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Let's Get Creative: The Forgotten Role of Culture in New Brunswick's Quest for Self-Sufficiency¹

by Thomas Hodd

Although well-intended, the Government of New Brunswick's *Action Plan to be Self-Sufficient* (2007) misses the central role culture must play in order to bring about sustained creative energy in the province. New Brunswick's road to self-sufficiency cannot begin without it first addressing our need for more accessible cultural products because at the heart of New Brunswick's quest for self-sufficiency is the desire for a new provincial identity. Re-branding the province via largely utilitarian reforms will only result in creative mediocrity if culture does not factor prominently in the formation of any future vision for its citizens.

In 2002, the Government of New Brunswick announced a cultural policy as part of its "Road to Prosperity" initiative, an ambitious multi-year plan that would address four areas of cultural concern for New Brunswickers: Culture in Everyday Life, Professional Artists and Cultural Professionals, Our Collective Heritage, and Culture and the Economy. The policy was motivated in part by the government's desire "to ensure that its residents and future generations can benefit from a healthy, stimulating, and unique cultural environment, one that fosters a sense of pride, identity, belonging and openness to the world."² Not surprisingly, this announcement was accompanied by a substantial increase to the culture budget over a three year period, from 5.6 million in 2001-2002 to 8.4 million in 2004-05. Given the government's former track record in funding for the arts, it was a welcome infusion of capital.³

Money aside, what is intriguing about this policy is the government's recognition that arts and culture are not just of entertainment and economic benefit to the province, but that they also help provide citizens with a felt sense of identity. "Culture," the policy states, "incorporates all the traits and elements that distinguish a given society as it evolves over time, including its identity and its vision of the world."⁴

This notion of culture as the central force from which New

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Brunswick citizens derive their provincial identity is repeated a few pages later when the Government of New Brunswick declares that "[n]ot only does our cultural heritage serve to inspire today's creators, it provides New Brunswickers with an identity, an understanding of our past, and an appreciation for the richness that our cultural diversity has brought to our province."⁵

Three years later, in the Speech from the Throne for the 55th Legislature, the government reiterated its commitment to culture and heritage, noting that "a Heritage Preservation Act" and "a second phase of the New Brunswick Cultural Policy will be brought forward," and that "as part of the second phase of the Cultural Policy, a comprehensive Book Policy [will be developed]."⁶ But by this time, resource industries had begun to falter, hospitals were closing, and the economy began to trump all other issues in the minds of voters. These factors, coupled with the Conservatives' precarious single vote majority in the legislature, made the ongoing argument for culture as a key player in provincial identity a difficult vision to sell to voters. The winds of political change soon gathered momentum, and after the election dust settled on 18 September 2006, the Liberal Party stood victorious with a majority mandate.

Although the Liberals carried forward some of the initiatives adopted by the previous government, the proposed major "second phase" of the Cultural Policy was dropped as a priority.⁷ What's more, the change in government brought with it a new approach to how to cultivate provincial identity: New Brunswick's "Road to Prosperity" vision soon morphed into the long-term provincial goal "to become Self-Sufficient." In January 2007, a Task Force was established to help make self-sufficiency a reality by first consulting with citizens and organizations, and then producing a report that would serve as the basis of direction for the government's long-term initiatives. In less than five months, the task force generated three discussion papers and a final report. Then in November 2007, the government announced *Our Action Plan to be Self-Sufficient in New Brunswick*.⁸

Reaction to the *Action Plan* was mixed. The day after the

announcement, Stephen Llewellyn's piece in the *Daily Gleaner* declared that the "Self-Sufficiency Plan ignores the people,"⁹ while an editorial published in the *Moncton Times & Transcript* the same day suggested that "[p]atience [is] needed on self-sufficiency."¹⁰ Opposition Leader Jeannot Volpé immediately dismissed the *Plan* for not being specific enough, while industry leaders like Mark Arseneault, president of the New Brunswick Forest Products Association, "liked the plan overall because it talks about increasing productivity, diversification and competitiveness in the forestry sector."¹¹ Two weeks later, Alec Bruce pointed out that despite the intentions of the provincial government, "the [financial] source of real self-sufficiency in this province lies elsewhere," and he wondered whether New Brunswickers had "finally lost [their] marbles?"¹² The debate over the *Plan*'s merit has lost none of its momentum.¹³

