized mass tourism: the tour, according to him (1972:169), becomes a commodity which is "sold as a package, standardized and mass produced". On such tours, individuals are provided with an illusion of adventure, because while the tourist industry offers them a safe, routine and standardized package, it simultaneously (and convincingly) promises them a novel experience. Cohen maintains, however, that such experiences in fact turn out to be mere opportunities for observation of native life at a safe distance. Although many tourist areas have natural attractions, such as scenic beauty or unusual architecture, these are created quite artificially in other areas in order to attract visitors. Thus, he points to the fact that there is a tendency on the part of tourism promoters to manipulate the environment in such a way as to make it more exploitable for mass tourist consumption by supplying such things as swimming pools next to a beach and by making sure that wherever tourists go there will be souvenirs available for purchase. One final observation made by Cohen is especially relevant to the topic of this study. While mass tourists expect to find foreignness in such things as hotel accommodations, restaurants, and local gift-shops, most facilities to which they are in fact exposed are almost invariably standardized, designed to create a stereotype of the culture's architecture, cuisine, or traditional arts (1972:171).

Cohen is not alone in these observations. Studying

tourism in the Indian Ocean Islands, Hutchinson (1975:54) found that the majority of tourists showed little awareness or interest beyond such things as water sports, international cuisine and night life. "Cravings for cultural contact can usually be satisfied by a half-day tour of the Island and a once weekly spot for local performers in the nightly cabaret".

A study of mass tourism by MacCannell focuses upon some of the structural and interactional elements of the phenomenon. He (1973:591) argues that tourism is a manifestation of the search for an authenticity of experience which is missing from modern society. In his view, tourists are motivated by the desire to see life "as it really is" and "to get in with the natives". At the same time, however, the process of mass tourism tends to insure that they will fail to achieve their goals because what they will see of the native culture during their brief visit is most often what is produced for their entertainment in an artificial way. For MacCannell, the mass tourist is caught up in a mythology from which it is very difficult to escape so long as he searches for authenticity. While each tourist area promises a display of authentic local culture, each is in reality almost identical to all of the other areas visited by the mass tourist (MacCannell 1973:601).

The Impact of Mass Tourism upon Host Societies

Within the last decade there has developed, in anthropological literature, a growing realization that the problems which arise out of the uncontrolled development of tourism

are serious. Increasingly, studies have begun to question the conventional wisdom about the efficacy of tourism as a source of progress and economic growth.

Thus Forster (1964:217-227) generalizes that the tourist industry, while it may not have a significant impact upon developed societies, does have a particularly disruptive effect on the traditional fabric of social relations in the underdeveloped ones. According to him, this is especially true in countries where the government looks upon tourism as a major source of foreign capital. Another example of a similar concern is a series of essays edited by Finney and Watson (1974) which focus on the costs of tourism in the Pacific islands. The work of Mark (1974:147-151) calls for a re-examination of state government policies on tourist promotion in Hawaii. The essay by Le Fevre (1974:102-109) advocates a type of planning for the Pacific islands that would regard tourism as a resource to help the local economy, not just foreign investors. Finally, the study by Cowan (1974:80-85) analyzes the social and economic impact of tourism on society in the Cook Islands, and ends with a proposal to limit tourism only to the enhancement of local interests. With reference to Canada, Doxey (1972:488) argues that it is essential for the Canadian government to plan and regulate the development of tourism in order to insure that this industry develops within a framework which preserves the Canadian environment and enhances the needs of the Canadian population.

Le Fevre's assessment (1974:102-109) of the economic benefits of tourism suggests the long-range impact of uncontrolled tourism. Taking as his point of departure the proposition that there exist economic forces which will inevitably lead to the domination of all local tourist industries by large foreign-owned hotels and airlines, he argues that local entrepreneurs cannot possibly compete successfully with these multinational enterprises. Using Fiji as his test case, Le Fevre demonstrates that the tourist industry there had not been of significant help to the Fijian economy.

Nash (1974:3) views tourism as one form of imperialism by metropolitan centers: mass tourists expect all of the comforts to which they are accustomed at home and, therefore, use only those foreign-owned facilities which can afford to cater to these expectations. Perez (1973:473-80) argues that tourism produces dependent economies, and in so doing creates the basis for a permanent state of economic under-development. He demonstrates that the foreign-owned and foreign-controlled tourist facilities have contributed very little to the economic development of the West Indies, but that the local government has nevertheless expended a great deal of money to meet the desires of tourists rather than using these resources to satisfy the needs of local people.

Based upon research conducted in Tahiti and Moorea, Robineau (1974:61-76) describes the highly restricted role

played by the indigenous people of French Polynesia in their country's tourist industry: they serve primarily as waiters, maids or taxicab drivers rather than as owners or managers of tourist facilities. Robineau points to the fact that many small, locally-owned enterprises have actually suffered economically as a result of the influx of mass tourism, and have had to give way to large foreign-owned enterprises. Similarly, Samy (1974:111-121) analyzes employment patterns in a luxurious resort hotel in Fiji, and shows that these patterns are highly stratified according to ethnic and racial criteria. Finally, Hiller (1974:237-246) argues that an alternative perspective is needed, one which would organize tourism in a way that would support local economic and social development. In his view, such an approach must be based on the principle of favoring the local production of items of consumption which may be required by tourists.

This negative perception of the economic impact of tourism also dominates studies which concern themselves with the sociocultural consequences of this industry. Thus Pi-Sunyer (1974:2) discusses some of the aspects of interaction between natives and tourists in a Catalan village and finds that it is "both asymmetrical and devoid of significant inter-group understanding." Greenwood (1974) pinpoints some of the deleterious effects on a Basque community of selling culture as an element of the tourist package. His principal thesis is that cultural traditions which are presented for tourist consumption become destroyed. This conclusion is

supported by Forster (1964) who notes the transformation of spontaneous enthusiasm and of ritual observances of native dances into stereotyped performances for tourists.

In addition to this generally negative view, one additional aspect of the tourist impact has come up for an extensive critique in anthropological literature: the consequences of tourist-generated demand for souvenir art for local economies, for local handicraft producers and for the traditional art forms of native societies. In the following sections this theme will be considered in some detail.

Mass Tourism and the Demand For Souvenir Art

Pi-Sunyer (1974) and Cohen (1972) have indicated that by far the greatest number of tourists are people who, faced with time and money limitations, buy tourist packages which provide them with relatively inexpensive but highly standardized food, lodging and entertainment on their trips. These are also individuals who typically act out a set of institutionalized roles during their travels, one of which is that of souvenir consumer. In so doing, they create a ready cash market for these souvenir products, and thus they appear to exert a considerable influence upon the production and distribution of traditional arts and crafts of host countries.

Tourist demand for keepsakes and travel mementos has caused the world-wide proliferation of articles which range all the way from inexpensive curios to high-priced luxury goods and works of art. They may be cheap and highly standardized products of modern technology or they may be

the best designed productions of highly sophisticated craftsmen. In some instances they may even be authentic traditional art objects, although, as both May (1974:126) and Graburn (1974:20) have pointed out, these items also tend to be modified to suit the tourist trade.

Although tourist patterns of consuming these items have begun to be studied by anthropologists, much of the literature on souvenir consumption is in the form of journalistic commentary. Taken together, these commentaries constitute the beginnings of a picture of the form and manner of tourist souvenir consumption.

The main idea of a souvenir is that it serves as a reminder of a place visited. The reasons why tourists spend so much time and money on their acquisitions have begun to emerge out of the scattered anthropological and journalistic writings on the subject. Some observers maintain that souvenirs, despite common belief, are not related to specific places, and in support of this contention, they draw attention to the proliferation of almost identical souvenir items in airports throughout Europe, items which have no demonstrable referent to the places where they are sold. This point of view is supported by Mitchell (1970: 60) who indicates that "the Japanese produce 90% of the world's souvenirs, made by affixing different decals to a few standardized models stamped out of plastic or porcelain".

Cohen attributes airport art consumption to standardized, mass produced package tours (1972:169). Others argue

that these tourist purchases are motivated by the fact that they are status symbols. Thus Lynes (1969:23) indicates that these items can serve as "badges of some kind of accomplishment and most often merely of the ability (and the money) to go somewhere that, strictly speaking, one had no business to be". Nelson (1960:25-27) also sees the desire for status, and for individual recognition, as important motivating forces which induce people to purchase arts souvenirs. These forces, according to him, are especially powerful among the upwardly mobile dwellers of modern urban communities. For this type of tourist, the purchase of native arts becomes a symbolic act which serves to reinforce their own image of themselves an image which they are seeking to project upon their friends and associates. Finally, Graburn (1971:10) distinguishes between two contrasting motivations for buying tourist art. One group of tourists, he finds, considers it appropriate to purchase items because this is the "correct" thing to do; a second group, however, finds such items to be personally significant to them.

Efforts to induce tourists to purchase arts and crafts are particularly apparent in popular decorating magazines. Examples of attempts to sensitize the public even antedate the advent of mass tourism. Thus as far back as 1910, House and Garden promoted the purchase of native Indian art for interior decorating purposes. In the 1930's House and Garden initiated a promotion campaign of Mexican crafts, by pointing out, for example, that they are a "gold mine for

decoration" (1937:48). During the same decade, Arts and Decoration (1937:35) was suggesting that "Mexican pottery is a great enlivener for bored dinner tables". A plethora of articles have appeared in American magazines over the years, each emphasizing the desirability of acquiring native arts and handicrafts. Such titles appear as "Vacation shopping for decorating treasures" in American Home (1964: 110), or as in Sunset (1964:126), "Putting folk art to good use". Finally, and particularly relevant to this study, House Beautiful (1949:106) suggested to readers, "when you visit Canada, bring it back handmade."

The total effect of these messages is to sensitize the traveler to the desirability of acquiring handcrafted items, or, at the very least, some memento of their voyages. And, in fact, this consumptionist barrage has led the Nova Scotia Handcraft Directory (1975) to point out that due to the press and other media, there is a far greater awareness of crafts of Nova Scotia today than had existed a decade ago.

In addition to the media, there is also the impact of governmental publicity which promotes the sale of regional arts to tourists. Such governmental activity is particularly prominent in Mexico. There, the government-owned petroleum company, Petroleos Mexicanos published the periodical Pemex Travel Guide Bulletin from as early as 1940 until 1965. Printed in English and distributed at cost, this journal was aimed at American tourists. While it primarily sought to emphasize travel in Mexico, it also stressed the desirability

of purchasing locally-made arts and crafts by listing, in a most attractive manner, the methods of producing various indigenous crafts, giving their history, and describing their quaintness. For example, an article entitled "Market Day in Mexico" (August 1940:1-2) told readers that

No visitor fond of beautiful handicrafts ever will return home empty handed following a visit to these places. Apart from this, the life, gayety and color of the typical Mexican country market with its human interest, old traditions and quaint customs will prove a novel experience of surprising interest.

An additional element which appears to exert powerful pressure upon mass tourists to purchase souvenirs is the particular manner in which the industry presents its tourist package. Along with such enticing fare as the sun and sea, local color is always emphasized as a basic ingredient of any tour, and the availability of traditional arts and crafts is used as one of the prime ingredients of such color.

Despite inducements to consume local artistic items, tourists may purchase imported mass produced imitations of their host's traditional arts. For example, Valene Smith (1974:5) found that in the Arctic, tourists mainly buy "post cards, small books, and either fake art made in Japan, or the cheapest of Eskimo crafts."

In summary, this survey of pertinent literature suggests that when the mass tourist buys souvenirs his act is related to such factors as the object's reflection of local color, its ability to show that the owner has traveled to exotic places, and very importantly, its cheap price. The impact of this mass tourist market for souvenirs upon the producers

of tradition-based arts appears to be great.

The General Impact of the Tourist
Market upon Arts and Crafts

One frequent response to the coming into being of the tourist souvenir market is the revival of those traditional arts which either had declined or had died out due to the advent of modern technology. Cahill (1970) observes that in the United States handmade functional crafts had begun to die out after the 1900's because after that period the public, by and large, preferred machine-made goods.

Dawson, Fredrickson and Graburn (1974) have pointed to an important variation in the manner of the revival of traditional arts in societies affected by tourism. They note that, while it may be difficult to revive traditional arts, new commercial versions which are based upon the old styles have often become successful sellers. In such cases, according to these authors, what appears to be a genuine revival is in fact its substitution in the service of a totally different and commercial need (Dawson, Fredrickson and Graburn 1974:17).

In several of the Pacific islands, Forster (1964: 221-222) found that, under the influence of the tourist market, traditional art activity had evolved into a full-time occupation for a large number of individuals. Several decades ago, there was very little weaving of grass skirts on Maui, for instance, and the techniques had largely been forgotten. With the rise of the tourist demand for such

artifacts, this craft was revived. Brody (1976:72-84) has found similar instances of revivals of Pueblo pottery and weaving traditions. The key to their successful revival has been the creation of two different markets: the souvenir-oriented tourist market and the sophisticated art-oriented market. The existence of these two markets has fostered community specialization, with potters catering to one or to the other. The greatest volume of production is sold to tourists, and is characterized by a lowering of traditional standards of workmanship and by major modifications of traditional forms. The existence of the art market, however, serves to maintain aesthetic and critical guidelines and insures that there is some quality control even for the cheaper versions.

In all of the literature surveyed there were found only a very few reports of tourist market support for continued production of functional arts. One of these examples is provided by Crowley (1970:43) who describes areas in Africa where traditional arts are still used and where skilled artists produce objects acceptable to themselves and to their local native clients. After a brief period of use, these objects are then sold to tourists. Crowley explains this as being due to the native belief that more spiritual power rests within new objects. Since tourists tend to prize objects which are antique, one set of values is congruent with the other.

Another seemingly exceptional case is described by

Aspelin (1974:7-8) with reference to the phenomenon of indirect tourism in Brasil. Here the government opened special shops designed to facilitate the tourist purchase of traditional Indian artifacts "without their descending in droves upon the isolated villages of the producers." This case provides an example of a rather rare type of tourist-producer interaction, one in which the two cultures are kept apart, at arms length, by government intervention. Under such circumstances, it seems quite possible for the tourists to obtain the souvenirs they want and for tribal artisans to continue their production for local users as well, with next to no disruption of techniques and traditional forms due to the tourist market impact.

The overall thrust of the literature indicates that the tourist market most often tends to modify or to disrupt the traditional production of native arts, even in those instances where it was the original cause of their revival. Such a conclusion is accepted by Forster (1964: 222) who argues that the effect of tourism upon the production of traditional arts inevitably is their commercialization, that is, the taking of money for something which under other conditions would have been given willingly.

Some of the most striking examples of the impact of mass tourism on traditional arts come from Mexico where, perhaps because of its proximity to the United States and consequently its relative saturation with tourists, the traditional forms have most thoroughly given way to the

modified forms. Thus Canaday (1969:1) cites such items as Mexican glass which traditionally was hand-blown now often being pressed in molds. Similarly ceramics are piled up by the hundreds, made by some producers from molds. Blankets, traditionally designed in natural colors of sheep and goats' wool are not infrequently constricted into mechanical patterns and woven from commercially dyed yarns. Canaday concludes that commercialization of arts is an inevitable part of tourism and that "folk art can hardly be expected to maintain its legitimacy when it ceases to be an art for the people and becomes a product for commercial exploitation" (Canaday 1962:2).

Reacting to these phenomena, Diego Rivera published a biting attack on what he believed to be the degradation of traditional Mexican arts. In this article (1947:7) he describes the situation in which the market "overspeeds and prostitutes the production of the people". Rivera concluded,

polite society proceeds to impose models upon the humble artists. These manufactured designs pretend to restore the traditions of the people -- without its ever occurring to the imbeciles that tradition is a living thing and therefore constantly changing. They force the forgery of objects whose use is unknown and foreign to the workers. And volunteer patrons constitute themselves godfathers of dead styles newly resurrected. And since all of this is done within the artistic criterion of the corrupting, but consuming, bourgeoisie, the art of the people loses with its self-respect, its health, and sells its patrimony for a mess of potage.

The problem which faces craftsmen who attempt to resist the commercialization of traditional arts is explained by Greenwood (1974:3) from a Marxist standpoint. He points

out that "it is a fundamental characteristic of the capitalist system that anything that can be priced can be bought and sold, that it can be commoditized." Greenwood (1974:11) thus draws attention to the commercially inspired world-wide transformation of cultures into local color, during which transformation they are "packaged, priced and sold, like building lots, rights-of-way, fast food and room service" by the tourist industry. At the same time however, with respect to arts and crafts, the argument that part of the responsibility for this transformation must rest with craftsmen, rather than with economic forces, is one which cannot be disputed as an additional link in the explanatory chain.

Graburn (1974:2) has also analyzed the concept of commercialization, classifying it into two components: 1) the transfer of the consumption of arts from inside the producing group to consumption by outsiders, and 2) the monetization of the exchange process. A key aspect of his analysis of change in traditional production is the distinction that he makes between "inwardly directed" and "outwardly directed" arts production. The former type includes arts which are consumed and enjoyed internally by the producers themselves; the latter type are arts made explicitly for sale to outsiders.

Despite overwhelming pressures towards standardization and quantity production, there do occur instances of resistance among arts producers to the drive toward lowering

traditional standards of quality. Several articles in Ethnic and Tourist Arts provide examples of meaningful resistance, illustrating that, under certain circumstances, production of traditional arts may continue.

For example, Kaufmann (1976:56-69) notes that Haida traditional arts have not been transformed into souvenir arts because very early in their contact with Europeans they developed a saleable souvenir art -- argellite carvings, a category which was never part of their functional arts. These objects do not have any internal secular or religious functions for the Haida, but are based upon original European charms and amulets. Hence, designs with relevance to the Haida were not translated into argellite and have thereby resisted commercialization.

Gill's research (1976:102-113) into the ceramic traditions of the Pueblo Indians at Laguna provides another demonstration of resistance to the influence of the tourist market. In Laguna, souvenir development has gone little further than promoting models drawn from their own artistic tradition. Functional arts represented by water jugs, pots and bowls are produced and function as they always have done because of the overwhelming competition of neighbouring producers who had better access to the main transportation routes and, hence, to the mainstream of tourists.

Salvador's study (1976:165-182) of the effects of tourism on the production of molas by Cuna women in San Blas indicates that mola blouses have retained their

cultural integrity as a traditional art form; they are made by women primarily for their own use and follow their own standards. Sales of second hand blouses occur, but only after a woman becomes tired of one. Relatively few women make turista molas, and those who do are strongly criticized by other Cuna women because they tend to be quickly made, at the expense of accepted criteria of quality.

In general, then, it appears that traditional art production is least affected where a people develops a saleable item which lies outside of their own functional art context. Where, on the other hand, arts are produced simultaneously for a variety of markets, such as a local market, a commercial market which is oriented towards fine art production, as well as for a tourist market, one can usually expect to find that only a few modifications will occur, except items destined to the tourist market. This point is well demonstrated by Brody (1976:72-84) in the case of Pueblo pottery, where the items which were produced for tourist consumption were characteristically shoddy, but items produced for the local and commercial art markets remained of high quality and adhered to traditional standards. On the other hand, where the artifacts are produced exclusively for the tourist market, the tendency almost invariably seems to be towards a movement away from traditional standards.

In sum, there appear to be two major effects of the tourist-induced commercialization process insofar as tra-

ditional arts of the host society are concerned. The first, which has just been described, is the transformation of production standards and functions of arts objects; the second, which will be discussed in the next section, manifests itself in the changes which commercialization produces in the traditional forms of these objects.

Impact of Commercialization upon Traditional Art Forms

The impact of the tourist souvenir market on the forms of arts produced for it by native craftsmen can vary a good deal. One particularly disruptive influence is the inhibition of the dynamic development of these traditional arts. Such an effect has been termed the "fossilization" of traditional forms by Graburn (1974:22-7). This occurs when the symbolism and the subject matter used in the art form is anachronistic, and represents a life-style which no longer exists.

The First World Congress of Craftsmen in 1965 paid a great deal of attention to this phenomenon. Several speakers addressed the problem. De la Borbolla (1965:23-6), for example, stressed that traditional arts production, while it must involve an accumulation of ideas which come from the past, must constantly adapt to suit the present. The tendency of the tourist market to freeze traditional forms and to inhibit their natural development is also brought out by Swinton (1973:71). Discussing Eskimo art forms, he states that "art to the Eskimo is an assertion, an affirmation, an act of faith. As such it always changes and, as long as it

is able to change, it lives." Today, he charges, its "greatest danger comes from a commercialism that resists change or corrupts the artist into reproducing a proved product."

Another major, and at first glance contradictory, effect of the commercialization process is that it induces changes in the traditional forms of art objects. Thus Dawson, Fredrickson and Graburn (1973:23) have stated that

When material objects are produced to sell to consumers who are not part of the maker's culture (particularly when the producers are members of small-scale non-industrial societies and the buyers are tourists and collectors from Western industrialized societies or the more urbanized segments of the maker's own society), similar processes of modification in size, materials, forms, functions and the role of the maker appear in many different societies. Changes in the size of art objects are of two kinds. The most common one is in the direction of reductionism; much less frequently it is in the direction of gigantism.

Changes in the materials used due to market demands have also been observed. Producers of art objects are often well aware that the symbolic meaning of particular materials used in a traditional process mean nothing to the tourist buyer, and therefore they tend to substitute cheaper materials. For example, Smith (1974:5) describes Eskimo art souvenirs available in Alaska which are now made out of whalebone instead of the traditional, but rarer, ivory.

There are numerous examples of craftsmen, producing for the tourist market, lowering quality standards of tradition-based arts production. Abramson (1976:250-265) reports

that curio shops in Papua New Guinea are filled with Sepik artifacts which exhibit elements of traditional form and iconography, but which are sloppily made. The "fine flowing lines and rhythmic curves have been replaced by a summary, almost soulless execution". Boyer (1976:183-196) describes changes which have occurred in the art of gourd embellishment at Cochas Chico and Cochas Grande in Peru. According to her, tourist demand and the influence of Peace Corps workers has encouraged the making of non-functional ware. In addition, gourd designs have changed from simple to complex to accommodate tastes of the new customers. Although producers prefer simple designs themselves, they have recognized the sales potential of adapting to market tastes.

Another effect of the tourist market comes about as a result of a change in the manner of producing arts objects. When tourist demand for a given art form becomes very strong, the method of their production tends to change, and a qualitatively new phenomenon occurs: from careful craftsmanship of an individual item, production moves towards mass manufacture. The motivating factor for this shift is the attempt by producers to minimize their costs as well as to raise their volume. The usual result, according to Graburn (1974:16), is that of a further simplification of the expressiveness of the art objects; the time-consuming details of the original form are eliminated, even though they have important traditional meanings. The separation

of the various steps of production which typically occurs in a factory tends to create a further loss of individualization, with the ultimate result being that these mass-produced "art objects" retain only a superficial resemblance to their traditional prototypes. Such standardized, machine-made objects are the antithesis of art from the point of view of the producer. According to Marvin Harris (1975:576), mass production kills the aesthetic pleasure that accompanies craft production, and the routinization and the division of labor which are prevalent in all forms of industrial production alienates the craftsmen from the creative process.

The Economic Impact of Production
For the Tourist Market

The economic benefits to be derived from the production of tourist arts seem obvious: there is a great deal of profit to be made in the tourist market. However, much of the literature surveyed tends to question the assumption that this market actually makes a significant economic contribution to native craftsmen. As an example, Low (1976:223-224) found that the sale of AINU carvings to tourists in Japan did not provide a meaningful source of income to the artisans. According to him, the AINU craftsmen tended to become dependent upon it without really being able to earn a full living from it.

A similar finding was made by Kent (1976:85-101) in the case of Navajo weavers. These artisans had had considerable success in the tourist market, but in recent years many Navajo women were finding weaving to be too

arduous for the economic returns which they were receiving, and had begun to move away from this activity as other sources of income became available to them. Forster's observations of handicraft production in Maui (1964:222) show that financial returns to the primary producers were small indeed. For a hat which took two days to weave, producers typically received only fifty to seventy-five cents, while the retailer sold it for between five and six dollars.

Graburn has also recognized the significance of this question. As early as 1969 (Graburn 1969:8) he had urged that further research be devoted to the study of the economic benefits which may accrue to craftsmen from the tourist market. He had also emphasized the need to find out much more about such variables as how this type of production affected the self-image of producers and how it affected their social status. In this respect Graburn pointed to the need to study the role of entrepreneurs as middlemen between artists and the tourist market. Among the issues that he raised is the possibility of the middleman being able to exploit the producers, and the question of whether highly skilled craftsmen are invariably placed into intolerable competition with less skilled producers for the tourist market. Finally, Graburn suggested that under some circumstances production for the tourist market would be taken out of the hands of individual local producers and would be transferred to the assembly line and, ultimately, transshipped to Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong or other cheap

labor areas of the world.

Alice Littlefield (1974:8) was also interested in the question of whether commercial production of handicrafts constitutes a sound basis for economic development. In her study she investigated the process whereby the peasant-artisans became transformed into small-scale capitalists, and she found that, by and large, these artisans did not succeed in becoming prosperous, but to the contrary, most of them typically became impoverished. In explaining this development she noted that historically, the process of capitalist development in industrializing countries does not result in the transformation of the majority of the peasants into rural capitalists. Most of them became victims of an inevitable class differentiation.

In the case of Meso-American handicraft producers, Littlefield contended that the putting-out system had achieved considerable importance in the production for the tourist market, as can be seen in the instance of production of hammocks in Yucatan. There, communities which specialize in hammock production have reserves of cheap labor, especially women and children, who cannot be absorbed into urban industry or into agriculture. Merchant capitalists control the supply of materials, market the product and retail a lion's share of the profits. In addition, the system creates economic dependence and gives incentives for parents to keep their children out of school to do the weaving. As Littlefield pointed out, this fact insures that they will

be unprepared for more lucrative future employment. While at the time of the study hammock production was still at the putting-out level, Littlefield indicated that there were signs that a factory system was beginning to be introduced into the industry. At least one hammock dealer had set up his own factory for making hammock thread, and another was making efforts to develop a machine for producing hammocks.

The Effect of Government Inter-
vention in Arts Production for
the Tourist Market

Several studies exist which support the hypothesis that government policies have an important effect on the incomes of artisans who are involved in the tourist market. Most of them also agree that a government-mediated relationship between producers and tourists can insure maximum possible economic returns to producers.

In his investigation of the impact of the tourist market upon arts production in Papua New Guinea, May (1974: 131) shows that the role of the government there has been that of helping to maintain standards of craftsmanship through such measures as the provision of grants. He suggests that the purchasing of artifacts is one of the few ways by which tourists contribute to the income of the people of Papua New Guinea, and argues that it is therefore especially important for the government to begin to assist the native craftsmen, which it has not done so far.

On the other hand, Graburn (1967) has noted that in the 1950's the Canadian Eskimo were able to develop their

soapstone carving largely as a result of government encouragement. He also describes (1970) the various kinds of marketing arrangements which the Canadian government had helped the Eskimos to establish, and concludes that the lead taken by the government in encouraging and in protecting native Eskimo art production could well serve as a model for other countries.

In a parallel development, the government of Mexico has of late become involved in the marketing of popular arts which are being produced for the tourist market. One example of this is the attaching of government-owned stores to museums to serve as outlets for quality native craft producers. These stores apparently have been of substantial aid to the economic well-being of many craftsmen, and have also had the effect of maintaining high standards of workmanship (Ross 1955:26-27). According to Graburn (1976:117), a major concern of the Mexican government in this context has been to promote a favorable image of regional Mexico and to insure the adequate provision of arts for which tourist dollars would be exchanged.

In a report on the assistance which the United States government has been giving to the development of Indian crafts through its Arts and Crafts Board, Robert Hart (1971) notes that one of the principal aims of this assistance is to help native craftsmen plan their production and marketing activities effectively. Since the early 1960's, these individuals have been provided with a broad promotional and

informational service which has enabled them to participate actively in the expanding tourist market. Among the government-sponsored services was the establishment of museums and crafts centers. Another service was the publication by the government of monographs and brochures on native arts.

One of the most extensive studies of the impact of government intervention in the marketing of native handicrafts was done by Charles Counts (1966), who stressed the importance of the United States government's involvement in craft production for the tourist market. His findings seem to indicate that properly organized, government-sponsored programs for the development of craft production can, in certain cases, help to alleviate the conditions of unemployment and of underemployment. In his study he lists several ways in which the development of handicrafts can make an important economic contribution to depressed areas.

In Counts' opinion, handicraft production is adaptable to a variety of economic settings, and by helping to build local pride and self-reliance, properly organized government handicrafts programs do contribute substantially to the well-being of a community. He also argues that a potential tourist market for handicrafts can be developed (Counts 1966:24).

Where people travel, they want to buy locally made items. Some of the immense money-making possibilities of a well-coordinated program can be gained from the examples of Williamsburg, Virginia and Old Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts, which attract thousands of visitors every year. Here craft demonstrations



attract tourists and thus potential customers, and employ craftsmen in a serious production in a dignified way.

The basic assumption upon which Counts bases his conclusion is that crafts production must be upgraded in order to increase the earnings of the producers, and that close coordination between private concerns and government agencies is an essential prerequisite for the success of any such program. He further believes that because success in these programs is dependent upon the quality of the crafts produced, any such program should be directed by professionals in the arts and crafts field.

By contrast to optimistic views of the benefits to be derived by craftsmen from the tourist market, other authors argue that given the prevalent Western dedication to a free-market philosophy, the ability of craftsmen to compete on an economic level with industrial production is questionable. For observers such as Littlefield (1974), the consequences of laissez-faire appear inevitable, and, as further substantiation of their view, there appear to be only a very few examples of effective government action in this area. Berenson (1972) is another observer who asserts that despite efforts made by governments to assist craftsmen, prices usually rise out of reach of mass tourists, thus inducing them to purchase cheaper imported imitations.

Even in the United States, where efforts by the government to help craftsmen began as early as the 1920's, there have been few successes in overcoming the competition

of these imports. In fact, Woodward (1941:221) observed that

in spite of the efforts of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the Department of the Interior to stamp out fraudulent practices among business firms manufacturing spurious "Indian" curios, the game of deception goes merrily on.

The title of Woodward's article ("Indian Maid Jewelry") well illustrates the type of deceptive advertising upon which imitators typically rely in order to evade the issue of the origin of the crafts, while simultaneously conveying to the tourist the impression that these items are of Indian origin. Over thirty years later, in 1978, the imitation market has not only survived but flourishes.

Thus Grieg (1975:7) reports that imitations of Indian jewelry made in Taiwan, Japan and the Phillipines are being imported into the United States by the shipload. Although these imports are usually machine-made, using plastics and cheap metals instead of traditional silver and turquoise, they are often so cleverly manufactured that it is difficult to tell the authentic item from the imitation. Grieg also points out that these copies sell for a little more than a third of the cost of the authentic artifacts, and they have taken over a considerable part of the tourist market for Indian products. And, since no overtly false claims are made as to their place of origin, government efforts at control remain rather ineffective.

Finally, in this matter of governmental ability to alleviate the negative consequences of the mass tourist market, it must also be kept in mind that until recently

governments have been primarily concerned with the promotion of tourist resources and with the economic benefits which they think the local populations can derive from tourism. Now, they are being increasingly called upon to deal with unanticipated social and environmental problems created by the mass influx of tourists. Doxey, for one (1972:489), points out that most governments do not have the organizational machinery to handle these problems.

The clear implication which emerges from this survey of literature is that, in the eyes of anthropologists, the economic environment within which the production of traditional native art occurs plays a crucial role. More specifically, it would appear that tourist consumption of these artifacts plays a decisive role in determining their mode of production, their manner of distribution and their very shape.

Several authors have suggested that there exists a trend for the traditional arts production of small-scale societies to follow a sequence of steps which ultimately lead to the transfer of production from local producers to outsiders. According to this line of thinking, native functional arts are transformed to suit tourist market requirements and the mode of their production accommodates itself to economic requirements. In this process, native producers lose control of the production and distribution of arts and crafts to local entrepreneurs. Ultimately production is further transformed into an assembly-line

manufacture, either at home, or in the cheap labor areas of Asia.

Some writers, however, have observed that there are mediating factors which can prevent the total disruption of art production on the local level. Government intervention may, for instance, support local producers. Another important variable is the existence of several different markets for the traditional arts. That is, arts may not be produced solely for the tourist market, but also for local consumption or for the international art market. Thus, while craftsmen who specialize in souvenir production for the mass tourist market are particularly vulnerable to competition from outside imitators, and are doomed to ultimately lose their markets, the commercial (fine) art producers often thrive.

Finally, the literature reviewed indicates that tourist consumption of souvenirs has a significant impact upon arts and crafts, both by stimulating the revival of traditional forms and by leading to their commercialization. Commercialization, in turn, leads to an alteration of the social context and of the methods of their production and form. The resistance of crafts producers to these influences appears to vary according to such variables as government intervention, market conditions or the particular characteristics of art traditions in given areas. How these tendencies apply in the case of Nova Scotia arts and crafts production will be the subject for the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

NOVA SCOTIA TOURISM AND ITS IMPACT UPON ARTS AND CRAFTS

Nova Scotia has had a long tradition of handicraft production. There is in fact a good deal of pride in the province about its crafts heritage. For generations craftsmanship flourished here but as happened elsewhere industrial technology brought about the decline of local handicrafts production, handmade things being replaced by goods made by machine. In recent years many of these handicrafts have been revived and are being sold to tourists.

This discussion of the impact of tourism upon arts and crafts in Nova Scotia will follow the general sequence of themes which were presented in the last chapter. An overview of the development of tourism in Nova Scotia will precede a discussion of the tourist demand for souvenirs, and will be followed by a description of the commercialization of Nova Scotia crafts and the impact of this process upon traditional craft forms. The economic benefits accruing from souvenir handicraft production will then be considered, and several problem areas which inhibit profits for local craftsmen will be outlined. Finally, the extent to which government has assisted handicraft production will be considered.

Mass tourism is a relatively recent development in Nova Scotia; it dates only from the early 1960's. As Nova Scotians became conscious of the influx of tourists in increasing numbers into their province, their desire to participate in the tourist trade gained momentum. At the same time, the provincial government began trying to develop tourism as an important economic resource. Today tourism in the province is a multi-million dollar industry. Visitor expenditures have increased from about 27 million dollars in 1966 to over 88 million in 1975 (Department of Tourism 1973, 1976). These figures compare favorably with revenues generated by such other provincial industries as fishing and agriculture.