Reactions aside, the *Plan* is ambitious and well-intended. The authors state that to achieve self-sufficiency by 2026, the government will focus on initiatives that will transform our economy, transform our workforce, transform our relationships, and transform our government. More importantly, the result of such measures "will move us toward a more dynamic economy, a well-trained and productive workforce, new partnerships that will support our growth and a government that is equipped to move us toward self-sufficiency."¹⁴ In short, the *Plan* is meant to serve as a broad, economic roadmap to New Brunswick's future status as a "have" province.

What is missing from the *Plan*, though, is the role culture will play in achieving its "have" province status. John Holden, former Head of Culture at the British think-tank Demos, warns that "regional policy needs to lose its obsession with economic development and to encompass a much broader set of concerns, making culture both a primary building block and an expression of regional identity, prosperity and well-being."¹⁵ However, if you read the *Action Plan*, you will notice that instead of championing culture, the *Plan* attempts to do just the opposite: to sell voters a vision of future citizenship in which problem-solving skills, masquerading as creativity, will lead New Brunswick to economic and social stability.

Consider the following statements included in the *Plan*:

- (1) "[New Brunswick will] have a world-class education system that values creativity and inclusion."¹⁶
- (2) "We need a new generation of healthy, productive and creative citizens."¹⁷
- (3) "We can be strong, proud, creative and brave. We can be better. We can be self-sufficient."¹⁸

It is obvious from such statements that creativity is a key ingredient for the long-term success of the provincial government's initiative. Yet the concept of creativity, as it is presented, bears no relationship to its traditional understanding as a crucial part of arts and culture. Instead, it is employed in the *Action Plan* in the same way that Rotman School of Management professor Richard Florida has recently interpreted the concept in his immensely popular trilogy, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002),¹⁹ *Cities and the Creative Class* (2004),²⁰ and *The Flight of the Creative Class* (2005).²¹ For him, creativity is a marketable skill rather than a measure of artistic talent. His core social scientist argument is that for cities and regions to succeed, a whole class of professionals—which for Florida includes scientists, engineers, architects, as well as writers and entertainers—must live and work in close proximity in order to spark innovation. Creativity, then, is no longer a matter of culture: it is a context for economic, social, and scientific problem-solving.

This Floridian approach to creativity might also explain why culture is treated in the *Action Plan* as a subset of economic activities. Near the beginning of the *Plan*, there is a bullet-point summary that describes how the province will transform its economy. The first bullet is self-explanatory: "Work diligently with our resource-based sectors to enhance competitiveness through productivity improvements and greater diversification."²² New Brunswick has always relied on resources and product innovation as a means to generate wealth for its citizens, so it is understandable that this approach would be listed first. The second bullet, however, is a little more problematic for those hoping to see an understanding of the value culture brings to provincial identity: "Target new markets and use new approaches to promote our

tourism and cultural sectors, engage consumers, excel in customer service and enhance the visitor experience."²³ Not only does the *Action Plan* place "tourism" ahead of "culture," but it also treats both only in terms of their contribution as service industries.

Although the document mentions early on that a self-sufficient New Brunswick will have "a vibrant cultural environment that will promote a sense of identity and belonging,"²⁴ the only area of the *Action Plan* that directly addresses issues of culture is a subsection of the government's vision to "Transform Our Economy" that is dedicated to Tourism and Culture Development—a section which clearly demonstrates that the self-sufficiency initiative, as it pertains to tourism and culture, is not focused on culture at all but is instead focused on the province's natural attractions and the need for New Brunswickers to be "leaders" in "customer service." Indeed, the goal is not to enhance or encourage cultural literacy among the province's citizens, but to simply improve the economic relationship between cultural attractions and out-of-province consumers by "implementing a consumer engagement strategy. . . to direct visitors to attractions"²⁵ and to "enhance the visitor experience."²⁶ More importantly, of the five "actions" outlined in the "Tourism and Culture Development" section that are to be implemented in this area, only one actually deals with literary culture—a vague statement about the province intending to develop a book publishing policy that will help "promote our cultural heritage and enhance our vibrant cultural sector."²⁷ Perhaps not coincidentally, following this obtuse recommendation is the more concrete action to "invest \$100 million in improvements to tourism infrastructure."²⁸ The dichotomy in the priority of approaches is self-evident. Despite the references to culture in this document and the recognition that our "cultural sector" needs promoting, the elements of tourism and cultural development in a self-sufficient New Brunswick are meant to be understood only as sources of cultural export.