The principal goal of the provincial government with regards to tourism is the optimization of the economic and social benefits derived from the industry. Its underlying assumption is that tourist dollars will accrue to those Nova Scotians who are involved in providing tourists with the goods and services which they typically consume while traveling, such as accommodations, food, gasoline or souvenirs (Department of Tourism 1975, 1976).

In Nova Scotia there still exists a larger proportion of rural dwellers than the 40 percent Canadian average. More than half of its population is rural (Department of Development 1976). Strongly tied to work in agriculture and fishing, the majority of rural Nova Scotians have resisted pressures to migrate to urban areas in order to find

employment. For many of these families, tourism appeared to offer an important source of supplementary income. Accordingly, the province has pursued an active program to further the Nova Scotian tourist industry through promotion, through advertising, and through financing the development of facilities and services to tourists. Its aim, according to a Department of Tourism official, is to attract more visitors to the province and, once they are here, to induce them to stay longer and to spend more money.

Evidence of such promotional efforts can be obtained from a report prepared by the advertising firm of Dalton K. Camp and Associates (1963), which was commissioned by the province to develop an advertising campaign in order to attract tourists to Nova Scotia. This report asserts that "advertising makes a place what it is, even before the tourist sees it. Travel is, to a surprising degree, a preconditioned state of mind" (Camp 1963:1). Considered important in the advertising campaign was the use of symbolism to convey the difference between Nova Scotia and other places. The most frequently expressed symbols were the provincial flag, the tartan and the red lobster.

Ideas to be impressed upon potential tourists through the media included the themes that Nova Scotia has good roads, good food and good resorts; and that while it has a rich history and still maintains old traditions, it is at the same time modern and sophisticated (Camp 1963:1). Camp's basic promotional strategy involved a concentration

of advertising through large circulation magazines and major metropolitan newspapers in prime tourist market areas of Canada and the United States (Camp 1963:2).

The mass media image that has thus been developed of Nova Scotia is that of "Canada's Ocean Playground": a distinctively pleasant place to visit, where quaint and old-fashioned traditions coexist with the most modern and sophisticated tourist accommodations. Important ingredients in this attractive image are Nova Scotia's tradition of handicraft production and the abundance of locally manufactured souvenirs available to visitors. Prospective visitors were told that in the province they would find shops in every town and village which display handsome examples of handicrafts, and they were advised to "be sure to take a bit of Nova Scotia home with you" (Department of Tourism 1974).

This conditioning of tourists to the effect that they should purchase local souvenirs has indeed resulted in the creation of a growing market for local handicrafts. And local people, especially the wives of farmers and fishermen who earn only a marginal living, on learning that there was such a demand, have taken up production of various types of crafts. Gift Stores, souvenir shops, "crafts for sale" signs posted in yards abound all along the tourist routes of Nova Scotia.

Tourist Consumption of Souvenirs in Nova Scotia

The tourist season in Nova Scotia extends from June 1 to October 31, the peak occurring during the months of July

and August. The largest number of visitors come from Ontario and New Brunswick in Canada, and from Massachusetts and New York in the United States (Department of Tourism 1975:11).

According to the Tourism Department's research, automobile travel is the most popular method of transportation for these tourists (63 percent in 1975), and tour bus travel is becoming increasingly popular (Department of Tourism 1976: 2). The main purpose of such a trip for the majority of out-of-province visitors is for general vacationing. Of the seven regions of Nova Scotia (see map, Appendix A), the highest percentage of tourists tends to visit the Bay of Fundy shore. This is a reflection of the fact that the two principal motor vehicle entry points into the province pass through this area. The least amount of visitor traffic, on the other hand, appears to be in the Eastern Shore area, and this seems to reflect the fact that it is a part of the province least accessible to people entering it from the northwest (Department of Tourism 1975:15).

During their sojourns in Nova Scotia, these travelers spend the largest proportion of funds on hotel accommodations, followed by meals and beverages in restaurants. Spending on gasoline and oil for vehicles comes next. Finally, there are the expenditures which are directly related to the topic of this thesis: money spent on souvenirs and on incidentals (Department of Tourism 1975:21)

According to the information gathered from interviews

with tourists and with retail distributors, the crafts most frequently mentioned as "interesting" or "desirable" for purchase reflect the indigenous past of the province: quilts, needlework of various kinds, woven textiles, rug-hooking and woodworking. The most frequently mentioned reason for their interest in such objects was that of nostalgia for times past. In addition, several of the handicraft consumers who were interviewed turned out to be collectors of folk arts, while others considered themselves art collectors interested in contemporary artistic handicrafts produced by professional craftsmen who had achieved recognition for the artistry of their work.

Some tourists, particularly those from the United States, also tended to focus not upon the fact that they were in Nova Scotia, but rather that they were in Canada. For them, anything that bore a "Canadian" aspect became an object of possible acquisition. Still others tended to emphasize the "Britishness" of the region and to purchase items such as Scottish and Irish woolens or English china. Finally, tourists also purchase those souvenir trinkets which are available in every tourist region of the world, items such as ashtrays decorated with decals, pennants, and figurines which here bear the Nova Scotia tartan or other local symbolism.

Despite repeated claims of interviewees that they were seeking to acquire locally made handicrafts, the purchase of imported mass-produced objects was so frequent

that it deserves a comment. It is this observer's impression that the prime reason for these acquisitions is that they are relatively inexpensive, and yet at the same time constitute satisfactory reminders of a vacation in Nova Scotia. These mass-produced souvenirs include such objects as plastic lobsters, T-shirts stamped with a lobster and sundry other items bearing the provincial flag or tartan. In almost every instance observed, these objects were produced outside of Nova Scotia, mainly in the cheap labor areas of Asia. Available also were oriental imports of factory-produced imitations of locally designed handicrafts.

While there exists a very real tourist market for the more expensive local handicrafts and art objects, this market is quite small in terms of numbers of purchases or of items sold. For the majority of tourists, the most popular type of souvenir appears to be the small, inexpensive travel memento which, as a major wholesale dealer in such items assured the writer, sold for under ten dollars, and preferably under five dollars, irrespective of whether the item was mass-produced abroad or handmade locally.

The Commercialization of Nova Scotia Crafts

The literature survey described the commercialization process to which native handicrafts were subjected as a result of tourist impact. This phenomenon is clearly evident among traditional handicrafts of Nova Scotia. The community-oriented traditions in craftsmanship which evolved in the society of the nineteenth century were primarily related to

the social and aesthetic needs of their producers. These have changed significantly because the existence of the tourist market has transformed their manufacture from one which was oriented within a particular community to the outside -- to the transient tourist purchaser. Consequently, a strong profit orientation prevails today among many Nova Scotia crafts producers.

Due to unemployment, especially in rural areas, and to seasonal work patterns in agriculture and in fishing, families often attempt to supplement their incomes through the production of handmade objects which they hope to sell to tourists. Because this type of production can take place in one's home, it is not incompatible with the domestic duties of housewives, who indeed constitute the major participants in this endeavour. Pensioners are another such group.

With very few exceptions, the production of handicrafts for profit does not appear to be undertaken by young people who tend to seek employment in other fields and who exhibit a lack of interest in traditional handicrafts in any case. According to informants, craftmaking is not considered a socially acceptable or enjoyable pastime by either rural or urban youths. Those rare individuals under twenty who participate in this activity do so only as a part of their household production unit. Thus, in one instance, two daughters were found to assist their mother in making various crocheted and knitted items for sale, in order to supplement the earnings of a father who was engaged in fishing. Another

group of craft producers consists of individuals who have migrated to Nova Scotia from urban environments. This group reflects the values of the "Cultural Revolution" of the 1960's and attempts to revive traditional rural activities as part of their total life-style. Production for sale to tourists is often undertaken by members of this group in order to supplement their cash incomes.

The great majority of Nova Scotia craftsmen involved with the tourist market are "kitchen craftsmen" -- amateurs working part-time, producing handicrafts in order to supplement their incomes. The terms kitchen craftsmen and pin-cushion craftsmen were frequently employed both by store-keepers and the more sophisticated artist-craftsmen to refer to these craftsmen. They create a range of items which vary widely both in quality and in price, and they stand in sharp contrast to both the local artist-craftsmen and to crafts hobbyists. The former group is by far the smallest of the producers and includes only professional artists who either have formal training in art and design, or whose skills approximate those who are fully trained. The artist-craftsmen constitute the elite among Nova Scotian craftsmen, producing only high quality commercial work and commanding high prices for their products. They tend to have well established commercial connections with outlets in such metropolitan areas as Toronto and New York, and are relatively independent of the local souvenir tourist market. The category crafts hobbyists comprises those

handicraft producers who have little, if any, profit motivation for their production. They are mainly concerned with making crafts for recreational purposes, even though they occasionally put out some of their work for sale to tourists in order to earn some extra money.

The Impact of Crafts Commercialization
upon Traditional Forms

Without undertaking separate studies of each and every category of craft which can be found for sale in Nova Scotia, it is impossible to ascertain the exact ways in which they have been affected by the tourist market. Nonetheless, a number of the general trends which were reported in anthropological literature about other tourist regions of the world have also been found to be operative in Nova Scotia. These trends can be illustrated with the example of miniaturized lobster traps.

Regular-sized traps are still being produced for the taking of lobsters and to sell to tourists. The sight of a lobster trap tied to the top of a car with an out-of-province licence plate is a common one during the summer months. In fact, the owner of one such combination (lobster trap/vehicle) indicated that he had gone to some trouble in order to find a trap which had actually been used. His reason for wanting such an article was that he planned to use it for decorating his rumpus room in New York and as a conversation piece with friends who had never seen one.

By far the largest number of traps sold to tourists today, however, are small replicas of the original, of a

size which would not hold a live lobster, but which could fit into a tourist's palm. These small replicas, extremely popular with tourists, are being made by a few local producers for their own profit and by Taiwanese laborers who are components in a mass production labor force.

Changes also occur in the traditional materials used for various crafts. Thus, fine quality wool or homespun are sometimes replaced by lower quality, cheaper wool and by synthetic material which had never been used in traditional production. Sometimes substitute materials are used not simply to lower production costs, but because craftsmen think that modern materials will be more appealing to tourists. Changes in the use of the "old fisherman" motif provide a particularly striking example of substitution, not only of materials but also of the method of production itself. Wood carvings of an old man dressed in a fisherman's raincoat and hat, smoking a curved pipe are now being produced in quantity by the use of a mold and plaster technique. Though a few traditional wood carvings of this motif do still appear on the market, the vast majority of items in this genre are now plaster figurines, most often imported from abroad.

Perhaps the most conspicuous result of local handicraft production for the tourist market is the general lowering of standards of workmanship for items currently being sold to tourists. Today it is quite common to find articles for sale which bear the marks of slovenly execution. These may

be produced by inexperienced individuals with little knowledge of the craft, that is, those who have decided to give craft production a try in order to make money. Thus, the owner of a small hot dog outlet, situated on one of the main tourist routes in the province, displayed an assortment of poorly made handicrafts which she stated she had made herself during the winter. She reported that until recently she had not cared for sewing, but that, when she realized that there was money to be made by selling such items to tourists, she decided to try it. A number of machine-sewn aprons, tablecloths, placemats, and one poorly sewn quilt indicated her lack of skill. This phenomenon also showed up on occasion among the exhibits of experienced craftsmen.

Evident too was the tendency towards standardization in order to speed up production and increase sales. As an example, one can cite the process of decorating wooden table coasters with painted designs. One individual had standardized his basic designs down to two variations, both of which he then produced in quantity. According to retailers and to producers of such articles, there is a market for them because most tourists are not familiar with local craft traditions. Thus, standards of workmanship can be altered and even articles which are made with less than traditional care continue to be sold. Retailers explained this phenomenon by saying that tourists are primarily interested in the souvenir value of an item.

The artist-craftsmen group appears to be generally resistant to these short-run market-influenced changes in that they are primarily oriented towards artistic achievement. Their works are not destined solely for the tourist market as is the case with kitchen craftsmen. The profit motive among these artists appears to be secondary, and hence their emphasis is not on volume sales. Since this dual market exists (tourists and commercial art buyers), there is no one universal trend for all Nova Scotia crafts traditions. Rather, traditional standards appear to be maintained by a relatively small group of craftsmen, probably not exceeding a few hundred, whose artistic values are not submerged by economic motives. However, kitchen craftsmen, primarily motivated by the need for additional income, do induce changes in traditional crafts as well as relaxing their standards of workmanship.

The Economic Benefits of Souvenir Handicraft Production

As in other tourist regions of the world, high profits are derived from the souvenir trade in Nova Scotia. However, these profits appear to accrue primarily to foreign manufacturers and to wholesale and retail distributors of imported mass-produced items. The majority of retailers interviewed claimed that to make a reasonable profit they had to carry items which were not locally produced. Their impressionistic accounts of economic data needs further quantifiable investigation.

Several reasons were cited in explanation, factors

which were primarily related to the merchant's ability to maximize profits and to minimize the amount of work expended in so doing. In the first place, these retailers stressed their need for an assured supply of a great variety of items. They stated that the most realistic way in which they could fulfill this condition was by ordering through wholesale companies that provided them with catalogues of available items and with samples which could be obtained on demand. Such procedures assured retailers of a constant supply of those items for which the market was strongest at a particular time. By contrast, the supply of locally manufactured items was almost universally reported to be uncertain and of uneven quality. The retailers who were interviewed explained this phenomenon by the fact that most local craftsmen produced on a part-time basis, and also tended to drop in and out of the market. This made them highly unreliable as suppliers. It was impossible to expect from them a specified number of items of a standard quality by a given date. In addition, local craftsmen were typically scattered throughout the back-roads of the province, making it difficult for retailers to contact them.

Prohibitive pricing practices of local craftsmen also loomed large in retailers' arguments against handling local crafts. As one informant described it, "items costing pennies in Asia sell for dollars at the retail level", while even the cheapest Nova Scotia handicrafts cost several dollars wholesale. According to the souvenir wholesaler,

promotion of handicrafts which have to be priced higher than the imported souvenirs is just "bad business", because the total number of dollars spent by tourists would be reduced if they had to spend more money per individual item. And it is the total dollar income from all souvenir purchases by tourists which ultimately determines the net profit of each shopkeeper at the end of the season.

Most kitchen craftsmen claimed that their income from craft activities was drastically affected by retailers who demanded more than their "fair share" of profits. Because of their financial needs and their belief in the economic benefits to be derived from participating in the market, many kitchen craftsmen had invested time and money in this activity. Their profits however were scanty, and as most of the interviewees indicated, considerably below their initial expectations.

Retailers, on the other hand, argued that they were in business to make money, and "not to operate a charity for local craftsmen". According to several of them, the mark-up on an item had to be at least 60 percent of the wholesale price, in order for them to make a reasonable profit after expenses.

These interviews on the economic benefits of the tourist trade seem to indicate that, for the majority of local craftsmen, returns from this activity do not constitute a significant source of income. These findings seem to apply primarily to kitchen craftsmen. Although this study avoided

the systematic gathering of exact data on costs of production, numbers of participants and their incomes, some facts in regard to these variables may be cited even though they cannot be considered completely reliable. From a number of sources the figures of fifty cents to one dollar per hour seems to be the probable actual income that kitchen craftsmen derive from their work. It is likely that there are as many as a few hundred artist-craftsmen who tend to be able to capture the wealthy but small part of the tourist market, and to sell this group their expensive, high-quality products. There are probably about a thousand or more hobbyists who appear to participate in the tourist market to make occasional sales which have the effect of supporting an enjoyable pastime.

Problem Areas: Standards, Capitalization,
Business Experience and Organization

When the term "high-quality craft" is used within Nova Scotia crafts circles, it refers primarily to the technical skill, the careful workmanship and the manner of the handling of the formal elements in a particular item. Thus, a high-quality craft item displays its maker's knowledge of the accepted standards of that craft, at least as it is practiced in the province. On the other hand, a craft object of poor quality would reflect deviation from these standards.

Interviews with producers and with retailers of local crafts indicated that when their quality is high, tourists eventually buy them in spite of their being priced higher.

This is not in contradiction to the practice of most retailers of stocking up on imported imitations. They need the latter for sale to the majority of their customers who do not care much about quality. However, there is evidently a growing number of knowledgeable tourists who do discriminate between handmade and mass-produced souvenirs. These people are willing to purchase the more expensive local items provided their quality is markedly superior to the imports. In fact, a number of retailers expressed optimism about the eventual profitability of local quality crafts. According to one experienced participant in the Nova Scotia handicrafts business, tourists are rapidly changing and becoming more discriminating in their buying habits, this transformation manifesting itself in an increased number of sales of quality crafts. Other informants indicated that more and more tourists are looking for something authentic -- made in Nova Scotia.

The implication of this development for many kitchen craftsmen is that if they can produce items of fine workmanship, according to the best standards of their craft tradition, they will be able to make sales. In addition they will have to learn the preferences of the market and adapt their own production accordingly. However, efforts to make such adaptations have tended to confuse a good many kitchen craftsmen in regard to what would constitute "quality" in the eyes of tourists. As a consequence, many of them are now uncertain as to what changes they need to

make. Not infrequently their attempts to use non-traditional materials, patterns or color combinations fail, resulting in objects that are unattractive to both their makers and tourists. This confused perception of what tourists want is an important factor inhibiting the profits realized by kitchen craftsmen.

An example involves the choice of materials for knitted items. One informant reported that she had switched from using the traditional pure wool to a synthetic material, even though she herself did not like it. She did this because she thought that this would make her products "more modern", and thus give them a broader appeal among tourists. She discovered, however, that this was a false perception of market demand when only a few of her synthetic products sold at all, in contrast to her slow but regular sales of items made of pure wool.

There are apparently many craft items being made in the province and offered for sale to tourists which are of distinctly inferior workmanship. It is the kitchen craftsmen who produce work that suffers most from competition with imported souvenirs. The quality producers, on the other hand, appear to be doing rather better, and seem not to be affected by such imports.

Lack of adequate capitalization is another area of difficulty for kitchen craftsmen. It makes it hard for them to obtain raw materials at reasonable prices. Because of the small-scale nature of most of these oper-

ations, craftsmen are usually unable to buy in bulk, and are therefore forced to pay top prices. These high costs of production substantially reduce their profits. A related difficulty derives from the fact that the tourist season in Nova Scotia is restricted to the summer months. This forces smaller producers to acquire their raw materials many months in advance and, by so doing, to tie up their already scarce cash reserves for extended periods of time.

Another difficulty reported by informants is that the majority of Nova Scotia craftsmen who are active in the tourist market are relatively inexperienced in business matters. Few, for instance, understand the relationship between price, volume of production and profit. Nor are techniques of marketing, of promotion and of bookkeeping known to them. In the marketing area, irregular production makes it hard for these individuals to dispose of their products on a systematic basis; they tend to drop in and out of the market and hence they cannot, as a rule, establish a solid relationship with retailers. Lacking enough volume to market their own goods efficiently, or because of geographic isolation from tourist routes, many of these people have to rely upon retailers who handle their products on a consignment basis only. Often this results in their goods being damaged while on display, such damaged goods having either to be taken back by producers at a total loss or sold at a very reduced price.

Kitchen craftsmen also tend to be unaware of estab-

lished pricing strategies. The criteria for determining prices of handicraft items include costs of materials, amount of time or work expended in production, quality of items in terms of technical execution and their potential appeal to tourist consumers. The practical application of such criteria tends to be unrealistic for a good many kitchen craftsmen. For example, they tend not to keep records of expenditures for raw materials and thus often do not know how much it cost to make a particular article. Therefore, a considerable number of informants were unable to say precisely what, if any, profits they had earned from their craft work, except in such broad terms as "too little" or "not enough".

Sometimes finely crafted items made of expensive materials and involving many hours of work will be sold at low prices because the makers underestimate the quality of their work and the market demand for it. This is particularly well illustrated by tourist boasts of finding quilts at "bargain" prices, often at half the cost of other quilts of equivalent quality. Another unfortunate practice is that of attempting to sell low-quality goods at the same high prices which are commanded by high-quality professional producers, with the result that the former frequently price themselves out of the market. In addition, some kitchen craftsmen make items that, because of heavy investments in time and effort, have to be sold at such high prices that they are effectively displaced from the normal tourist market.

The absence of organization into cooperative self-help units is an additional factor inhibiting profits of these craftsmen. Such cooperation could alleviate some of their production and marketing difficulties, but it appears that most of them have given no thought to the formation of any such organization. When asked specifically about the possible benefits of such cooperation, informants generally responded positively, though none expressed interest in initiating such an organization. Nor did they seem to have any idea what could be done about the competition from foreign imports.

The primary threat to local craftsmen are imports which bear Nova Scotia symbols. The list of such "Nova Scotianized" foreign imports is long indeed. It includes numerous copies of Micmac artifacts which are sold by local retailers at a lower price than the native product. According to one Micmac owner of a gift store specializing in native arts, she could survive in business only by including such imports in her stock. As an illustration, she pointed out that Indian-made deerskin dolls which are popular with tourists cannot compete with the cheaper Japanese copies made of imitation deerskin. She reported that for every genuine doll sold to a collector, she sold four or five imitations. Often a family with children would buy one genuine article for the oldest child and several imitations for the younger ones.

The owner of this shop also drew attention to a

young girl who was in the display room doing demonstrations of the techniques used in working deer hides and in bead-work. She reported that customers were invariably interested in learning about Indian arts and enjoyed these demonstrations, but that, when it came time for them to decide on a purchase, they often would choose an imitation because of its lower price. Because local craftsmen could make only two beaded necklaces per day, the price for each (\$2.95) did not even cover the cost of materials plus the minimum wage. Japanese copies, on the other hand, could be bought wholesale for as little as forty-five cents each.

Other Nova Scotia shopkeepers insured their financial survival by carrying stocks of plastic lobsters made in Taiwan, lobster-stamped Pakistani T-shirts, and other sundry items bearing decals of the provincial tartan or of the flag. A clear example of this flood of cheap imported competition can be seen at the tourist restaurant and store at Peggy's Cove. Very few tourists to Nova Scotia fail to visit this colorful place which is internationally known for its spectacular view of the ocean, its lighthouse and its picturesque fishing village. Tourists who travel to this location -- some twenty-five miles from Halifax -- invariably inspect the large assortment of souvenirs, hardly any of which are Nova Scotian in manufacture.

Similarly, imported mass-produced souvenirs predominate in the displays at stores which are located on all of the routes which provide entry into the province. A par-

ticularly good example of souvenir consumption at these points can be observed at the ferry landing between Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. There, every day during the tourist season, cars queue up for as long as four hours to wait for the ferry. There is little for the waiting travelers to do except to go into the concessions building in order to purchase food and souvenirs. The store specializes in the usual range of mass-produced trinkets which here are decorated with either Prince Edward Island or Nova Scotia decals. Again, no locally made handicraft items are for sale to this captive clientele. According to a government spokesman, these concessions are let out for tender by the provincial Department of Public Works, and those who take them on as retail outlets are free to stock them with those objects which sell best.

The wholesale distributor who sells factory-made souvenirs to Nova Scotia retailers told the interviewer that geographic locations of stores are critical in determining their profitability. He pointed out that the maximum volume of business is realized in locations which best capture the tourist traffic and which maintain a large stock of items which sell for under three dollars. He also commented on the ideal location of those stores which were established along the highway which enters Nova Scotia from New Brunswick, explaining that the Trans-Canada Highway acts as a funnel in which tourists are easily "caught".

In terms of promotion, the attitude which seems to prevail is similar to that observed in other tourist regions:

merchants tend to promote those items which appear to be Nova Scotian. Thus, there is a tendency to mislead the buyer on the part of some of the retail merchants. As one put it, he does not make any false statements but implies and lets the tourist make his own assumptions. He reported that he would not say an item was made in Nova Scotia if it was not, but would stress its traditional Nova Scotia pattern.

In sum, while there are undoubtedly large profits made in the tourist souvenir trade of Nova Scotia, these profits do not seem to fall into the hands of local kitchen craftsmen. In the context of this study, due to the limitations of time and resources, no attempt was made to obtain precise figures which would either substantiate or disprove the allegations about profits which were reported by various informants. Obtaining this data would represent an essential aspect of a larger study of the tourist industry in Nova Scotia. It would enable one to answer such very legitimate questions as the relationship between the number of kitchen craftsmen, the total amount of tourist money they obtain as a group and their average individual share of that money. The trends which were inferred suggest that production by these craftsmen will yield, at best, only minor returns, and that individuals are tempted to believe that the tourist market is a source of supplementary income but they are defeated before they start by their own lack of capital and business know-how. It must be underlined here that

the overwhelming majority of kitchen craftsmen were found to be women: wives, mothers or daughters of marginal fishermen or farmers. For them supplementary income meant a supplement to their husband's earnings. Because of their general poverty the amount of supplementary income which they desired was almost unlimited. For the purposes of this study however "not enough" craft income can be roughly equated to minimum wage for the time spent on production.

The redeeming feature of this situation, as well as a partial explanation for their continued participation in the tourist market, may be that tourist sales support the costs of raw materials and thus pay the way of an enjoyable handicraft hobby which might otherwise be an expensive indulgence for some Nova Scotians. On the other hand, based on signs of discouragement among informants, kitchen craftsmen who seek more meaningful supplementary incomes can eventually be expected to drop out of souvenir production altogether.

Government Encouragement of Souvenir Handicraft Production

The thrust of the literature surveyed with respect to the effect of government intervention upon the tourist crafts market was that such intervention had the potential for improving profits for local producers. However, this was only on condition that the government undertake an active role in regulating the production, the marketing, and the protection of such local craftsmen against massive marketing of imported competition.

In Nova Scotia, one of the focal points of provincial government aid to local craft production is government support of the Nova Scotia Designer Craftsmen (NSDC). This is a voluntary, non-profit organization, formed in 1973 for the purpose of helping local craftsmen. It is funded through the Department of Recreation, with additional support coming from individual and business donations. Membership in the organization is open to all those whose work complies with the quality standards of the NSDC as assessed by a jury of peers which meets twice a year. According to their statement of standards, a designer craftsman is "one who creates out of basic materials from his own design or from established form, by his own skill and the best techniques of his craft, an object which fulfills its purpose to the satisfaction of the user and beholder" (Nova Scotia Designer Craftsmen 1975).

Thus the NSDC represents only the elite craftsmen and its membership does not include the majority of grass-roots craft producers. Indeed, only a very few informants who belonged to this latter category felt they had sufficient skills to apply for membership, although many looked upon the work of Designer Craftsmen as a model to which they aspired. The primary emphasis of the NSDC is on the encouragement of quality in Nova Scotia craft production. For example, it has organized a program of workshops throughout the province which is designed to upgrade craft quality.

Although there is some effort made by this group to assist non-member craftsmen in terms of raising their skills

to accepted NSDC standards, it acts essentially as a vehicle for already well-established members -- the artist-craftsmen. According to several kitchen craftsmen and hobbyists, the NSDC is composed of a clique of individuals whose desire is to maintain a closed elite group, while they pretend to be open to "grass-roots involvement". Accurate or not, because of this belief, craftsmen who lack the professional sophistication prevalent among the NSDC members, tend to avoid this organization and therefore to lose out on the potential benefits of government support. On the other hand, those who do participate, report that they receive a great deal of encouragement and assistance. Such individuals enter juried exhibitions, thereby receiving valuable critiques of their work as well as peer recognition and publicity. A slide file documenting the work of members is maintained by the NSDC and is available to potential buyers. The organization also acts as spokesman for the commercial interests of craftsmen as these relate to their interactions with retailers, and involves itself in mark-up problems and in copyright issues.

In terms of merchandizing, the NSDC sponsors a major annual crafts sale during the Nova Scotia Arts Festival which is held in August at Dalhousie University in Halifax. This event is always very well attended by Nova Scotians and by tourists. Here, the segregation of the Designer Craftsmen from kitchen craftsmen is particularly visible: the latter are comfortably located inside the Dalhousie

Arts Center, while outside along the boulevard, a "flea market" of non-member craftsmen can be found.

Another government-sponsored group, one that is more closely aligned with the needs of the majority of Nova Scotia craft producers, is the Handcraft Center. This agency has recently been transferred to the Department of Recreation from the Department of Education, and now operates a program oriented precisely to kitchen craftsmen. The stated goal of its program is "to train persons to produce handicrafts of excellent design and workmanship, to be sold directly or through gift-shops, as means of earning supplementary income" (Department of Education 1971:36). The program also stresses the desirability of combining creative work with quantity production that does not sacrifice high standards of craftsmanship. One of the main services it provides craftsmen is instruction designed to upgrade their skills. Its field instructors go out to different communities giving courses in such crafts as weaving, quilting, ceramics, textile decoration, rughooking and silver jewelry to groups of interested adults. In addition, follow-up courses are often given to help improve quality and marketing techniques. Workshops to provide information on production of specific crafts and on business practices are frequently held and are open to all craftsmen throughout the province.

The Handcraft Center also maintains exhibit space where well-made craft objects may be studied by local pro-

ducers. The center carries samples of various types of craft materials, catalogues and lists of supply sources. In addition, a criticism service is provided which gives expert appraisals of their work to those who request it. The center also maintains a small library which contains books on crafts, how-to-do-it books and current craft magazines and pamphlets. These are available on loan, free to all residents of Nova Scotia, together with book lists which are grouped under different craft headings. A newsletter is circulated to all interested craftsmen free of charge. This service attempts to keep people informed about a wide range of provincial craft events, such as upcoming courses, workshops, lectures, demonstrations, exhibitions, and craft sales; it also carries a classified section on craft equipment wanted or for sale.

Aside from instruction and advice about basic business practices, the Handcraft Center attempts to bring consumers and producers together. For example, it maintains an index file and some samples of articles available, and keeps the names of craftsmen who have quality articles for sale. Another file lists provincial gift shops and other retail outlets. Each year, this agency publishes the Handcraft Directory, which lists the names and addresses of craftsmen and craft stores in the province. In 1976, more than 60,000 copies of this directory were distributed throughout Nova Scotia and across Canada and the United States by the Canadian Government Travel Bureau.

A considerable number of individuals who were involved in craft production for the tourist market indicated that they were unaware of the services available from the Handcraft Center, and many, particularly in the rural areas, stated that they had not taken advantage of them. Those informants who had participated in the Handcraft Center activities generally indicated its positive influence in improving craft skills and in giving marketing assistance. However, according to information supplied by retailers and by artist-craftsmen, this government effort to promote kitchen crafts as a means of increasing incomes is unrealistic. As one such informant put it, "you can't make craftsmen out of the unemployment lines at Manpower". These informants also argue that too many people have been encouraged by government agencies to take craft courses, and that, after a brief ten-week course, they often attempt to produce crafts for sale to the tourist market, usually of poor workmanship.

A third method by which the provincial government assists local craftsmen is through grants and loans to help them establish themselves in business. According to a spokesman, the provincial Department of Development is interested in aiding craft production when it creates jobs. Therefore, assistance is extended only to highly skilled craftsmen, those who can demonstrate that their production will lead to a viable enterprise. The majority of beneficiaries of this type of aid are artist-craftsmen who want to be full-time producers. A particularly good example of

such financial aid is the Department of Development's support of a quilt-making company organized by an artist-craftsman. This enterprise will be described at some length in the next chapter.

The Department of Development also endeavors to help high-quality craftsmen find markets outside the province through such activity as taking Nova Scotia crafts to the trade fairs in Boston, Toronto and other major centers. Another key aspect of this marketing assistance is the identification of new markets for craftsmen. Additionally, according to a Department of Development informant, those craftsmen who need assistance designing their products so as to increase their appeal to tourists can obtain help from a departmental staff designer. This service, however, has never been publicized, and none of the kitchen craftsmen interviewed had ever heard about it.

In the literature survey the point was made that a centralized program, organized by the government, is a prerequisite to the economic success of small-scale craft production. This is well known to the Nova Scotia government. According to a Department of Development spokesman, previous departmental studies had already identified some of the problems of small-scale craftsmen, and had made proposals for the development of a centralized agency to organize the purchasing, production and cooperative distribution of local crafts products. This informant also stated, however, that such proposals have not been acted upon by the pro-

vincial government both because they are difficult to implement and politically controversial. As he explained it, one difficulty lay in the fact that craftsmen do not form a cohesive group. Rather there are many groups, each with its own emphases, with different production and marketing needs and with differing degrees of commercial motivation. Furthermore, these individuals are widely dispersed throughout the province. Another difficulty cited was that there are too many private and public agencies involved with crafts programs. A final obstacle, according to this spokesman, was that government officials wish to minimize interference with private enterprise.

Nonetheless, the federal government through the Cape Breton Development Corporation (Devco) has taken some first steps in the direction of a centralized program of assistance for kitchen craftsmen operating in that region. The main function of this crown corporation is to provide development assistance for the Cape Breton area. Its primary emphasis has been in giving assistance to mining and farming, but craft production has also constituted a part of its operation. In 1973, Devco determined that there was a need for a handicraft marketing agency, and sponsored the establishment of Island Crafts. The aim of this organization is to help Cape Bretoners increase their incomes through the production and sale of crafts. Island Crafts is a wholesale outlet geared to part-time homecraft producers who wish to sell to tourists. Locally made handicrafts are

purchased wholesale by Devco and sold at a twenty-five per cent mark-up to retail outlets.

Island Crafts carries a constant inventory of up to fifty thousand dollars worth of crafts, including such items as pieces of weaving, hooked rugs, woodwork, jewelry, pottery, ceramics, assorted small souvenirs, Indian crafts, quilts and small pieces of pine furniture. To promote sales, the organization has taken these items to various trade fairs outside the province, and has utilized press, radio and television advertising. In addition to marketing, it also provides some financial help for initial equipment purchases, and is currently considering supplying producers with raw materials so as to make them available more cheaply from bulk purchases. It makes no effort, however, to develop a class of professionals along the lines of Designer Craftsmen.