This is not to say that tourism is an insignificant part of the economy. On the contrary, tourism is a major economic driver in Atlantic Canada and New Brunswick. A 2007 Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) report noted that "[t]ourism

accounts for almost 6% of the region's gross domestic product and generates \$3.075 billion in export revenues, \$500 million in tax revenues and provides 110,000 jobs for Atlantic Canadians."²⁹ New Brunswick's own contribution to tourism is equally impressive: the *Telegraph Journal* recently reported that the sector employs 32,000 people and contributes 1.2 billion to the provincial economy.³⁰ Equally impressive is the economic power of the province's cultural industry: arts and culture contributed \$604 million dollars to New Brunswick's gross provincial product in 2002, as well as employing almost 8,000 citizens.³¹

But when you begin to focus the majority of your efforts on selling your culture, you risk sacrificing the real or authentic aspects of your heritage in order to suit outsider needs, perceptions, and tastes. And your myths, your literature, your ideas of identity become homogenized and linear. The best regional example of this phenomenon is the case of Nova Scotia. Ian McKay argues in "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933–1954" that, beginning in the 1930s, Angus L. Macdonald sought to re-brand Nova Scotia as a romanticized Scottish inheritance culture as a means to increase tourism and to reconcile tensions between Protestants and Catholics in the province.³² To a certain extent, Macdonald's experiment was a success: Nova Scotia is now a clearly recognizable cultural brand, falsely constructed, but at least identifiable and celebrated by many of its citizens. However, McKay rightly points out the future trappings of Macdonald's approach: "Have we not shifted, in many ways difficult to analyze, from an anti-modernist tartanism to something much less definable or contestable, a post-modern tartanism whose sole logic is that of commodification and consumption?"³³

One way to combat such homogenizing effects of tourism is through works of literature. Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Jenny Kerber³⁴ argue that "one of the useful things about literary representations is that they can open up sites of resistance that can either counter or affirm the dominant stories about a place, thus giving a more complex portrait of the tourist site."³⁵ New Brunswick certainly has a long tradition of producing lively and engaging writers and

storytellers who have impacted both the regional and national literary stage. In terms of Francophones, New Brunswick has produced a host of successful story-tellers, such as France Daigle, Antonine Maillet, Herménégilde Chiasson, and Guy Arsenault. Similarly, Julia Beckwith, Charles G.D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, Fred Cogswell, and Anne Copeland are among the many anglophone writers that have emerged from this province. Nor should we forget that New Brunswick has produced its fair share of Governor General's Literary Award winners, including Anne Compton, Alden Nowlan, and two-time winners David Adams Richards, David Walker, and Serge Patrice Thibodeau. These and many other writers in New Brunswick represent an artistic critical mass and play a crucial role in the province's cultural identity. Instead of pushing for more cultural exports, then, what New Brunswickers need to do is to focus on their own cultural infrastructure, to re-affirm their cultural foundations as a basis for future creativity. And it is through the eyes of these storytellers that any quest for a re-imagined New Brunswick should begin. For as Northrop Frye reminds us in *The Educational Imagination*, "Literature not only leads us toward the regaining of identity, but it also separates this state from its opposite, the world we don't like and want to get away from."³⁶