Although it is not specifically oriented toward directing craft production, Devco does exert some influence on them in terms of quality control by setting standards below which it will not purchase handicrafts. It also attempts to steer craftsmen away from making high-cost products and to move them towards smaller quality items that will retail between three and ten dollars. According to a Devco official, their craft marketing program has some distance to go before it becomes a profitable enterprise. However, as a result of Devco's activities, Cape Breton kitchen craftsmen express considerably more optimism about

their future than do the rest of their provincial fellow craftsmen. As a result of Devco's intervention there has occurred an increase in sales to retail outlets, a trend which promises to continue despite persisting problems with imports.

One final method which has been employed is the development of traditional handicraft production at historical sites such as the provincial government's restoration of a nineteenth century community at Sherbrooke Village. This tourist attraction contains a craft-center directed by a skilled crafts coordinator, where visitors can observe demonstrations and purchase traditional items made by local craftsmen. Similarly, in Cape Breton, Devco has as yet unimplemented plans to sell locally made handicrafts at the reconstructed site of the Louisburg fortress.

In general terms, the foregoing discussion of the impact of the tourist market upon Nova Scotia handicrafts supports the main tendencies described in the literature survey for other arts-producing regions under the influence of tourism. In Nova Scotia, a number of craft traditions have been revived and modified by producers pursuing economic rewards. There was little visible resistance to the pressures of the tourist market on the part of producers, identified herein as kitchen craftsmen, who seek profits from their work. It was evident that, for a variety of reasons, actual profits for these craftsmen tended to be scanty.

In sharp contrast to these findings, however, one craft stands out as being resistant to the tourist impact. Quiltmaking has not been transformed along the same lines as other local crafts. Chapter IV describes the response of quiltmakers to tourist demand for quilts, a phenomenon which seems to have had the effect of reviving and reinforcing the dynamic development of this handicraft tradition in Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER IV

QUILTMaking IN NOVA SCOTIA

This chapter is concerned with quilting in Nova Scotia. It includes a historical overview of traditional sources of the craft, of the rise and decline of its popularity and of its periodic revivals. The contemporary socioeconomic context of quilting is then examined in relation to the influence of the tourist market.

Numerous works have been written about the history of North American quilts. Most of these, however, deal with quilting in the United States; there exist only a few sketches of the history of quilting in Nova Scotia: in Green (1967:61-73) and Turner (1957:83-85), together with a few scattered articles on early homecrafts in the province such as Mackley (1972:57-59) and Burnham (1972:51-53). Davis et al (1976) contains some documentation of particular old quilts that have been collected in the province. The best background source, however, was Controy's 300 Years of Canada's Quilts (1976), which provides valuable insights into the history of quilting in Nova Scotia. In this work, the similarity of the social and environmental context of quilting throughout Canada is emphasized, as is the striking parallelism in the development of quilting in Canada and the United States.

Such American works as Hall and Kretsinger (1935), Holstein (1973), Ickis (1949), Laury (1970), Mahler (1973) and McKim (1962) are widely read by Nova Scotians who are interested in quilts; they have a high circulation in local public libraries, they are highly visible at local bookstores and are cited frequently by informants who are quiltmakers. In fact, descriptions by informants of past customs, folklore, popular quilting patterns and design symbolism in Nova Scotia, showed that these differed but little from those given in quilting texts for the rest of Canada and the United States.

Because the record of Nova Scotia quilting traditions is largely an oral one, passed on from mother to daughter over generations, interviews with local people who are knowledgeable about quilts have constituted a prime source of information for this chapter. Informants included contemporary quiltmakers, museum and private collectors and older Nova Scotians who could recollect instances of quilting in the past or who had heard about this activity from their families. Reminiscences of elderly informants are of particular importance.

The Rise and Decline of Quilting in Nova Scotia

Quilting in Nova Scotia began with the first women settlers who brought their skills and traditions with them from Europe. Quilts with a distinctively North American character developed initially in response to conditions of frontier life among New England colonists and then

were gradually extended throughout North America as European settlements spread. In fact, quilts, along with hand-woven materials and hooked rugs, are among the oldest handicrafts of Nova Scotia.

The era of traditional quilting in Nova Scotia lasted from about 1750 to 1900, although some writers (Green 1967:62, Turner 1957:83) place its end at the middle of the nineteenth century. The fifty year period after 1850 represented a different stage: this was the "classical" period when the most beautiful quilts were made. It is from these years that most of the still existing old quilts date. Rather than marking a decline, the eighteen-fifties mark the period after which quilts were increasingly made for decoration rather than for pure utility. It is difficult to make firm generalizations for the whole of Nova Scotia because during the mid-nineteenth century many communities of the province were in very different stages of economic and social development. What can be firmly established, however, is that the decline of quilting becomes clearly marked toward the end of the century, and that this decline was directly related to the introduction of mass-produced household goods into the province.

From the very beginning, in seaport towns where life was easier and colonists were more prosperous, there was a preference for imported goods (Burnham 1972:51). Thus conditions that gave rise to quilting in rural environments were lacking in more urban areas, and, although these items

were sometimes made at home by urban women, their production was much more frequent in the countryside.

Quilting skills and traditions were brought to Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century by three main ethnic groups: Acadian French, British (including Empire Loyalists) and Germans. For these early settlers, production of textiles was an important part of the daily life of every household, especially in rural areas which were dependent upon fishing or farming and where manufactured household goods were for the most part unavailable.

Rural women made clothing and other items of everyday use from wool and linen primarily. Their tasks ranged from shearing sheep and/or preparing flax, to carding and spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting and quilting (Mackley 1972:58). Quilting in this period was a salvage art. Typically, quilts were made from scraps of handwoven materials, left over after clothing or other items had been made, and from the salvageable parts of worn-out items. Their utility lay in their economy and in their efficiency as warm bedcovers.

Very few examples of these first quilts have survived to the present day, perhaps, to the perishable nature of their materials. Since they were not particularly valued for their beauty, they were not preserved as family heirlooms as were the subsequent, more decorative quilts. The earliest Nova Scotia quilt now in the collection of the Nova Scotia Museum, dates back to the early 1800's. It is made from homespun materials, obviously worn clothing, and

is predominantly of drab shades of brown. Its top design consists of squares of cloth pieced together to form larger blocks with no apparent overall design. It is padded with wool and backed with other pieces of homespun, reflecting its strictly utilitarian function in the pioneer settlement.

After the middle of the century, as money, materials, and time to quilt became more plentiful, Nova Scotian women began to use colorful textiles, and quilts acquired a more decorative and a carefully planned artistic quality. Quilt-making reached its peak in popularity and artistry after the middle of the eighteenth-century. Its blossoming can be associated with the growth and prosperity of Nova Scotian settlements, and with the availability of colorful, relatively inexpensive cotton materials. This period was short-lived, however, and by the beginning of the twentieth century provincial quiltmaking had begun to wane due to the availability of inexpensive machine-made blankets. Values and tastes had changed with modernization, and a tendency developed among the mass of consumers to prize machine-made objects as symbols of elegance or of modernity. Hand-made things like quilts began to be regarded as homely products of old-fashioned frugality, and were most often relegated to chests and attics. Fewer and fewer women continued to practice the art of quiltmaking.

Quilts, however, did not entirely go out of fashion; they continued to be made less in satisfaction of household needs than as a social custom institutionalized in

community women's groups. These groups made quilts for charity bazaars, for raffles and for emergency relief, as well as for use by individual members, thus keeping alive the social traditions of quilting in rural Nova Scotia.

The decline of quilting in the province proved to be temporary. It was reversed during the years of the Depression when, because of sustained and pervasive unemployment, the making of quilts at home again became a necessity for many Nova Scotian families. In fact, this depression-induced revival was widespread throughout North America (Conroy 1976:90). One consequence of the revival is that quilting skills were transmitted to a new generation of women who, under other circumstances, might never have been exposed to the craft. It ended with the Second World War when, out of military necessity, numerous Nova Scotian women were forced to move into the industrial labor force. Thus, many women grew up without sewing skills, and once again quilting reverted from being a homecraft practiced by a majority of women, to a hobby engaged in by relatively few.

The popularity of quilting in Nova Scotia began to increase once again after the middle of the nineteen-sixties. In contrast to the Depression period, this new revival was more scattered throughout the province, involving fewer women. Additionally, after the beginning of the 1960's, quilts began to be produced primarily for their decorative value rather than for their sheer domestic utility. Almost

all informants cited tourists as the principal cause of the present revival of interest in quilting. This impact operates on two levels. On the one hand, tourist demand provides direct stimulus for the production of quilts for sale. On the other hand, the high visibility of quilts for sale in gift stores and on the highways is acknowledged by quilt-makers as having been one of the sparks which rekindled their interest in the craft even though they quilt more for their own enjoyment than for sale.

An additional impetus to the revival has been the publicity given quilts in the mass-circulation magazines. These reach almost every community of the province and frequently publicize the beauty and desirability of quilts, showing new patterns and providing instructions. With few exceptions informants stressed the importance of magazines and books in raising their own interest in quilting. Other factors which may be adduced as motivating influences for the revival include government-sponsored programs such as public lectures, a variety of courses of instruction, and the prominence of a few trained artists who have emerged as skilled quilters. Most of the quiltmakers interviewed were aware of the recent fashion trend which views quilts as art objects, and, for some of them, this became an important motivating factor.

A smaller number of informants indicated that they had been part of a continuous tradition of quilting -- that they had learned to quilt in their homes from the

previous generation of quilters. These people resided primarily in rural areas, and, for them, quilting activities were associated with membership in women's organizations.

The Social Functions of Quilts

Apart from the traditional utilitarian and decorative functions, quilts also had important social functions. Every phase of the production of a quilt -- trading scraps of material to quilting bees to giving away the finished product -- had a social aspect to it. This is a craft which is deeply rooted in the context of home and family.

Quilts were almost always consumed or used by the maker, or by a friend or family member; they were offered as gifts rather than sold. Often quilters were emotionally involved with quilts that they made, as were those who received them as gifts. The value of quilts, in terms of the meaning they held for individuals who possessed them, derived from their being comprised of fabrics which were remnants of old clothing. These recalled or symbolized personal and social events in people's lives. Surviving quilts became records of the past, like diaries or photograph albums. They evoked sentimental memories of the original context of the quilt in those who made them. By way of illustration, one informant brought out a "memory" quilt, one which had been given to her by her mother, several years after she had been married and established in her own household some thirty years ago. It contained pieces of material from her own baby clothes, from the dress worn

on her first day of school, from her church confirmation dress, from her wedding dress and the like, each recalling a story about the circumstances surrounding the original wearing of these clothes.

Other informants described a number of quilt customs which had been popular in Nova Scotia. Although these customs are part of the craft tradition, in the sense that they have not been forgotten by quilters today, they are for the most part inactive, focused as they are on the artistic aspects of quilts.

In times past, needle work was a highly valued handicraft. Girls were taught how to sew at an early age, and skills in quilting were viewed as a necessary social accomplishment of every young woman. Continuing family tradition entered into quilting, and, for their first quilts, daughters often made replicas of those made by their mothers. Regardless of social class, quilting was part of a young girl's training in becoming a woman and in fulfilling her future role as wife and mother. Today, as many quilters pointed out, most young girls do not learn to sew, but instead hope to be given quilts by friends or relatives who are quilters.

It was the custom for young girls to prepare, far in advance of marriage, the quilts they would have in their own households. By the time they had reached marriageable age, they were expected to have made a total of thirteen quilt tops --twelve for every day use and one bridal quilt

top. These would be placed, unquilted, in a hope chest to await the time of their engagement when quilting parties would be called by neighbours and friends to complete them. According to custom, a girl could participate in stitching all of the twelve quilt tops she had prepared but it was considered bad luck for her to work on the thirteenth. Another custom associated with the bridal quilt was practiced to bring good luck. When the quilt was completed at the quilting party, quilters would gather round, holding the four corners and sides of the quilt off the floor, place a pet cat in the center and bounce it up and down three times. Or, alternately, the bride herself would be tossed in the center of the quilt. Although these customs surrounding the bridal quilt are not frequently followed today, the practice described above was reported to have taken place in 1974.

The making of "friendship quilts" is another custom which has generally fallen out of use. A friendship quilt was like any other, but with the added feature of having the names of friends embroidered on the square pieces of the quilt top. These were usually made by a number of individual quilters, each contributing several squares, embroidering their names on the ones they had made. They were often produced as gifts to mark special occasions in the life cycle, and were commonly presented to such newcomers as a rural school teacher or a new preacher or to people who were leaving the community. A variation of the friendship quilt which apparently became popular in the 1930's was described by

one informant: she had made the entire quilt top herself, and had relatives and friends pay a nicket to have their names embroidered on the top.

A frequently recalled custom was that of reserving the finest quilts for house guests, an etiquette that was regarded as a sign of welcome to any visitor.

The quilting bee, or quilting party, was the prime institutionalized mechanism by which the social aspect of quilting was tied into the work routine. Quilting bees brought people together and provided a context in which the tedious and time-consuming task of stitching the quilt could be accomplished rapidly and enjoyably. Aside from the practical results of quilting, these affairs offered satisfying conversations with friends and neighbours. Quilting bees continue to be held in Nova Scotia, particularly in rural areas, though on a much reduced scale. They are still organized by women's groups, but rarely now by individual members of a community. Several informants who had participated in "old fashioned" quilting bees, usually during the 1930's, pointed out that at that time a person would be invited to a bee only if she was considered to be a good quilter. This indicates the importance of having such skills in order to avoid being left out. According to one informant, when a particularly unskilled quilter insisted on attending a quilting bee, the other quilters would get together to rip out her stitches and to redo them after she had gone. These quilting bees were usually climaxed by a supper attended by the whole family.

Descriptions of traditional quilting bees always emphasized the social enjoyment of quilting in groups. Some groups stressed the importance of quilting skills, others were less demanding. According to a majority of informants, today's quilting bees are viewed as undesirable from the standpoint of producing a fine quilt because of the disparity in abilities. Whereas in past times most women were highly skilled quilters, many today are not. Quilts produced by most groups are often not well regarded by the most skilled quilters. Among the exceptions are groups which have been formed solely for the purpose of making quilts and for the preservation of the craft tradition.

Group quilting as a means of raising money for community service occurs today in Nova Scotia, especially among church organizations and groups of the Women's Institute, a primarily rural community organization. Increasingly, such quilting groups have been placing quilts for sale to tourists as a means of raising funds.

Very much a part of the social context of quilting is the quilt competition. For generations quilts have been judged along with other products of home industry at country fairs. This practice is evidenced by a call for quilt entries for the Atlantic Winter Fair in Halifax (Mail Star 1976:20). It is in such contests that reputations may be made by local quilters. Through these events they are able to obtain public recognition and have an opportunity to exhibit their work.

Although quiltmakers today are more concerned with the artistic aspects than with the social aspects of quilts, there is marked interest in keeping the memory of past customs alive, if not in practicing them. The exchanging of quilt lore appears to be a prominent feature of the contemporary scene. This interest in past customs among Nova Scotia quiltmakers appears to have had the effect of supporting the craft tradition. The simultaneous tendency towards commercial production, however, seems to negate the traditional social function of the craft. For example, the personal involvement associated with producing a quilt for one's own use is not present when it is made for sale to a consumer who comes from a social milieu alien to the quilter. Similarly, the tourist relates differently to a purchased quilt than he would if it had been a gift which was associated in his mind with some personally relevant context. What was traditionally a personalized social interaction between producers and consumers becomes, with commercialization, a commodity exchange. In this context, the rewards to producers appear to be primarily financial, even though there remain some socially rewarding elements such as the admiration of their work by retailers and especially by buyers.

Quilt Production

Quilting is a technique which involves stitching together three layers of fabric. The results of this process may include a range of items such as clothing, wall-hangings, potholders or cushions. Traditional quilting in Nova Scotia,

however, has most commonly been concerned with bedcovers.

A quilt consists of a bottom lining, usually a plain material such as unbleached cotton, a suffing of cotton and a top which is the part of the quilt containing the design. There are three types of quilts, each distinguished by the treatment of the top: the plain quilt, the appliqué quilt and the pieced quilt. The plain quilt top consists of a single piece of material decorated by quilting stitches which produce raised patterns on the material. This type was not uncommon in Nova Scotia, but traditionally "quilt" has meant patchwork. Both appliqué and pieced quilts are usually referred to as patchwork, but the techniques used are quite different. The appliqué top is made by cutting forms from one piece of cloth and stitching these onto a piece of whole cloth which serves as the background to the design. By contrast, the pieced top is made by sewing together a number of separate squares of material, either side by side or separated by a border, usually to conform to planned designs. The designs for most pieced quilts are made of blocks which repeat a single pattern to form an overall design for the quilt when they are set together. Thus, for example, a quilt which measured sixty by eighty inches might take forty-eight ten-inch squares.

The first steps in making a quilt comprise the planning stage which involves a series of technical and artistic decisions. The piecing of quilt tops traditionally was done by hand, but today the use of a sewing machine is accepted

as a legitimate method of piecing and has become integrated into the craft tradition. Quiltmakers who view its use as heretical are in a minority. At the same time, however, there are numerous quilters who prefer to piece by hand and refer to this phase of quilting as "pick-up work". They prepare pieces ahead of time, then piece them together a few at a time between household chores or while watching television. According to most quiltmakers, the great virtue of using a sewing machine is that it produces a stronger quilt top while at the same time considerably decreasing the time required to complete it.

In addition to using the sewing machine, a few profit-oriented quiltmakers have adopted another technique which speeds up their production. This is the buying of machine-stamped material for their patchwork design. Thus they skip the piecing stage altogether, handquilting around the stamped squares on whole cloth. This unconventional and relatively uncommon practice is viewed as unacceptable by a majority of local quiltmakers and is strongly criticized. Peer-group pressure upon quiltmakers against this practice became particularly evident when an informant described how she and several other community quilters had been critical about a local quilter's production of this type because it affected everyone's reputation. As a result, the deviant quilter evidently stopped quilting altogether. Possibly due to pressures exerted by quiltmakers, this practice does not appear to be very widespread, even among commercial quilts.

According to sales persons in gift shops, quilts made from machine-stamped material do not sell as well as the conventional type. Several retailers indicated that they would not consider stocking such quilts.

Another unconventional practice which appears to be more widespread is that of purchasing quilt kits through magazines. These kits contain pre-cut blocks of material ready to sew into a particular design. Several informants who sold quilts used these kits as did a number of others who did not seek sales. For the most part, they expressed enthusiasm about the many varieties of materials and patterns that they could order and subsequently make up. A majority of informants accepted the existence of this practice as part of tradition, informing that there have always been quilters who do not like to create their own patterns, and who had either copied the work of others or had ordered kits. While this appeared to be an accepted practice within the tradition, quilts produced in this way were nonetheless viewed as "unimaginative", spurned by the majority of "true" quilters. In sum, it does not appear that the tourist market for quilts had the effect of encouraging quilters to work from kits to speed up production, but rather that some quilters would do so in any case -- even if the motivation was not commercial.

Since 1973, quilting practices in Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia have undergone considerable change as a result of the participation of some 150 women in a local quilt-

producing company, Suttles and Seawinds. This company was organized according to the "putting-out" system of manufacture, the quilts being designed by the director of the enterprise. This woman is a trained artist who controls all of the stages of production. Her materials are cut in quantity by the use of an industrial cutting machine and then pieced together and quilted by local women according to instructions given to them by the expert. Suttles and Seawinds produces both handmade quilts and some which are made entirely by machine. This was the only instance of machine quilting discovered in Nova Scotia, and it constitutes a striking break with tradition in the view of numerous tradition-oriented quilters and quilt aficionados. Many of the latter are adamantly critical of this practice and give little recognition to machine-made quilts, irrespective of the attractiveness of their designs, the quality of their workmanship or their market popularity. A skilled quiltmaker in the vicinity of Suttles and Seawinds who produced quilts for sale, stated that she had decided not to work there because she did not want to sew someone else's creations. In her words, "it would take away the pleasure of quilting". The same view was variously expressed by a number of other quiltmakers. On the other hand, many women like to work on pre-designed quilts, and they tend to regard them as artistry beyond their own capacity. The handmade productions of this company are widely known and admired throughout Nova Scotia despite the controversy over machine-made quilts.

Apart from this isolated instance of machine manufacture, quilt stitching in the province is always carried out by hand. When the top is completed, the three layers which form the quilt are stretched out over a wooden quilting frame to hold them taut for efficient quilting. Considerable skill and control is required to insure small straight stitches, consistently the same size both on the front and back of the quilt. Six to eight stitches per inch is considered to be a suitable number for a quilt, although there is great value placed in tiny stitches, twelve to the inch and more. According to a number of informants, quilters in times past used to compete with each other in making the smallest stitches. Today, however, emphasis is placed more on patterns and materials than on the number of stitches employed. Large stitches, around three to an inch, are commonly referred to as "toenail catchers" and are considered to be unacceptable for the craft.

Virtuosity in stitching has long been a valued part of the quilting process. Traditionally, women quilted independently or with groups of other quilters. In recent years however some degree of specialization has developed. A number of informants indicated that they design and piece the top, but pass it on to another person to be quilted. These specialists are usually highly skilled individuals who quilt rapidly and expertly, charging fees for their work according to the amount requested; generally for a full-sized quilt the fee is between twenty-five and fifty dollars. Some women's groups do this kind of quilting and

donate their profits to some charitable cause. The practice of passing quilts out for stitching was more pronounced in the urban Halifax area than in the country. Urban quilt-makers were primarily concerned with design skills, and because of time limitations or lack of skill, they preferred not to do their own stitching.

Traditionally, quilts were made of whatever fabrics were contained in the maker's scrap bag. The favored fabric was cotton, which is durable as well as being highly decorative. Materials such as silks, satins or velvets -- being more decorative than durable -- were considered inferior fabrics for quilts.

The traditional use of cotton has been maintained by most contemporary quilters, although the variety of textiles available in the fabric markets has expanded dramatically since the early days of quilting. Such synthetic materials as polyester, though durable enough, are generally dismissed as vulgar by tradition-oriented quilters, as is the use of pieces of gaudy printed fabrics like those that may be left over from Donald Duck pyjamas. A few quilts made of a mixture of polyester and cotton materials are made however. According to the maker of one such quilt, she used polyester for a quilt because it was cheaper than cotton. But it remained unsold at the end of the tourist season and she concluded that tourists want traditional cotton. Her cotton quilts had evidently sold very well. The marketing of quilts made of delicate satins and vel-

vets is similarly restricted. The few that do appear for sale are purchased but retailers reported that they sell as expensive decorative pieces rather than as quilted bedcovers. It was even reported by one shopkeeper that these extravagant works catch the eyes of passing tourists and help bring them into his store, where they are likely to make some purchase, even though it may not be the highly priced quilt.

There are hundreds of designs in the repertoire of Nova Scotian quilters. Although sometimes patterns are referred to as traditional Nova Scotian, they are not exclusive to the province. Quilt patterns have been widely diffused and it is highly unlikely that a pattern used in Nova Scotia would not be known by quilters in any other part of Canada or the United States even though the names of patterns may differ from region to region. For example, the pattern called Hole in the Barn by some Nova Scotians is called the Fisherman's Reel by others, and the same pattern is called the Anchor Pattern in Ontario. In the early days patterns moved from east to west with the pioneer settlers. They were also diffused by farmers' journals, women's magazines, newspaper columns, quilt pattern companies and by friends and relatives who lived in widely scattered areas.

Almost all patterns have generic names, often reflective of the design itself (e.g., Sunburst, Flock of Geese, Flyfoot, Bear's Paw). Designs are often geometric

abstractions of images and ideas whose symbolism, after many years of application, requires a stretch of imagination to interpret correctly. The design sources of many quilts were natural objects such as flowers, leaves, feathers, stars and shells. Other articles of daily use such as dish patterns also inspired quilt designs. Some of them carried symbolic references: the oak leaf stood for a long life; rings and bells represented romance, courtship and marriage. Themes such as Jacob's Ladder, Rob Peter to Pay Paul, Cross and Crown are also present in quilt designs. Political symbolism, once very popular in the United States, did not develop as a design theme in Nova Scotia.

The Log Cabin design provides an especially good illustration of design symbolism. A small red square in the center of each block traditionally depicted the hearth fire of the pioneer home. Darker outer strips on one side of the pattern and brighter or lighter strips on the other side symbolized the walls of the cabin (Conroy 1976:25). Although not all Nova Scotian quilters indicated precise knowledge of the origins of the light and dark sides of the pattern, almost all were able to identify the origins of the red central square and felt that it was important to the design.

Just as there are numerous patterns for quilts, there are numerous ways in which the patterns can be handled by individual quilters. It is rare to see two handmade quilts which are identical, even though the same basic

pattern may have been followed. Variations may occur in the use of color or in the manipulation of other design elements. For example, colored blocks forming a particular pattern may be set directly together or they may be alternated with plain blocks or set with sashwork. The basic rule for use of color is to alternate light materials with darker ones, but the number of color combinations which may be used can vary greatly.

The patterning of a pieced quilt to produce a strong visual effect is one of the major conventions of the quilt-making tradition. The ability to achieve this is influenced by a number of factors, including the types and colors of fabrics used, the level of skills possessed, the intended function of the quilt and the quilter's motivation. For example, the maker may be limited by the particular scraps of material on hand in her scrap bag. At other times the craftsman may lack the necessary skills to manipulate colors in such a way as to bind the design together. In such cases, the quilt will lack coherence and its pattern will be lost. Most judgements by quiltmakers that a particular quilt is of "poor quality" relate to these factors.

The planning of a quilt is generally a long, time-consuming task. Traditionally, many quilts were made which exhibited little planning effort; they tended to serve a strictly utilitarian purpose. In this connection several informants mentioned the custom of sleeping under several quilts, with only the top one having a bright and attractive design.

For contemporary quiltmakers, the artistic attributes of a quilt are by far the most important ones. There being no longer any need to produce a strictly utilitarian quilt, the decorative function has become central. Today, those participants in the craft who lack design skills tend to copy their quilts from pictures in books and magazines or from other quilters. Thus, only a relative few produce quilts that can be considered poorly designed. And although a few of the quilts which are being sold to tourists exhibit a certain lack of design skill, these are only a small minority among the quilts of Nova Scotia. For the most part even these are elaborately quilted and reflect an extraordinary amount of work and skill expended in the stitching.

Most quilts made in Nova Scotia today are based on traditional patterns. However there is a tendency, particularly among quilters with art training, to create entirely new designs while retaining the traditional patterning characteristics. Informants in this category viewed their quilts as works of art. Accordingly, many quilts are sold as wall-hangings rather than as bedcovers.

This development in quilting does not really constitute a major break in the quilting tradition. It is true that few if any early quiltmakers had formal schooling in the techniques of painting or design composition. They did not think of themselves as artists and did not see their quilts primarily as art objects. Modern workers who are producing their quilts as art objects are, in effect, just

extending the aesthetic dimension of their craft. They are still, after all, making quilts which serve the traditional function of bedcover, in spite of the fact that some consumers might prefer to hang them on their walls rather than sleep under them.

A number of factors have influenced quilt styles. In the days when quilts were made primarily from scraps of clothing, fashions were influential. When fashion dictated bright colored clothing, quilts would also be bright. When more somber clothing was the fashion, quilts became more subdued in color. Economic conditions also affected the style of quilts. During times of depression, quilts tended to reflect the frugality of the makers who would work even the smallest scraps of material into their patterns. Designs that are representative of the more prosperous periods tend to be cut from whole cloth. Thus, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, elaborate applique floral designs were popular. This was also the era of the Victorian "crazy" patchwork style, in which oddly-shaped pieces of luxury fabrics (silks, satins, brocades, velvets) were sewn together and heavily embroidered with gold or colored silk.

During the 1930's, old geometric patterns were revived. According to a number of informants who were making quilts during this period, it was common practice to use cotton flour or sugar bags for their quilt tops, interspersed with pieces of colored materials. A particular design style which reached its peak of popularity in the

1930's was constituted of obese appliqué figures for which patterns were available in newspapers. These patterns have been known by such names as Little Dutch Girl, Sunbonnet Sue and Umbrella Lady. Modern artist-quilters tend to view such appliqué patterns as examples of poor design and as being unacceptable by contemporary standards. Nonetheless, rows of obese figures are an integral part of the quilting tradition in Nova Scotia and are still used by some quilters.

Every quilt that is made is subject to judgement about its quality, whether by the maker and her peers or by external consumers. Regardless of the audience concerned, the quality of quilts is judged by the same basic standards -- fine, even stitching, pleasing color schemes, balanced pattern and careful finishing. While the criteria may vary among both producers and consumers, the quality of an item is assessed according to the technical skill exhibited in its execution and in its formal elements. A high-quality quilt displays the maker's knowledge and competence in adhering to accepted craft standards; a poor-quality quilt reflects deviation from them, a deviation which is made visible by slovenly workmanship or through a lack of stylistic coherence.

As measured by objective standards, there are more high-quality quilts on the market than low-quality ones. Appearing for sale in greater numbers are quilts which are attractive to their makers but less so to tourists because they lack strong visual content. At the same time,

standards set by artist-quilters are similar to those of tourists, and thus there is a kind of dual pressure upon other quilters to conform.

The Effect of Tourists on Quiltmaking

Within the tourist market for Nova Scotia handicrafts there exists a high demand for quilts. According to a majority of retailers interviewed, this demand began in the early 1960's and has continued to grow. One informant indicated that demand for quilts greatly exceeded his supply, and that, as of July of the 1976 season, he had received twenty-five requests for quilts from tourists. A sales clerk in a newly opened handicraft store also reported that they had carried only two quilts that season, both of which sold very early, and that now they were having difficulties obtaining more from local producers.

The attraction of quilts to tourists can be explained by a number of factors. Among the reasons most frequently expressed by tourists, those having to do with aesthetic value were most frequently given. Tourists stressed the beauty of local quilts, and their praises were proudly related by many of the quiltmakers interviewed. Retailers also remarked on the ability of their quilt displays to capture the interest of tourists. The similarity between many quilt patterns and their color composition to modern "optical" or "pop" art forms was an additional factor influencing sales.

In addition to aesthetic motivations for acquiring

quilts there also exist those motivations which are associated with nostalgia for times past. Several informants mentioned having heard tourists recollect the quilting done by mothers or grandmothers. One tourist informant aptly described this nostalgia "I haven't seen one of these [quilts] since I was a boy on the farm."

Nova Scotia provides an appropriate context for this nostalgia. Its rural farm scenes, its quaint coastal villages which give the impression of having changed little from the nineteenth century, its reconstructed historical sites, conveying as they do the flavor of old ways of life, all create an atmosphere which rekindles interest in past customs. This atmosphere also invites the purchase of old-fashioned handicrafts which impress tourists as outstanding examples of traditions that have ceased to exist in their own home environment. Reinforcing these feelings is an abundance of tourist literature.

Another influence on tourist consumption of quilts is their increasing use as prestige objects. Trend-setting department stores such as Bloomingdales in New York have offered a line of quilts at prestige prices, including some from Suttles and Seawinds in Nova Scotia. Quilt promotions in such department stores as The Bay and Morgans in Canada also add to the image of the quilt as a tasteful accompaniment for expensive furniture. Mass-circulation magazines have also played a role in establishing the image of quilts as fashionable and prestigious. For

example, Life (1972:74-80) carried an article entitled "The Craze for Quilts" which told the public that members of high society decorate their homes with quilts.

The recent entry of quilts into the elite art market and their corresponding high visibility in art galleries, museums and the media have had a predictable impact on their popularity among tourist consumers. Increasingly quilts are being recognized as a genre of graphic art which is now being appreciated for the wide variety and sophistication of its patterns. This appreciation is intensified when quilts are separated from their original function (as bedcoverings) and viewed on walls as objects of art (Antiques 1971:162). As one art writer put it, there is now taking place an invasion of high art by quilts which were "once rated somewhere between duck decoys and earthenware pots " (Mainardi 1974:30).

An article in the New Yorker (Malcolm 1974) also illustrates the change in the way quilts are regarded. It pointed out that quilts, which were formerly regarded as "cozy, folksy relics of a cozy folksy past", or as merely "busy work" for elderly women, are now being associated with abstract art. The author further drew attention to the discovery by twentieth-century artists of the possibility of expressing complex emotions and ideas through the manipulation of colors and forms. No less than painters, quilt-makers use forms and colors to evoke emotional images and symbolic associations.

It was also suggested by Scott Robson, historical curator of the Museum of Nova Scotia and collector of quilts, that the rise in awareness of quilts as art began with an exhibit in 1971 at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City. This idea was further substantiated by Mainardi (1974:30-32). The exhibit, entitled "Abstract Design in American Quilts", demonstrated the visual content of quilts and the aesthetic satisfaction to be derived from viewing them (Holstein 1971). It received acclaim in the world of art and stimulated the presentation of quilt exhibitions in art galleries and museums throughout the United States and Canada.

Most informants argued that tourist demand for quilts has had a positive effect upon the craft in Nova Scotia. They point out that while shoddy work has been done and sold by quilters wanting to "cash in on a good thing", this phase has "played itself out". Tourists are evidently becoming more discriminating and buying only quality quilts. Moreover, as the numbers of quilts displayed for sale has increased over the past few years, they have displaced quilts of poorer workmanship. Accordingly, the price of quilts has increased from about thirty to forty dollars paid by an occasional passing traveler to an average of one hundred to three hundred dollars. Even the poorest quality quilt for sale today is priced around seventy to one hundred dollars. Thus, having decided to pay a high price for a quilt, tourists also demand the best possible quality within a given price range.

Repeatedly informants stated their belief that if there had been no tourist demand for quilts the craft would not have been revived to the current extent. They described having seen beautiful -- but prohibitively expensive -- quilts and having, thus, been led to make their own. Some also indicated that quilting in their church groups has been stimulated through expressions of tourist interest. Thus, according to one informant, the average age of her group was around sixty-five until about five years ago when younger women became interested and now the majority are between thirty and fifty.

Almost all quiltmakers who sell their products indicated that they do not quilt only for money but mainly for its own sake as an enjoyable craft. At the same time, when asked whether they would make quilts if there was no commercial market for them the majority admitted that they would make considerably fewer. For the most part, the market seems to increase the variety of quilts rather than to encourage standardization and quantity production. Informants also indicated that it is an extremely satisfying experience to create something beautiful.