Unfortunately, there are formidable obstacles that need to be overcome before New Brunswick can start re-asserting its cultural infrastructure in order to properly achieve self-sufficiency. The first of these obstacles is our penchant for foreign cultural consumption. Maria Tippet³⁷ suggests there is a dearth of cultural nationalism at both the regional and national level: "Today, Atlantic Canadians, and those living in other parts of the country, are more in touch with foreign than with local or national forms of culture. They are consumers of it; they are not participants in it."³⁸ Though perhaps shocking to some, even a cursory glance at today's cultural benchmarks supports Tippet's claim. In the *Globe and Mail's* Annual National List of Bestsellers of 2008, for example, just 20% of the top twenty-five fiction titles were Canadian, and only one Canadian title made the top ten.³⁹ Comparatively, 60% of the titles were by Americans, six of which occupied positions in the top ten. As for the top twenty-five non-fiction titles, the number of U.S. and

Canadian titles share the same number of top-sellers, at twelve a piece. But this fact is somewhat misleading, since only two out of the top ten titles are Canadian, whereas eight are by U.S. authors; or, if read from the bottom up, eight out of Canada's twelve non-fiction bestsellers occupy positions fifteen to twenty-five. Nor is this phenomenon exclusive to our literary consumption: in a recent *Globe and Mail* article, James Adams reports that "Canadians love their American movies ... nine of the highest-grossing commercially released films in Canada in 2008 originated in the United States."⁴⁰

A second obstacle can be found in our post-secondary literature course offerings. According to recent statistics obtained from the Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission, with the exception of Mount Allison University, at least 65% of the student population in our major provincial post-secondary institutions grew up in New Brunswick.⁴¹ Yet in the vast majority of our post-secondary institutions, we do not learn about our own writers; instead, we are taught the creative works of our colonial masters, the British and the Americans. For the academic year 2008-2009, the list of undergraduate English courses offered at the University of New Brunswick Fredericton campus included twelve clearly identifiable British literature courses, two Canadian courses, and one Atlantic Canadian literature course. Or, to put it in a provincial context, the five major universities in New Brunswick offer approximately 40-50 English courses to students. Out of those 40-50 courses, there are only five Atlantic Canadian literature courses offered for credit, and not all of these five courses are offered every year.⁴² But offering so many American and British literature courses serves colonial interests, not Canadian, Atlantic, or New Brunswick interests. We are in effect telling students that our regional and provincial literatures are secondary or derivative disciplines, that British and American ideas are more sophisticated and valuable forms of cultural knowledge.

John Ralston Saul suggests that this precedent of choosing foreign over domestic forms of cultural consumption and the teaching of foreign cultural traditions is a more deep-seated problem in Canada, related to the persistence of a "colonial mind" that is

continually reinforced by outdated educational and cultural infrastructures. "How," he asks, "do you keep up [colonial] standards? By ensuring that your models for thought come from there not here. By educating yourself and your children in their manner . . . by reforming your universities to reflect their idea of standards, by imitating their policies, invoking their heroes."⁴³ New Brunswick needs to break free of this colonial approach to cultural learning because it is a false construction of the province's post-secondary educational requirements and its identity. Do British and American students take Canadian literature courses en masse? No. And why not? Because Canadian stories have nothing to do with their myths. We need to address this cultural shortcoming in order to become truly self-sufficient; more Canadian, Atlantic, and New Brunswick literature courses need to appear on course offerings at our post-secondary institutions.

A third obstacle to address is our educational treatment of cultural heritage along rigid linguistic lines. In the case of post-secondary institutions in the province, we have done much to promote a sense of New Brunswick's commitment to being an officially bilingual province: the major anglophone university, the University of New Brunswick, for instance, is balanced by its francophone counterpart, the Université de Moncton. A host of programs at both the university and college levels are offered in either English or French, but very few programs are offered as bilingual courses. What's more, the reigning pedagogical approach to course offerings, particularly at the humanities level, is to treat culture strictly as it relates to language, and so rather than having a Department of Literature, we have a Department of English and a Département de Français. On a pragmatic level, this is a logical and sensitive decision on the part of educators and bureaucrats because they want to be able to offer students the education they desire in the language of their choosing. The unfortunate side-effect of such a linguistic approach to education, however, is that the majority of Anglophones in New Brunswick never read the literature or the stories of the Acadians, nor do Acadians study a majority of their anglophone counterparts. And so rather than explaining that theirs is a shared cultural identity with a shared history and literature, students are invariably taught artificial

literary traditions using linguistic parameters as the main criteria for culture—an educational approach that ultimately skews, rather than strengthens, a New Brunswick student's sense of provincial identity.