However, when quilts are produced for the tourist market, their ultimate salability depends on the extent to which they suit the tastes of consumers. Not all of the traditional designs of Nova Scotia quilters are acceptable to tourists. Through the selection of some types of quilt designs above others, and through requests for quilts that

suit their requirements, tourists unconsciously exert pressure on quilters. Informants indicated that the majority of tourists prefer quilts of geometric design, ones which have a strong visual effect. These types of quilts correspond closely to the preferences of the artist-quilters who tend to utilize dazzling colors in subtle combinations.

Thus, while tourists exert some influence on the styles of quilts made today through their own taste preferences, they do not appear to have effected modifications in the use of traditional quilt patterns. All patterns derive from the local craft tradition rather than from outside, although some traditional styles are favored above others by the tourists.

The majority of commercial quiltmakers did not indicate a strong profit orientation. For the most part, financial returns from quilting were not considered vital to economic maintenance of their households; they were only a welcome bit of extra money. For example, an old age pensioner and commercial quilter stated that she uses the money received from the sale of quilts to buy more material and to buy presents for her grandchildren.

Only a handful of informants indicated a serious effort to upgrade their incomes through quilting. Two of these involved family enterprises where three to five relatives were able to produce a quantity of quilts over

the winter months for out-of-house sales during the summer. Four other informants indicated that they had previously been producing quilts for sale, but that they had found that they could not make a sufficient number of them to earn a worthwhile profit, so they switched to other crafts such as crocheted or knitted afghans, small sewn items and tablecloths. One informant who had standardized her designs for quantity production was making a larger profit than she had before doing so.

For artist-quilters, the artistic aspects of quilt-making was the main concern. Profitable returns were of course expected, and in effect assured, as a result of their craftsmanship, but they were viewed as being secondary in importance to artistic achievement. A majority of other quilters indicated that they enjoyed making quilts, and that if the market were to drop off, they would probably continue to make them anyway. The pleasure of quilting as a hobby thus seems to override economic concerns. Nonetheless, all of those interviewed were happy to receive the extra money that they had derived from their hobby. Several informants even pointed out that it was the proceeds from their sales of quilts which actually supported their hobby and that without them they would not be able to afford the materials they desired to make fine quilts. Most of these informants indicated that because of the large number of hours of work required to make a quilt, it was very difficult to realize a profit equivalent even to a minimum wage.

In contrast to many other tourist handicrafts, quilts seem to be little affected by foreign competition. The market demand for quilts appears to be specifically oriented to handmade products. Whatever their motivations for wanting a quilt, buyers stand apart from the casual consumer of inexpensive souvenirs. Because he is making a substantial purchase, usually exceeding a hundred dollars, he is consciously seeking a product of fine craftsmanship, commensurate with its high price. On only one occasion did the writer observe imported quilts for sale: these had been made in a factory in Ontario and were priced very much lower than locally handmade quilts, between twenty and thirty dollars. According to the retailer, tourists showed no interest in them. By the end of the season she had sold all of the locally made quilts but none of the machine-made ones. Because of the aura surrounding quilts as objects of art, or their value as a symbol of past rural tradition, there was little demand for mass-made imitations when it came to quilts.

In sum, the current wave of quilting in Nova Scotia does not appear to have occurred through an organic development within local communities, but was inspired by a number of external influences -- the mass media, incursion of artists into the craft, government encouragement and, especially, tourists. However, unlike the situation with many other crafts studied, quilts appear to be relatively resistant to the trends which have engulfed other crafts produced for the tourist market, and they have remained outside the

competition with mass-produced imports. Moreover, tourist-induced stylistic modifications and relaxation in standards of workmanship have been minimal as far as quilts are concerned. The inherent high costs in terms of time and effort expended are disproportionate to financial returns, thus inhibiting profit-oriented quilt production. On the other hand, the artistic achievement, the experience of craftsmanship, and the social and recreational activities associated with quilting appear to be the prime motivations for quilt production in Nova Scotia, with the sales to tourists tending only to support these craftsmen in their hobby or artistic pursuits.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The principal theme which emerged from the review of anthropological literature dealing with the relationship between tourism and host communities was that tourism tended to disrupt the social fabric of these communities. Their influence on local handicrafts was an important example of this disruption. Because of this, three initial hypotheses were made about the impact of tourism on Nova Scotian handicrafts:

1. That, for those local craftsmen who had become involved in the tourist market, the traditional social and aesthetic values associated with crafts production would have become subordinated to economic values; such handicraft producers would be highly profit-oriented, but actual incomes would be small, owing to competition from mass-produced souvenirs;
2. That, in addition to replacing the traditional (primarily social) functions of handicrafts by economic considerations, the mass tourist market would have caused them to undergo modifications involving a decrease in the standards of workmanship, an emphasis upon quantity production, and changes in the traditional size, shape

and design of these objects;

3. And finally, it was hypothesized that some handicrafts in Nova Scotia would be found to have resisted these tourist-induced tendencies towards commoditization and alteration of form.

Subsequent research on tourist-related handicrafts in Nova Scotia did confirm, as was reported in Chapters III and IV, that there had indeed occurred both form modifications and quality loss in many of the crafts which were now being produced for the tourist market. However, the data obtained also indicated that in the specific case of Nova Scotian quilters, the primary focus of this study, a number of non-economic factors were present, and that because of these factors quilting exhibited an unexpected resistance to transformation into just another "airport art".

This study found that tourists who come to Nova Scotia expect to find such things as scenic seacoast beauty, comfortable hotels, quaint rural settlements, and an abundance of inexpensive local handicrafts. Another finding was that, no less than other mass tourists around the world, they are conditioned to purchase souvenirs. The literature on tourism had prepared the researcher to expect that there would be several types of souvenir consumers among mass tourists. In Nova Scotia two main types were distinguished.

The first group consists of individuals who are disposed to acquire traditional handicrafts for a variety of reasons ranging from their interest in art objects to a

nostalgia for the artifacts of former days. The second type, by far the most numerous, consists of people who are satisfied with purchasing trinkets, provided that these were inexpensive and bore some sort of Nova Scotian identification such as a flag or a lobster pattern. For the latter, it seemed to matter little whether the souvenir which they purchased had been made by hand or made by machine or whether it had been crafted locally or was an import from the orient. Quite simply, such mementos had the function of serving as reminders of a vacation taken or as inexpensive gifts to bring back home to friends or relatives.

In the matter of craftsmen, this study found that the categories which were used in the literature on the subject were generally applicable to Nova Scotia, but required some modification to accommodate the data gathered. Thus, in Nova Scotia, three different categories of craft producers were identified. The elite among them are the artist-craftsmen, composed of a relatively small number of individuals, including professional artists and others whose skills approximate those of the professionals. They typically commanded high prices for their work but at the same time they were strongly motivated by the need for artistic achievement, not just economic gain. Furthermore, they were not exclusively dependent upon the tourist market but had outlets for their work in the broader commercial art market.

The second type of producer found in Nova Scotia was the so-called kitchen craftsmen consisting of individuals

who formerly had been amateur hobbyists or who had taken up crafts because of their potential profitability. The key feature of this group was that they produced crafts to earn needed supplementary incomes, relying solely upon the tourist market for their sales. In order to accommodate the tourist market, they tended to stray from traditional craft standards.

The third category of craftsman was the hobbyists, those who produce primarily for their own pleasure or for recreation, and who for the most part follow traditional craft standards. While many produce crafts for their own use only, a good many occasionally sell part of their yearly production in order to pick up some extra money with which to buy better raw materials for their hobby. The factor which differentiates these hobbyists from kitchen craftsmen is that profit is not their primary reason for production. The hobbyists constituted the majority among the quiltmakers, but they were relatively seldom encountered among other craft traditions which appeared to be dominated by kitchen craftsmen.

The tourist market has greatly increased the incomes of the minority of really skilled craftsmen. Their success, however, has created unrealistic expectations among other provincial craftsmen -- those who are not so highly trained -- about their ability to engage successfully in commercial craft production.

The plight of these individuals can be explained by the fact that they are unable to fit into the two predominant patterns of tourist consumption which were noted above; they have neither the artistic ability or the technical skills to produce for the collector group of tourists, nor do they have the organization or the economic resources to compete successfully with the cheap foreign imports of mass-produced trinkets which appeal to many tourists. At best, they sell to that relatively small percentage of tourists for whom handmade objects -- of whatever quality -- have an intrinsic value.

The conclusion which emerges from this data is that for the relatively unskilled majority of craft producers, this work does not constitute a viable source of supplementary income, primarily because of the competition created by imported imitations of Nova Scotia crafts. Further, the existing laws which require the labeling of imported crafts were found to be no more effective in this province than they appear to have been elsewhere. Deceptive advertising, and the basic indifference of most tourists to authenticity cancel out any positive effect that such labeling may have. Furthermore, at the present time there does not appear to be any prospect of significant federal or provincial government action to limit this competition from abroad.

There remains the possibility that kitchen craftsmen might develop their own cooperative organization to aid

them in such matters as bulk purchasing of raw materials, artistic designing, and proper distribution of their crafts. Such a solution would depend, however, in large measure upon their being able to take the organizing initiative themselves, a development that appears highly unlikely, given their dispersion throughout the province and their lack of experience with such cooperative arrangements.

If the lives of many former hobbyists have been disrupted by their unsuccessful attempts to enter into the tourist market with their hobbies, the phenomenon of mass tourism has also had a disruptive effect upon the form and the quality of the local handicrafts -- just as the literature on this subject had predicted. Inexperienced individuals with little knowledge of craft traditions and with little interest in the values of craftsmanship have entered into production for predominantly economic reasons. Often this has resulted in poorly executed work. Also, some of the experienced craftsmen have relaxed their standards of workmanship to speed up production, with the result that they now produce slovenly executed craft items which are standardized and simplified in form. Additionally, substitution of materials has been made and design motifs have been altered according to local perceptions of what will attract tourist buyers and what will reduce production costs and increase profits.

Although a large number of kitchen craftsmen have come into existence in Nova Scotia, few of them are quilters.

There was, in fact, a consensus among the interviewees to the effect that very few Nova Scotians quilt just for economic reasons. And indeed, while there are some artists who quilt for both artistic and economic reasons, a majority of quilts displayed for sale were found to have been made by hobbyists who produced only a few items a year and who did not necessarily sell all of them. Most frequently, quilts were put up for sale in order to obtain some extra money with which to support the hobby, or because they had been donated by their makers to earn money for charity.

Thus it appears that, contrary to the expectations which the literature search had stimulated, and those suggested by a preliminary inspection of the local market, Nova Scotia quilting has survived as a craft tradition despite the existence of a mass tourist market in the province. The reasons for this survival are of some theoretical importance because they may be generalizable to other crafts and to other communities which are being confronted by the tourist phenomenon. Among the apparent reasons for the survival of the craft tradition of quilting are the facts that:

1. the price of quilts is quite high, relative to most other souvenir objects; this places them in a special class, and makes them more appealing to affluent buyers.
2. Quilts are viewed by many tourists as visual art objects as well as bedcovers. Hence they are often purchased as art rather than as an expensive memento of a trip to Nova Scotia. As art objects one expects to

have to pay more for them, but the expectation is that they will exhibit both artistic quality and technical excellence as well.

3. Quilts are labor-intensive objects, and even if the labor costs which go into making them were to be kept down to the minimum wage level, their price would be so high that the vast majority of tourists could not afford them. Thus only the hobbyists, who do not expect to make much profit, and certainly not minimum wages, can afford to sell quilts at a reasonable price (sixty to one hundred and fifty dollars). The artist-craftsmen sell theirs to an exclusive market for over two hundred dollars.

These requirements of quality, on the one hand, and of profit expectations of less than the minimum wage on the other, make quilting unprofitable for kitchen craftsmen. Given the fact that machine-made quilts do not sell to tourists in Nova Scotia, the only quilt that is available at a reasonable price must be one that is made by someone who is not looking for a profit, by someone who enjoys the craftsmanship or the traditional ritual of quiltmaking.

In this sense, quiltmakers constitute an instance of return to the craftsman-tourist relationship, a relationship within which craftsmen produced independently of the tourist market. In other words, in the past, before mass tourism came into existence and before it had caused the existence of kitchen craftsmen, traditional craft objects

were being produced for functional purposes. They also provided the occasional visitor to the host community with an authentic traditional handicraft which could be purchased at a price that was considerably lower than what it would have cost to produce a similar object in the regions from which the tourists had come if indeed one was available at all. With respect to Nova Scotian quilts, this still holds true and, therefore, seems to be an example of one of those rare instances mentioned in the literature where for special reasons, certain crafts were able to escape their apparently inevitable transformation by mass tourist consumptionism.

Another factor which seems to have rendered quilts an unusual craft form is the fact that besides their aesthetic qualities, quilts possess an ability to evoke the history of the culture. This is perhaps due to their being so closely associated with tradition. They can be thought of as a kind of "folk literature" of the rural society of old Nova Scotia and represent to the present generation an image of their heritage. In this sense, quilts embody the spirit of early craftsmanship and of the traditions of the past: domesticity, frugality and prestige craftsmanship. In the past, quilts provided warmth, but also an element of artistry. They were the means through which rural housewives could create graphic representations of their lives. These women gave quilts those essential attributes which have made them into the embodiment of Nova Scotia provincial traditions.

The question remains unanswered as to whether other

crafts in other regions may exist which simultaneously embody the traditional character of a region and also continue to exist relatively unaffected by the tourist market, even though they are consumed by tourists.

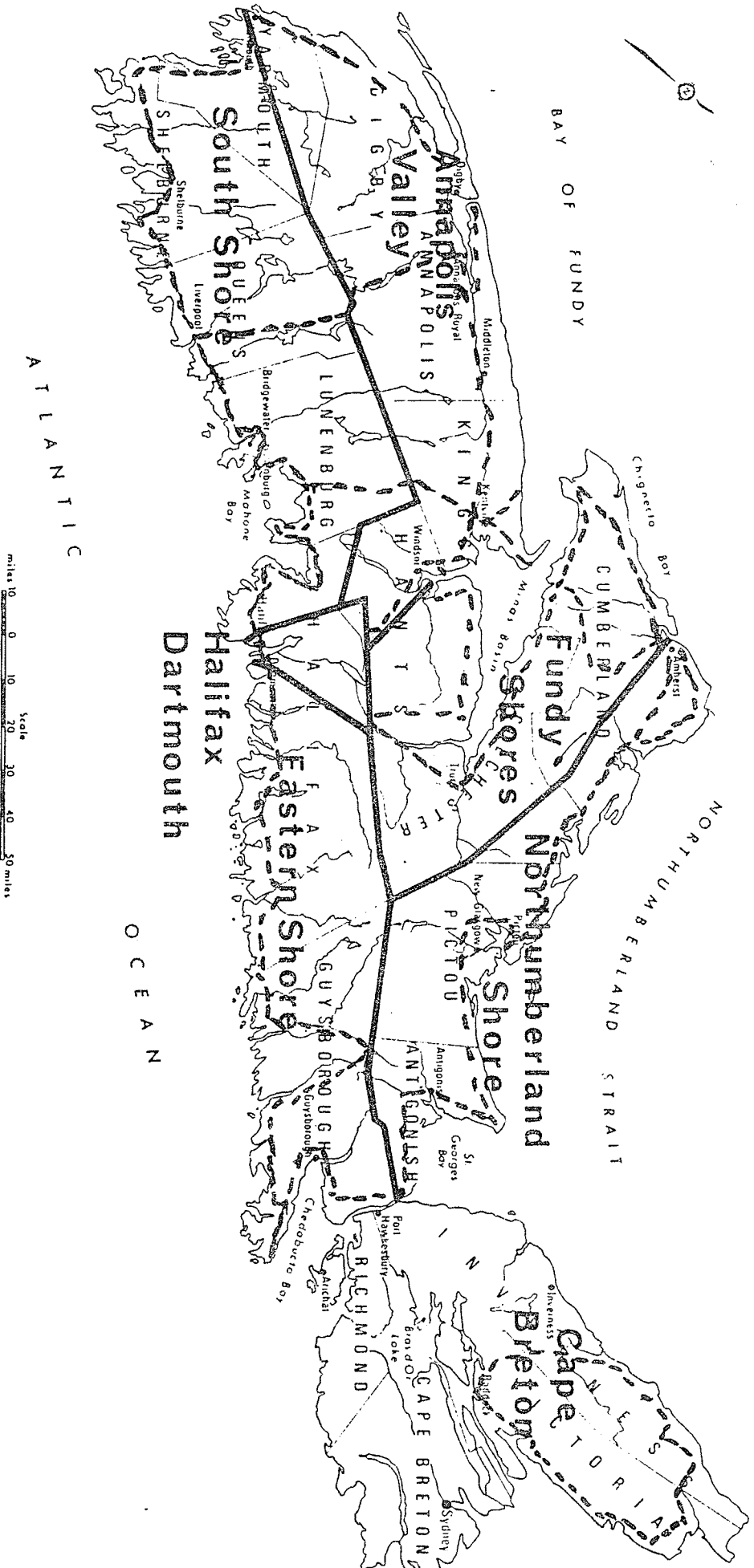
In conclusion, the influence of the tourist market on Nova Scotia handicrafts has been felt on several levels. It has had the effect of reviving local interest in traditional sources and styles of production. Through the process of commercialization it has influenced changes in form and function of objects, in their production and distribution and in the social values associated with traditional Nova Scotia crafts. While mass tourism has encouraged production which is not consistent with traditional artistic values, it has also encouraged quilting which today represents an unbroken and seemingly unthreatened historical development.

One vital relationship which this study appears to be pointing to is the exploitation of kitchen craftsmen and hobbyists by mass tourists. Although not definitively documented (such documentation awaits further research), available evidence indicates that in Nova Scotia handicraft producers are able to sell their wares only in situations in which they receive far less than the minimum wage for their work. In other words, the tourists pay for these handicrafts at what amounts to slave labor wages. At the same time, the mass tourist, who is almost never a member of the upper or capitalist class, is likewise trapped into a system of consumptionism in his capacity as tourist. The

conditioning of people to identify pleasure with material consumption (thereby buying items which enable someone else to make a profit), also seems to influence tourists. Clever advertising by provincial authorities and souvenir merchants induce them to buy items for which they probably have little use and which they would never purchase at home. This is the relation in which both the underpaid craftsmen and mass tourists find themselves economically exploited, though in different ways, by the tourist industry, an industry largely dominated and promoted by large corporate interests.

APPENDIX A

Tourist Regions of Nova Scotia



(Department of Tourism, 1976)

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW TOPICS

Listed below are the main topics covered during the course of interviewing in Nova Scotia. Not all of these subjects were discussed with every informant. Topics from this list were selected for discussion according to their relevance to the particular category of interviewee.

Extent of tourism in Nova Scotia

Why tourists visit Nova Scotia

Types of souvenirs consumed and motivations for consumption

Types of souvenirs produced locally or imported for the tourist trade

Revival of traditional handicrafts

Motives for handicraft production

Values associated with handicraft production

Continuity or change in local craft traditions

Particular history of quilting tradition

Craftsmanship standards

Modes of handicraft production and distribution

Profitability of souvenir marketing

Profit orientation and economic status of handicraft producers

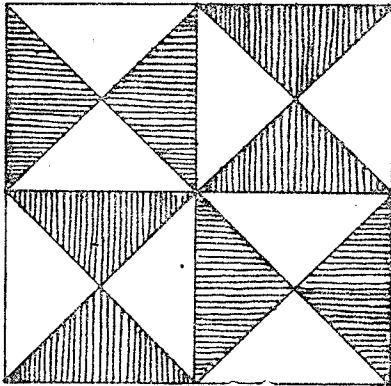
Actual profits from handicraft sales

Government involvement in souvenir production and marketing

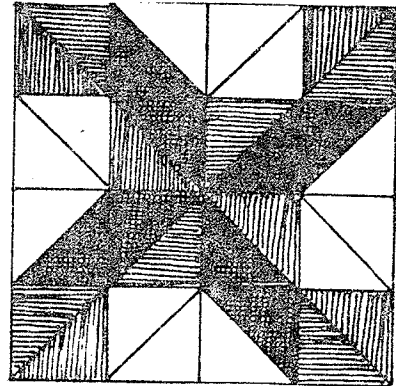
Government encouragement of handicraft production

APPENDIX C

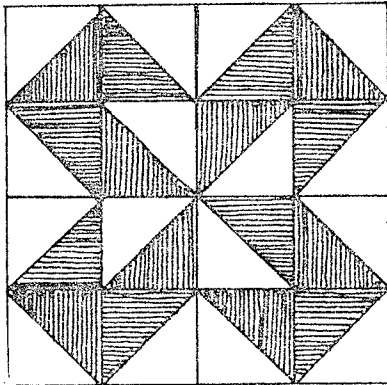
QUILT PATTERNS



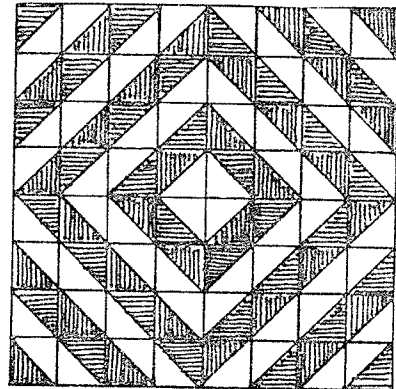
Broken Dishes



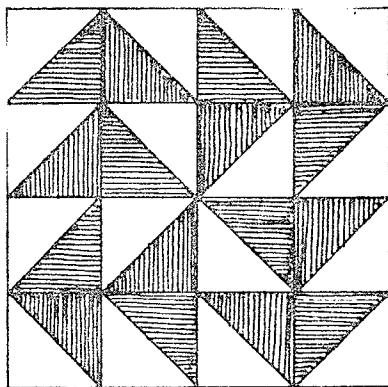
Clay's Choice



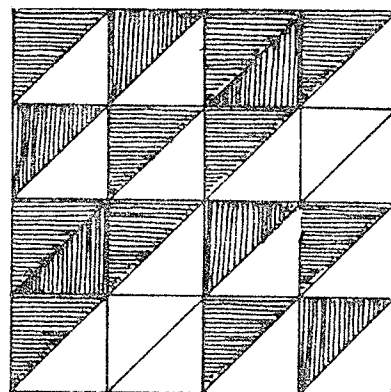
Hole in the Barn



Barn Raising



Tutchman's Puzzle



Flock of Geese

SOURCE: Polly Greene, Basic Quilting (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1974):2.

APPENIX D

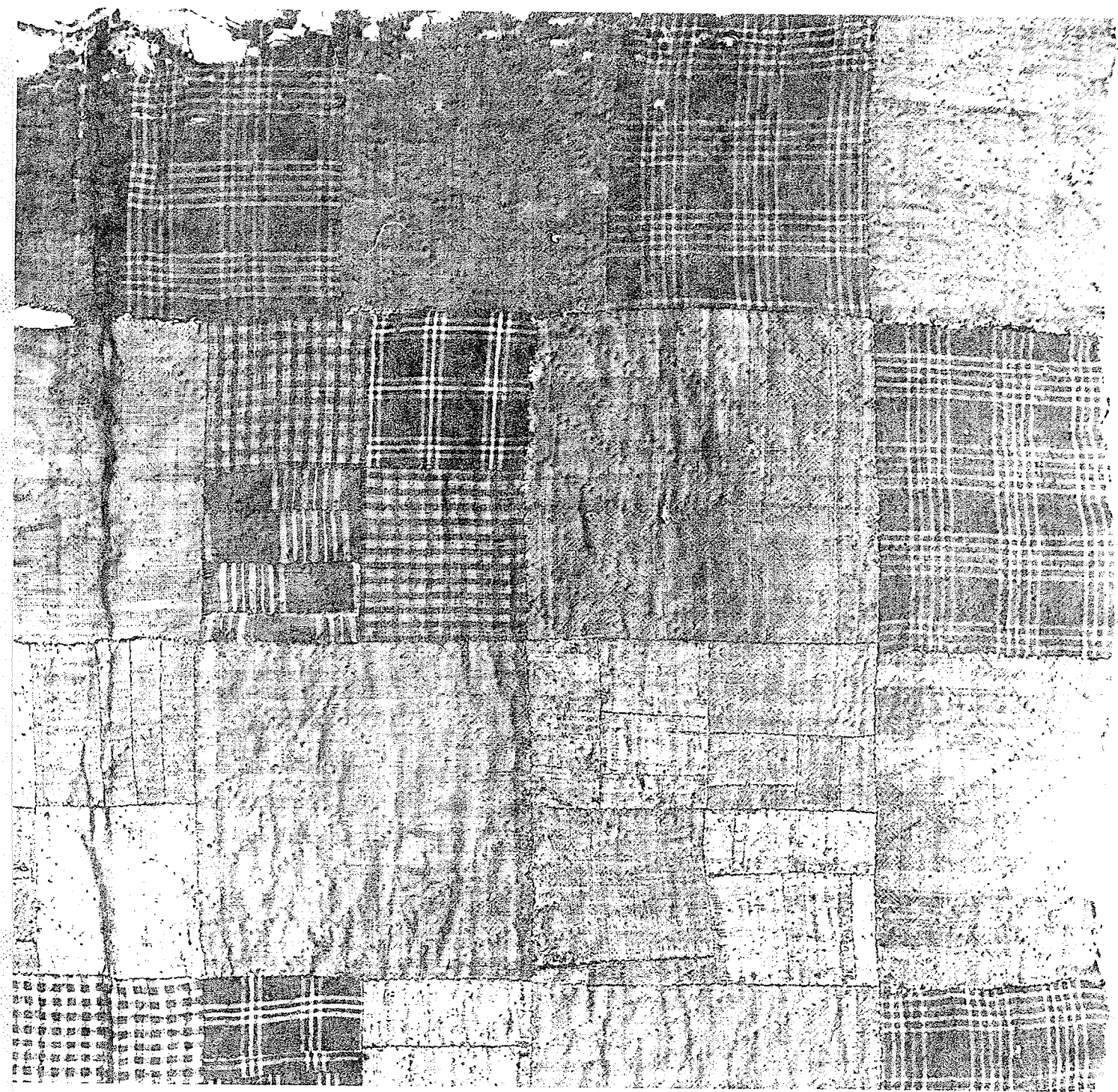
PHOTOGRAPHS
NOVA SCOTIA QUILTS

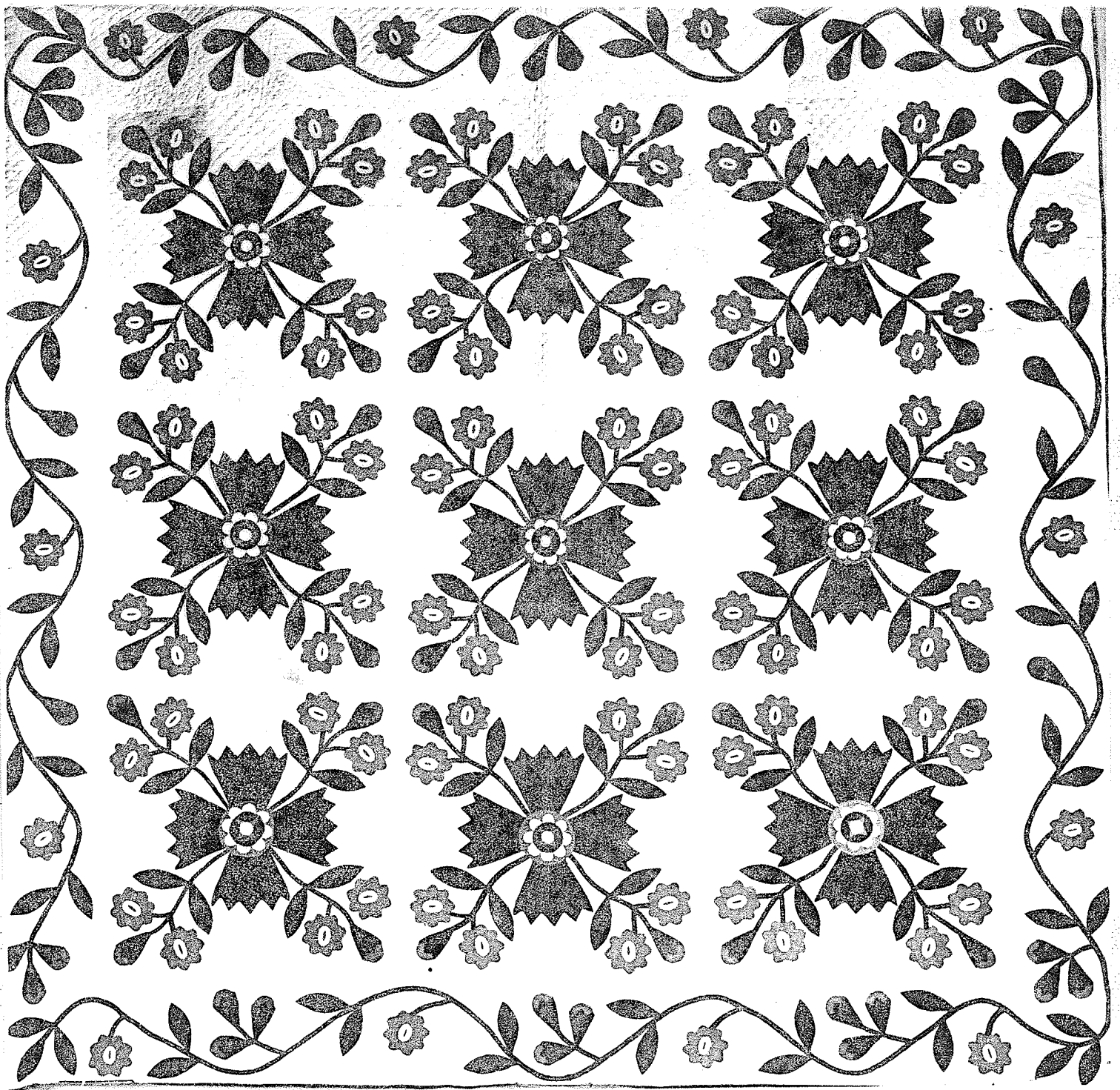
- (1) PIECED QUILT (close-up view): Made c.1810 in Colchester County. This is the oldest pieced quilt which is known to have survived in Nova Scotia. Nova Scotia Museum collection.

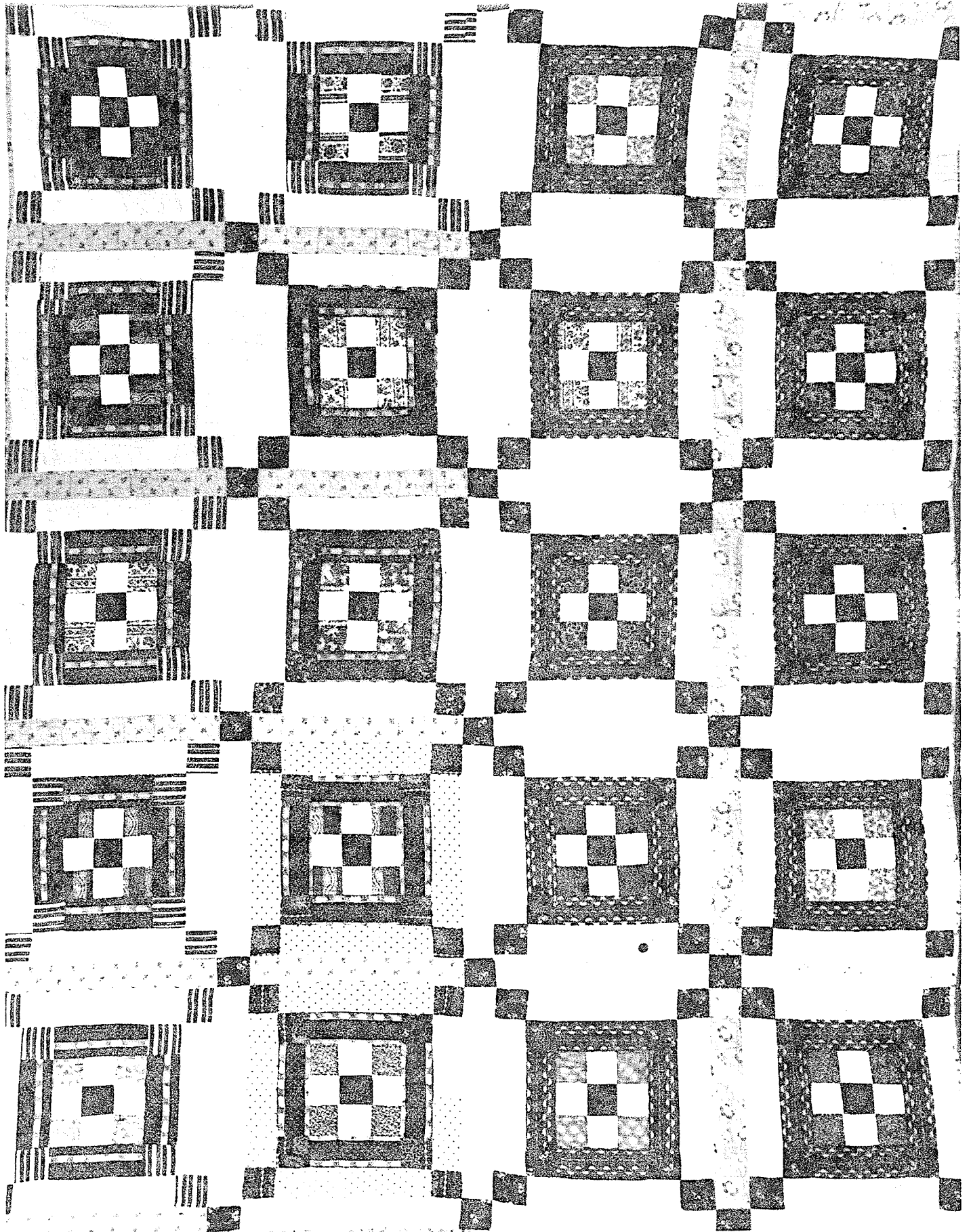
- (2) APPLIQUE QUILT: Made c.1870 by Miss Sadie Warne, New Tusket, Digby County. Nova Scotia Museum Collection.

- (3) PIECED QUILT: Made c.1900 by Mrs. Ada Mosher, La Have Islands, Lunenburg County. Nova Scotia Museum Collection.

(Photographs provided courtesy of the Nova Scotia Museum)







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