This type of pedagogical argument is completely unacceptable in a bilingual province like New Brunswick. In the area of translation, we need to develop a better sense of provincial interculturalism—English to French as well as French to English. We need to help reinforce the important groundwork done by scholars such as Fred Cogswell and Jo-Anne Elder. This is in addition to the overwhelming need to translate as well as publish the works of New Brunswick First Nations writers. Few written literary resources are readily available to non-Aboriginal educators and citizens: the promising first novel by the Mi'kmaq writer Lorne Simon, *Stones and Switches*,⁴⁴ for instance, is now out of print, and Rita Joe and Lesley Choyce's *Mi'kmaq Anthology*⁴⁵ is more than a decade old. However, two recent events suggest that attention to Aboriginal culture in the province is gaining some momentum: Goose Lane's *Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Dictionary*,⁴⁶ for example, is a wonderful first cultural step for New Brunswick. Equally encouraging is the government's promise that part of its Book Policy is to "develop a government program to support translation of New Brunswick literature into French, English, Mi'kmaq or Maliseet."⁴⁷

The fourth obstacle to overcome is the lack of attention paid to the First Nations people of New Brunswick, particularly with regards to the key role they play in shaping a self-sufficient province. The place of Aboriginals in the future of New Brunswick's cultural development is not even considered in the *Action Plan*, even though Mi'kmaq and Maliseet heritage is mentioned several times as a key component of our current provincial identity. In fact, the only area in which Aboriginals are mentioned is in the "Transforming Our Relationships" aspect of the *Plan* in which the government proposes to "move forward with the historic Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, and New Brunswick Relationship Building Bilateral Agreement to address effective governance, social justice and economic stability for our First Nations communities."⁴⁸ This is an important and

valuable action to move forward on, but what the *Action Plan* also needs to address are ways in which the province can move forward on an intercultural level—an idea mentioned but never fully explored in the original mission of the Cultural Policy (“New Brunswick will encourage cultural development by promoting such things as artistic excellence and intercultural dialogue and exchange”).⁴⁹ The closest the *Action Plan* comes to suggesting such an intercultural approach to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal culture, however, is the recognition that we need to “increase cross-cultural awareness and appreciation of our culture heritage, including the Mi’kmaq [and] Maliseet.”⁵⁰ Realistically, this kind of intercultural dialogue can easily be started through support for the publication, translation and dissemination of Aboriginal works into New Brunswick bookstores and into secondary as well as post-secondary curricula.

These are just four small actions, but they may go a long way in planting the mythical seeds for future generations of New Brunswickers so that they can enjoy firm cultural roots with which to further develop their sense of identity. Thomas King observed that “the truth about stories is that that’s all we are.”⁵¹ Indeed, the strengthening of New Brunswick’s cultural infrastructure does not mean an all-or-nothing commodification of the province’s culture. Instead, the acknowledgement of and concrete offering of provincial myths and stories to New Brunswick citizens is the first step in creating a renewed sense of identity and the kind of “culture of creativity” that the writers of the *Action Plan* argue is key to achieving self-sufficiency. Becoming self-sufficient, then, is first and foremost a matter of culture, not creativity.⁵² Nicole Barrieau points out that “New Brunswick is currently the only province in Atlantic Canada without a true department of culture.”⁵³ If we do not re-focus the agenda of self-sufficiency to more fully address matters of culture, by 2026 we won’t need one.

Notes

¹ It takes more than an author to give birth to a printed argument. I would like to thank the editors of this article for their hard work and helpful suggestions. I would

also like to acknowledge the financial support of the NBASRDC, which enabled me to travel to the Self-Sufficiency conference in May 2008 and share my research.

² New Brunswick Department of Wellness, Culture and Sport [formerly Culture and Sport Secretariat], *Cultural Policy for New Brunswick 2002* (Fredericton, NB: Province of New Brunswick, 2007) 5.

³ A recent Statistics Canada report reveals that provincial funding for the arts in 2002 “[had] ranked dead last among all ten provinces. It also ranked last in 2001 and second last in 2000.” See “Arts Funding Lowest in New Brunswick,” CBC Arts Online, 9 Jan. 2004, 9 Jan. 2009 <<http://www.cbc.ca/arts/story/2004/01/08/funding080104.html>>.

⁴ Department of Wellness, Culture and Sport, *Cultural Policy* 1.

⁵ Department of Wellness, Culture and Sport, *Cultural Policy* 15.

⁶ Province of New Brunswick, “Speech from the Throne: Third Session of the 55th Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick,” Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB, 6 Dec. 2005 <<http://www.gnb.ca/cnb/Promos/Throne-2005/index-e.asp>> 8.

⁷ *Creating a Culture of Books and Reading: The New Brunswick Book Policy* was eventually announced in Fall 2008. And the proposed Heritage Preservation Act from the 2005-06 Speech from the Throne has found new life as the Heritage Conservation Act in the 2008 Speech from the Throne. However, the Cultural Policy was reprinted in 2007 without updates, nor is it mentioned in the 2008 Speech from the Throne. See Province of New Brunswick, *Creating a Culture of Books and Reading: The New Brunswick Book Policy* (Fredericton, NB: Province of New Brunswick, 2008) and Province of New Brunswick, “Speech from the Throne: Third Session of the 56th Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick,” Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB, 25 Nov. 2008 <<http://www.gnb.ca/cnb/promos/throne-2008-09/index-e.asp>> 14.

⁸ Province of New Brunswick, *Our Action Plan to be Self-Sufficient in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, NB: Province of New Brunswick, 2007).

⁹ Stephen Llewellyn, “Self-Sufficiency Plan Ignores the People – Coalition,” *Daily Gleaner* [Fredericton, NB] 27 Nov. 2007: A4.

¹⁰ “Patience Needed on Self-Sufficiency,” editorial, *Times & Transcript* [Moncton, NB] 27 Nov. 2007: D4.

¹¹ “N.B. Releases Its 2026 Self-Sufficiency Plan,” CBC News Online, 23 Nov. 2007, 9 Jan. 2009 <<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newbrunswick/story/2007/11/23/sufficiency-plan.html>>.

¹² Alec Bruce, “Are We Losing Our Marbles?” *Times & Transcript* [Moncton, NB] 11 Dec. 2007: D6.

¹³ Constantine Passaris, Chair of the Department of Economics at UNB, recently defended the Self-Sufficiency Agenda in the *Daily Gleaner*, while Peter T. Smith used Statistics Canada findings on the shrinking provincial population to anchor his latest criticism of the self-sufficiency “ambition” in the *Telegraph Journal*. Less emotional and more compelling is W.E. (Bill) Belliveau’s recent analysis in the *Times & Transcript* about the “mechanical problems [that] appear to have slowed the train” of self-sufficiency. See Constantine Passaris, “Self-Sufficiency Should Not Be Abandoned,” *Daily Gleaner* [Fredericton, NB] 27 Jan. 2009: C8; Peter T.

Smith, "Wanted: Babies and Immigrants," *Telegraph Journal* [Saint John, NB] 20 Jan. 2009: A7; W.E. (Bill) Belliveau, "Four Words Set the N.B. Tone," *Times & Transcript* [Moncton, NB] 10 Jan. 2009: D6.

¹⁴ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 11.

¹⁵ John Holden, *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy: Why Culture Needs a Democratic Mandate* (London: Demos, 2006) 59.

¹⁶ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 12.

¹⁷ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 22.

¹⁸ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 33.

¹⁹ Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Boulder, CO: Basic Books, 2002).

²⁰ Richard Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

²¹ Richard Florida, *The Flight of the Creative Class* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005).

²² Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 7.

²³ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 7.

²⁴ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 12.

²⁵ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 16.

²⁶ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 17.

²⁷ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 17.

²⁸ As a point of comparison to the \$100 million for Tourism infrastructure, *The New Brunswick Book Policy* is a three-year action plan with an investment of \$550,000.

²⁹ Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, *2007-2008 Estimates: Part III – Report on Plans and Priorities* (Ottawa: Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2007) 61.

³⁰ Stuart Jamieson, "Don't Sell Government's Accomplishment Short," *Telegraph Journal* [Saint John, NB], 14 Jan. 2009: A7.

³¹ New Brunswick Arts Board, *The Arts in New Brunswick: Cornerstone of a Self-Sufficient Creative Economy* (New Brunswick Arts Board and L'Association acadienne des artistes professionnel-le-s du N.-B., 16 Mar. 2007) 1.

³² Ian McKay, "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954," *Acadiensis* 21.2 (1992): 5-47.

³³ McKay 47.

³⁴ Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Jenny Kerber, "Literature, Cultural Identity and the Limits of Authenticity: A Composite Approach" *International Journal of Tourism Research* 6 (2004): 57-73.

³⁵ Cohen-Hattab and Kerber 68.

³⁶ Northrop Frye, *The Educated Imagination* (1964; Toronto: House of Anansi, 1997) 21-22.

³⁷ Maria Tippet, "Organizing the Culture of a Region: Institutions and the Arts in Atlantic Canada, 1867-1957," *The Sea and Culture of Atlantic Canada*, eds. Larry McCann and Carrie MacMillan (Sackville, NB: Centre for Canadian Studies, Mount Allison University, 1992) 107-26.

³⁸ Tippet 125.

³⁹ "Bestsellers of 2008," *Globe and Mail* [Toronto] 20 Dec. 2008: D13.

⁴⁰ James Adams, "Mamma Mia! We Love U.S. Fare," *Globe and Mail* [Toronto] 8 Jan. 2009: R1.

⁴¹ This data is based on a generated report of Enrolments and Full-time Equivalents for New Brunswick Residents in New Brunswick Institutions from 2002-2007

supplied to the author by a data analyst from the MPHEC. Private correspondence, 24 Apr. 2008.

⁴² These numbers are based on English literature course offerings found on the webpages from five New Brunswick post-secondary institutions: Mount Allison University <<http://www.mta.ca/faculty/English/2008-09/courses.pdf>>, St. Thomas University <http://w3.stu.ca/stu/academic/departments/english_lit/courses.aspx>, l'Université de Moncton <<http://www0.umoncton.ca/facarts/anglais/anglais.html>>, University of New Brunswick Fredericton <http://www.unbf.ca/arts/english/UNB_site_undergraduate/undergraduate_courses.html>, and University of New Brunswick Saint John <<http://www.unbsj.ca/arts/english/pages/framepage.html>>.

⁴³ John Ralston Saul, *A Fair Country: Telling Truths About Canada* (Toronto: Penguin, 2008) 230.

⁴⁴ Lorne Simon, *Stones and Switches* (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 1994).

⁴⁵ Rita Joe and Lesley Choyce, eds., *The Mi'kmaq Anthology* (Lawrencetown, NS: Pottersfield, 1997).

⁴⁶ David A. Francis and Robert M. Levitt, *A Passamaquoddy-Maliseet Dictionary* (Fredericton, NB: Goose Lane, 2008).

⁴⁷ Curiously enough, the explicit reference to the translation of Mi'kmaq or Maliseet works appears in the news release, but not in the *Book Policy* itself. The closest statement in the *Cultural Policy* to the one mentioned in the news release is a vague action found on page 7 to "support the translation of works by New Brunswick authors."

⁴⁸ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 88.

⁴⁹ Province of New Brunswick, *Cultural Policy* 5.

⁵⁰ Province of New Brunswick, *Action Plan* 11.

⁵¹ Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories: The 2003 Massey Lectures* (Toronto: Anansi, 2003) 2.

⁵² I am not the first person to argue for the centrality of culture in bringing about a self-sufficient New Brunswick. In March 2007, prior to the Self-Sufficiency conference held at St. Thomas University, the New Brunswick Arts Board prepared a slim, bulleted report for the Self-Sufficiency Task Force entitled *The Arts in New Brunswick: Cornerstone of a Self-Sufficient Creative Economy* (see n. 31).

⁵³ Nicole Barrieau, *The Cultural Sector in Atlantic Canada: Its Economic Impact and Export Potential* (Moncton, NB: Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development, 2004) 22.